**THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE**

**SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA**

**UNDERSTANDING RELATIONS BETWEEN AYDINLIK CIRCLE AND ANKARA GOVERNMENT**

**(1921-1925)**

**Graduation Thesis**

**Musa YÜCESAN**

**History**

**June 2025**

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**Advisor Dr. Cumhur BEKAR**

**History**

**June 2025**

**THESIS APPROVAL**

This is to certify that the defense examination for the thesis titled *‘Understanding Relations Between Aydınlık Circle and Ankara Government in 1921-1925’* prepared by Musa YÜCESAN with student number 190333060 studying in the field of History Department Bachelor's Degree Program has been conducted in accordance with the related clauses of the ………….. and Examination Code of YÖK (Council of Higher Education) on …./..../....(date) at ….(hour), and has been approved by the majority of votes/unanimous vote.

**Chair :** ………………………(acad.title-full name-sign.)

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This thesis has been approved by the …….. Administrative Board with the decision dated …../…../……. and numbered ……...

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**ETHICAL STATEMENT**

I declare that I have obtained all the information and documents in this study within the framework of academic rules, that I have presented all visual, audio and written information and results in accordance with scientific ethical rules, that I have not made any falsifications in the data I have used, that I have referred to the sources I have used in accordance with scientific norms, that my thesis is original except for the cases cited, that it was produced under the supervision of Dr. Cumhur BEKAR and that it was written in accordance with the Thesis Writing Guidelines of Social Sciences University of Ankara

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**INTRODUCTION**

In the 18th century, with the industrial revolution in Europe, many countries around the world, especially in Europe, were affected by this situation. With the further expansion of the industrial revolution and the increase in the means of production, the class we call the “working class” emerged. However, although this class did not have the necessary rights, they were seen as members of an oppressed class by the intellectuals of the period. The best known of these intellectuals were Karl Marx and Frederich Engels in the 19th century. Marx and Engels' ‘Das Kapital’ formed a theoretical basis for the working-class movements in Europe and managed to gather many supporters around it.

When we look at the Ottoman Empire at this time, we cannot say that there was a large-scale working class due to the lack of heavy industry. For example, although the early labor movements in the Ottoman Empire did not provide an infrastructure for the spread of socialist thought in the 19th century, they provide evidence that there was a working class at that time.[[1]](#footnote-1) Despite these developments, the institutionalization of the socialist movement in the Ottoman Empire remained limited; more precisely, there was no intellectual environment to create this idea. However, in 1908, with the Unionist revolution, the foundations of a liberalized environment were laid in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, many ideological movements were freely publishing and spreading their ideas. Socialism took its place among these ideological movements.[[2]](#footnote-2) The Ottoman Socialists, who tried to continue their activities both at home and abroad, were waiting for a favorable environment, but the situation was interrupted by the First World War. One group of socialists traveled to the Russian Tsardom and carried out activities there, while another group went to Germany, which was an ally of the Ottoman Empire throughout the war. This group went to Germany and was highly influenced by the political revolutions in Berlin. Following this interaction, this group would later publish the magazine *Kurtuluş* in Istanbul and Berlin. As the name of the magazine suggests, they were affected by the chaotic situation in the Ottoman country and sought solutions. In this context, this group decided to continue their activities at home and returned to Istanbul in 1919. This group, which came to Istanbul, was able to publish only seven issues under the umbrella of *Kurtuluş* magazine, and the *Aydınlık* magazine, which would later form the main backbone of this research, would be published in 1921. *Aydınlık* magazine was founded under the leadership of Dr. Şefik Hüsnü and Sadrettin Celal and stood out with its educational, cultural, sociological, ideological and political articles. In addition to these articles, they were also the voice of labor unions and the Workers' and Farmers' Party of Turkey. Between 1921 and 1922, it came to the fore both with its writings and its support for the War of Independence in Anatolia. Between 1922 and 1924, although his relations with the new Turkish Republic seemed optimistic at first, he received the first blows from the Ankara government with the Izmir Economic Congress and the Betrayal Law of May 1, 1923. In 1925, with the Takrir-i Sükun Law, the opposition was silenced and *Aydınlık* magazine ceased publication. After *Aydınlık* was shut down, the *Fevkalade Gençlik Nüshaları* and the *Fevkalade Amele Nüshaları* were published. In 1925, *Orak* *Çekiç* Newspaper was published for a short time, but it was also shut down after its seventh issue.

Studies on early leftist movements in Turkey have generally been shaped around the historical development of socialist organizations, biographical contributions of important figures and ideological debates. Researchers such as Mete Tunçay, Erden Akbulut and Rasih Nuri İleri have produced pioneering works in this field, and have dealt with the journey of the socialist movement from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic through documents and testimonies. However, most of these studies have fallen short of systematically analysing the impact of socialist-Kemalist tensions on political culture in the early Republican period. This study aims to make sense of how the ideological tensions between the *Aydınlık* circle and the Kemalist staffs (*Kadro*) shaped the political culture of the early Republican period and to look closely at the power struggle between them.

Based on an analysis of the complete collection of the magazine *Aydınlık*, which was published between 1921 and 1925, and its related publications such as *Kurtuluş* and *Orak Çekiç*, this study seeks to answer the following questions: What is the Aydınlık circle's ideological and political perspective on the Kemalist government? What were the ups and downs of the Aydınlık circle's relations with the Kemalist government?

The research will consist of three main parts: first, the historical background and formation process of the Aydınlık circle. Second, 1921-1923: its relationship with the Kemalist movement during the War of Independence. Finally, 1923-1925: The rupture in relations after the proclamation of the Republic and the closure of Aydınlık. In the existing literature, studies on the early Turkish left have mostly focused on organizational history or personal memoirs. This thesis, on the other hand, makes an original contribution by proposing to read the *Aydınlık* circle's relationship with Kemalism through political practices and discourse analysis. Specifically, it treats the transformation between 1923 and 1925 as a struggle for hegemony between two modernization projects and not merely as a “story of suppression”.

1. **THE BACKGROUND OF *AYDINLIK***

***a) Kurtuluş* in Germany**

In the early 20th century, many young Ottoman intellectuals would go to Europe for education and academic studies. Especially during World War I, a large number of students, workers and soldiers were sent to countries such as Germany and Austria-Hungary, allies of the Committee of Union and Progress. These young intellectuals, who then went to Europe, were influenced by the political situation in the countries they visited and thus had the opportunity to meet various new intellectual movements. The young people who were in Europe during this period, and who would later form the *Kurtuluş* circle, came into contact with Marxist parties in particular and adopted this ideology.[[3]](#footnote-3) Students who adopted this ideology founded a Turkish Club in Berlin. In the club they founded, they discussed the view of socialism they were influenced by and prepared the intellectual infrastructure of the magazine they would establish here.[[4]](#footnote-4) Later, between 1919 and 1920, *Kurtuluş* magazine would publish 5 issues in Istanbul and 1 issue in Berlin.[[5]](#footnote-5) In short, the foundations of the magazine Kurtuluş and the Workers' and Farmers' Party of Turkey were laid by these young intellectuals in Germany.

Influenced by the revolution in Germany, these young people were looking for solutions to the chaotic situation in the Ottoman Empire. In the light of these ideas, this group founded the “Turkish Workers' and Farmers' Party” in Berlin and started to publish the magazine *Kurtuluş*.[[6]](#footnote-6)

The first issue of the magazine was published in Berlin on May 1, 1919, a day of symbolic importance for the workers' movement. The preface of the magazine praised the formation of Marxist thought. In short, the magazine Kurtuluş was composed of Turkish youth writing Marxist articles that were generally committed to socialist ideology.[[7]](#footnote-7) For example, the manifesto of the Workers' and Farmers' Party of Turkey, published at the end of the magazine, addressed to the “Proletariat of All Countries”, shows the united view of this circle. What makes this circle important is that they expressed not only Marxist and internationalist sentiments, but also Turkish nationalism and patriotic sentiments. This was because the historical circumstances of the period allowed these young intellectuals to combine in their minds the ideals of liberation of the Turkish nation from occupation and liberation of the Turkish proletariat from exploitation. One of the main reasons for this is that they were influenced by the German social democratic movement. However, the idea that they had *Spartacist[[8]](#footnote-8)* tendencies is a mere appellation. Because at that time every revolutionary in Germany was called a *Spartacist*. [[9]](#footnote-9)

Later, the group's activities in Berlin did not last long and the center of their work shifted to Istanbul, with most of the members returning home within a few weeks.[[10]](#footnote-10)

