CHAPTER 3

BUILDING THE MEMORY OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD: *LA TURQUIE KEMALISTE*

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DOI: 10.26650/B/SS30.2020.004.03

Abstract

There has been a considerable amount of studies on the quality and construction of social memory lately. The relationship between social memory and memory spaces and the construction of the nation and national identity is searched with respect to various countries, historical contexts and spaces. Social memory is accepted as a social production and construction but we must take into account the differences in historical contexts, specific conditions and places. In the Turkish case, most of the latest research on this area are concentrated on the early Republican period. In the 1920s and 30s, while trying to heal the wounds of the Balkan Wars, the Great War and the War of Independence the political cadres of the Republican period tried to improve the economic, political and social needs of the society, while working on the construction of the Turkish nation in domestic and foreign grounds. They tried to visualize and propagate the efforts of the new Republic and the developments of the period. Publications of those times were interesting in this sense. They published books and periodicals in foreign languages, joined in international fairs and exhibitions, especially in western countries. In this paper I would like to depict those efforts in a periodical published over 49 issues between 1933 and 1949, *La Turquie Kemaliste* that includes a catalogue of visual materials and illustrations representing modern Turkey.[1]

Keywords: Social memory, Memory construction, Early republican period, *La Turquie Kemaliste*.

1 *La Turquie Kemaliste* (LTK), Magasine published twice a year by the Directorate General of the Press, Ministry of Interior, BÜ Library, Periodicals: DR401T78.

1. Introduction

Construction of social and collective memory is not only a historical process but it is also done according to the needs of every political and social context. Memory construction is a part of the political processes in the formation of both identity and propaganda. It is also a part of politics reflecting the orientations, cultural necessities and atmosphere of the given era. Social memory is constructed with respect to various needs and aspirations emerging from current social relations and political needs, which is done with the help of archives, museums, and historical narratives, publications that constitute a creation, construction and lineage possible as it is discussed that the historical reality, politics of remembering and forgetting in Paul Ricoeur's text in detail (Ricoeur, 2009). In cases of discontinuity, as in the example of the Great War, or when empires collapse, the necessity arises for the construction of a new memory. To create a new legacy for a new state and modern society, we are in need of various political and cultural tools such as the heritage of the past, construction of the desired present, and a utopia for the future of the society, for legitimization and mobilization.

In the case of the Republic of Turkey, after 1923 the new cadres had great problems as to get away from the Ottoman past in politics, institutions and culture. As a symbolic act, they moved the capital from Istanbul to Ankara and tried to create and construct a new city, a monument for the Republic of Turkey. They also needed to construct a legacy stemming from the national land, namely Anatolia. A new task was defined: a modern city which was to be newly constructed in the middle of Anatolian land and an image of modern Turkish nation with an urban and rural, agricultural landscape with modern human portraits. It was during the unsettled years of the inter-war period, a period effected by the 1929 economic crisis that shook especially the western, capitalist economies.

Ottoman modernization movements in general stood aside from class analysis, however they accepted the postulate of an organic society; that society is a homogeneous and harmonious structure without class divisions. Kemalist ideology, especially in its full form in the 1930s, denied the existence of class differences in society. However, it accepted the organic society model and applied this model in its populist principles where parts of the society are integrated in the whole structure (Örnek, 2015, p. 60). Trying to build the economic structure and foreign relations in the turbulent interwar years - despite the experiences of the Great War and following the War of Independence - Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucratic elites believed in general in the necessity of modernization and westernization, the two for them having the same meaning. Kemalist cadres of the early republican period opted for a

pragmatic stance and tried to benefit from the conflicts between Britain and the Soviet Union. In the historical background of these pragmatic positions, there were political instincts and undercurrents of once to save the Ottoman Empire and then after its collapse to maintain the continuity of the Republic.

For this purpose we are discussing the intentional image making of the Republic in the 1930s and 40s. These efforts were period-specific, aiming at settling her political, economic and cultural existence in a changing political and economic environment. The context was set first by Mustafa Kemal, in his six-day speech, called Nutuk in the 2nd National Congress in October 15-20, 1927. It is a "comprehensive account of one of the most remarkable events in the many centuries of Turkish history", a personal account and a special reading of recent history by the leader himself.[1] It was an official narrative of the fall of the Ottoman State, the Great War, the War of Independence and the formative years of the Republic of Turkey (Ataöv, 1981). These efforts were elaborated during the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Republic, in the speech of Mustafa Kemal in Ankara. It discussed Ankara and modern Turkey taking back the lost Anatolian hard soil inch by inch and they expressed that "this is our new life". The Republic claimed to lean on the western world and presented its ultimate aim to be a part of it and to reach the level of contemporary civilization, i.e. the western capitalist world, and moreover to catch up and outrun it.[2] They wanted to make a comparison not with the past ages but with the pace of the new age. It was the time of empowerment, deepening and settling of Kemalist ideology in the 1930s.

Although the radical left was suppressed in the 1920s, the Kemalist regime benefited from the leftist intellectuals who belonged to leftist organizations of the time, who published a magazine called *Kadro* in the beginnings of the 1930s.[3] To this aim the government tried hard

1 Nutuk, one of the most popular texts in Turkish history was first published in 1927 in Arabic alphabet and appeared in Latin alphabet in 1934.

2 In Turkish: "Muasır medeniyetler seviyesine yükselmek."

3 *Kadro*, was published monthly in Ankara between January 1932 and December 1934 (36 issues) by Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Vedat Nedim Tör, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin and Burhan Asaf Belge. They all had the traumatic experiences of the Balkan wars, the Great War and the fall of the Ottoman Empire; most of them had their education in Germany and in Moscow, and were influenced by Marxist ideals. Then they supported the Anatolian movement, War of Independence and Mustafa Kemal; and as a result moved to Ankara. *Kadro* had the pretention to make a radical but repudiated interpretation of Kemalism.
Kadro meant the intellectual and pioneering cadre of a political party. In various articles they defended a planned state economy, which is defined not as an alternative to private capital accumulation but as a supplement to it. They defended that the Turkish intellectuals, like the ones in similar developing countries, don't need to emulate the western model which was defined as colonialist and imperialist. Another path should be tried to be found and built. a third way for development. They also conceived the Turkish society without class differences, in accordance with the Kemalist ideology; a society that is homogeneous, harmonious; a "classless, unprivileged, coherent body".

to build a set of initiatives to strengthen the information and propaganda activities promoting the Kemalist new regime. Vedat Nedim Tör was assigned as the chief editor of *la Turquie Kemaliste* and government authorities used all kinds of intellectual sources, prominent Turkish writers and intellectuals, German professors, diplomats, artists, and professionals.

