

HUMANITIES INSTITUTE
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45 YEARS IN POLITICS

YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOGLU

Synopsis

When Yakup Kadri returns to Istanbul after the victory of the national struggle, he finds a politically divided city. This state of division continues throughout the rest of his political life. Despite Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends, İsmet İnönü becomes the prime minister, but resigns after a while as he can no longer bear the criticisms directed at him. After the uprising led by Sheikh Said, he comes to power again with the Law on the Maintenance of Order. This time, he is accused of corruption, and his reaction to these accusations surprises Yakup Kadri. He is dismissed after some disagreements with Atatürk. However, after Atatürk's death, he is the prime minister again, despite the political circles against him. He is now the leader of the oppressive National Chief regime. This oppressive form of government leads to the birth of the Democratic Party. From this moment on, every step of İsmet İnönü serves to stay on the political scene. Yakup Kadri illustrates how a national hero turns into a self-serving politician by making sense of İnönü's political steps and the dynamics he brings to political life.

People

Abdulhalik Renda	Politician
Abdülmeçid Efendi	The last Ottoman caliph
Adnan Adıvar	Physician, politician and writer
Adnan Menderes	Politician
Ahmet Ağaoglu	Politician
Ahmet Kemal	Statesman
Ali Çetinkaya	Soldier and politician
Ali Fethi Okyar	Soldier, diplomat and politician
Ali Fuat Cebesoy	Soldier and politician
Asım Üs	Politician
Bedii Faik Akin	Author
Behçet Kemal Çağlar	Poet
Celal Bayar	Economist and politician
Celal Karasapan	Diplomat and politician
Cemal Gürsel	Soldier and statesman
Esat Savaş	Statesman
Falih Rifki Atay	Author
Ferit Tek	Politician, diplomat and intellectual
Fevzi Çakmak	Soldier and politician
Fevzi Lütfi Karaosmanoglu	Journalist and politician
Hakkı Tarık Üs	Writer, politician and teacher
Halide Edib Adıvar	Author
Hasan Âli Yücel	Teacher and statesman
Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın	Writer and politician
Hasan Dincer	Lawyer and politician
İsmet İnönü	Soldier and politician
Kasım Gülek	Politician
Kazım Karabekir	Soldier and politician
Kemal Satir	Physician and politician
Mahmut Soydan	Politician, journalist, writer, soldier and businessman
Mustafa Seref	Politician
Nihat Erim	Lawyer, academic and politician
Nuri Conker	Soldier and politician
Rasih Kaplan	Lawyer and politician
Rauf Orbay	Soldier and politician
Recep Peker	Soldier and politician

Refet Bele	Soldier and politician
Refik Koraltan	Politician
Refik Saydam	Physician and politician
Resit Galip	Physician and politician
Semsettin Gunaltay	Historian and statesman
Sukru Saracoglu	Economist and statesman
Talat Aydemir	Soldier
Tevfik Biyiklioglu	Soldier and politician
Velit Ebuzziya	Journalist and publisher

Terms

Bey It is an honorific for men, equals to Mr. in English.

Events

After the Victory

In 1922, after the recapture of Izmir, Yakup Kadri and Falih Rifki are hosted in the Ussakizade mansion, where Mustafa Kemal stays. Falih Rifki turns the chat at the breakfast table into an interview and asks Mustafa Kemal to analyze the victory from both military and political perspectives. Mustafa Kemal gives a detailed answer. With the excitement of this being the first interview of Mustafa Kemal after the victory, Yakup Kadri and Falih Rifki go to their house in Bornova and immediately start working. Falih Rifki writes about the military aspect of the statement, as Yakup Kadri writes about its political aspect.

Neither of them knows how their writings influence Istanbul, but they are not curious either. They think that they are at the source of everything worth to be reported. They witness the devastating effect of the Greek invaders, the transport of the captives to the prison camps, and the armistice negotiations in Mudanya. However, when they return to Istanbul, they find that the press, which was divided into two groups as supporters and opponents of the national struggle only a week ago, is further divided, and the city is in a completely different political climate.

Three Political Groups

Three distinct groups stand out in this political climate: The Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia, constituted by the political unit of the national struggle, the National Association of Defense, and the Committee of Union and Progress. The leader of the first group is Yakup Kadri, the second is Velit Ebuzziya, and the third is Ahmet Kemal, known as Black Kemal. The National Association of Defense, which made significant contributions to the national struggle, does not want to recognize the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia as it does not consider it competent to represent Anatolia. Moreover, it even forces the governor of Istanbul and the chief of police affiliated with it to investigate the members of the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. The conflict between these two groups benefits the Unionists, who had to flee the country during the armistice period. Now, they can operate in Istanbul again.

Yakup Kadri feels that the spirit of the national struggle uniting everyone is now gone. Even his close friend, the representative of the Grand National Assembly, Dr. Adnan Adivar, believes that the most influential political force in Istanbul is still the Unionists and advises him to agree with Black Kemal. While he is about to inform Mustafa Kemal about the situation, as he is disturbed by the importance that people give to the Unionists, he learns that Mustafa Kemal invites the publishers and writers in Istanbul to Izmit for a press conference. When he gets on the ferry to go to Izmit, he sees Black Kemal among the passengers and cannot understand why he is going to Izmit as he is not affiliated with any newspaper.