***b) Kurtuluş* in İstanbul**

This group from Germany had landed at Haydarpaşa Station in Istanbul on the Mediterranean ferry. Towards the end of July, the first activity of this group was to apply to the government to establish a socialist party in Turkey by adding the word “Socialist” to the name of the party established in Germany. Following this application, Kurtuluş, which emerged as a monthly magazine under the title *“Sosyalizmden Bahseder İlim ve Sanat Mecmuası”*, began its publication on September 20, 1919. After the first application process, a second application was made to the government, and the Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Party of Turkey[[11]](#footnote-11) counted September 22, 1919 as the founding day of the party.[[12]](#footnote-12) From September 1919 to February 1920, the magazine Kurtuluş published a total of 5 issues in Istanbul, focusing on justifying the leftist tendency and the necessity for Turkey to follow the development of European countries. For example, Dr. Şefik Hüsnü[[13]](#footnote-13)[[14]](#footnote-14), from his first articles, emphasized the importance and necessity of Turkey's economic development. Moreover, it mentions that leftist tendencies will eventually be included. In the opinion of this group, the word “proletariat”, which is one of the concepts of socialism, does not only refer to the industrial workers in the city. In making these definitions, Dr. Şefik Hüsnü adapted them to Turkish society and made a great deal of flexibility in the concepts in order to attract the masses to his view.[[15]](#footnote-15) Furthermore, in his article in which he explains the concept of proletariat, he mentions that intellectuals should support the concept of socialism for humanitarian reasons. In the second article written by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, he expresses his opinion on the existence of the class situation in Turkey and the points of conflict:

*"In our country, as in Europe, people are divided into classes according to their interests, traditions and needs, and we can reduce them to two main classes: Those who work and have nothing, and those who have everything and do not work." However, the existence of classes is not important as long as we do not recognize this. The individual struggle for livelihood becomes a social class struggle with class consciousness. "There is no salvation and no other way to salvation. There is only one path to liberation. Unless we learn who, we are and unite, the power of money will trample and trample on our clear and sacred rights until the end of time".[[16]](#footnote-16)*

As for the WFSPT, one of the first activities of this party was to create a common voice with other leftist groups. However, this attempt did not achieve much. After this fruitless attempt, they tried to create a unity among the workers' groups by controlling the “Turkish Workers' Association” and wanted to take advantage of the elections that would take place towards the end of the year. In the 1919 general elections, the WFSPT nominated one candidate each from Istanbul, Eskişehir, Niğde and İzmir.[[17]](#footnote-17)

The attempts made by the WFSPT were not successful and the publication life of Kurtuluş Magazine, which aimed to bring a new perspective to Turkish Socialism, was very short. It ceased publication with the fifth issue. On March 16, 1920, it was banned and closed down by the occupation of Istanbul or the Government of Damat Ferit Pasha.[[18]](#footnote-18)

**c) The Birth of *Aydınlık***

The *Aydınlık* group[[19]](#footnote-19), which did not engage in any publishing activities for fifteen months due to the closure of *Kurtuluş* Magazine and the occupation conditions, started publishing with *Aydınlık* Magazine, which it established on June 1, 1921, and made a strong comeback to publishing life with this magazine.[[20]](#footnote-20) Aydınlık Magazine included well-known communist intellectuals such as Vedat Nedim (Tör), Sadreddin Celal, Kerim Sadi, Şevket Aziz, Yaşar Nezihe, Nizameddin Ali, Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, Memduh Cevdet and Leman Sadreddin.[[21]](#footnote-21)[[22]](#footnote-22)

According to documents from the TÜSTAV Archives, the main goal of the Istanbul Communist Group was to publish a daily newspaper, rather than an intellectual magazine like *Aydınlık*, in order to convey their ideas to the target audience more easily. In fact, Şefik Hüsnü mentioned this issue in his report to the Third Congress of the Comintern[[23]](#footnote-23) and requested money from the Comintern for the daily newspaper. The Eastern Section wrote to the HRD on May 10, 1922 as follows:

*"The question of newspapers. We consider it necessary for you to start publishing a daily (or bi-daily) newspaper immediately. We have found it necessary to allocate ... (amount left blank) from our already limited resources for this purpose and we will try to help you in the future. The newspaper must be a workers' newspaper, not an intellectual newspaper. We emphasize the need to attach particular importance to the newspaper's links with workers' collectives. The life of workers locally, in general in Turkey and internationally must be given maximum space in the newspaper. The abstract political questions which occupy so much space in the columns of the bourgeois press must be minimized and dealt with in direct connection with the needs and efforts of the proletariat."[[24]](#footnote-24)*

As can be understood, instead of an intellectual journal (like *Aydınlık*), the Comintern demanded from the Aydınlık circle a daily or bi-daily workers' newspaper that would strengthen the workers' movement and the bonds between workers.

When the *Aydınlık* corpus is analysed, it is known that after 6 issues published in 1921, the magazine did not publish in the first half of 1922. We can say that the reason for this was the occupation conditions in Istanbul and the bans imposed by the Damat Ferit Government. This article will first analyse this first period. In this period, we can say that the Aydınlık Group was mostly engaged in intellectual and intellectual writings, as well as attempts to gather workers' organizations under a single roof. Especially after the magazine went on hiatus for a while, we see efforts to unite with workers' organizations and other Communist groups.

1. **RELATIONS DURING THE INDIPENDENCE WAR 1921-1923**
2. **Intellectual Structure of *Aydınlık* Magazine**

From the very first issue of Aydınlık Magazine, we come across the title “It is the first social, decent and literary magazine”. Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, who played an important role in the founding of this magazine, generally stands out with his political, sociological and ideological articles in Aydınlık. Sadreddin Celal[[25]](#footnote-25), the managing editor of the magazine, was interested in educational and cultural issues.[[26]](#footnote-26)

According to the formulation made by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü in his article *“Türkiye’de Toplumsal Sınıflar”* [[27]](#footnote-27)*,* in Turkey, until the Tanzimat period, politics dominated economic management in an irregular manner. He then divided the bourgeoisie into two classes: the wealthy nobility in the cities, members of the army and those who came from the administration. He also mentioned that there was a small bourgeoisie in small villages and towns. In Turkish society, there are urban workers and agricultural workers. In Europe, as class conflicts changed in favor of the oppressed and oppressors, the working class became a leader and an example. However, when we look at Turkey, this consciousness has not matured and is almost non-existent. According to Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, the reason for this situation is the lack of organization and organization.

In his article titled “The Necessity of Revolution in Turkey” in the fourth issue of Aydınlık, Şefik Hüsnü stated the following:

*"This opinion of ours is based on objective and positive observations and thoughts. The events and incidents recorded in history to date have shown that - no matter what some theorists and nationalist ideologues say - we are among the nations that have developed in accordance with the mentality and methods of the so-called ‘European civilization’, both in the fields of science and science and in matters of morality. We have neither created an original civilization, nor are we tied to an extinct one. The difference between us and the other nations of Europe is that there is always at least fifty years of distance between us and them on the path of progress, or that some innovator from within or pressure from outside - as if by grabbing us by the ear - tries to force us to go that distance. In this way, other nations have come to a deep conviction of our incompetence in matters other than warfare and have agreed that we are in need of tutelage."*

*"At the moment when European civilization has reached a turning point, we are about to pass a new test. Looking everywhere at the new dangers opening up before humanity, I fear that we are clinging to worn-out foundations, whose inadequacy, uselessness and even harm have been proven by experience and which are freshly similar to our own; that we are standing still while the world is changing. When we say revolution, we do not mean that we alone, against the tide of the world, carry the torch of humanity's salvation in our tired and weak arms, claiming to guide our fellow human beings. Such a move on our part would make us as ridiculous as ‘Don Quixote’. Our aim is to explain that Turkey needs to adapt its steps to the way the world is going.*

*At the beginning of this article, we explained how, like a leavened dough, all peoples everywhere are going through a period of revolutionary possibility, and that the conditions of post-war society require this mobility. It is necessary to complete this picture with a listing of important events. In these three years, there have been several major workers' movements in Central Europe, attempts at revolution, some of them even temporarily successful. In Italy, although the workers have not yet succeeded in their revolution, last year they felt strong and courageous enough to seize factories and large farms and showed that they were ripe for a decisive movement. So far, all these movements have been suppressed by the capitalist governments, but they have refrained from attempting to destroy the revolutionary forces altogether, for fear of further fuelling the existing fervor. The underground strikes in Britain were also ended by such maneuvers without a decisive result. The incessant general and partial work stoppages in Spain, in France, in Poland, are symptoms of this revolutionary situation. So far, the defeat of revolutionary attempts has been only an orderly retreat. While we wait for the final result, the material and moral forces are increasing day by day."[[28]](#footnote-28)*

Although Şefik Hüsnü states that he approaches the events objectively, it is obvious that he is biased. However, the situations he states clearly reflect the views of the Aydınlık Circle. To summarise, he states that our country is at least 50 years behind European countries and emphasises the need to follow the developments in Europe for the development of the country. He emphasised the effectiveness of the wind of change in Europe. Thus, he clearly stated that a revolution could take place together with the workers in the developing industrial zones. In the last part of the article, he emphasised the necessity of revolution as follows:

*“If there are those who think that a Turkish nation, which is obliged to live in this environment and to be in constant contact with these nations, can survive among societies which have changed their principles of administration and economy in accordance with new needs, with a state structure resembling a fiefdom and patched up with constitutionalism, they can only be charlatans who make jokes out of serious matters. If we cannot accept that tomorrow our neighbours will force us to accept the social provisions which are a necessity of the world economy and reduce us to the status of inferior people, we must start preparing our own revolution from today”.[[29]](#footnote-29)*

After putting forward these ideas, Şefik Hüsnü formulated the form of the revolution in his article entitled ‘The Form of Revolution in Turkey’ as follows:

*“The proletarian revolution, which will be realised by abolishing the individual's right to own property and allocating all assets, means of production and natural resources - such as air and water - for the public good, will create a one-class (or classless) society. This revolution, which will also take place in Turkey sooner or later, will reach its goal, like ‘every great revolution’, by following the following three-stage model:*

*1. The period of seizing power: Revolutionary measures and violence.*

*2. The period of suppressing the reactionary movements and malicious attempts of the class whose privileges have been taken away and of establishing a government suitable for educating the people in accordance with the principles of the ideal social order.*

*3. The period of the realisation of the original aim and ideal."[[30]](#footnote-30)*

According to Tunçay, the necessity of preventing abuses and unnecessary violence was emphasised, and he said that in countries in the stage of primitive capitalism mixed with feudalism, this stage of the social revolution was the most important and the most protracted. Under these conditions, if the urban proletariat comes to power, after declaring the means of production and transport, large buildings, mines and land the property of the nation; In order to render harmless the section of the classes in conflict of interest, which he described as ‘those who hold great offices and positions, fortunes, manors and farms, who are generally ready-made and forbidden eaters’, in addition to making the agricultural workers a partner in the government, the aim was to attract the petty bourgeoisie, i.e. ‘tradesmen, sellers and middle-class peasants who cultivate a few acres of land themselves, who use small capital and labour themselves, to the revolutionary front and thus achieve a majority. However, after a short period of time, the *Aydınlık* circle had to recognise that Kemalism was a kind of bourgeois movement that would hold power in Turkey in the long term and had to make its formulations in this context.[[31]](#footnote-31)

Aydınlık was subjected to the censorship of the occupation forces from the 6th issue published on 1 December 1921 and was suspended indefinitely. Later, on 20 July 1922, with its 7th issue, it made a comeback to its publishing life. During this 6-month period, the Aydınlık group attempted to unite workers' associations and trade unions.[[32]](#footnote-32)

1. **Aydınlık Group's Approach to the Ankara Government**

Until the end of the War of Independence, the Aydınlık circle resolutely supported the National Struggle waged by the Ankara Government. The best example of this is Sadreddin Celal's article ‘A Necessary Explanation’ in the fourth issue of Aydınlık. In this article, in which he responded to those who made unfounded claims about socialism and wanted to create a negative perception, especially *Akşam*, Sadreddin Celal defended socialist patriotism as follows:

*“Socialism is shown as the enemy of the homeland; socialists are accused of disrupting and disintegrating the unity that first manifested itself in our country in the form of patriotism. But if we think of justice, or rather if we know what socialism demands, we will realise that the socialists are the true and complete patriots, and they alone, for they are the only ones who want all the wealth of the fatherland to belong to all the labouring members of the nation.”[[33]](#footnote-33)*

Sadrettin Celal clearly demonstrated the ‘patriotism’ understanding of the Aydınlık circle. However, Dr Şefik Hüsnü, unlike Sadrettin Celal, approached the events in a more cold-blooded manner.

After the victory of the Ankara Government in the Battle of Sakarya and the Ankara Agreement with the French, he gained serious prestige. For this reason, Dr Şefik Hüsnü's article titled ‘The Necessity of Revolution in Turkey’ was published at this time. Dr Şefik Hüsnü strongly supported this struggle in Anatolia because he wanted to shape the new country to be established after the war according to his own socialist ambitions and did not want the administrative-economic transformations to be interrupted. For this reason, he did not harbour any open hostility towards the Kemalist nationalists. This strategic position taken by him is more along the lines of ‘guiding’. Dr Şefik Hüsnü's congratulatory article written after the Great Offensive clearly shows these tendencies:

*“A share of pride is due to those who managed the Anatolian peasants, who paid for this success with their own blood, in a good way. We wish that these skilful organisers, after completing the work of war and combat, prove that they really have a high spirit by helping the working class and the peasantry to exercise all their rights. Then they will deserve the gratitude of the whole nation.”[[34]](#footnote-34)*

Approximately eleven days after this article of Dr. Şefik Hüsnü published in Aydınlık magazine, he wrote the following in his article in Aydınlık magazine on 1 November 1922 upon Refet Pasha's arrival in Istanbul:

*“Refet Pasha made many speeches and put forward many ideas from the very first day. These ideas constituted the basic principles of a bourgeois revolution. In recent days, heated debates have started around these ideas. There is no doubt that those interested would like to know the thoughts and views of the magazine Aydınlık on this subject...*

*The Anatolian Revolution is far from satisfying those who believe that there is no other way to save this nation than a radical social revolution. Although we believe that many problems that need to be corrected will not be solved in the future, we have to say that these revolutionary initiatives, which we sincerely hope are sincere, are a great step forward compared to the present administration. And we consider it our conscientious duty to defend it against its conservative and traditionalist opponents.”[[35]](#footnote-35)*

Dr. Şefik Hüsnü emphasised that the Anatolian revolution would not only be political and that these problems would continue as long as there was no social revolution. Following this article, Dr. Şefik Hüsnü made a tactical move and sent a congratulatory telegram to the Turkish Grand National Assembly on behalf of the Workers‘ and Farmers’ Socialist Party of Turkey after the abolition of the sultanate (1 November 1922). [[36]](#footnote-36) Later, he received a reply from Adnan Adıvar, the Second President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly:

***“To the Grand National Assembly of Turkey,***

*The conscious workers of Istanbul heartily applauded the victory of the Turkish workers‘ and peasants’ armies, supported by the world proletariat, over world imperialism. They rejoiced even more deeply at the political revolution which followed the victory, with the establishment of the sovereignty of the nation in place of the reign of parasites and oppressors.*

*On this occasion, we condemn with abhorrence the reactionary attitude observed among the intelligentsia of Istanbul; we pledge that the entire working class will unite with the revolutionaries to the end in the struggle for progress; and we congratulate the deputies, expressing our strong belief in the realisation in the near future of the social revolution based on common production and property, which is the only solution that will lead our workers and farmers to real emancipation.*

***On behalf of the Workers‘ and Farmers’ Socialist Party of Turkey,***

***Dr Şefik Hüsnü’***

Adnan (Adıvar) replied as follows:

***Dersaadet (Istanbul) Workers‘ and Farmers’ Socialist Party***

***‘To Dr Şefik Hüsnü Bey,***

*The telegram you sent on the occasion of the proclamation of the decree, which, with the abolition of the personal sultanate, made it certain that the sovereignty rights belonged to the nation and that this right was embodied in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, has been presented to the General Assembly.*

*Thank you, sir, for the congratulations on the national sovereignty, which aims at and guarantees the unhindered march of our nation on the path of progress.*

*18 and 19 November 1922*

*Second President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey*

***Adnan”.****[[37]](#footnote-37)*

It was a natural process for the Aydınlık circle to support the Kemalists, who were on an anti-imperialist side, and there is no doubt that the WFSPT and Şefik Hüsnü, who welcomed developments such as the abolition of the sultanate, were sincere in their telegrams to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. [[38]](#footnote-38) However, it must be understood that the Aydınlık circle are aware of the situation they will eventually face and therefore avoid being the party that will start the conflict (The Ankara Government represents the capitalist and bourgeoisie. When we look at the Aydınlık circle, they represent the socialist and Marxist-Leninist view. For this reason, their approach to events and methods are very different from each other).

At the same time, they never failed to criticise and warn about the direction of the Kemalists' revolution. What they cared about was that the social revolution, which was likely to follow the political revolution, should not encounter any problems. In short, the tactical goal of the Aydınlık Group here is to render the reactionary structures and institutions left over from the Ottoman Empire dysfunctional together with the Kemalist nationalists; the strategic goal is to form a front against the national bourgeoisie and imperialism together with the international labour movements and proletarian elements affiliated to the Comintern.[[39]](#footnote-39)

The different approaches between the *Aydınlık* circle and Kemalist nationalists did not end there. Namely, for the Kemalists and Turkish nationalists, the Greek forces, with whom they fought in the war, represented a homogenous structure. However, for the *Aydınlık* circle, the Greek nation was the same as any other nation. For them, the distinction was divided into bourgeoisie and proletariat. Therefore, those who fought the Turks did not represent the Greek nation as a whole, but only the Greek bourgeoisie with imperialist aspirations. According to the *Aydınlık* Circle, the Greek workers had no direct involvement in this war. In short, rather than considering the Greek nation and the Greeks as an enemy as a whole, the *Aydınlık* Circle found it reasonable to consider them as two different classes, the Greek imperialists and the Greek labourers, emphasising that the real enemy was the Greek capitalists.[[40]](#footnote-40)

Following these developments, the *Aydınlık* group would begin to prepare for the Economic Congress to be held in İzmir.

