Strategic Role of Nationalism in Nation-State Building Process: 
Comparative Historical and Instrumental Analysis of Italy, 
Germany and Turkey in the Context of Nationalism

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Abstract

Nation Building Program of the Republic of Turkey has a Western character. The impact of
the French Revolution has played a key role in this process. Trends such as Italy and
acquired an important place in the political unity of Germany is now completed and the
process of building the family of nations living system has led to exhibit very different
political trends. These different political tendencies affected the political and military elite
of the Republic of Turkey, a country that rose from its ashes. It is worth noting that some of
the strategic instruments that have been used in the nation-building process in Italy and
Germany were adopted by the Turkish authorities. The main objective of this study is to
analyze the effects of Nazism and Fascism which emerged in Germanant and Italy after the
First World War had on Turkey during the single party rule. This study is divided into three
main sections within the framework of this main objective. As a first step, rise of Fascism
in Italy and prominent political practices are discussed. Second, political activities of
Nazism in Germany are analyzed. The last part of the study, impact of Fascism and Nazism
on the Republic of Turkey during the one-party period is examined.

Keywords: Fascism, Nazism, Single Party Period, Nationalism, Nation Building

1. Introduction

All historical processes have their own unique forms of political organizations. As a modern form of
political organization the nation state is the political representation of the past two hundred years. This
structure did not form spontaneously. It has been influenced by many factors that modify and change it
such as modernization, industrialization, technological development, economic change, scientific
revolution and social mobility. During this period nationalism, with its power to hypnotize the masses,
has become a a systemic belief system that marked the last two centuries(Koçdemir 2004: 170). The
effect of this ideology varied from country to country. For example, in Nazi rhetoric "nation" or
"people" (Volk) was almost fetishized. On the other hand in Italian fascism, state was more important
and it was almost sanctified. Nation is in the concept of state for Mussolini. According to this, state comes first. Nation is a political extension of the state. Nationalism was the preferred instrument of the founders of the Republic of Turkey. Although it included some practices from Germany and Italy, it had a syncretic structure which could be considered combined. For example, secular-oriented Jacobin similarities were from France. Practices like the fetishization of the state is reminiscent of Italy. Concepts like folk and "superior nation" were affected by Germany (Çancı 2006: 233-246). "Anti-imperialist" rhetoric based on the War of Liberation illustrates distinguishing characteristics (Berkes, 2002: 104). Turkish nationalism had a western and enlightened character. It expanded with the support of the state. This movement was modeled on France, Italy and Germany, the homelands of European nationalism (Hobsbawm 2010: 161). Political power used nationalism as a strategic instrument of nation-building process. This is the common feature of these movements.

Building a nation-state meant at the same time building a nation. Although the term "nation-building" in the real level suggested that the nation was building its state, the reality was different. Nationalism models that the political power opted for aimed to create a nation. Accordingly, nation states have built the nations (Hobsbawm 2010: 24 and 63). Massimo D'Azeglio famously stated, "We have made Italy, now we must make Italians" should be evaluated in this context (Hobsbawm 2010: 62). Therefore, the state as a political entity, emphasizes its central position in a specific territorial framework by promoting nationalism for a specific political goal (Giddens 1985: 218-220). It was necessary to create a holy language. Holy language was an important key to open a metaphysical power area and nations saw themselves in the center of the cosmos with this understanding (Anderson 2009: 27).

This holy language of nationalism brought nationalisms together or simulate them through the "Nationalist Rhetoric". Nationalist rhetoric is a communicational output of nationalist ideology. Political actions, policies, bureaucratic regulations, and military approaches gain legitimacy through these common rhetorics (Özkırımlı 2009: 284). This nationalist rhetoric was not closed to interact with other nationalist rhetoric. There are an interactions between them. For example, the saying "The Turk has no friend but the Turk" is similar to the Polish saying, "The Pole has no friend but the Pole". The saying "Turkey belongs to Turks" is a direct copy of the saying "America belongs to Americans" from the Monroe Doctrine. These similarities are remarkable since they reflect the important rhetorical similarities (Aksakal 2010: 261). These rhetorical instruments reinforce the national identities while they are being constructed.