In Izmit, Mustafa Kemal wants to meet Yakup Kadri, Velit Ebuzziya, and Black Kemal. When he starts to ask questions about the political formations they represent, Black Kemal states that the Committee of Union and Progress is now over politically, but he organizes people, thinking that the former Unionists can be of use to the country. Velit Ebuzziya, underlining that his group made significant contributions to the national struggle, implies that they are the most important political formation in

Istanbul. Since the head of the organization Yakup Kadri represents is Mustafa Kemal himself, Yakup Kadri only talks about his activities in Istanbul.

After listening to them, Mustafa Kemal asks them to operate for The Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia as vote splitting is not good. While Black Kemal immediately confirms this, Velit Ebuuzziya does not say anything.

After Yakup Kadri returns to Istanbul, he tries to unite the three political formations. However, he does not feel any change in the attitudes of Velit Ebuuzziya and Black Kemal. He reports the situation to Mustafa Kemal in a letter. Mustafa Kemal sends two deputies, Ali Cetinkaya and Rasih Kaplan, to Istanbul to deal with the issue.

Izmir and Its Surroundings

However, the results in Izmir and its surroundings do not look that bright. In Izmir and its surroundings, only the Rejection of Annexation Society, which only cares about the liberation of Izmir, is recognized. Moreover, some people affiliated with this society, who fled during the national struggle, show up only after the struggle is over. Yakup Kadri thinks that the election results are bad in Izmir and its surroundings because of these people's manipulative campaigns.

A while ago, when he visited Manisa with a delegation consisting of Halide Edib, Falih Rifki, and Asim Us, these people asked him to mediate a meeting with Mustafa Kemal. But he said that he was not authorized to do such a thing. Then, they claimed that they were treated like this because they fled their homeland during the national struggle.

The person who had this conversation with Yakup Kadri is later elected as the mayor of Manisa and becomes the head of The Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. He ensures that Yakup Kadri and one of the owners of the *Vakit* newspaper, Hakki Tarik Us, are removed from the list of candidates before the parliamentary elections.

What *Tanin* writer Huseyin Cahit Yalcin writes about Yakup Kadri also plays a role in this crisis. Huseyin Cahit writes provoking articles after being sent to Istanbul for offending the Turkish delegation during the Lausanne Conference negotiations. Yakup Kadri, who thinks that Huseyin Cahit is an Ottoman intellectual believing that fairness and justice always come from the West, criticizes him fiercely. As these fights continue, the sales of *Tanin* skyrocket in Manisa. The newspapers with harsh statements written by Huseyin Cahit about Yakup Kadri are distributed among people. When Yakup Kadri learns that he is nominated MP for Mardin instead of Manisa because of these events, he withdraws his candidacy.

Who Should be the Prime Minister?

When Yakup Kadri, who is now Mardin MP at the insistence of Mustafa Kemal, goes to Ankara, he finds himself in the middle of a debate about who is to be the prime minister. Although he thinks that Ismet Pasha, who represents Turkey at the Lausanne Conference, is the best candidate, Mustafa Kemal, claiming that Ismet Pasha is dull of hearing, expresses that he cannot do this job properly due to his health problems. When Yakup Kadri and others question why the health problem, which is not a problem when representing Turkey at the Lausanne Conference, is now being discussed, Mustafa Kemal voices that his childhood friend Fethi Okyar is a more suitable character for the position.

Yakup Kadri is already aware that the people around Mustafa Kemal are not fond of Ismet Pasha. However, this time, Refet Pasha speaks impudently about Ismet Pasha among friends. He tells Yakup Kadri that he read the article praising Ismet Pasha for the victory in the First Battle of Inonu, that the article is poetic but has nothing to do with reality. Yakup Kadri then asks if the telegram written by Mustafa Kemal to Ismet Pasha upon the victory is also just poetry. Refet Pasha, reminding him that the telegram was also written by a poet, Hamdullah Suphi, replies that the victory, in fact, belongs to Fethi Pasha. Yakup Kadri agrees with what Refet Pasha says years later as he reads the notes written by Staff Colonel Tevfik Biyiklioglu about Inonu's victory.

However, he tries to understand the reason for this attitude toward Ismet Pasha. He remembers the time he joined the Red Crescent delegation, which brought aid from Ankara to a town, Gordes, with

two deputies during the National Struggle. When they arrived in Eskisehir, they wanted to see Ismet Pasha, as he was the front commander, but they could not find him. Later, while they were waiting at the station to go to Kutahya, they encountered Ismet Pasha, and Ismet Pasha was friendly only to Yakup Kadri. Yakup Kadri found Ismet Pasha's attitude strange but could not comprehend it.