1. ***Aydınlık* Group in Izmir Economic Congress**

The *Aydınlık* group took an interest in the Turkish Economic Congress held in İzmir on 17 February-4 March 1923. They provided guidance to the delegates and villagers going to the congress through *Aydınlık* magazine. Şefik Hüsnü explained his views and suggestions regarding the Izmir Economic Congress in *Aydınlık* issue 13 as follows:

*“The real owners and masters of this country are the workers and peasants. The only wealth in Turkey, apart from what nature contains, is the labour power of our people.*

*Unfortunately, this labour power is not yet in a position to rule itself. The class of domestic capitalists, who do not have even the slightest share in production activities, have succeeded in accumulating many national values in their hands. This class, in co-operation with European capitalists, uses and exploits our working people as slaves.*

*If we are really determined to develop our economy, to advance our industry, to produce so much that we will no longer need to import manufactured goods from abroad, we must not forget for a moment that we must begin this great enterprise with nothing but the natural resources of our land and the ability of our people to work. In order to modernise our country, to transform it into a centre of civilisation, we must conclude such an agreement with international capital that we shall represent labour almost exclusively. If we are not cautious enough and do not act from this point of view, we may face the danger of selling the nation to foreign capitalists without realising it in the contracts we will sign. It is for this reason that we have long insisted that the Turkish state must be a labour state.*

*Therefore, when formulating an economic policy for ourselves, the centre of gravity of the factors to be taken into account must be labour = labour force. Our aim is to ensure that the natural and industrial values which our working people will produce or make available for exploitation will soon be fully and unconditionally owned by our peasants and workers. The rights and privileges which we shall grant to foreign or domestic capitals over our wealth resources and in the establishment of certain industrial plants must be limited to short periods of time and must not restrict our freedom of action in such a way as to hinder the general production programmes which we may have to implement afterwards. All owners of capital must strictly observe the labour regulations which define working conditions in the finest detail and protect workers from material and moral ruin.”[[41]](#footnote-41)[[42]](#footnote-42)*

In the field of agriculture, demands included the establishment of state farms and co-operative farms, the distribution of land to landless peasants so that they could own land, the creation of agricultural communes and the establishment of village banks to support small and middle-class peasants. In addition, the demands put forward by industrial workers were compiled in a detailed list. The Izmir Economic Congress, which was attended by 1,135 delegates elected from agriculture, industry, trade and labour groups from all over Turkey, was dominated by an atmosphere of wannabe capitalism. At the congress, decisions such as customs protection, industrial credits, favourable transport tariffs and the development of technical education were taken. On the other hand, only a few of the proposals from the *Aydınlık* circle found space, perhaps one tenth of the proposals accepted for other groups, including the ‘Economic Principles of the Workers’ Group’.[[43]](#footnote-43)

Following the Izmir Economic Congress, a development would take place that would be important for the *Aydınlık* group and, of course, for the WFSPT. On 1 April 1923, with the dissolution of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, it was decided to hold new elections. Following this development, the WFSPT resumed its activities. Şefik Hüsnü, the leader of *Aydınlık*, saw these elections as an important opportunity and emphasised that the policy to be pursued by the leftists should go in parallel with the national revolutionaries.[[44]](#footnote-44) The reason for this, as I mentioned before, was that they adopted such a tactical and strategic move in order to avoid confrontation with the Ankara Government and in line with the requests from the Comintern. On 15 April 1923, the WFSPT Provisional Administrative Board, which started its activities in Istanbul, published a declaration in accordance with the views expressed here, and called the ‘Workers, Farmers and Moderate People of Turkey’ to the party. Afterwards, the rules to be followed were listed.[[45]](#footnote-45)

Following these developments, the Ankara government had already silenced the Anatolian left, which it had once tolerated. The main reason for this was that the members of the first parliament could criticise Mustafa Kemal harshly. However, Mustafa Kemal's circle, which gained strength after the War of Independence, would never give room for such criticism in the new cabinet he would form and would deal a heavy blow to the opposition. The Aydınlık group would also be affected by these developments.[[46]](#footnote-46) Following this development, Turkish delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern sharply criticised these developments.[[47]](#footnote-47) Despite these criticisms, *Aydınlık* seemed to have little choice but to support Mustafa Kemal in accordance with Comintern decisions. Entering the first half of the new year, this was the first blow that the *Aydınlık* circle would receive from the Ankara government.

1. **First blow from the Ankara government**

The *Aydınlık* group was dealt its first blow by the Ankara government on 1 May 1923. According to Kitaigorodsky, the Ismet Pasha government used 1 May as an opportunity to crush the developing communist movement in Istanbul.[[48]](#footnote-48) After determining that the declaration, *“included overthrowing the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and opposing its legitimacy, describing the current system of government in hostile terms, openly speaking of “workers power”, encouraging workers to protest against the government's actions, wishing for the destruction of the Turkish bourgeoisie that imprisoned Communist leaders, directing and inciting workers to a violent struggle with the aim of changing the current form of government and replacing it with a Communist government...”* approximately 20 people, including the WFSPT leader, general director and a number of members, were arrested.[[49]](#footnote-49) The *Aydınlık* group was accused of changing the form of government, disrupting the social and political order in Turkey and inciting Turkish workers to revolt by spreading communist doctrines in collaboration with foreign states*.*[[50]](#footnote-50) At this time, an interesting comment came from the famous novelist Yakup Kadri. Yakup Kadri wrote the following article in the *İkdam* newspaper about the need to favour some Communists:

*“The communist case that was recently heard at the Istanbul Second Criminal Court of First Instance shows us that we are facing a completely unjustified and unnecessary danger. While the Turkish world is not yet completely free from external dangers and has just established its national unity, there is no reason to justify the actions of those who attempt such anarchic movements.*

*However, when we see the names of the defendants in the court minutes published in the newspapers, we come to the following conclusion: In this case, some vagabonds who really tried to commit communism have been confused with a few enlightened Turkish youths whose socialism remained only at an intellectual and theoretical level. This is nothing to be proud of in the new Turkey, the vanguard of the most advanced principles and the most enthusiastic movements of populism.*

*In the world of science, thought and literature in Europe today, there are many respected and high personalities who advocate the theories of Karl Marx, who openly profess to be socialists or communists, and who even belong to organisations with that name. However, these qualities have never made them accused. Among them are such distinguished figures as Romain Rolland, who, during the First World War, wrote in all the anti-war magazines and newspapers published in Switzerland about love of humanity, peace and even German-French friendship; when he returned home, he was not subjected to any interrogation.*

*Sincere men of thought, whatever their views, must always be respected. Because ideas are sacred and one idea can only be defeated by another idea.*

*Therefore, we hope that politician communists and idealist socialists will not be treated in the same way in court, and that punks who distribute dangerous leaflets and young people who once wrote for Kurtuluş or Aydınlık magazines will not sit side by side in the same dock.*

***- Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974)***

***In the ‘Tahlil ve Terkip’ column of İkdam newspaper,***

***1 June 1923”[[51]](#footnote-51)***

As can be understood from this article written by Yakup Kadri, he emphasised that politician communists and idealist socialists should not be judged in the same way. Later, as can be understood from Sadrettin Celal's article in the sixteenth issue of Aydınlık magazine published in June 1923, the arrested communist group was released in a short time:

*“Some citizens, accused of attempting to overthrow the government and make a communist revolution, appeared before the court like murderers with traitor stamps on their foreheads, handcuffs on their hands, gendarmes with bayonets around them. Accused of treason, that is, of endangering not only the life, property and honour of one person, but perhaps the life, independence, honour and honour of an entire homeland and nation - these citizens were acquitted in court.”[[52]](#footnote-52)*

However, this acquittal was based on the technical grounds that the Law on Treason was not duly published and announced in Istanbul. Nevertheless, this verdict pleased the Aydınlık group and their release encouraged them to focus their efforts on the labour movement. In fact, the activities of the Aydınlık circle towards the labour movement dated back to a few months before this date. In addition to industrialists, farmers and merchants, a labour group also took part in the Izmir Economic Congress and this group was represented by Şefik Hüsnü. Due to the presence of Şefik Hüsnü at the congress, the influence of the Aydınlık circle on this group was felt quite clearly.[[53]](#footnote-53)