In this paper, I would like to discuss the content of an exceptional publication during the early Republican period, titled *La Turquie Kemaliste.* It was published by the Ministry of the Interior, the Directorate General of the Press (DGP) (*Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü*). The aim of this journal was to propagate the achievements of the Republic of Turkey mainly to the western audience. They tried to construct the image and the memory of the Republic with respect to the old, the Ottoman Empire. The first 20 issues were named *La Turquie Kamaliste*; whereas after this, in the special issues Nos: 21-22, December 1937, the name changed to *La Turquie Kemaliste*. This special edition was devoted to the II. Turkish History Congress organized by the Turkish Historical Society.

2. The Project

The political propaganda activities during the Single Party Regime of the Republic of Turkey were divided into two periods: The Revolution and the War Era Propaganda. While "Revolution Propaganda" was mainly based on the Six Arrows,[4] "War Era Propaganda" exploited the features of patriotism and nationalism. In both periods, DGP, one of the first institutions in the history of the Republic, was the official state institution, which was responsible for the works of propaganda (Akçalı-Uzunhasan, 2016).

Image building was not a newly created area in the 1930s, since the 19th century empires tried to remake and create popular images and invent traditions to restore and improve their legitimacy in the last quarter of the century in response to the fact that their imperial power had fallen into danger. Nonetheless image building efforts of nation states as intertwined with the nationalist projects are different from the image building efforts of empires. The Ottoman-Turkish case had individual and distinctive characteristics. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the new construction had historical and political specific conditions. The crisis situation took a relatively long time and the disengagement from the past created certain problems in various spheres such as religious issues, the separation between state and religion, the closure of dervish lodges, and the abolition of the caliphate. It encompassed traumatic experiences such as the deportation in 1915 and the population exchange starting

4 The Six arrows of the Republican People's Party (CHF) represented the principle cannons of Kemalist ideology, Republicanism, Populism, Nationalism, Laicism, Statism and Reformism. These principles were accepted and propagated for the first time in 1927, in the congress of CHF.

before 1923 and continuing long afterwards, religious and ethnic uprisings and the events of 1934 in Thrace. As a matter of fact, the radicalism of the revolutions and construction of the new faltered at the end of the 1930s. Disengagement from the past, reforms and actual political disputes created certain problems in the Turkish case, in both material and ideological/political areas. What is interesting is that in the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste,* there are no traces of those disputed issues (Elçin Aykaç, 2003, p.135). In the meantime, the revolutionary mood faded away while the new regime reconciled with the old and the new interest groups.

In the 1930s and 40s, the past, the present and the future view of society were exemplified and shown in the images and texts in *La Turquie Kemaliste*. The project is well studied and actualized by a group of intellectuals influenced by the leftist ideals of the period, having in mind the model of socialist construction and central planning efforts well-tried in Soviet Russia in the 1930s. Turkish governments in Ankara started planning in 1932 with the help of a group of Soviet experts, and then they prepared a five year industrial plan that was successfully applied until 1939 (Boratav, 1982, p.111). This magazine shows that the lives of ordinary people, peasants and urban middle classes, men and women changed a lot with the help of the Republican reforms and statist policies of the Kemalist regime.

La Turquie Kemaliste was a search for an international legitimacy for the new regime. As a matter of fact, Turkish intellectuals of the time identified with the powerful western powers instead of the socialist trials and experiences of the third world. So, they accepted and supported the westernization efforts of the existing government and Turkish nationalism. As a result, Kemalist cadres moved smoothly from Soviet friendship and support to cold war policies, as an early example of a cold war position. After the Soviet-friendly atmosphere in 1933, anti-Sovietism, even Nazi sympathy became a prominent political preference among official and civil circles, especially in the beginning of the 1940s (Örnek, *ibid*., p.30). Anti-Sovietism reigned in the second part of the 1930s as a result of preferences of the emerging business circles and interest groups who developed close relations with state officials. Nazi advocacy and hostility towards Soviet Russia came to a climax in between 1941-43, while the German army gained ground in Soviet land.

In this backdrop, the Turkish elites felt the need to address the western audience. The editorial board of *La Turquie Kemaliste* consisted of intellectuals such as Vedat Nedim Tör and Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, who were the main figures of the *Kadro* movement and the publication that tried to systematize the principles of the Turkish Revolution. The need for such an initiative was first mentioned by Şevket Süreyya in 1931 and was elaborated in

Revolution and Cadre (İnkılap ve Kadro) and in the issues of the monthly *Kadro* journal. There were others who contributed to the *La Turquie Kemaliste* issues; they were the modern examples coming from the old system but well, western educated and engaged to the formation of the Republic, the Kemalist reforms in Ankara. The editorial staff of the journal consisted of foreign and Turkish writers: permanent writers like Falih Rıfkı Atay, Burhan Asaf Belge, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Vedat Nedim Tör, and prominent Turkish or foreign figures like Sadri Ertem, R.O.Arık, Ercüment Ekrem Talu, H.E.Eldem, S.Batı, İ.H.Oygar, İ.H.Baltacıoğlu, Arif Dino, H.Z.Koşay or Friedrich Falke (the founding rector of Ankara higher institute for agriculture), Paolo Vietti-Violi (architect of İnönü Stadium at Dolmabahçe, Istanbul), agriculturalist Nihat İyiboz, Austrian diplomat Norbert-Von-Bischoff (Von-Bischoff, 2014)[5], market economy specialist Charles Gruére, Pierre Devambez or famous architects and archaeologists like Ernst Egli, Albert Gabriel or Helmut Theodore Bossert; Thomas Wittemore, the founder of the American Byzantium Institute or Othmar Pferschy, the famous photographer himself published an article namely Ein Marcheland-Cappadocia.

It was a bimonthly prestige journal published by the DGP that acted as important material for the propaganda department of the Ministry of the Interior (Akçalı-Uzunhasan, 2016).[6] *La Turquie Kemaliste* was published for 49 issues between June 1934 and 1948. From June 1939 onwards, because of the deteriorating conditions of the Second World War, it was published once a year; twice in 1941, was not published in 1942 and only once in 1943 and 1947.The last issue was published in March 1948 under a totally different intellectual climax.

It was mainly in the French language, especially in the first five years. It included German and English articles mostly during the Second World War years. The French language was chosen as the diplomatic language in the Mediterranean basin and in the Balkans at that time (İnal-Kaya, 2007). All articles were written by prominent intellectuals of the period. The aim was defined as to introduce the Kemalist revolutions in the Republic of Turkey to the world public opinion. The publication was made by the state printing office with the best quality equipment and technology of the time, with the help of the well-trained staff under the direction of Vedat Nedim Tör as the editor-in-chief. In the book published in 1938 by the state

5 He later wrote a book on the developments in Turkey and in Ankara.

6 The DGP undertook many activities with regard to the press, publications, radio, photography, and cinema. *Turkey in Pictures, La Turquie Kémaliste* and *Radio* magazine were the assertive products of the DGP. Othmar Pferschy worked at the DGP for five years and traveled throughout Turkey taking some 16,000 photos. Besides Pferschy, the DGP's photography and film department employed such prominent people as Osman Darcan and Şinasi Barutçu.

authorities dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, it is written that in five years, the DGP distributed 119,690 issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste;* which is a great number for those years (Akçura, 1999).