Thinking about these, he tries to understand why Mustafa Kemal is doubtful of Ismet Pasha's qualities. Meanwhile, opposition to Ismet Pasha in the parliament intensifies because Prime Minister Rauf Orbay resigns due to a disagreement with Ismet Pasha, the foreign minister at the time. Under these circumstances, Fethi Okyar finally becomes the first prime minister after the victory.

Opposition to Ismet Pasha

Some deputies provoke disturbances in the parliament because they could not be a minister. In this context, as Fethi Bey resigns, a regime crisis occurs. Rauf Orbay's supporters try to prevent the proclamation of the republic and the abolition of the caliphate. Yakup Kadri interprets this as an effort to prevent Mustafa Kemal from making Ismet Pasha the prime minister rather than an ideological opposition. As a matter of fact, Rauf Bey states that a republic does not leave the future of a nation in the hands of one person, the author of *Tanin* Huseyin Cahit Yalcin declares that a republic is not the tyranny of the military and Velit Ebuzyiya, the author of *Tevhidi Efkar* [The Unity of Thoughts] newspaper, remarks that it is not possible for Ismet Pasha to be a prime minister deservingly.

Finally, when Ismet Pasha becomes the prime minister, it is complained that he leads a police state that spies on the deputies and each conversation between political figures. Although the apparent target is Ferit Tek, the minister of interior, the person complained about is Ismet Pasha.

While the government prefers to keep the Baghdad Railway concession to the Germans, most of the deputies demand its nationalization. As Ismet Pasha struggles to ease the tension in the assembly and to defend the decisions of the minister of public works, the Speaker of the Assembly Fethi Okyar watches him with a mocking smile. In one of these sessions, Refet Pasha, sitting next to Yakup Kadri, pokes him with his elbow and says that Ismet Pasha is so narrow-minded that he thinks the country consists of people like the deputies.

Opposition to Yakup Kadri

Yakup Kadri gets his share from the tension of the assembly. Saying that they are insulted by his article in the *Aksam* newspaper about the budget allocations, the finance ministry board harshly criticizes him. In the article, Yakup Kadri condemns that the issue of providing pensions for the caliph and members of the Ottoman dynasty is prioritized over the presidential budget.

When he is invited to the rostrum to defend himself, the Republican People's Party deputies are forced to set up barricades around the rostrum against the deputies who insult him, try to attack him, or even try to gouge his eyes with a pencil. But ironically, about a month after this event, the caliphate is abolished, and it is decided to deport all members of the caliphate. Those who object to Mustafa Kemal's last-minute demand for the elderly women to be exempted from exile, referring to the wickedness of the palace women, are also those who attacked Yakup Kadri.

Moreover, Eskisehir Deputy Emin Sazak sarcastically implies to Yakup Kadri that he was encouraged to write that article by Mustafa Kemal. He is not mistaken as writing such an article takes courage. Despite the declaration of the enlightened clergy regarding the futility of the caliphate, the majority of the political figures, almost all significant names of the Istanbul press, the clergy, and some foreign persons suggest that Mustafa Kemal not abolish the caliphate.

The Issue of the Caliphate

Encouraged by this debate, Caliph Mecid Efendi officially complains about the government's attitude toward him and his family. Although Mustafa Kemal argues that new measures should be taken against these complaints, Ismet Pasha takes a negotiative stance. Years later, Yakup Kadri interprets his attitude that he may have wanted to utilize the reputation of the caliph in order to balance Mustafa Kemal's prestige. However, Ismet Pasha, upon Mustafa Kemal's declaration that the issue should be

taken seriously, has the parliament make a decision to try the supporters of the caliphate in the Independence Tribunal in Istanbul. This tribunal does not punish anyone except former Member of Parliament Lutfi Fikri, but it has an intimidating effect on Istanbul that is in favor of the caliphate.

Ali Fuat Pasha

After the caliphate issue is over, the draft constitution granting veto power to the commander-in-chief becomes a matter of discussion. But Ismet Pasha is still a target. The attitude toward him affects the army too. Mustafa Kemal thinks that Refet Pasha, Ali Fuat Pasha, and Kâzım Karabekir Pasha have a hidden agenda since Rauf Orbay resigned. He believes that the fact that Ali Fuat Pasha and Kâzım Karabekir Pasha wanted to return to the army inspection and then changed their mind to become a deputy again after a short time was because they felt successful in turning the army in their favor.

The day Ali Fuat Pasha returns to Ankara, he invites him to dinner in Cankaya. Among the guests is Yakup Kadri. While the guests are standing and chatting, Mustafa Kemal keeps looking at his watch and whispers something in his aide's ear. But Ali Fuat Pasha never shows up. Finally, toward ten o'clock, the guests are invited to the table. Mustafa Kemal, in a depressed state, implies that Ali Fuat Pasha must have been tricked by Kâzım Karabekir or Rauf Orbay.

However, when Yakup Kadri has the opportunity to listen to that night from Ali Fuat Pasha years later, he learns that Ali Fuat Pasha was in the house of Saffet Arikian, who was the chief of staff and worked with him as a military attaché when Ali Fuat Pasha was the ambassador to Moscow. Ali Fuat Pasha asked Saffet Bey to mediate to meet with Mustafa Kemal, but Saffet Bey, who was among the guests in Cankaya that evening, did not take any steps in this regard.