After these processes, Şefik Hüsnü, writing in *Aydınlık*, advocated radical reforms to protect the rights of labour and the people, to ensure economic independence through strong organisations (trade unions, cooperatives) and to keep foreign capital under control. He emphasised that the Parliament should take these steps and gain the confidence of the people.[[54]](#footnote-54)

1. ***AYDINLIK* IN THE REPUBLIC 1923-1925**
2. **Towards the end of 1923**

Towards the end of 1923, Dr. Şefik Hüsnü and Vedat Nedim, who came to the fore with his economic articles in Aydınlık magazine, emphasised the importance of economic independence against imperialism. The main reason for this article of Vedat Nedim can be said to be the hot developments in the Ankara Government.[[55]](#footnote-55) Vedat Nedim said in his article:

*"The idea that Turkey is an agricultural country is deeply rooted in the minds of both locals and foreigners. However, the scientific meaning of the term ‘agricultural country’ (agrarian land) is used for countries where the value of agricultural production exceeds the value of industrial production and which are able to meet their imports with this surplus.*

*Turkey, on the other hand, is dependent on the agricultural products and processed foods of other countries in order to feed its people, let alone to pay for its imports with its surplus agricultural production. Before the war, our imports of wheat and flour alone accounted for 20 per cent of our total imports and amounted to 80 million marks.*

*As can be seen, Turkey is a mere consumer market, and because of this character it is always susceptible to colonisation. The political independence and freedom for which Anatolian soldiers are shedding blood today can only be established on a solid economic foundation. A nation whose economic value is only ‘consumption’ is doomed to lose its political sovereignty and freedom. As a matter of fact, history has never failed to prove this cruel iron law of the capitalist world wrong.”[[56]](#footnote-56)*

The news that pleased the Aydınlık group was the official entry of the Turkish army into Istanbul on 6 October 1923. However, Şefik Hüsnü did not hide his concerns about this changing situation and said:

*“ ... it is understood from newspaper reports and discussions that it is a matter of likening Turkey to the existing republics in Europe and America, which are nothing but monarchies without dynasties. As is well known, these republics are nothing but class governments most favourable to the bourgeoisie.’*

*‘Even the National Assembly does not have the right to make such an attempt ... And we are sure that the person who occupies the highest office of the state and is the hero of our revolution will personally oppose such a deviation and will use his great influence and power to deepen and reinforce the revolution in the direction it has taken.” [[57]](#footnote-57)*

As can be seen, Şefik Hüsnü evaluated the Ankara Government as a Soviet-type popular administration. Analysing the current situation of the cabinet of Fethi Bey, he concludes his article with a pessimistic tone. On the contrary, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, on the contrary, sees this republic as the main target of the revolution. In the following years, he would continue with radical changes, especially in the cultural field. These developments were a devastation for the Aydınlık circle. From now on, this group would completely lose its hopes of directing the government as a real people's government and would not even touch domestic political issues for a long time. As a matter of fact, in the following period, the People's Party would increasingly be regarded as the representative of the bourgeois administration.[[58]](#footnote-58)

The November 1923 issue of *Aydınlık* was devoted to the fifth anniversary of the Soviet revolution of 1917 and did not mention the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey. For the next two months the magazine did not or could not appear. The movement for the unification of the workers, which I have already mentioned above as having been undertaken by the milieu, has now succeeded, and a congress has been convened in Istanbul with 250 delegates present. Organised in 34 trade unions and said to represent 19,000 workers from Istanbul, 15,000 workers from the Zonguldak coal basin and 10,000 workers from the Balya-Karaaydın Lead Mines, this congress decided to establish the ‘Turkish Amele Union’. However, the government refused to recognise the Union. [[59]](#footnote-59)

1. **Relations in 1924**

In 1924, an important development in the Aydınlık group was that Şevket Süreyya[[60]](#footnote-60) and Nazım Hikmet, who had been studying in Russia, returned home in the summer of 1924 and joined *Aydınlık* magazine. Because, in 1924, *Aydınlık* magazine started to write in a different style. In addition to analysing and criticising the events taking place in the country, the magazine also included articles on the Soviet system and Marxist theory.[[61]](#footnote-61) The best example of this is the special place given to Lenin, who died on 21 January 1924, in Issue 20 of Aydınlık.[[62]](#footnote-62) After the special issue in honour of Lenin, Aydınlık magazine was not published for two months. However, the activities of the Aydınlık circle did not stop. For example, Dr Şefik Hüsnü, under the pseudonym ‘O. Masdar’, wrote on 3 March 1924, precisely on the day when the caliphate was abolished and the deputies of ‘Sharia and Awqaf’ and ‘Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye’ were abolished. It was sent to the Eastern Branch of the Executive Committee of the Communist International with a ‘top secret’ record. In this report, we see Şefik Hüsnü's six-month view of the Republic. The report summarises his analyses as follows: The government led by Mustafa Kemal is carrying out radical reforms to eliminate feudal and monarchical structures. These reforms include, firstly, the separation of religion and state affairs, the abolition of Sharia courts, the closure of tekke and madrasahs, the abolition of the caliphate and the exile of the Ottoman dynasty. Secondly, within this Nationalist party there are conflicts between radicals, liberals and conservatives. The opposition is not yet strong, but it is foreseen that a united opposition bloc may emerge in the future. Thirdly, there is weakness in the organisation of the working class. Communists are trying to infiltrate the trade unions, but due to government pressure and distrust among workers, full organisation has not been achieved. There have been partial successes in strikes, but the government and bosses have tended to suppress them. Fourthly, the Communist Party, whose legal activities are limited, continues to exist through secret organisations. Among the party members, intellectual youth predominate, while labour participation is limited. The Central Committee is active in Istanbul and endeavours to unite other communist groups. Finally, there are efforts to establish regular links with the Communist International, but there are logistical difficulties. The need for publications and financial support is emphasised.

In this report, Şefik Hüsnü described the reforms as a ‘bourgeois democratic revolution’, but emphasised that they did not receive enough support from the popular base. At the end of the report, he argues that tactically and strategically, in the short term, it is necessary to co-operate with Mustafa Kemal's government because they played a ‘progressive’ role with the reforms. In the long term, it aims for a proletarian revolution, and therefore the organisation and consciousness raising of the class is seen as a priority.[[63]](#footnote-63)

After this two-month break, Aydınlık magazine resumed its activities in May. By November, it was observed that some political deadlocks had begun in the newly established Young Republic. Şefik Hüsnü, who closely followed these developments, drew attention to the silence before the storm by examining the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party against the People's Party on 17 November 1924 and analysed the situation from the perspective of Marxist sociology. In this context:

*“The history of Turkey since the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 is the history of the struggles of the emerging petty bourgeoisie against various regimes of oppression and tyranny. This entrepreneurial class first sided with the Constitutionalist movement aiming to overthrow Abdülhamit, who had prevented its rise, and then fought uninterruptedly against the absolute monarchy and those who used this office.*

*The most economically advanced part of the bourgeoisie adopted the programme of political reaction, while the other part of the bourgeoisie, which was not yet capitalised, was determined to carry out a populist revolution. Thus, we are now ‘on the eve of a bitter family quarrel between two opposing factions of the Turkish bourgeoisie”.[[64]](#footnote-64)*

In this part of his analysis, Şefik Hüsnü analyses why the capitalist bourgeoisie, which he identifies with backwardness, in countries like Turkey lacks the progressive and revolutionary qualities attributed to its Western counterparts in Marxist theory. This is not because the Turkish capitalist class is religious or attached to traditional values; on the contrary, ‘the leaders of this class are fully modernised, Europeanised personalities in terms of their livelihood, mentality and social perceptions’. Even their literature is far from the Turkish perspective and national spirit.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Following these articles, although Aydınlık magazine carried out activities to establish workers' unions in 1922-23, it was not a publication that fully addressed the workers. From time to time, although labour rights were mentioned in its articles, it could not fully meet this need. For this reason, it was criticised by the Fifth Comintern and with the effect of these criticisms, after the second half of 1924, it tried to publish small ‘Extraordinary Workers’ Copies’ containing pictures, news, letters, criticism and comments only for workers at irregular intervals.[[66]](#footnote-66) Later, a separate ‘Weekly Political Workers’ and Peasants‘ Newspaper’ was started to be published under the name *Orak Çekiç* as of 21 January 1925.[[67]](#footnote-67)

1. ***Orak Çekiç*: 1925**

*Orak Çekiç* continued its publication life as an agitation-propaganda newspaper for the working class as of 21 January 1925, following the *“Fevkalade Amele Nüshaları”*. The magazine, which focused its editorial policy on daily labour problems, mostly published unsigned articles. In these articles, in addition to defending workers' rights, the negative attitudes of the Ankara Government towards the working class were also criticised. The magazine adopted an attitude that questioned the social policies of the government, especially by bringing the problems of the working class to the forefront*.*[[68]](#footnote-68) For example, the article titled ‘Worker Politic of the Government’ in the third issue, after stating that the labour policies pursued by the People's Party government, which was in the process of bourgeoisisation, were nothing but diplomacy, or more precisely defeatism, continues as follows:

*“The Anatolian bourgeoisie, which has surrounded the government and the government party, is running after the aim of converting the feelings of nationalism aroused by the struggle for independence into cash and by this means to rise to the position of big capitalists”.[[69]](#footnote-69)*

In this article, they described the People's Party as exploitative and wanted to raise awareness and organise the peasant and working classes against these situations.