This publication lost its importance with the changing conditions in Turkish and world politics. Vedat Nedim Tör left the job in 1937, because of a discussion on the process of publication of a special issue related to the 2nd congress and exposition of Turkish history.[7] With the death of Mustafa Kemal and the effect of worsening conditions due to the coming war and during the Second World War years, it gradually lost its importance but continued in an irregular fashion until 1949.

Within this important period for the newly found Republic of Turkey, the authorities tried other means of information and propaganda to promote and illustrate, to consolidate the public recognition and gain acceptance especially in the Western audience. In this respect, they published books, joined exhibitions in western countries along with this long lasting publication. Reflecting the political and cultural atmosphere of those years, there is a propaganda film produced by Soviet cinematographers for the 10th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey in 1933. The film starts with the speech made by the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, where he talks about the achievements of the Republic in ten years. He also mentions foreign relations, claiming that the Republic of Turkey is more powerful than she was ten years ago, that her relations with her neighbors are peaceful, and that the basis of foreign policy is friendship with the Soviet Union (Yutkevich, 1933).[8] A very interesting

7 LTK, No: 20-21, December 1937, pp.1-5. The congress was organized in Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul; and an exhibition was held presenting the findings of Alacahöyük and Boğazköy archeological excavations. In this issue, there is information related to explorations in Pazarlı (Phrygia), Thrace (by Arif Nüfid Mansel) and Ankara (by Remzi Oğuz Arık). M.Eugene Pittard's speech in this event was presented. In many other issues in later years there are articles and photographs from different excavations, consisting of Anatolian cultures or sometimes from Central Europe, Hungary (Archeological findings from Huns and Avars). LTK, No: 42, April 1942.

8 In this documentary film produced for the 10th anniversary of the foundation of Republic of Turkey, they set the major formative propaganda elements copied and reproduced in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, both content and artistic qualities. Holding the major themes of the first ten years in foreign relations, friendship with the Soviet Union, it underlined the peaceful existence of the Republic while comparing contemporary material achievements with those of 1918, i.e. conditions of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War and Moudros Armistice Agreement. In this documentary Ankara is defined as the heart of Anatolia; poor people leave their villages and go to Ankara to join celebrations with ox carts and horses. Turkish people are happy welcoming the Soviet delegation led by General Voroshilov in Istanbul. Then the delegation is welcomed in Ankara, the new capital city of Turkey, by boy scouts, İnönü and other high state officials, with the International and Turkish national anthem being played. A new memorial is opened emphasizing the friendship of both states, saluting the Soviet representatives. Then we read the Ankara entry in Encyclopedia Britannica: Ankara is an old city with Greek, Roman and Byzantium remnants, the new capital of Republic of Turkey. Before and after conditions of Ankara are shown; from a poor and dusty Anatolian village a new, modern capital is created with schools, universities, museums, conservatories, exercising ballet students in open air, new modern houses and modern ways of life. The newly constructed capital is shown in the film with banks,

welcoming party was organized for the Soviet diplomats in Istanbul, Dolmabahçe Palace. It is narrated in the memories of Fritz Neumark, who had just arrived at Istanbul as a German academician; after a couple of months of their arrival, they were invited to the party in the honor of General Voroshilov in Dolmabahçe Palace by Tevfik Rüştü Aras, the foreign secretary of the Turkish government, along with other invited professors. He was a little shocked to see Turkish flags with Soviet flags and listening to the International after the Turkish national anthem (Neumark, 2006, pp.33-34).

For another example on this, we can glance at a book named *La Turquie Contemporaine*, also published by the DGP in 1935. In this specific book published in French, there is a wider description of the country, starting with its geographical conditions, situation, geological structure and land (*La Turquie Contemporaine*, 1935). We can also find some of the content of *La Turquie Kemaliste* issues such as the historical conditions and transformations which took place in the turn of the century, from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, the birth of a new Turkey, economic conditions, resources and economic activities, agriculture and emerging industries, sources of energy, mining, communication, roads and developments in traffic, motorways, domestic and foreign financial activities, credits and commerce, social and cultural transformations, changes in the moral principles of the society, developments in public health and the social security system, and in the end, creation and construction of new Ankara as a capital city. As an appendix, they give a comparison between the 1927 and 1935 population censuses, claiming that the population in new Turkey had reached 16,188,767 after a long period of wars (*La Turquie Contemporaine, Table des matières*, pp.303-304)

3. Pattern of the Issues

"Images and photographs of La Turquie Kemaliste in the 1930s, the propaganda films of the 1950s, and countless other representations of the official history of modernization still offer the most powerful visual tropes of this ethos of the making of a thoroughly modern nation out of the ruins of an old empire. Unveiled women working next to clean-shaven men in educational and professional settings, healthy children and young people in school uniforms, the modern architecture of public buildings in republican Ankara and other major cities, the spectacular performances of the national theatre, the symphony orchestra, opera,

scientific institutions, and schools with boys and girls, hospitals, pools, parks, happy mothers and children waving in İnönü's arms. In this film, we follow the official ceremonies of the 10th year of the Republic, where Mustafa Kemal makes his famous speech for this special occasion.
These are all filmed for this special occasion by a Soviet director and film crew, because in those years there were no such specialized professionals of this capacity in Turkey.