Yakup Kadri cannot comprehend this miscommunication, the inability of a head of state and an army inspector to reach each other in a small city. However, according to the opposition, Ismet Pasha prevented Ali Fuat Pasha from meeting with and reconciling Mustafa Kemal with his friends, as he did not want Mustafa Kemal to get close to his former comrades and wanted to remain as the only reliable person.

The Opposition is Organizing

One evening, a secret meeting is held in Cankaya to prevent schisms in the People's Party. The leading cadre demands the liquidation of some names in order to avoid factions. While they are talking, Mustafa Kemal writes down the names mentioned. In the end, there are so many names that he smiles and says that they will be the minority in the parliament at this rate. Upon hearing this, everyone immediately falls silent. After thinking for a while, Mustafa Kemal states that he wants to call one or two people to talk about the issue and invites Zulfu Bey and Feyzi Bey, Diyarbakir MPs.

Two deputies enter without any sign of surprise on their faces at being summoned to Cankaya at that hour. Mustafa Kemal tells them the deputies cannot agree on a principle and form a stable government and then asks what they think about this issue. Both deputies affirm him and note that they have obligations to serve the country together. Just then, Mustafa Kemal's aide comes in and leaves a few letters on the table. After reading the letters, Mustafa Kemal smiles and states that the issue is resolved by itself; the opposition is organized to found the Progressive Republican Party.

Ismet Pasha and Fethi Okyar

Ismet Pasha can no longer stand the attacks against him and resigns. Fethi Okyar takes his place. The presence of Fethi Okyar after Ismet Pasha, who is willing to suppress the unrest in the country with a state of emergency, appeases the irritated Istanbul press. But a short time later, Sheikh Said's rebellion emerges. While Fethi Bey considers this an example of banditry, Ismet Pasha thinks that the rebellion is serious enough to require the army's intervention.

One evening, after dinner, a few game tables are set up in the Cankaya Mansion. While Yakup Kadri and his friends play poker with Mustafa Kemal, Ismet Pasha and Fethi Bey play bridge at another table. Later that night, Mustafa Kemal receives a telegram, and after reading it, tells his aide to give the telegram to the prime minister. After Fethi Bey receives the telegram and reads it, he gives it back to the aide and continues the game. Mustafa Kemal tells the aide to give the telegram to Ismet Pasha this time. Ismet Pasha reads the telegram, stands up, examines things alarmingly, and looks for a

cigarette and a match, then sits down again. After this scene, Mustafa Kemal says, "Here is the difference between the two men," and lets them know that Sheikh Said's men have come to Semdinan.

Ismet Pasha is Prime Minister Again

The opposition, which includes Kâzım Karabekir Pasha, Ali Fuat Pasha and Refet Pasha, draws attention to the possibility of the rebellion turning into a civil war and battles in the parliament until midnight to prevent it from being suppressed by the army. These days, Ismet Pasha comes to power again and suppresses the rebellion with the army and enacts the Law on the Maintenance of Order, granting the government emergency powers.

Years later, Yakup Kadri comes to the conclusion that this situation, which is perceived as a victory in those days, is actually pathetic as it is not decent for a statesman to rule a country with violence. Moreover, Ismet Pasha starts to look like a tyrant to some parts of the country after that day. However, since the warrior spirit of the national struggle is still alive, Yakup Kadri and others expect only courage and heroism from statesmen in those days.

The Opposition

Every time both the opposition and some Republican People's Party deputies go up to the rostrum in the parliament, they shout that the new law indicates a regime of tyranny that is incomparable with the reign of Abdulhamid. After a while, the assassination attempt on Mustafa Kemal in Izmir reveals the fact that the national struggle and the revolutionary actions lack a spirit of unity and solidarity. Those who participated in the struggle now fight for personal interests.

However, after the rebellion led by Sheikh Said is suppressed and those responsible are punished by the Independence Tribunal, the oppositional press is silenced. Now, Ismet Pasha is more comfortable in his seat. During his stay in a vineyard house right next to his mansion, Yakup Kadri has the opportunity to meet with him frequently. Ismet Pasha now seems to have got rid of all his worries.

A Different Ismet Pasha

Yakup Kadri thinks that the old nervous Ismet Pasha has been replaced by a new reckless Ismet Pasha, who looks at everything from afar and miscalculates the impacts of events. He bought his vineyard house at the insistence of Mustafa Kemal by taking a loan from Isbank but now, as he is unable to pay his debt, he decides to sell it. When he conveys this decision to Ismet Pasha, Ismet Pasha gazes up at him condescendingly, and emphasizing his failure to go after his personal interests, he says, "You are only a child." However, when the news of corruption in the government staff spreads everywhere, he, as a prime minister, realizes that he needs to take an action and starts a battle against the politicians in business life.

However, it soon becomes clear that some politicians are exempted from the sanctions. For example, while Naval Minister Ihsan Bey and his close friend MP Fikret Bey, with whom Ismet Pasha does not get along well, stand trial in the Constitutional Court on the grounds that they obtained a commission from a foreign company that repaired the *Yavuz* battleship, no sanctions are imposed on Minister of Commerce Ali Cenani, whose name is involved in corruption.