National identity was being built through a national rhetoric. Factors such as modernization, urbanization, industrialization, technological development, economic factors and structural changes were interpreted from a nationalist perspective. In particular, the mass media was instrumentalised and became an "ideological apparatus" through print media, cinema and radio in achieving the political goals of the state. Political power tried to standardize, homogenize and transform nationalism through these mass media instruments. Propaganda born in these conditions to guide the masses. In 1933, Adolf Hitler formed the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. This has to be evaluated in the context of mass-communication (Hobsbawm 2010: 170).

One important reason for the rise of the nation-state was the dissolution of the empires and dynasties after the First World War. The Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Habsburg dynasty and the Russian Empire were long gone. Union Nations system, not the old Congress of Berlin system was the new international systemic structure. The nation-state has become an international norm in this process. Even an empire like Britain would join the league of Nations as a nation state, not with its imperial identity (Anderson 2009: 129). For the construction of national identity, mass communication was used to create a popular nationalist enthusiasm with the help of technological developments. Education has played a critical role in this process. Bureaucratic regulations, administrative changes, consolidation of central government and hard political approaches are other features that stand out in this period (Anderson 2009: 129). Thus, the nation was turned into an object
of a program or project of homogenization through non-humanitarian vehicles in a territorial framework. (Hobsawm 2010: 161) Italy is one prominent example of such application.

2. The Rise of Fascism in Italy

The twentieth century, just like the nineteenth century, was witnessed the emergence of ideologies. Conjuncture formed after the First World War would inevitably witness the restoration of world politics. However, colonizer states continued to race for colonies, disregard this perception. In particular, France's attempts to maintain domination over Germany and the fact that Italy was disregarded as a world power by Britain even though it was victorious in the war paved the way for potential problems. At the root of these problems lied the fact that Italy was thrust into chaos day by day because of economical problems (Grazia 1993: 8). The economic crisis in Italy, helped the fascist Italian People's Party which was established in 1919 by a priest named Don Sturzo succeed in the elections (Gilbert 2007: 420) These developments paved the way for fascism in Italy. Supported by the people, opened the way for a Falangist management style that emerged in 1933. Developments that would strengthen Fascism occurred at the end of 1919. Founded in 1919 by Mussolini, Fighting Fascists began to struggle to come to power, organized in the National Fascist Party (Macdonald 1999: 6) Mussolini used economic hardships to seize the power. He constantly reminded the people of these hardships. He aimed to spread fascism at a grassroots level. On the other hand, feminist movements that started to emerge in Italy also stood by the side of fascism. This also strengthened Mussolini's hand (Grazia 1993: 27) In the World War I. five million Italians fought and died or injured. This also helped the Italians people to turn to fascism. (Macdonald 1999: 14) This meant that all those people who were manufacturers turned into consumers. Because Italians aged between 15-40 age were all workers. In the final phase, the consensus was in Mussolini's favor.

Despite the failure in the 1921 elections compared to previous elections, the Fascist party was started to be seen as bolder by the people. The king appointed Mussolini as Prime Minister instead of Ivanoe Bonomi because of the rising fascism and great pressure from the masses (Grand 2000: 25-33). The first act of Mussolini was to use the title Duce. Duce means national chief or national leader. Mussolini suppressed his opponents and was able to come to power alone in the 1924 elections. After that, in the period between 1925-1929 tried to establish a dictatorship (Thompson 1991: 1).