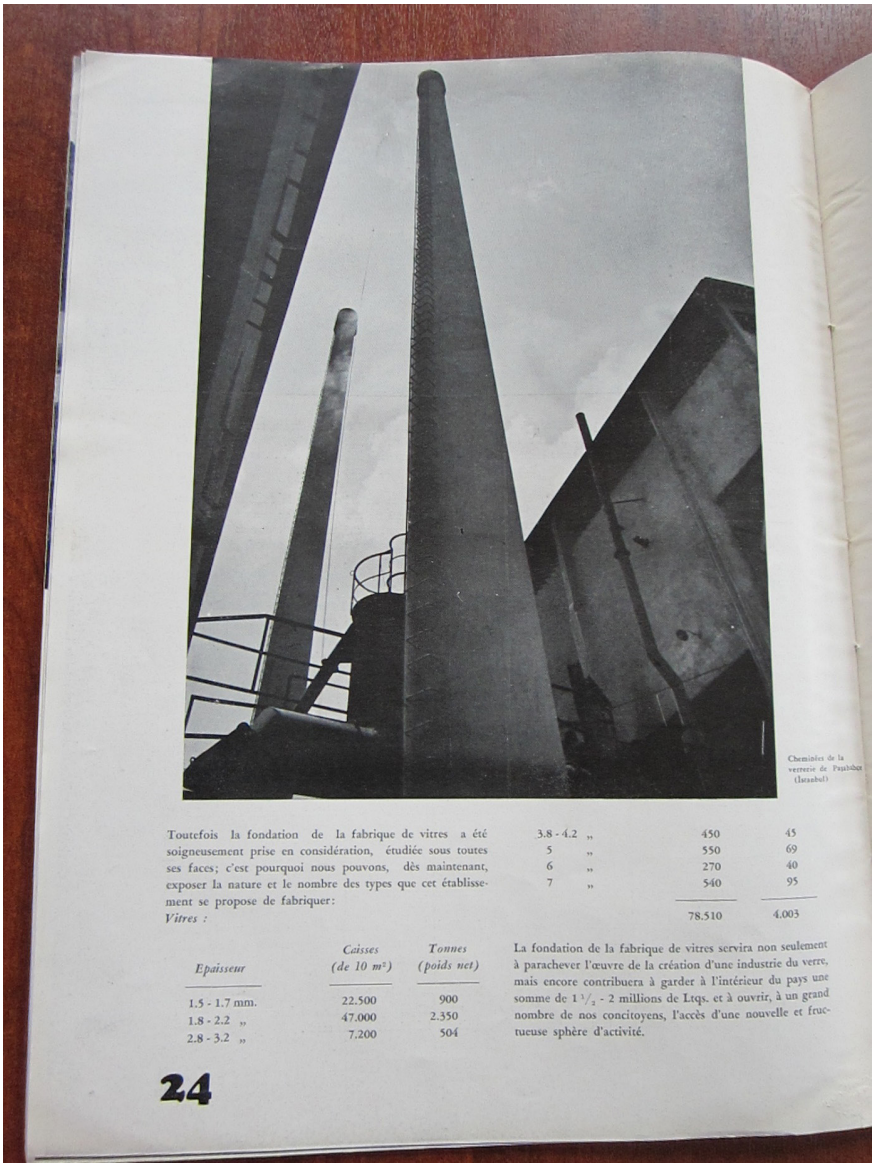
and ballet, and proud scenes of agriculture, railroads, factories, and dams are among the most familiar images." (Bozdoğan-Kasaba, "Introduction", 1997, p.8).

The publication of *La Turquie Kemaliste* bared certain characteristics such as the form and the content that continued for more than ten years. The whole series until the last couple of issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste* followed more or the less the same pattern: In the first page which was not numbered, there is a high-quality photograph of a miniature or objects, clothes, carpets, hand woven textiles mainly from the Ottoman art, claiming to be Turkish, taken from the Topkapı Palace archive. Then there is an editorial article, mostly written by a prominent politician or a literary figure such as Burhan Asaf Belge, Ahmet Haşim and many others, related with then current subjects, political or literal.

There is another dossier in each issue: Turkey: Country of sun, beauty and history (*La Turquie: Pays de soleil, de beaute et d'Histoire*), mainly presenting images from the old city Istanbul and many other parts of Turkey. These are mostly historical and touristic snapshots having a special style, which set the trend in this field for the following years. There are articles discussing the publications from the foreign press, in which Turkey is mentioned and reviewed without visiting the country and seeing the realities with their own eyes.[9] There are also dossiers on various issues related to the achievements of the Republic of Turkey in industry, in education, in archaeology etc., such as the İsmet İnönü School for young girls or the horse husbandry in Karacabey, art and growing industrial efforts and buildings in every part of the country.[10] There are articles and photographs reflecting the increasing and modernizing production in agriculture, the countryside and developments in urban areas.

9 Ercümend Ekrem Talu, "Oculos Habent, Sed.." (They have eyes, but …), LTK, No: 5, Fevrier, 1935.

10 LTK, No: 6, Avril, 1935.



Cheminées de la verrerie de Paşabahçe (Istanbul)

Toutefois la fondation de la fabrique de vitres a été soigneusement prise en considération, étudiée sous toutes ses faces; c'est pourquoi nous pouvons, dès maintenant, exposer la nature et le nombre des types que cet établissement se propose de fabriquer:

Vitres :

Epaisseur	*Caisses (de 10 m²)*	*Tonnes (poids net)*
1.5 - 1.7 mm.	22.500	900
1.8 - 2.2 „	47.000	2.350
2.8 - 3.2 „	7.200	504
3.8 - 4.2 „	450	45
5 „	550	69
6 „	270	40
7 „	540	95
	78.510	4.003

La fondation de la fabrique de vitres servira non seulement à parachever l'œuvre de la création d'une industrie du verre, mais encore contribuera à garder à l'intérieur du pays une somme de 1 1/2 - 2 millions de Ltqs. et à ouvrir, à un grand nombre de nos concitoyens, l'accès d'une nouvelle et fructueuse sphère d'activité.

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In the illustrated pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste* the objective was the self-representation of new Turkey and visual and textual representation of the achievements of the Republic. Photographs were very important and played a significant role in these volumes when the Republic was involved in a total social, economic and political transformation. All the visual material was produced by an Austrian photographer, Othmar Pferschy (1898-1984). Between 1935 and 1940, he was employed by the General Press Administration, by Vedat Nedim Tör. He worked as a professional photographer of the Kemalist Turkey. He later wrote on this

extraordinary experience saying that "*This duty was an honour for me. You cannot know Turkey of those times. There was another atmosphere; embracing all of us ... those were the golden years*." (Ak, 2001, pp.223-224) With his technique and special talent he photographed mainly Ankara, Istanbul and many other Anatolian cities as well as rural landscapes and portraits.[11] As Vedat Nedim Tör narrates in his memories, he decided to publish a testing issue to prove the importance and possibility of such a publication for the Prime Minister and other prominent statesmen. They asked to gather photographs from all over Turkey using the official network. However, as a result, many worthless and amateur photographs were sent. But there was a series of artistic and beautiful photographs, sent from Istanbul, by Othmar Pferschy. Then he called for the Governor of Istanbul, Muhittin Üstündağ, to buy a first class train ticket and send Pferschy to Ankara (Tör, 2010). They organized for him to stay in Ankara and work as a professional photographer for the General Press Administration.

In the visual art of Pferschy, who photographed Turkey from the 1930s to the 1960s, there is a kind of specific "modern orientalism." Pfercshy's art is a continuation of the orientalist artists, reflecting the far and mystified; but he also reflected the modern view of the city and the country of the republican time. He was affected from modernist traditions of western art. In his photographs he doesn't have a realistic point of view; on the contrary, he created the image of the country that the new government wanted to show to the western audience. Most of his photographs were published in *La Turquie Kemaliste* in the 1930s and 1940s. In this journal, which is a Doomsday Book of Turkey, they wanted to show the new, modern image of Turkey, of urban and rural parts, to the western elites and foreign eyes. In one of the selected photographs of Pfercshy published in *La Turquie Kemaliste* were the chimneys of Paşabahçe Glass Factory reaching the sky representing the development, productivity, industry, modernity and the riches of the new regime in the 1930s (Tör, 1980, pp30-34). In the caption there are yearly production statistics and information about production.