In a private conversation, Ismet Pasha tells Yakup Kadri that Ihsan Bey's friends want Ali Cenani to be punished for retaliation. Yet he is not an Ottoman grand vizier but a republican prime minister and will act accordingly. However, he cannot stand the pressure any longer and lets Ali Cenani stand trial in the Constitutional Court.

Yakup Kadri notes that Ali Cenani is an honorable person, and what he did was administrative irregularity that does not require punishment. Accordingly, he gets fined, as Ihsan Bey is sentenced to three years in prison. He also considers Ali Cenani's standing trial in the Constitutional Court Ismet Pasha's concession.

However, while Ismet Pasha does not pay attention to his close friends' exploitation of the state's facilities, he never misses any opportunity to prosecute his opponents at the time. So, the number of his supporters in the parliament decreases.

A Principle of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Statism

Yakup Kadri informs Secretary of the Republican People's Party Recep Peker that he is considering founding a magazine to explain the principles of the revolution to the public. But Recep Peker angrily declares that he does not have such authority and that the party will do it if necessary. Then, Yakup Kadri establishes *Kadro* magazine, taking permission from Mustafa Kemal and Ismet Pasha.

However, the magazine is criticized on the grounds that its name comes from the term "cadre" of the socialist parties and that it supports dangerous foreign ideologies. The journal's main objective is to make the principle of statism understandable. For some deputies are unaware that this is an economic system and think that it means being a partisan of state control, while others suppose that it is the monopoly of state.

In the first year, Yakup Kadri asks Ismet Pasha to share his definition of statism to be published in the magazine, and Ismet Pasha has Yakup Kadri sit at his desk and begins to dictate. He explains at length that statism is the state support for industrial and commercial development in the country.

However, when Yakup Kadri looks at this explanation years later, he sees that Ismet Pasha was not successful in realizing the economic system he described. The businessmen of that period buy the machines of the bankrupt sugar and textile factories of Europe, which is in crisis and bring them to Turkey and establish their own companies or sell them for the second time. As things proceed in the industrial world, the public cannot buy either sugar or cloth.

The Liberal Republican Party

Although the public is disturbed by the situation, the press is silent. This being the case, Mustafa Kemal wants an opposition party to be established and asks Fethi Okyar to lead it. Ahmet Agaoglu prepares the party programme, and Nuri Conker becomes the party secretary. On the night the party is founded, when returning to their hotel, Fethi Okyar tells Yakup Kadri that the country needs an opposition party and that he has already received many telegrams about it. When they arrive at the hotel, they read the newly arrived telegrams together. Yakup Kadri sees that people honor Fethi Bey as a savior and state their demand to become a party member.

When Fethi Bey asks Yakup Kadri when he will join their party, Yakup Kadri says that Mustafa Kemal did not make such an offer to him, but if he did, he would apologize to him because he wants to stay in the Republican People's Party as he does not agree with the Liberal Republican Party's principles. When Fethi Okyar asks which principles he does not agree with, he responds that he will explain them in writing.

In a short time, turmoil breaks out in the country. In Izmir, where Fethi Bey holds a rally, the provincial headquarters of the Republican People's Party and the party's *Anadolu* newspaper are attacked. When Fethi Bey and his friends depart from Izmir for Balikesir, the people greet them with green flags, denoting an Islamic rule, hymn, and sacrifice and animal. Looking at these events, Yakup Kadri thinks that Mustafa Kemal wanted an opposition party to expose the secretive reactionary activities and show the government the magnitude of the danger.

But when he sees Fethi Bey being held responsible for these events and forced to defend himself in the parliament until midnight, he feels sorry for him. His defense of himself for hours increases Yakup Kadri's respect toward him. However, the Liberal Republican Party is eventually dissolved. Yakup Kadri does not like that no one considers questioning Ismet Pasha, who has been in power for seven years, about his failure to make the people adopt the party's principles. After the government punishes the reactionary people who caused the events, it proceeds its own way with the conviction that the revolution has settled in the country without any problem.

The Issue of Isbank

In the summer of 1932, Yakup Kadri and his wife are often invited to Mustafa Kemal's mansion in Yalova, but each time, they feel there is something odd about Mustafa Kemal and his guests. One evening, when the guests ask Mustafa Kemal if Ismet Pasha gave him some of the Malatya apricots sent to him as gift, Yakup Kadri feels that there is an issue regarding Ismet Pasha again. When he learns that Isbank General Manager Celal Bayar and Chairman of the Board of Directors Mahmut Soydan frequently visit Mustafa Kemal in the mansion for an hour or two and then return to Istanbul, he thinks that the issue is also related to Isbank.