The first thing Mussolini’s dictated was to remove democracy and change the system according to the soldier nation concept. To achieve this goal, important steps were taken to raise fascist soldiers men and women. In addition, the law was changed so that a provincial governor also served as the provincial head of the National Fascist Party and mayor in accordance with the party state mentality. Economic order was established. This further increases the participation of people in fascism. To implement fascism on a social scale, Mussolini, established a life style that would spread fascism on a grassroots level using sports, culture and entertainment activities, known as Dopolavoro. The purpose was to unite and control the community (Blinkhorn 1994: 28). Dopolavoro System implemented by Mussolini, contributed significantly to winning the 1934 World Cup. Mussolini also enacted the Zanardelli Law to control workers and unions. According to the law those who encourage strikes were punished heavily. Thus, Mussolini was able to keep the working class at the hand through his fascist practices. In the final analysis, we can say that the fascist rule created by Mussolini between 1923-1935 helped create a fascist society.

3. The Rule of Nazis in Germany

As Duce Mussolini, Fuhrer Hitler came to power in Germany, because of the Post War conjecture. The Weimar Republic of the Postwar Germany was facing a major economic crisis after the Treaty of Versailles (Balderston 2002: 10-11). Weimar failed in fixing the deteriorating economy and regulating the cultural and social life (Kolb 1988: 129). Furthermore the Bavarian rebellion used the economic
crisis as an excuse (Shirer 1970: 112-113). In addition, the terms of the treaty impoverished the German society and helped create a national identity. The movement started with an economic focus, helped the rise of right-wing parties, especially the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). Adolf Hitler, a former soldier, became the leader of NSDAP after he was released from prison in 1924. In the first general elections held in 1928, Hitler's party received 800,000 votes and 12 seats. In the next two years people's interest in NSDAP increased. In the elections held in September 14, 1930 Hitler's NSDAP won a great success and with 107 seats became the parliament's largest party (Shirer 1970: 221). But the victory was not enough to form a government. In particular, industrialists and the bourgeoisie did not want Hitler in the first period. So Hitler tried to control the government as an outside observer until 1931. But the coalition government could not find a solution to the economic downturn and social upheaval. Thus, the President gave an appointment to interview Adolf Hitler for the first time on October 10, 1931. But could not get a result from the meeting. Hitler decided to participate in the presidential elections that would be held on April 10, 1932. Despite losing the election, Hitler increased his vote seriously. In 1933 the government crisis began to deepen the impact of the economic crisis. A government could not be established and this problem helped Hitler's rise to power (Allen 2006: 201-204). These developments lead President Hindenburg to let Hitler establish the government (Shirer 1970: 302).

The period between 1933 and 1940 is known as the power of Nazi Germany. Practices in this period helped the establishment of the dictatorship and led the way to the construction of a German national typology. To abolish the elections Hitler passed a law called, "Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State". So the way for Hitler to become the dictator was wide open. Then with amendment of March 1933, Adolf Hitler became the ruler of the German Empire and started to use the title Fuhrer (National Chief, National Hero). Highway mobilization was declared and between 1933 and 1936 the whole country was covered with highways. With rapid industrialization, unemployment was reduced from six million to one million. Changes in education and health and using scouting as a means helped the growth of national-youth. Nazis claimed that the German race was superior and they delved in social engineering to create the Volksgemeinschaft. In addition, the unity of the German society was supported with a solidarist-corporatist outlook. The establishment of a single state with a single public lead by a single leader was the backbone of German Nazism. These elements combined with German nationalism exemplified the rise of nationalism in the world and that got ahead of the Republic and particularly democracy.

4. Establishment of One-Party Rule in Turkey, its Consolidation and Practices
The formation of one-party rule in Turkey started when the Progressive Republican Party (PRP) was closed (Tuncay 2010). In the period between 1925 and 1930 was restoration of democracy period. In 1930 the Free Republican Party with (FRP) was closed and this period was ended (Yetkin 1983: 17-18). Republican cadres took the European one party rules as their role model helped establish a one party rule in Turkey between 1930 and 1945. In this period, Republic was reduced to a word and nationalism was on the rise. This paved the way for many problems.