4. Ankara Construit: Ankara as the Monument to Mustafa Kemal (Le Corbusier, 1925)

Ankara is the political space in the formation and construction of Turkish national identity. Ankara is constructed and framed by the powerful rivalry of Istanbul. At one point in the early Republican period, after 1927, Istanbul inevitably became the focal point of interest once again, but under different historical and political conditions.

11 Photographs of Othmar Pferschy were used to expose the new era mainly to the western audience. A special publication, "Turkey with Photographs" was made in Munich in Turkish, French, English and German in 1936. Another exhibition was held in Bucharest, Belgrade, Athens and Montreux named "Touristic Turkey". His photographs were used in stamps, postcards, banknotes, books and booklets, calendars and many other publications. A list of publications during Vedat Nedim Tör's time is given in Ak, *ibid.,* p.226.

Ankara was declared as the capital city 16 days before the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 29 October 1923. At the end of the 1920s, Ankara was getting expanded with new construction projects and a growing population. The government decided to build Ankara with a city plan and opened a contest. German city planner Prof. Hermann Jansen's project was selected (Tekeli, 1982, pp62-63). Construction began in 1932, giving priority to building facilities for the workers and middle class families and followed modern urban planning principles with wide roads and boulevards for motored vehicles as well as city walkers. It also created green areas and housing districts with gardens following the garden city model. It was built as a new capital out of nothing or a small Anatolian town with 25 thousand inhabitants in contrast to Istanbul from many aspects, as Istanbul was the old capital of the Ottoman Empire. Constructing in almost empty space from scratch, created a free space for planners and made planning easier (İkiz, nd.).[12] There is a dualism in the representations of Ankara and Istanbul, between the old and the new, the old capital and the new, the old images of the empire and the new; with the old, dusty towns of Anatolia and newly constructed Ankara, its buildings and its symbolism as a city. This represented and underlined the emergence of a new, modern life with a new way of living, with the roads, wide boulevards, modern buildings, squares with statues, avenues with a capacity to parade…

In the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste* Ankara was shown with schools, university buildings, research laboratories where women as well as men were working, joining the production efforts to catch up with the modern developed western countries.

In the related literature, it is discussed that the reflections of Turkey and Ankara were the main lines of Kemalist utopia. On the other hand, when we follow the decisions, efforts and even the issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste,* we can conclude that the concrete needs, realities, struggles and limitations shaped the form and presentation of this "utopia". This set of visual and textual representations were used as a tool for propaganda and consolidation of power of Kemalist leadership of the Republican Turkey, a justification of changing system and a search for legitimacy for the new regime (Elçin Aykaç, 2003, p.3).

In the first issue of *La Turquie Kemaliste,* Falih Rıfkı wrote the editorial article: "You have to come to Ankara", which is a political invitation. He claims that despite the cultural richness and background, and the heritage in Istanbul, people should come to Ankara as it represents the future and the rebirth of a nation. He says that Ankara is an attractive touristic destination.[13] 1934 was too early to claim this, but still the idea is consistent with the general purpose of this publication.

12 Jansen stayed and worked in Ankara and many other Anatolian cities between 1932 and 1939.

13 LTK, No: 1, "Il faut venir a Ankara", 1934, pp.10-15.

The newly constructed capital city of Ankara was thought of and designed to be a modern capital, a utopian place, as a "*no place*" and a "good place" in the middle of the Anatolian landscape. Ankara was a modest town when the founders of Republic of Turkey came and decided to form the new political and administrative centre. They constituted the first assembly in 1920 and declared the Republic in 1923. Ankara was constructed as a showcase of modernism, representing the philosophy of the Republic, planned by modern Turkish and European architects, scaled relatively to the greatness of the revolutions; so, constructed with a kind of "grandiose". It was in the centre of Anatolia, a safe haven for the birth of the Turkish nation and nationalism in the 1930s. Meanwhile, Istanbul was thought to be the centre of a fallen and surrendered Ottoman Empire; a port city of the empire including many "foreign" inhabitants who were not seen as trustworthy. Traitors and collaborators of the occupying powers were seen as the cause of the decline during the armistice years and war of independence.

We can see such examples of relocating capital cities in the process of fundamental change from empires to nation states, into the inner parts of the country, to the centre, to the heart of the nation where they define the nation; and start the foundation and progress, as a part of a new beginning, an effort to invent new traditions. Moving from Istanbul to Ankara is such an example. While Istanbul was defined as a dirty, cosmopolitan, messy and confused port city; the defeated and surrendered old capital of the Ottoman Empire, Ankara represented the new and clean beginning of the Turkish nation. In pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste,* Istanbul is not forgotten, as it is great and beautiful enough to remind itself. On the other hand, this is done by another strategy, as to remember it with its historical and touristic wonders, through the oriental visor of Othmar Pferschy.

During the first years of the Republican period, the old architectural forms, called the national architectural style were maintained. In the 1920s, the national style adopted stemmed from the late Ottoman period, neo-Ottoman style. And the first national architectural movement started in 1908 with the second constitutional period and continued during the war. This style lost its weight from 1927 onwards, with the opening towards western culture and politics. This style was considered as a copy of the Muslim religious architecture which belonged to the past. Writers such as Yakup Kadri and Ahmet Haşim wrote on this issue, claiming that it was the continuation of the old Ottoman style (Aslanoğlu, nd.).

As Bozdoğan discussed, in the 1930s, architectural preferences went parallel with the efforts of constructing the nation. It was consented with the modernism and the official ideology of the state that shaped the foundations and representations of Ankara (Bozdoğan,

2001). Ankara was important as a capital city where huge construction projects were started in public and private domains such as ministries, the parliamentary building, Ankara Stadium and the Hippodrome in 1934-36. In the end of the 1930s Ankara was presented as a heaven in summer; it was claimed that most beautiful and modern spots of Istanbul existed in Ankara.[14] In the same issue there is a dossier concerning the construction of Atatürk Forest Farm that Mustafa Kemal set up with a group of agriculturalists in the spring of 1925 and found a suitable place in a wetland area. Over the years they created a modern agricultural and industrial institution which spanned 102,000 hectares. Ernst Reuter, one of the prominent German specialists on urban planning, who worked as an alderman and mayor in cities in Berlin and Magdeburg, and was a social democrat member of the Reichstag, stayed in Turkey in 1939-1945 while fleeing from the Nazis. He gave lectures on urban planning and municipal/local government at Ankara University. He wrote an article on the garden city experience of Ankara in the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste*.[15]

There is a discussion in academic writing on the construction and presentation of Ankara: Ankara was symbolically taken as an empty space, a tabula rasa (Bozdoğan-Kasaba, 1997, p.68)[16]; and used as a means to get rid of the burden of the old, the cultural and political heritage of the Ottoman Empire. In this context the texts and illustrations used the means of forgetting such as clearing out and 'othering' as an image of an empty capital. Istanbul is the "other" of Ankara in this sense (Gür, 2011, pp.10-18). By all means the place of Ankara in this whole collection was seen as a sacred place in the Turkish nation's history.[17]

In all issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste* reflecting the political/ideological mood of the period Ankara became a prominent figure presented to the foreign audience as a utopia of architecture and urbanism as well as the powerful construction of the capital city of the Republic and a symbol of Kemalism as a formative nationalist ideology in 1930s. In the same period the construction of public places spread all over Turkey: planning efforts, schools and public buildings in various cities, public parks in Ankara, İzmir, Antalya, Adana and Gaziantep to provide healthy living for the citizens of the Republic of Turkey (Aslanoğlu, nd.). Those development plans and projects were also mentioned in various articles in *La Turquie Kemaliste* issues. On the other hand, there is only a small note and one photograph on the Prost plan applied in Istanbul.