Again, in a dinner in the mansion in Yalova, Mustafa Kemal tells Minister of Economy Mustafa Seref that sometimes they can be mistaken in understanding the true intentions of the people they work with, and that he was wrong, too; the people he trusted committed corruption. Then, he asks Mustafa Seref what he thinks of a general manager, Yakup Kadri does not name. When Mustafa Seref says that the person in question is an honest individual, Mustafa Kemal gets angry. He slaps the table, declaring that the person prevents Isbank from establishing a paper factory in Istanbul, that he personally examined the bank's application and could not find a single point that was against the law, that the person acts this way either because he is ill-intentioned or under someone's influence. As Yakup Kadri knows how Ismet Pasha tries to keep the investments and board of directors of Isbank under control, he figures that Mustafa Kemal is actually referring to Ismet Pasha's effect on the staff.

The next evening, Mustafa Kemal invites Ismet Pasha, who lives in a mansion a few meters away, to dinner. But he has to wait for him for hours, just like the evening he invited Ali Fuat Pasha. He makes explanations like "Ismet Pasha has just arrived at his mansion and will be here as soon as possible" to his guests. But, as he doesn't want to keep anyone waiting any longer, he invites everyone to the table toward ten o'clock.

Ismet Pasha shows up with a sullen face at about eleven and sits down without speaking to anyone. While everyone is waiting in silence to see what will happen, Mustafa Kemal jokingly apologizes to Ismet Pasha for rushing him out of the bathroom, and then asks him if the water was hot enough. When Ismet Pasha does not respond, he says that the temperature of the water should be adjusted according to the blood pressure and asks what his blood pressure is. Still without saying anything, Ismet Pasha starts to read the *Aksam* newspaper. Mustafa Kemal, this time, asks if he reads the news about the Order of the Garter. Ismet Pasha, with his eyes glued on the newspaper, asks what it is. Mustafa Kemal responds that an American newspaper writes that the British would like to award him the Order of the Garter. Ismet Pasha asks why they bother to award him. Mustafa Kemal replies that the British are fond of him, and they showed their fondness by removing Lloyd George from office. As Ismet Pasha responds that Lloyd George was removed from office because of the disagreement in the cabinet, Mustafa Kemal reminds him that the conflict was because of his victory in Dumlupinar and that Lloyd George was mostly criticized for his policy toward Turkey. Everyone at the table watches this dialogue in silence and bewilderment. At the end of the night, Mustafa Kemal wants to stay alone with Ismet Pasha to talk, and Yakup Kadri is relieved, thinking that they will make up.

Indeed, the following evening, Mustafa Kemal and Ismet Pasha treat each other as before. Ismet Pasha tells that while he was on duty on the eastern front, he knew that enemies would attack, but he could not take any decision because he could not reach the headquarters. With that, Mustafa Kemal, the commander of the sixth corps, came to visit him and ordered a withdrawal and saved him and the soldiers from a disaster. Ismet Pasha reiterates his gratitude by telling this story.

The conflict between Isbank and the Ministry of Economy ends with the resignation of Mustafa Esref and Celal Bayar succeeding him. But the paper factory is never founded. Yakup Kadri finds this reassignment meaningless as the factory, the cause of the conflict, is not founded.

Ismet Pasha is Dismissed

Upon Mustafa Kemal's statements about Celal Bayar being Turkey's greatest economist, Yakup Kadri begins to observe how Ismet Pasha reacts. One night, Mustafa Kemal sends a telegram to Ismet Pasha to inform him that he wants to replace Minister of Education Esat Sagay with Resit Galip. Ismet Pasha writes back that it doesn't matter what a prime minister would say after being woken up in the middle of the night and informed that there would be a change in his cabinet. Since Ismet Pasha already knows that Mustafa Kemal would like to change the minister of education, Yakup Kadri finds Ismet Pasha's reaction pointless.

In Prague, as soon as he is informed that Ismet Pasha resigned due to his health problems and that Celal Bayar is to replace him, he writes a letter to Ismet Pasha. Although Ismet Pasha says he is fine, Yakup Kadri goes to Ankara at the first opportunity. However, he finds Ismet Pasha playing bridge at Anadolu Club. While Ismet Pasha is playing, he goes up to him and says that he is very curious about him, but Ismet Pasha does not show much interest in his presence. When the game is over, he leaves without speaking to anyone. Yakup Kadri does not know what to do in the face of his attitude. At that moment, a waiter approaches him to notify him that Ismet Pasha is waiting for him outside. Then, Ismet Pasha takes him to his house secretly.

Yakup Kadri later hears rumors that Ismet Pasha is under surveillance in Ankara but does not believe it because he did not sense such a thing when he visited Mustafa Kemal in Dolmabahce Palace in Istanbul before coming to Ankara. As a matter of fact, when he goes to Istanbul a few days later, he finds Ismet Pasha there and sees that everyone continues to treat him with respect. However, when Mustafa Kemal sets off for Ankara, something strange happens. As politicians in Istanbul get on the motorboats from the dock of the Dolmabahce Palace to see him off at the Haydarpaşa Train Station, they leave Ismet Pasha behind. So, he gets on the same motorboat with Yakup Kadri. Yakup Kadri does not even want to greet him, as he sits down with a sullen face without even answering those who address him.