The process of establishing a one-party rule in Turkey aimed to eliminate the Middle Eastern character of the population and and minimize the groups against the Western reforms. From a sociological and psychological perspective, Republican cadres resisted the one party rule for a long time. However the Kurdish problem in the east of the country, caused a deterioration in the state reflexes. The government's hard and authoritarian attitude could have been justified. Because in the new Turkish Republic the memories of rebellion and occupation were fresh. However, the reconstruction of the society and the unconscious use of the state apparatus deteriorated the relationship between the state and the society. In the final point, economical success of nationalist governments meant that in the peak of Keynesianism a newly founded state's one-party rule was understandable.
One-party rule in Turkey was established in a period when societies were brought together with concepts like national chief, führer, koba, el caudillo. As a country taking West as an example, Turkey would inevitably be affected by these developments. Indeed in the period between 1930-1945 Turkey experienced single-party practices that aimed to unify society under the leadership of the leader.

4.1 Conceptualization of Leadership and One-Party Practices

In terms of historical continuity the history of leader cult in Turkey is not very old. The respect for the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was not related to his personality, but to his position (Özdalga 2005: 63). In a society organized as a community a cult of leadership is not important. In such a society what matters is to act in association with the collectivity. However, with modernization and after it, especially with the emergence of the Union and Progress Party Ottoman geography saw leaders like Mizancı Murat, Prince Sebahattin, Enver Pasha Cemal Pasha and Talat Pasha who relied on their personal skills. After the World War I, one leader concept ritualized with Mustafa Kemal. To keep the Mustafa Kemal phenomenon alive in the public eye Republican cadres started to reinforce his immortal chief title by creating Atatürk corners in schools, placing Atatürk statues and commemorating him every year on the anniversary of his death. One of the pioneers of Kemalism Falih Rifki Atay said “We should start creating Atatürk corners in every party center”. Thus he made it clear that Atatürk was the one and only ruler and compared Atatürk to Jesus, Moses, Noah, and Mahdi. On the other hand, it is worth remembering that İsmet İnönü tried to place Gazi Mustafa Kemal among holy men who was called “Hızır” (Plaggenborg 2015: 234). In addition, there were publications in Germany that emphasized the resamblences between Hitler and Atatürk (Glasneck 1976: 15).

Leadership process that began with Atatürk gained momentum after his death especially with İsmet İnönü. İsmet İnönü took the one man spirit that dominated the world as his role model and declared himself the National Chief in the CHP conference (Koçak 2012: 170). In the same conference, important decisions that resambled the practices in Germany and Italy were taken and the way to integrate state and party was opened (Vanderlippe 2005: 3-4). On the other hand, President İnönü wished to unite the society with the slogan one party, one nation, one leader slogan. İnönü also removed the image of Atatürk from stamps and the currency and replaced them with his own image. Ankara was filled with the imagery of Atatürk. That’s why, İnönü tried to cover Istanbul with his own image and placed his statue in Maçka and ordered the building of the (İnönü) Taksim Park.

One important practice of the one-party government was to criminalize the idea of establishing a class based government with the 141th and 142th sections of the Turkish Penal Code. (Kahraman, 2008: 191). Adoption of these two laws showed that Turkish Republic was taking the Third Republic of France’s solidarist ideas on a corporatist society (Kahraman 2008: 192). These two laws that prohibit class politics entered the Criminal Code with the amendment made in 1936 (Örnek 2014: 111). It is significant to note that these two substances that formed the core of the Turkish Penal Code were taken from Fascist Italy (Örnek 2014: 116). Because these two laws were important for creating an integrated Italy that Duce Mussolini’s corporatist model of society tried to create. According to the party leaders of the one party rule these laws would create the nation-state unity and prevent possible rebellions.