14 LTK, No: 32-40 August 1939.

15 LTK, No: 47, 1943.

16 Ankara was symbolized as a pride and glory of construction of the capital out of nothing, a "tabula rasa" expressing the pride and hard work of nation building.

17 "The Place of Ankara", M.Kemal, LTK, December 1937.

5. Issues and Themes: Constructing a Memory for Foreign Audiences

5.1. Progress...

Şevket Süreyya, who was the director of the business and commerce high school in Ankara, wrote the introductory article in the first issue of *La Turquie Kemaliste* the subject of which is the development of state public education that should be secular, obligatory and free of charge. The second article of the first issue is about Ankara, written by the French Secretary of the Interior after he paid a visit to the capital city of Turkey. And there are lots of photographs showing the construction of new Ankara.

Then we have another article written by Édouard Herriot "From the old to the new Turkey" (*De la Vieille à la Nouvelle Turquie*) who was a radical French politician who came to visit İzmir, Istanbul and Ankara. Then he met Mustafa Kemal in Istanbul, at the Dolmabahçe Palace. He also visited the Bergama and Troy ruins and also mentions his visits from 25 years before where he makes a comparison between the old and new Turkey. He also mentions the modernization efforts of the new Turkey, in reality a country in Asia.[18]

In an article written by Vedat Nedim Tör himself on intellectuals in the Orient (*Qu'attendons-nous de l'intellectuel Oriental?*), he summarizes the purpose of this publication. He addresses the western intellectuals and audience in general. He claims that he makes modest suggestions and asks them to consider Turkey as equally independent; asks them to come to visit Turkey and see what is going on with their own eyes to keep the ideas of foreign investors' and Levantines' ideas in mind, to liberate their minds from the prejudgments and damaging and unhealthy microbes of romantic feelings and avoid having scenic and sensational attitudes towards what we are doing in Turkey. And as a last point Tör advises not to compare the Republic of Turkey with the ruins of the old Ottoman Empire but value the manifested efforts of development since 1923.[19]

This is a question of positioning oneself in a newly built Republic and a nation in the turbulent years after the world economic crisis of 1929 as the world was entering a new war. There are other articles especially in the formative years of Kemalist ideology and the impending disaster of war, such as an article written by Falih Rıfkı in February 1936. This article entitled "Who wants to understand" (*Ceux qui veulent savoir*) claimed that we have made a revolution with the Turkish people and we are trying to rebuild the country that has a strategic depth in Anatolia. He said that we have the power to react to any kind of movement

18 LTK, No: 1, 1 June 1934.

19 LTK, No: 11, February 1936.

against our unity and progress; Anatolia as a block has the power to react to all kinds of aggression no matter from where or from whom it comes.[20] He also wrote an article "The basis of the reform" (*la base de la réforme*) discussing the principles of the Turkish revolution and reforms in education, laws and principle of laicism.[21]

5.2. Orient-Occident

Peyami Sefa, a famous Turkish writer wrote an article on orientalism and Othmer Pferschy's photographs in the album called *Turkey in Photographs*. Sefa claimed that Pferschy has another point of view that is different to orientalist lenses. While they were reflecting the old, broken-down wooden houses of the old neighborhoods, Pferschy was showing the new cement and steel Turkey. He claimed that those two worlds were different and it was time to reflect the new picture of Turkey: shaken, developed, a fresh and lively spring all over the country: the beautiful country Turkey (Ak, 2001, p.228). Seyit Ali Ak claimed that Pferschy's photographs were the powerful examples of his belief in the Republic with a power of the youth, friendship and Atatürk's principles and revolutions; not the official visual history of modernization (Ak, 2001, p.229).

There are differences in reflecting Ankara and Istanbul in the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste*. Ankara, the new capital was shown as the newborn and modern; Istanbul was shown as the old, romantic and orientalist. Othmar Pferschy grasped one of the well-known images of Istanbul, a classical view of Sarayburnu and the Maiden's Tower, under which there is a note by the famous orientalist Lamartine: "*When I saw Istanbul, I cried involuntarily and cleared the magic of Naples bay forever in my mind. It would be insulting to compare anything with this delicate and spectacular whole. If it was possible to watch the earth only once, I would come and watch it right from this point of view" (Istanbul, 1950)*. Lamartine also divides the world into two, east and west and mystifies life, people and the geography of the city as other orientalists do.

There are many discussions related to orientalism in this publication. To give an example, we can mention an article written by Vedat Nedim Tör. He proposes that foreign visitors should photograph our lorries instead of our donkeys. They are valuable for peasant life or used in the war of independence, but as we are a modern nation, we like to be seen by realist lenses, he says.[22] In another article by Ercümend Ekrem Talu, "*Oculos Habent, Sed..*" (They have eyes, but…) he discusses that a foreign journalist came to Turkey but only stayed in Istanbul and was

20 LTK, No: 12, February 1936

21 LTK, No: 16, December 1936.

22 LTK, No: 15, October 1936.

not able to grasp the realities in new Turkey.[23]In fact, this is also a discussion on orientalism. The Turkish government and writers of *La Turquie Kemaliste* wanted others to see the achievements of the Republic, avoiding the oriental view of the western journalists and visitors of the time.