Mustafa Kemal's Death and Ismet Pasha's Attitude

When they arrive at Haydarpaşa dock, Mustafa Kemal tells Yakup Kadri that he will not stay in Ankara long and wants to meet with him on his return. But Yakup Kadri is planning to return to his duty in Prague. So, he wishes him a good trip, which is the last thing Yakup Kadri hears from Mustafa Kemal.

When he returns to Istanbul after a while, he finds him on his deathbed. He hears that Marshal Fevzi Cakmak was summoned from Ankara and offered the presidency, but he refused, and then the same offer was made to Speaker of the Parliament Abdulhalik Renda. Yakup Kadri is surprised by what he hears, thinking that no one other than Ismet Pasha can fill Mustafa Kemal's place. As soon as he goes to Ankara, he wants to reach him but cannot.

On the evening of the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic, he runs into Ismet Pasha, while waiting in line to greet Abdulhalik Renda, who accepts the congratulations. He immediately goes up to him to shake his hand and then says that he called him many times but could not reach. Ismet Pasha replies, "Yes, I know, they informed me. However, I said to myself, 'For what reason?'" Yakup Kadri does not know what to say. Even though Ismet Pasha invites him to his house that evening, their conversation does not exceed the limits of an official visit.

Yakup Kadri receives the news of Ataturk's death the day he returns to Prague. When he arrives in Istanbul, he wants to see Ismet Pasha, who is now the president and goes to his mansion in Yalova. But he is received so coldly that he spends the whole afternoon wandering around Yalova like a tourist with his wife.

In the evening, they go to the Presidential Palace, but they find Ismet Pasha listening to the music team absentmindedly. Yakup Kadri cannot understand whether the expression on his face means sullenness, boasting, uneasiness, or the officiality of the head of state. Moreover, as Ismet Pasha spends the night talking in monosyllabic words, the atmosphere becomes even more tiresome. Finally, when Ismet Pasha's wife takes Yakup Kadri's wife away, Yakup Kadri is left alone with him. While talking about what he witnessed in Czechoslovakia and the peace that the Munich Conference would bring, Ismet Pasha suddenly hits his knee with his hand and whines that Ataturk died prematurely. After that moment, their conversation takes a friendly form as before, and Yakup Kadri concludes that the main reason for Ismet Pasha's state is his worries about the war.

The National Chief

When Yakup Kadri goes to Ankara, no matter how hard he tries to see Ismet Pasha, he is not invited by the new president. Ismet Pasha is now an inaccessible person, so much so that he is known as the National Chief, not the president. When Yakup Kadri learns that he is appointed to the Baghdad Embassy by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he goes to see Minister Sukru Saracoglu. Saracoglu

shows him the list and tells him he was appointed to Madrid before but keeps silent before completing his phrase. Yakup Kadri takes a glance at the list and sees his name was marked and placed across Baghdad. Considering the minister's attitude, he figures that this was made by the National Chief.

Thereupon, he thinks that the National Chief appoints Fethi Okyar as the minister of justice and Ali Fuat Cebesoy as the minister of transportation to convey the message that these people were not against him; they were against Ataturk. He believes that Ismet Pasha liquidates the people who were close to Ataturk and engage in underground activities against him when they believe it is necessary and criticize the opposition too harshly. So, he concludes that he is expelled for criticizing the opposition too harshly.

He arranges a meeting with the National Chief through Prime Minister Refik Saydam. During the interview, Ismet Pasha says that he will correct his mistake, but the reason Yakup Kadri wants to see him is to ask him to edit a manuscript he wrote about Ataturk. While talking to him about the manuscript, he feels that Ismet Pasha has lost all his attention and is not listening to him. Nevertheless, a few days later, he sends the draft to him.

Some time passes. He is appointed to the Hague Embassy, but a year later, he returns to Ankara after the German occupation of the Netherlands. Minister of Education Hasan Âli Yucel urges him to have the book published, and he says that Ismet Pasha has the draft and that he needs to meet with him for the book. So, Hasan Bey meets with Ismet Pasha, and then shows the parts to be removed from the draft and the sentences to be changed to Yakup Kadri. Then, Yakup Kadri realizes that Ismet Pasha has read the draft and told the parts he wants to be removed to Hasan Bey. Finally, the book is published in 1947, dedicated to Ismet Pasha.

Yakup Kadri preserves the laudatory expressions he wrote in the dedication part in the fourth edition of the book, but all his feelings about Ismet Pasha have now changed. Ismet Pasha puts his own portrait on stamps and banknotes in lieu of Ataturk. In addition, it saddens Yakup Kadri that a mausoleum suitable for Ataturk has not been built yet. He is not the only one thinking that way. Behcet Kemal Caglar also frequently criticizes the government for not showing the due respect for Ataturk's memory, but Ismet Pasha harshly scolds him the first time he encounters him.