4.2 Transformation of the One-Party Rule and the New Social Model

The integrated model of society taken from the Italy Criminal Code meant more than these changes. In particular one party rule in Turkey copied the youth organizations that were formed in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in order to win the young people. Because party administrators believed that young people were the foundation of the nation-state. This social layer is won by forming these youth organizations. Yunaks in Bulgaria, Stahlhelm in Germany, and the Blackshirts in Italy (the Squadristi) were among the subjects of a single party. The aim was to form such an organization. To this end a structure similar to the Turkish League of Power society organized by the Union and Progress party was established. Falih Rifkı Atay tried to give a philosophical meaning and claimed that in order to
reach the national goals, state and the party must assume the role of an educator and he emphasized the role of the youth. He supported the Turkish Power Society (Plaggenborg 2015: 85). Especially between the years 1926-1930, there were debates on whether the structure of youth organizations should copy the structure of those in Italy and Germany. Indeed, in the fourth congress of CHP, the creation of the People's Houses to cultivate a reformist youth was decided (Demirci 2003: 70). On the same convention, it was decided to "Turkish youth will be connected to a national organization that will have a clean morality and have love for the country and revolutions (Zaman 1935: 9). After the necessary studies, hundreds of such community centers were opened until 1934 (Gürçaglar 2008: 74).

Youth organization of the one party rule tried to create an athletic youth and materialize the concept of nation as an army formed by the Unionist mindset. The first thing they did was to give the scout organizations formed in the Ottoman era a militaristic character as per the advices of a German officer, Von Der Goltz Pasha (Beşikçi 2009: 66-67). The first goal of scouting activities that were modeled on German and Italian organizations was to provide appropriate physical education befitting the Republican ideology. For this purpose, the Kemalist government tried to form these scouting organizations for youth resembling the ones in Italy and Germany. Especially between the years 1935-1937 German youth organizations visited the Turkish scouting organizations and did their own propaganda (Bayrak 2010: 167). Mustafa Kemal realized the ideological impact of these scouting organizations and decided to integrate them to Community Centers. After this decision, special attention was paid to form the scouting activities around the republican ideology.

One of the practices of the one-party rule to win the youth was the student anthem. (Öğrenci Andı) Râşit Galip, who established the idea of Kemalism and student anthems(plaides) that resembled the pledges in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany are the cornerstones of the Turkish Revolution (Oruç 2007: 158-160). Student pledges are known to highlight the national identity, solidarity and national morality. That is why it is similar to the student pledge in fascist Italy and German. Students pledges starter on May 10, 1933 and continued until today. One other practice to educate the youth according to ideals of the national leaders was May 19 Youth and Sports Day celebrations. Following the 12 September 1980 coup it was renamed Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day. Youth holidays in Italy and Germany had indirect impact on the creation of these holidays. Especially after their visits to Italy, journalists Falih Rifki Atay, Yunus Nadi and Recep Peker informed Atatürk about the practices they witnessed there. It was decided to turn the holiday into a national holiday. May 19 Commemoration of Atatürk, thus, by Youth and Sports Day, it was aimed to measure the effect of the formation on the youth (Tûrköne 2011). Ruling party's publication Ulus published articles praising Fascism and Nazism along with the practices of Rome and Berlin (Kahraman 2010: 142). This process was partially successful and helped ritualize national leader, national government and national population terms.

One of the pillars of the new society was to create a well-established and modern understanding of history. To this end after 1930 one-party rule started certain cultural activities to glorify the Turkish language and Turkish history. This cultural information was undertaken by taking superior German race understanding of Germany and Italy's Fascist race concept and it was most effective in the period between 1930 and 1940. This formation was called the Sun Language theory and tried to establish Turkish as one of the major languages of the world. The theory claimed that many of the words in the world actually derived from Turkish. Language was conceptualized as a sun that would enlighten the whole world (Toprak 2012: 449-450). One other cultural formation was history studies. History readings from Ottoman to the Republic were considered, albeit implicitly as a foreword. Republican cadres believed that the society had to be recorded. In addition to their activities in the language field, a history theory was developed. This can be perceived as a challenge to Europe. Because Turkish history thesis was basically a response to Western historiography and it claimed to be a part of the European civilization. According to the Turkish history thesis, the origin of the white race is the Central Asia. This race entered Anatolia and migrated to Europe. It contributed considerably to civilization. Turks were the ancestors of this race (Beşikçi 1986: 20-22). Turkish history thesis was developed in a way to
complement the sun language theory. Without an established Turkish history thesis, the sun language theory and spirit of citizenship could not be developed (Toprak 2012: 455). The Turkish history thesis and the sun language thesis helped write a nationalist history and create an national identity (İnce 2012: 68).