On this same subject we can present the comments of M.Şürkü Hanioğlu, a prominent Turkish historian, mentioning Kemalist Orientalism with regard to the *La Turquie Kemaliste* collection (Hanioğlu, 2012). He mentions the work of Emmanuel Szurek who discusses the efforts to construct a conception of the East by the local elites in Japan, China, Egypt and Turkey (Pouillon-Vatin, 2011). He talks about Falih Rıfkı and other writers and intellectuals of the publication who moved from leftist ideals to Kemalism and created an image of the "East". He claims that this image is the foundation of the Kemalist modernization project where westernization and orientalism mingled together. In this paper he discusses the Kemalist nationalism while refusing the East image of orientalism as idle, lazy, primitive and illiterate; whereas constructing another image of the modern "East", the society and nation as a part of Western civilization with its institutions, education and production, women visible in the public space. And he calls this Kemalist orientalism. This aim is well illustrated by one of the articles written by Falih Rıfkı Atay, on linguistic reform where the aim of this reform is summarized as to free Turkish culture and mentality from the obstacles that link it to the Oriental and Islamic civilization, so that new Turkey can as rapidly as possible catch up with western culture to which they belonged.[24]

5.3. Political Issues

In the whole collection of *La Turquie Kemaliste* there are no traces of the military power of the Turkish state. This absence can be interpreted as to stay in the civil side of the events or the unprepared conditions while a new war was approaching. Also the motto "peace on earth" was emphasized in various political statements, a determination to stay outside the political and military conflicts reflected in editorial articles. We can give an example from Burhan Belge's article on world peace, written in August 1936, which was a very important year when the traces of the Second World War were felt.[25] In some other issues there are subjects related to foreign policy. For example, because of the official visit of the Romanian foreign minister, Mustafa Kemal made a long speech. The journal published the full text of this speech, three pages long, with pictures.[26]

23 LTK, No: 5, February 1935.

24 LTK, No: 7, June 1935, p.5, Falih Rıfkı Atay, "Notre Reforme Linguistique"

25 LTK, No: 14, August 1936.

26 LTK, No: 18, April 1937.

At the time the December 1938 issue was out, Mustafa Kemal had died and Burhan Belge wrote an article entitled "d'Atatürk à İnönü" (From Atatürk to İnönü).[27] In 1939 Falih Rıfkı wrote an editorial article on the foundations of the unity of Turkey.[28] It was the year when the Second World War started, so in the next issue İsmet İnönü's speech was published as the editorial article.[29]

Between April and August 1939 (No: 32-40) the publication had a long break. In 1941 Selim Sarper, an important figure in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote an article "Cancan" (whisper) as an editorial in the middle of the turbulent years of war. In that article he warns the journalists and public listening and reading the world news on their radios and in their newspapers, not to believe everything they hear.[30] In 1942 Selim Sarper wrote another article on foreign journalists in Turkey.[31]

We should mention another important editorial article, written by Vedat Nedim Tör. In that article he argues that foreigners do not understand that, since the Lausanne Agreement, they have been founding a new and powerful basis for a new order. In their critical geopolitics they are living at the crossroads of the three orders: the communist, proletarian order represented by Soviet Russia; the racist, totalitarian order of the Axis states and the capitalist and democratic order of other states. Turkey does not accept any of them, accepting the motto of peace at home, peace in the world. "Turkey does not accept or perform any kind of aggression" he wrote, while underlining the neutral position of the country during the hard days of the war.[32]

5.4. Constructing New Industries All over Turkey

The 1930s and 40s are critical years when we think about the development of the Turkish economy, as the crisis in 1929 effected especially the western capitalist economies. The crisis caused certain problems in developing economies, and Turkey in the formative years. Boratav divides Turkish history into three sub-categories with respect to economic policies. In his categorization, 1923-39 is considered as reconstruction under open economic conditions, under which 1930-39 is protected-statist industrialization. The war years, 1940-45, are considered as an interim (Boratav, 2005). Between 1929 and 1931 they took the first steps for protective-interventionist policies and then between 1933 and 1939 they narrowed the foreign

27 LTK, No: 28, December 1938.

28 LTK, No: 30, April 1939.

29 LTK, No: 31, June 1939.

30 LTK, No: 42, April 1941. "Cancan"

31 LTK, No: 42, April 1942. "Les Journalistes étrangers en Turquie"

32 LTK, No: 44, August 1941. "L'Ordre Turc, au Carrefour de trois ordres"

trade deficit. As a result, they could manage a meaningful first capital accumulation, industrialization, development and gained speed in growth of economy. They decided to put into effect the statist policies during the nationwide tour of Mustafa Kemal that took three months in Anatolia (Boratav, 1982, pp.100-101). In this tour they noticed the internal tensions in the country, a great despair, and poverty of peasantry and working classes, largely inherited from the years of war and being ignored afterwards, and complaint from the self-interested and beneficiary upper middle classes in Anatolia.

With the effects of the world economic crisis that started in 1929, the Republican People's Party (CHF) took new precautions. It accepted six foundational principles in 1931, namely republicanism, nationalism, statism, populism, laicism, and reformism. Planned economy, industrialization, foundation of financial and public economic enterprises and urban planning were critical issues taken into consideration in the 1930s to ensure self-sufficiency in turbulent years. While doing that, they wrote articles on making economies (waste not!) and the formations of new economic and financial institutions such as İş Bankası (Isbank), which was founded in 1924 for facilitating financial activities and to solve the state's economic problems, helping the formation of a national economy and banking system, backing up the newly founded industries after the First Economic Congress in Izmir.[33]

In 1932, the adoption of various resolutions in statism in the economy began. Throughout the 1930s, the state was the main investor and took over the main productive functions in non-agricultural industries. In 1934 the first five-year plan in industry was put into practice, which included not all economic life but mainly textile, metallurgy, ceramics, cellulose and chemistry. The state initiated and financed the 20 main factories in those sectors. As a result, Turkey realized the first real accumulation in industry between 1930 and 1939 (Boratav, 1982, p.70).

Turkey got over the great economic crisis that hit the western world in 1929 with the help of a closed economy. In this first period, the annual growth rate of the economy was 10.3 percent, which was an impressive amount for the whole history of Republic of Turkey and especially for contemporary economies. Just before the Second World War, with the fixed prices of 1938, the share of industry in national income increased from 11 percent to 18 percent from 1929 to 1939. This year, the flour, sugar and weaving needs began to be met with largely domestic production; with the help of the first modern iron and steel factories, the paper and chemical industry, and big leaps in construction material and cement production. Between 1930 and 1939, the annual growth rate of the economy was 5.8 percent, which is

33 LTK, No: 10, December 1935.

also a great success compared to the world economy and other capitalist economies in crisis. Agriculture followed these industries from behind with 5.1 percent (Boratav, 1982, pp.70-72). These protective and statist industrialization policies were interrupted with the great effects of the Second World War.

In most issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste,* there are articles and dossiers related to new industries all over Turkey. For example roads, health, textile, tobacco, glass industries in Beykoz, Nazilli, Kayseri (textiles), Bursa, and Gemlik.[34] In 1937 there is an article on the ten years of sugar industry in Turkey. There are articles concerning metallurgy in Karabük, mining industries, glass industry in Paşabahçe, Beykoz, paper industry in İzmit, Seka. In 1938 the Izmir International fair found a place in *La Turquie Kemaliste*.