In the seventh and last issue of *Orak Çekiç* published on 5 March 1925, the Sheikh Said Rebellion was strongly opposed and this movement was described as ‘bigotry’ and ‘reactionism’. The magazine said that *‘The turbans of the bigots should be shrouds for the bigot community! Down with the bigots, aghas, sheikhs, caliphs and sultans!’*, the rebellion was strongly condemned. This sharp attitude of the *Aydınlık* circle against the reactionary movement was repeated with similar discourses in the following periods of the Republic. However, due to the government's suppression of the opposition press, its pursuit of anti-communist policies and its exclusion of leftist thought in the discussions on peasantism, this consensus with the government could not be permanent. As a matter of fact, the criticism of ‘backwardness’ used in opposing the Sheikh Said Rebellion turned into a tool of opposition to the government's policies in time. Although *Orak Çekiç* and other leftist opposition publications saw the Sheikh Said Rebellion as an ‘uprising of reactionaries’, with the enactment of the Takrir-i Sükûn Law, it was detached from legal grounds and pushed into illegality. The first article of the law restricted the freedom of the press to a great extent with the provision *‘The government, with the approval of the President of the Republic, may directly ban and refer to the Independence Courts those who carry out actions, publications and propaganda aimed at rebellion, insurrection and disrupting the social order of the country’*, and *Orak Çekiç* was deeply affected by this process*.* [[70]](#footnote-70)

1. **Silencing the Left: “Takrir-i Sükun Law”**

The newspapers ‘*Aydınlık’* and ‘*Orak* *Çekiç’* were closed down on 12 March 1925 by a decision of the Council of Ministers on the grounds that they were spreading communist propaganda*.*[[71]](#footnote-71) Leftist writers Şefik Hüsnü and Namık Kemal preferred to flee abroad for fear of arrest. Şevket Süreyya, on the other hand, chose to stay in Turkey by ‘tying his fate to his homeland’.[[72]](#footnote-72)

Following the trials, Electrician Nuri, Şevki Bey, İbrahim Hilmi, Samih Bey, Nuri Haydar Bey and Sadrettin Celal were sentenced to 7 years in prison; Şevket Süreyya, Abdi Recep, Hüseyin Hikmet, Mümtaz Bey, Pharmacist Vasıf Bey and Süleyman Necati to 10 years in prison; Cevdet Bey, Nazım Hikmet, Hasan Ali and Şefik Hüsnü to 15 years in prison. While the writers who went abroad during this period continued their communist propaganda and anti-Turkey publications, the intellectuals detained in the country and the media organs closed down almost completely paralysed the leftist press. Şefik Hüsnü and Kitaygorodiski, the Comintern's Turkey expert, openly criticised the Turkish government in their writings. In fact, Şefik Hüsnü's article ‘Communist Movement in Turkey’, published on 25 October 1926, described the arrests as ‘Kemalist terror’. Exactly 18 months after the arrests in May 1925 - on the occasion of the Republic Day - all leftist prisoners were released as a result of a legal regulation. Most of those released from prison wanted to continue their political activities, while those who were not affected by the events were already continuing their struggle. However, 1925 was an irrevocable turning point for the leftist movement.[[73]](#footnote-73)

According to Tunçay, ‘the Turkish left, which was pushed out of the sphere of legality, is no longer the old left. For one thing, the life of imprisonment or exile, or the fear of them, has been an ordeal for those who wanted to bring a different solution to the problems of Turkish society. Secondly, Turkey is no longer in a ‘political system’; it has entered a ‘period of administration’ that will last for twenty years. On the other hand, Stalin, who established his personal dictatorship in the Soviet Union, started to keep the Communists under strict discipline through the Comintern, as he did in other parts of the world. Apart from these, conditions in Turkey do not seem to be favourable for remaining within the left.[[74]](#footnote-74)

In short, it can be said that conditions have changed, people have changed, techniques have changed and an era in the history of the Turkish left has closed.

**CONCLUSION**

When we look at the last fifty years of leftist literature, we see that it has undergone many changes and transformations as a reflection of both political struggles and cultural transformations. Following the 1960 coup d'état, many leftist publications were active, and despite the 1971 memorandum, the leftist movement became mass with the magazines *Ant*, *Yön* and *Devrim*. However, with the 1980 coup d'état, the left was almost orphaned. Although the writings written in prison and the writings of Turkish leftists in exile continued during this period, the Left suffered a serious blood loss. Later, in the 90s, concepts such as identity politics, Kurdishism and postmodernism came to the fore. In this period, feminist leftist writers were influential in the literary world in Turkey. At the turn of the millennium, the neoliberal policies of the AKP came to the fore. Although leftist publications continued, it can be observed that they followed a moderate strategy in political struggles. In short, left literature in Turkey has evolved from class struggle to identity politics. The focal point of this study is, in the words of Rasih Nuri İleri, 1919 and after, when the left started to institutionalise in Turkey. This study analyses the political struggles, tense relations and strategic moves between the Aydınlık circle and the Ankara government in the years 1921-1925. As a result of these examinations and analyses, the following findings were reached:

Firstly, during the period of the War of Independence (1921-1923), although Aydınlık perceived the Kemalist movement as an extension of the Committee of Union and Progress, it defined and supported the Kemalist movement as an anti-imperialist force due to its struggle in Anatolia. They gave theoretical support to this struggle in Anatolia and defined Ankara's struggle against imperialism as a just struggle. They considered it appropriate to complete the workers‘ and peasants’ rights together with the social revolution they hoped would take place in the future, but in the conjuncture of the moment, they found it strategically correct to act together with Kemalist nationalists against the common enemy. Later, in the Izmir Economic Congress held in 1923, they sent labour representatives to this conference and voiced their demands such as land reform. However, the fundamental difference between the Kemalists' understanding of the bourgeoisie and the socialist internationalist views of the Aydınlık group shows that the relations would not be sustainable in the long term.

Secondly, after the proclamation of the Republic (1923-1925), as the Ankara government sought to strengthen its authority, the Aydınlık group increased its calls for social revolution. The arrest of the writers of Aydınlık magazine on 1 May 1923 under the Law on Treason and Patriotism was the first signal of Kemalist nationalists' intolerance towards leftist opposition. In 1924, the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) led the Aydınlık circle to describe and criticise the Ankara government as a ‘bourgeois dictatorship’. In 1925, with the Takrir-i Sükun Law, the Ankara government dealt a serious blow to the Left opposition. With this law, which was enacted in the aftermath of the Sheikh Said Rebellion, the magazines *Aydınlık* and *Orak Çekiç* were closed down. Aydınlık writers such as Nazım Hikmet and Şevket Süreyya were sentenced to prison. With these developments, legal socialist activities in Turkey officially came to an end.

When it comes to the shortcomings of this study, firstly, the views of the authors writing in the journals *Aydınlık*, *Kurtuluş* and *Orak Çekiç* were included, but the views of any journal or thinker close to the Kemalist side were not included. Secondly, French and Russian manuscripts were not included in this study due to the language barrier, and the Comintern and similar reports translated by Tunçay and Akbulut were not sufficiently included.

In conclusion, the relationship between the *Aydınlık* circle and the Ankara government is a struggle between two different modernisation projects in their respective contexts. While Kemalism pursued the goals of capitalist modernisation and nation-state building, the *Aydınlık* circle dreamed of a proletarian revolution and a classless society. However, the weakness of the working class in Turkey, the rise of the Ankara government and the lack of support from the international socialist movement made the defeat of the *Aydınlık* milieu foreseeable. The silencing of the left in 1925 shaped the character of the one-party era of the Republic and led to the marginalisation of the left movement in Turkey for many years. This historical experience is critical for understanding why socialism failed to become a mass political force in Turkey and the repressive reflexes of the Ankara government on the opposition.

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**PERIODICALS**

*TÜSTAV* FERİDUN GÜRGÖZ SÜRELİ YAYINLAR ARŞİVİ, Aydınlık (1921)

**WEBSITES**

Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/summary/Third-International>.