One of the practices that the one-party rule inspired by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany was the records in the Anthropology field. Especially the contributions of anthropologists like Elfriede Fliethmann and Dora Kahlich really impressed the Kemalists in Turkey (Toprak 2012: 43). Joseph Deniker and Rudolph Virchow examined the skulls of 7 million people in Germany to determine the characteristics of the superior German race (Toprak 2012: 49). Republican ideology, in parallel to the sun language and national history theories, developed an interest in Anthropology in order to emphasize that the Turks coming from the yellow race. For this purpose, under the leadership of Atatürk's adopted daughter Ayşe Afet İnan, skulls of 64 thousand people were measured. İnan determined that the skull of the Turkish was brachycephalic. Şevket Aziz Kansu worked with Afet İnan stated that Turks were brachycephalic and went further to claim that Europeans were descendants of Turks (Toprak 2012: 191).

Briefly, the Republic took Italy and Germany as example and the government tried to create a national leader, national state, national people cult and anthropology thesis. For this purpose, the practices aiming to format the community seriously affected Turkey. Efforts Aiming to Create a Bourgeois Group in the One-Party Period and practices taken from Italy and Germany.

4.3 Practices Taken from Italy and Germany: Wealth Tax and National Protection Law

One important goal of the one-party rule was to establish a Turkish bourgeoisie in the country. Practices favoring the Turkish subjects that began during the Union and Progress continued in the Republic period. One of the proponents of this idea Abdullah Cevdet succeeding in convincing the Kemalists and the leaders of the Union and Progress Party to create a Turkish bourgeoisie for the transition from feudalism to capitalism (Gündüz 2010: 196). In particular, the decision taken in İzmir Economy Congress and Cabotage Law, aimed to create an area of privilege for Turks. Republican cadres succeeding in utilizing the Ottoman heritage in economic and social terms. They took Italian statesman Massimo D'Azeglio's words as example: "We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians"(Doyle 2002: 39). Protection of Anatolian notables and Turkish merchants in Istanbul was one of the first goals of the Republican ideology. That's why intellectuals, government, merchants and notables cooperated in every field. However, failure of this cooperation was seen during the economic crisis of 1929. The state tried strengthen the bourgeoisie. One of the objectives of the wealth tax was to strengthen the İstanbul merchants and Anatolian notables against foreign capital. As a social engineering effort, wealth tax aimed to create a homogenous society. Intellectuals of the period were affected by fascist governments of 1930's. They took the economic transition made under the leadership of the Fuhrer as an example for Turkey. Representatives send to Italy by İnönü observed the nation-state concept there and acted for the formation of a Turkish type bourgeoisie. Especially the Reich Flight Tax (the Reichsfluchtsteu) that aimed to tax rich Jews, punitive taxes and Jewish wealth tax (Judenvermögensabgabe) were examples taken for the wealth tax(Robert Gellately 2001: 82). It was claimed that the purpose of wealth tax was to eliminate the elements that became rich because of war and famine. But the real purpose was to strengthen the Turkish bourgeoisie.

The Wealth Tax No: 4305 was discussed in the parliament on November 11, 1942 and it consisted of 17 items. This law enabled purging non-Muslim traders from the city alleviate the heavy burden of war taxes from the non-Muslims. These taxes on the other hand are also important as they reference to Harbor Earnings taxes passed by the Union and Progress Party on 20 November 1914(Eldem 1994: 195). The wealth tax was modeled after Nazi Germany's wealth taxes that aimed at the Jewish community. In a similar way, those who couldn't pay their taxes were exiled to Aşkale and forced to work in the railway construction and stay in work camps.
There were a total of 115 thousand people in the Wealth Tax lists, the state collected 315 million liras from them. 9 of the 11 people who would pay a tax exceeding one million were non-Muslim and 2 were considered converts. 87% of the taxes was paid by non-Muslims. Only 7% was paid by Turks. The remaining 6% were minority groups in different levels. Authorities announced that those who didn't pay their taxes until January 4 would pay 1% interest and 2% for the following weeks. The tax presented many issues in terms of technic and content. The fact that those who couldn't pay their taxes were taken to work camps resembled what the Germans did to Jews. This presented many issues related to the image of the country. Many claim that this tax allowed the government to seize the wealth of minorities (Guttstadt 2009: 74). When it was understood that the Germans would loose the war, the pressure of the damaged image of the country forced the government to abolish the tax law on 15 March 1944. Thus the wealth tax practice ended.