5.5. Education and Education of Girls

Education and the opening of new schools at different levels (especially the education of girls and public education) are popular issues in *La Turquie Kemaliste*. For example, there are articles on the physical education of girls[35] or dramatic and lyric arts school, written by Prof. Carl Ebert, who is one of the founders of the State Conservatory in Ankara.[36] There are articles on childhood in Turkey, for example written by the famous German medical professor Albert Eckstein in 1937. There are dossiers on various schools and topics and content on developments in education.

In the 1930s, the education and well-being of villages became important issues. In the presentation of the Museum of Painting and Sculpture we can see lots of representations of village life, still lives chosen from village context and peasantry.[37] In 1938 the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste* reflect the changes of cultural orientation from modernism to Turkish cultural foundations: Ceilings of Turkish houses in Ankara, Turkish fountains and religious water fountains, or Bursa Gardens, mosques and museums found a place in the pages. They show typical Turkish houses from Anatolia, Kula, Safranbolu or Birgi. In the 1941 issue the village in revolutionary Turkey is described as a rich and prosperous place to live with a high level of production and a place to live happily.[38]

34 LTK, No: 3, October 1934, LTK, No: 20, August 1937.

35 LTK, No: 7, June 1935.

36 After the Nazi Party seized power in Germany and after they took hold of Austria, mainly after 1933, a group of German speaking scientists, professors and researchers moved to Turkey; with proper contracts found posts in universities in Ankara and Istanbul. They both added to the modernization of education, cultural life of the new Turkey in various areas and wrote articles in pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste* (Neumark, 2006).

37 LTK, No: 23-24, April 1938.

38 LTK, No: 41, February 1941.

5.6. Turkish Literature and Famous Writers

In almost all issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste* there is a section of literature, where a short story or a summary was given. For example we can read an extract of Yakup Kadri's Sodome and Gomorra translated into French, and Leila, Fille de Gomorra in the first issue.[39] Or there are articles on new novels by the famous Turkish writers: Sadri Ertem's short stories, Falih Rıfkı's new novel *Tuna Kıyıları* (Les Bords de la Tamise (sic Danube).[40] There is a Sabahattin Ali story in French, *Le Camion,* in the February 1937 issue. Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın and Sait Faik (Man who forgets the city, le baluchon, the samovar), Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (*Les Hallucinations d'un Nuit de Solitude*), extracts from Ahmet Haşim (Quelques essais d'Ahmed Haşim), and some other famous writers of the time.

5.7. Le visage Turque (sic.)

In most of the issues there are pages called "*Le visage Turque*" (Turkish faces) that reflect portraits of ordinary people, especially young women and girls: As an example, the pages of the 1938 issue showed portraits of Turkish men and women.[41] Turkish faces include faces of children, young girls, village dwellers, and the new Turkish people. The characteristic of those photographs is that there are always smiling, hopeful, cheerful faces whether they live in the city or in the countryside; and they are looking at the future with hope. In some issues under this title, there are photographs of women working in various workshops and factories, in fields such as the modern sciences, laboratories, agriculture, education etc. The concept is the same as the propaganda film of Yutkevich made for the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey: happy faces of Turkish people whether young or old, living in the city or in the countryside looking at the future with great hope. These are the happy faces of the Turkish people without class, ethnic or religious differences having equal opportunities, just as in the liberal ideal. They are the citizens of the Republic of Turkey accepted as equals with equal rights as in the nationalist framework, reflected in the famous motto of Turkish nationalism: "Happy is who says I'm a Turk" (*Ne mutlu Türküm diyene*).

For many reasons, the Turkish authorities tried to define and redefine the Turkishness of the Republic of Turkey. They tried to move away from the Ottoman past while defining the Turkish people in the context of Turkish nationalism. We can see traces of these efforts in the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste*. One important example is an article published in 1943. This political position is emphasized once again in an "Ankara-Istanbul" article where the writer

39 LTK, No: 1, 1 June 1934.

40 LTK, No: 2, August 1934, pp.6-8.

41 LTK, No: 28, December 1938.

claims that the average visitor who came to Turkey and went to Istanbul would rush from the Haghia Sophia to the walls and quickly round the old Hippodrome; when he goes back he would talk about the Sultans and the old Ottoman stories; he would probably have eaten Russian food and heard news about the government from a Greek porter and his guide would be an Armenian courier. He would concentrate on the relics of the past now intentionally forgotten by the average Turk, who looked ahead to better days.[42]

6. Towards the End… Sensations of the Roots

In various issues of *La Turquie Kemaliste* collection there are subjects derived from old Ankara and other parts of Anatolia. For example there are articles on old Ankara houses, ceilings, places like Tarsus, Urfa, Mersin, Bolu, Hatay (Defne), Ağrıdağı.[43] In 1938 for the first time we see boy scouts, while the threat of war was perceived. We can see traces of a kind of 'tour de force'. Or we have small articles and photographs on Karagöz or sports in Anatolia such as hunting, shooting, horse breeding and skiing; or the Kozak highlands.

In the final issue of the journal published in March 1948 the page layout and font type has changed drastically. Hasan Refik Ertuğ wrote an article entitled "Turkey: The Citadel of Civilizations and Freedom East of Mediterranean". He is claiming that Turkey has always supported the democratic front during the war. He mentions the communist threat towards Turkish, Asian, African and even American peoples; and Eastern Mediterranean countries and claims that Turkey was and will be a part of Western civilization, supporting allies of the democratic world.[44] The article represents Turkey's orientation towards the western world and the United States at the beginning of the Cold War politics.

As a final assessment it can be said that this publication aimed to represent the foundation and progress of the Republic of Turkey in the turbulent years of the 1930s and 40s, presenting Anatolia as a tabula rasa on which they could build a nation, a modern life and culture with all facilities of production and industrialization, education, health and culture. It also aimed to include all cultural heritages starting from ancient civilizations, Hittites, Trojans to Byzantium then to the Ottoman period and a modern resurrection of the Republic of Turkey. It acts as a Domesday Book of the new regime to show the modern face of new Turkey to the western audience.[45] While doing this they presented the modernization, construction,

42 LTK, No: 47, 1943.

43 LTK, No: 27, October 1938, 15th anniversary of Republic of Turkey.

44 LTK, No: 49, March 1948.

45 Domesday Book is an inventory record ordered by William the Conqueror in 1086 to count everything, men and cattle in cities, villages and countryside in England.

industrialization efforts in cities and in the countryside, in education, health, and science. In this collection we find modern, happy and healthy faces of men and women and happy robust children, happy mothers in cities and in small villages all over Turkey. We see the arts, crafts and historical richness of Anatolia and its natural beauties and resources. Across Turkey we are happily living in a country without having any problems or contradictions of class, ethnic origin or religion in the east and the west.

These are obviously not the representative images of the daily life in Turkey, but they were chosen as selected symbols and images for western contemporaries (Aykaç, 2003, p.10). As it is claimed in Kemalist ideology, "we are a coherent body without classes or privileges."[46]

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