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1. *Kurtuluş*, Anadolu Yayınları, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The year 1910 was particularly important for socialism because many works, such as *Le Socialisme Notions Elementaires*, were translated into Turkish and published. In addition, the Ottoman Socialist Party was founded in 1910.See, Çetinkaya, *Osmanlı’da Marksizm*, 27-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Akal, *Moskova-Ankara-Londra Üçgeninde*, 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. "Beyond Armistice Istanbul, the founders of the Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Party of Turkey can be traced back to the Turks in Berlin during the most painful days of the World War defeat. Berlin, where Unionist leaders were living away from their homeland, was shaken by the sounds of revolution. The influence of the Spartacists during this painful period is undeniable. In Berlin, there was a Turkish Club chaired by Mr. Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver). Young people who were studying in Germany met each other here and grouped together. Among them, 7-8 young people “founded the ”Workers' and Farmers' Party of Turkey“ under the influence of the ideology adopted by the Soviet Union, the only country that supported Mustafa Kemal at that time”. See, Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, 483. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *Kurtuluş*, Anadolu Yayınları, 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye Komünist Partinin Kuruluşu*, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist Grubu*, 13-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. The Spartakus League was a radical left-wing movement that broke away from the German Social Democratic Party and included well-known leaders such as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and Clara Zetkin. Although it adopted the name of the German Communist Party at the beginning of 1919, it differed ideologically from the Bolshevik view in many ways. (Conservative officers of the old Imperial army, taking advantage of the SPD government's connivance, violently suppressed the movement by killing Spartacist leaders on January 15, 1919.) The circle that published the *Kurtuluş* magazine was generally left-leaning, but did not find it necessary to engage in deep theoretical discussions. See, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 297-298. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. “According to Mete Tunçay and Erden Akbulut, *Spartakusbund* was an extreme leftist group that had separated from the German Social Democratic Party and had well-known leaders such as K. Liebknecht, C. Zetkin, F. Mehring and R. Luxemburg. Although this group had taken the name of the German Communist Party on New Year’s Eve 1919, it differed from the Bolshevik view in many respects in terms of its ideology. The group that brought about Kurtuluş generally adopted a leftist orientation but did not feel the need to focus on fine theoretical points. After the members of the WFPT returned to their homeland, it was said that some of them had fought in uprisings as mercenaries on behalf of the Spartacists while in Germany, and they were referred to as “Turkish Spartacists” and “Ankara Spartacists”. Even if these rumors were true, using this name in an ideological sense is not exactly correct. Throughout 1919 and later, it became customary in Germany to call every revolutionary a “*Spartakist*”. Thus, a completely wrong idea was created about the power of the Spartacists and things they did not agree with were not tolerated. was attributed.” Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye Komünist Partinin Kuruluşu*, 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol Akımlar*, 298. As an interesting piece of information, on the day Mustafa Kemal Pasha landed in Samsun from the *Bandırma* steamer, the Kurtuluş group coming from Germany also landed in Haydarpaşa from the *Akdeniz* steamer. See Erden Akbulut, Mete Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist Grubu*, 16 [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. From now on, it will continue with the abbreviation WFSPT (Worker and Farmer Socialist Party of Turkey). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol Akımlar*, 298-300. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Şefik Hüsnü was born in Selanik, 1887. He completed high school in Selanik and attended M. Graud College, where he studied French. In 1905, he returned to France to further his medical education, eventually becoming a doctor of neurology. During his tenure as a Young Turk, he represented students at meetings held in Paris. In Paris, he first learned about socialist beliefs from French socialist leaders Jean Jaurès and Georges Clemenceau. See, Başaran, *National Question*, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. After coming to Türkiye in 1912, he worked as a doctor in the Red Crescent. He served as a medical captain during the Battle of Gallipoli. In September 1919, he founded the WPSPT in Istanbul with a group of young revolutionaries from Germany and assumed its general secretaryship; he played a leading role in the emergence of Kurtuluş, the party's publication organ. See Sol, 8. Cilt, 118. Atılgan, *Aydınlık İçinde*, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol Akımlar*, 301. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Erden Akbulut ve Mete Tunçay’ın, Kurtuluş, sayı 3 (20 Teşrinisani 1919), 45 ve 47, according to what was reported, Şefik Hüsnü wrote this article under the title of “Today’s Proletariat and Class Consciousness”. See Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Komünist*, 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Komünist*, 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Öcal, *Şefik Hüsnü Değmer’den*, 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. The Aydınlık group was an intellectual and political circle that was active in Türkiye between 1921 and 1925 and defended socialist and Marxist-Leninist ideas. Led by important intellectuals such as Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, Sadrettin Celal, Vedat Nedim, Nazım Hikmet and Şevket Süreyya, this group was organized around the Aydınlık magazine and aimed to defend the rights of the working class and bring about a socialist revolution in Turkey. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. "In Türkiye, follow the *Aydınlık* magazine regularly every month, which scientifically examines national and international workers' movements and explains the principles of Marxism, and do not miss the opportunity to read the treatises it publishes (Bourgeois Democracy, Capitalist Regulation, Socialism and Development, Trade Union Issues, Turkey and Social Revolution). For orders: Application should be made to the Aydınlık Directorate at number 71 on Bab-ı Ali Street”. See Sadi, *Türkiye’de Sosyalizmin*, 587. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Türkiye’de Sosyalist ve Komünist Hareketler*, 90 as cited: Öcal, “Şefik Hüsnü Değmer’den”, 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 308. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Founded in 1919, the Comintern is an organization that tries to export the Soviet system to the world through socialists in other countries. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Comintern Summary | Britannica.” Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d. <https://www.britannica.com/summary/Third-International>. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. *TÜSTAV Komintern Arşivi Döküm 1*, CD No: 33, Klasör No: 1-6, Belge No: 14-15 as cited: Akbulut, M. Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 1.cilt, 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Sadrettin Celal (Antel) was born in Istanbul and is the son of Mehmed Celâlettin Bey, a lawyer and minister of justice. He started his education at the Istanbul Numûne-yi Terakkî İdâdîsi, then continued at the Mekteb-i Hukuk School and received his high school and university education in France. He studied at important institutions such as the Lycée Louis-Le-Grand, Ecole Normale d'Auteuil and Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint Cloud in France, and also attended Émile Durkheim's pedagogy classes at the Sorbonne University.

    After returning to Türkiye in 1913, he was appointed director of the Adana Dârülmuallimîni and worked as a director and teacher in various schools. In 1919, he became a member of the Turkish Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Party, wrote articles in leftist magazines and was sentenced to seven years in prison for his political activities, but was pardoned 18 months later.

    From 1926 onwards, he intensified his work in the field of education, worked as a translator at the Ministry of Education and contributed to educational reforms. The report he prepared while in prison, "A Memorandum on the Organization of Education", shaped the educational policies of the period. In addition, Decroly made important translations that introduced the educational system to Türkiye and wrote works in this field.

    He made important contributions to the Turkish educational system with his books such as Pedagogy, New Education and Tedris Teknik ve Test Usulü. He particularly defended concepts such as student-centered education, mass education and active school, and made efforts for the implementation of these methods. He used a primary school in Istanbul as a "test school" and made presentations at international congresses.

    In 1936, he was appointed as a professor of pedagogy at Istanbul University and played an important role in the establishment of the Pedagogical Institute. Here, he conducted many studies, worked on measurement and evaluation methods in education and developed tests. He also made suggestions on teacher training and school reforms, and emphasized the scientific and artistic aspects of education.

    He also contributed to education with the books and magazines he wrote for children, and tried to convey moral and social values. Antel, who was also known for his articles criticizing the education reforms of the Tanzimat period, defended modern pedagogical approaches against the traditional education system.

    He died of a heart attack on February 12, 1954, while on duty at Istanbul University. Antel, who has an important place in Turkish education history, has not yet been studied comprehensively on his life, works and contributions to the field of education. See, Türk Maarif Ansiklopedisi. “ANTEL, SADRETTİN CELAL | Türk Maarif Ansiklopedisi,” n.d. <https://turkmaarifansiklopedisi.org.tr/antel-sadrettin-celal>. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 309. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Aydınlık, Sayı 1 (1 Haziran 1921), 9-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Aydınlık, Sayı 4, (26 teşrinievvel 1921), 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Aydınlık, Sayı 4, (26 teşrinievvel 1921), 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Aydınlık, Sayı 5, (1 Teşrinisani 1921), 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Komünist*, 114. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. After the Aydınlık magazine was suspended for 6 months, the Aydınlık group started some activities in Istanbul. In Anatolia, the WFSPT was revived and the *Yeni Hayat* newspaper started to be published. Until the Dumlupınar victory, the biggest concern of this group was to unite the workers' organizations. The Turkish Workers' Association made a written call to all leftist parties in Istanbul to unite in early July 1922, but this call did not yield any results. See, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 313. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Celal, “Zaruri Bir İzah”, Aydınlık Sayı 4 [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Hüsnü, “Anadolu Zaferi”, Aydınlık sayı 9, 20 Eylül 1922. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Hüsnü, “Anadolu’dan Gelen Fikirler Etrafındaki Münakaşalar”, Aydınlık sayı 10, 1 Kasım 1922. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. It is very clear that this congratulatory message was a tactical move sent at the request of CIEC (Communist International Executive Committee) rather than out of sympathy for the Kemalist circle of the *Aydınlık* circle. See Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 1. Cilt, 226. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Aydınlık, sayı 11, 10 Kânunuevvel 1922. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. In Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s application for aid to the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Turkey explained its view on the application to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia on 9/6/1920 as follows: “It should not be forgotten that the person at the head of the rebellion movement is a remnant of the old “ Committee Union and Progress Party” (CUP), but when we look at the movement in essence, this Anatolian rebellion is a completely national rebellion.