One important stage in the development of the Turkish bourgeoisie is the National Conservation Law. The National Conservation Law tried to protect the Turkish manufacturers and consumers from the heavy economic conditions, high prices and black markets. The law was adopted on January 18, published in the Official Gazette (TR Official Gazette, Issue 3, V. 21: 1721). The law is considered to be a measure taken by the one party government to protect the Turkish bourgeoisie (Koçak 2010: 403-408). With the national conservation law the capital of wealthy sections of the society reduced. The aim was to protect the economic stability of small producers and consumers.

4.4. State Party Integration

The basis of party government integration in Turkey goes back to the Union and Progress period. However, a systematic integration was realized at the CHP party congress held in 1931 when it was declared that the basic principles of the party were a fixed component of the state (Ayhan 2009: 89). CHP was the party that established the state. Under the influence of the developments in Europe, state was becoming the fundamental device of the party. Especially at a time when democracy was unfashionable, CHP sympathized fascist governments between 1930 and 1940. In the 1939 congress of the party, Interior Ministry was tied to CHP General Secretariat the governors were tied to district organizations (Bostancı 1996: 87). During this new period of Kemalism a local regulation for the east part of the country was put into place. In 1927 there were in 57 municipalities in the east, while in 1935 this figure fell to 9. The main reason for this change was to break the influence of Sheikh Said Rebellion (Findley 2011: 256).

Signs showing that CHP would try to integrate the party with the state were apparent in the 1930s. Especially before İsmet İnönü and his staff traveled to Italy the newspaper Cumhuriyet wrote "Kemalist Turkey Salutes Fascist Italy" (Cumhuriyet, 1932). This shows that Fascism and Kemalism are in the same category. On 23 May 1932, Falih Rifki Atay praised fascism and emphasized party state integration in fascism (Cumhuriyet, 1932). Party state integration was even more apparent after CHP Secretary General Recep Peker's visit to Germany. Recep Peker represented the fascist and authoritarian part of the party. He advocated assimilation and an ethnocentric nationalism based on blood (Peker 1984: 142). After Recep Peker's visit to Germany the path to the state party integration was opened.

State party integration reached its peak especially as İnönü came to rely on the radical groups and following the economic developments in Italy and Germany. According to the radical groups, Turkey could only be modernized by Kemalism and following the party-state integration. One of the members of this group, the writer of Kemalism Edirne Deputy Şeref Aykut described Kemalism as a religion.

5. Conclusion

As a result, it is necessary to underline that nationalism had international influence. As a nationalist follower of the Ottoman Empire, military and bureaucratic elites of the Republic of Turkey developed
political practices that reflected this influence. In the inter war period, political elites in Turkey adopted some features of Nazism and Fascism. So much so that, Turkish leaders adopted the state-party integration as it is.

However, in Nazi rhetoric "nation" or "people" (Volk) was almost fetishised. While in Italy state had a more critical role. Mussolini focused the concept of nation with the state. According to this state comes first. Nations is the political extension of that. The preferred instrument of the founding elites of Republic of Turkey in nation building included some practices from Germany and Italy but it had a syncretic structure. For example, secular-oriented Jacobin similarities were from France. Practices such as the fetishization of the state is reminiscent of Italy. Folk and "superior nation" shows effect of Germany.

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