    Considering that Mustafa Kemal and his war comrades accepted to cooperate with the communists in Russia in order to receive aid and applied through the Communist Organization of Turkey, although it does not seem possible, it is necessary to strengthen the reputation of the Communist Organization of Turkey while providing aid, to benefit from this structure while supporting the rebellion movement and to provide aid by ensuring that the organization carries out legal (above all) organizational activities in Türkiye.

    The aid to be provided to the Anatolian rebellion movement of the nature specified above will:

    1. Transform this national movement into a social movement,

    2. To ensure that power passes from the hands of the people in question to the hands of the communists should be arranged in a way that facilitates it”. See Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Komünist*, 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Öcal, “Şefik Hüsnü Değmer’den”, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Ibid, 110 [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. “In any case, only three political currents can be considered in this country from now on:

    1. The current represented by those who made today's revolution and are determined to keep it alive;

    2. The reactionary current which gathers around itself those who adhere to the remnants of feudal traditions and the Ottoman dynasty;

    3. The socialist current, which aims to deepen and develop our revolution in favour of the poor masses of workers and peasants and the middle classes and to bring it to a social revolution based on common property.

    The first and third currents will be able to act hand in hand for a long time in order to put into practice the rights which have been won; and when, on any occasion, reactionism becomes threatening, the supporters of political and social revolution, together with the great majority of the nation, will stand as one body against the dark forces”. See Hüsnü, *“İktisat Kongresinde İşçi ve Köylü Sınıflarının Mevkii”*, Aydınlık sayı 13, 1 Şubat 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. As an interesting fact, in the 13th issue of Aydınlık magazine, the ‘Communist Manifesto’ translated by Şefik Hüsnü was published. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Akbulut,Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Komünist*, 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Hüsnü, “İntihabat Ve Yoksul ve Orta Halli Sınıflar”, Aydınlık sayı 15, 24 Nisan 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 325. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Atılgan, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze*, 162. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 1. Cilt, 231. Perinçek, *Komintern Belgelerinde*, 206-209 [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Kitaigorodsky, “Türkiye’de İşçi Hareketi”, as cited by Perinçek, *Komintern Belgelerinde*, 349. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Ali Cevdet, Şefik Hüsnü, Sâmih, Sadrettin Celâl, Pharmacist Galip, Hasan Âli (Ediz), Hüseyin [Pharmacist] Vasıf, Hasan bin İbrahim, [Vanlı] Kâzım, Ginzberg, İstavridis, Sarafim Vasilkopulo, Cevat, Namık İsmail, Haşim, Yakup and some other people who were "secondarily responsible" (fer'an zimmet) and who printed the said declaration "showing Sofia as the place of printing" and brought books and magazines from Russia by motorboats were also included in these arrests. "The Trial of Communists in the Criminal Court, "*Tanin* (4 Haziran 1923), s. 3. As a cited by, Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 257. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye Halk*, 388. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. *Toplumsal Tarih*, sayı 167, Haziran Kasım 2007. As cited by: Tunçay, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e*, 287. Tunçay, *Bilineceği Bilmek*. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Celal, “Komünizm ve Hıyanet-i Vataniye”, Aydınlık sayı 16, Haziran 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 1. Cilt, 292 and 303. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Hüsnü, “Yeni Millet Meclisi’nden Halk Ne Bekliyor?”, Aydınlık sayı 17, Ağustos 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. After the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne on July 24, 1923, Prime Minister Rauf (Orbay) Bey resigned after being tired of the arguments he had with the negotiators during the negotiations. The newly elected Parliament convened on August 2, and Fethi (Okyar) Bey formed his government on August 14. After extensive negotiations, the agreements were approved by the Parliament on August 23. However, the tense political environment signaled impending changes. Indeed, Fethi Bey would resign on October 27, the Republic would be declared on October 29, and İsmet Pasha would take office as the new Prime Minister on October 30. See Akbulut, Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Komünist*, 310. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. V. Nedim, “Türkiye bir Ziraat Memleketi midir?”, Aydınlık sayı 17, Ağustos 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Hüsnü, “İnkılâp Esasatının Tadili”, Aydınlık sayı 18, Teşrinievvel 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Sadi, *Türkiye’de Sosyalizmin*, 544-57. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 339. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir's first article that can be identified in Aydınlık magazine was published in July 1924. This shows that he spent about six months after his return to the country adapting to Istanbul and organizing in student-worker circles. Aydemir, who started working as a substitute teacher at the dilapidated Barbaros Hayrettin Primary School in Beşiktaş, made social observations at night in workers' coffeehouses in the slums, wearing his old clothes and a neglected fez. He went to the coffeehouses frequented by university students and spent time with unemployed students and workers, most of whom came from well-off families and dreamed of becoming civil servants.

    In 1925, following the Takrir-i Sükûn Law, Aydemir was sentenced to 10 years in prison during the closure of Aydınlık magazine and the trial of members of the Turkish Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Party (TİÇSF) in the Independence Courts, but was released after an amnesty was issued a year and a half later. It was observed that Aydemir adopted a more nationalist and Kemalist mindset after his prison experience. When he returned to Istanbul in 1927, he faced a new trial and stated that he left his old comrades and turned to Anatolia at the end of this process.

    His civil service life, which he started as an assistant at the General Directorate of Higher and Technical Education in Ankara, gave Aydemir the opportunity to closely observe the first excitements of the revolutions. It can be said that the foundations of the Cadre Movement began to take shape in his mind during this period. In his first conference, which he started by saying "...Turkey is in a revolution. This revolution has not stopped...", there were important names such as Yusuf Akçura and Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver in the audience. These ideas, which were appreciated by the Turkish Hearths, were interpreted as an effort to create a new movement within the CHP, and in response to these claims, Aydemir informed the Party Secretary General Recep Peker that such insinuations were unfounded.

    The intellectual foundations of the Kadro Movement were laid in these conferences, first presented to Atatürk in a short summary, after gaining his approval, it was expanded and turned into a book under the name of "Revolution and Kadro" and finally started its publication life as an intellectual magazine.See Bektaş, “Tek Parti Döneminde Siyasal Akımlar: Fikir Dergileri Eksenli Bir Analiz (1923-1945)”, 77-78. Yılmaz, “Aydınlık Çevresinde Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir)”, 517. Yılmaz, “Şevket Süreyya Aydemir Tarih ve Devlet Anlayışı”, 33-42. Gürbüz, “Cumhuriyet Aydını Olarak Şevket Süreyya Aydemir’in Düşünce Dünyası (1923-1976), 33-42. Gencer, “TURANCI, MARKSİST, KEMALİST, İMPARATORLUKTAN CUMHURİYET’E BİR ENTELEKTÜELİN PORTRESİ: ŞEVKET SÜREYYA AYDEMİR”, 293-352. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. For example, Marcel Olivier's article titled "Marxism and Leninism" (Issue 20, pp. 553-554), Memduh Necdet's work "Lessons of Marxism: Historical Materialism" (Issue 22, pp. 571-573), Şaziye Sabiha's (Şevket Süreyya) articles under the signature Kızıl Çalıkuşu, "Young Marxists Column: Historical Materialism I and II" (Issues 22 and 23, pp. 582-584 and 606-608), Şevket Süreyya's article "Kari Marx's Own Philosophy in His Words" (Issue 23, pp. 596-597). In addition, visually, we come across the red sickle-hammer on magazine covers and the propaganda of "Workers of the World, Unite" in the front-page headlines. It can be said that the reason for this was the criticism from the Comintern. See Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 2. Cilt, 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Akbulut, Tunçay*, İstanbul Komünist*, 2. Cilt, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Tunçay, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e*, 293-303. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Hüsnü, “Türk Burjuvazisinin Aile Kavgaları”, Aydınlık, 22. Sayı, Haziran 1924. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Akbulut, Tunçay*, İstanbul Komünist*, 2. Cilt, 11-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. These copies were prepared directly for the workers. It is clear that these copies were omitted under pressure from the Fifth Comintern. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 2. Cilt, 177. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. *TÜSTAV*, ORAK ÇEKİÇ. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Orak Çekiç, sayı 2, 29 Ocak 1925. As a signed “Süreyya”. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Alişoğlu, “Tek Parti Döneminin”, 433. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Akbulut, Tunçay, *İstanbul Komünist*, 3. Cilt, 11. Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde*, 127-140. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, 397. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 373. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Sol*, 374. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)