During the War

Yakup Kadri returns from the Hague, thinking that Hitler is heading toward a dead end. He shares his ideas with his friends, but only Refik Saydam and Ismet Pasha take him seriously as the majority considers the victory of the Germans inevitable. The day after he arrives in Istanbul, he runs into Refik Saydam in the hotel lobby. Refik Bey listens to the course of the war from him and asks him to tell Ismet Pasha what he tells him. Yakup Kadri meets with Ismet Pasha in the evening of the same day and shares his analysis with him. Although Ismet Pasha supports the British and agrees with his thoughts, he does not reveal this to the press and the political circles. Yakup Kadri goes to Ankara and sees that the newspapers are ready to announce Hitler's victory. He does not understand why the government does not take any action to prevent the press from broadcasting contrary to the state's foreign policy. For their ally is England. As a matter of fact, newspapers are shut down not because they defend Hitler or Nazism but because they unearth how political figures get involve in corruption.

Combating Corruption

The fact that a minister monopolizes the olive oil market and a governor protects the black marketers makes people furious with the government, especially Ismet Pasha. Yakup Kadri's all acquaintances of every profession complain about the government. So, when he is appointed to the Bern Embassy, he requests a private meeting from Ismet Pasha and warns him of the public's anger against the government and him. A few days later, when he visits Prime Minister Sukru Saracoglu, he tells him the same things. Then, Saracoglu says he now understands who provoked Ismet Pasha and states that they will take the necessary measures soon.

A short time later, the Wealth Tax Act is enacted. Yakup Kadri does not oppose this law, but finds its implementation neither legal nor humane. Moreover, while working in Switzerland, he has to make an effort to save Turkey's reputation due to the law's implementation.

The Fall of the Republican People's Party

Yakup Kadri states that Switzerland, as a country deprived of natural resources, sensed that the war would begin, and that it stocked everything needed for ten years, such as wheat, millet, barley, coal, and iron, and that it closely followed its citizens' consumption patterns, and regrets that Turkey did not achieve such a thing. Consequently, the complaints of people, who have difficulty in finding even a shroud, are used by the Democratic Party in 1946 against the People's Republican Party in rallies.

Seeing the Democratic Party's gaining ground, the Republican People's Party finds its success in its strong criticism of what is considered contrary to national morality. Therefore, it begins to renounce the principles of secularism and revolutionism. While working in Switzerland, Yakup Kadri reads the news that his party allowed religion lessons in schools, consented to the closure of Village Institutes, and even cooperated with the Ticani sect. He doesn't believe the last one. However, when he comes to Istanbul in 1949, he sees the Democratic Party President Celal Bayar, and Refik Koraltan, when he is about to leave the restaurant of the Park Hotel with his brother-in-law Burhan Belge, and his relative Suat Bey. Since Burhan Bey has just quit the Democratic Party, and Suat Bey is a district head of the Republican People's Party, he does not want to put them in a difficult situation, but he still greets Celal Bey and Refik Bey. He sits at their table on their offer.

Celal Bey asks Yakup Kadri how he finds the Democratic Party's struggle for democracy. Yakup Kadri replies that he finds it heartbreaking. Thereupon, Celal Bey responds that what the Republican People's Party does is more heartbreaking. For a speech he made on secularism in Bursa is used by a magazine to accuse him of being irreligious, and the Republican People's Party buys thousands of copies of this magazine and distributes them all over the country. Moreover, when Celal Bey asks Ismet Pasha about that, at first, Ismet Pasha says that he doesn't know anything about it, but later, as if making a confession, he tells Celal Bey that his friends take advantage of his weakness.

When Yakup Kadri goes to Dolmabahce Palace, where he is invited to dinner the following evening, he tells Ismet Pasha about his conversation with Celal Bey. But Ismet Pasha says that he does not remember that he told Celal Bey that his friends take advantage of his weakness. After this evening, Yakup Kadri thinks that all of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's efforts are consumed for personal ambitions and begins to see Ismet Pasha as a broken branch of a plane tree. During his time in Tehran, he always expects good news from Turkey.

In 1950, while the country prepares for the elections, Colonel Cevdet Tolgay, the chief aide of Ismet Pasha, and General Kazim Orbay attend the funeral of Riza Shah Pahlavi. Yakup Kadri learns from them that Ismet Pasha believes that he will win the elections. But two days later, after listening to the results on the radio, both of his guests hastily return to Turkey. Through them, Yakup Kadri sends a letter to Ismet Pasha that he is ready to do his best to support his party, which is now an opposition party. Ismet Pasha replies in his letter that they are to follow the course of events for now.

When Yakup Kadri goes to Ankara a few months later, Ismet Pasha welcomes him at the door of his mansion and hugs him tightly. That night, Yakup Kadri realizes that Ismet Pasha has been alone for a long time and is left unaware of what is going on among the politicians. When he proposes to play bridge after dinner, Yakup Kadri wonders who their playmates will be. Ismet Pasha asks his son Omer to call Nihat Erim and Kemal Satir to invite them to play bridge, and if any one of them does not come, he wants him to join them. Two guests come. Yakup Kadri visits Ismet Pasha at every opportunity after that evening.

One day, he goes to the mansion and finds Ismet Pasha and his wife in a panic. Then, he finds out that they are to send Omer off to Istanbul for trial. Omer Bey is held responsible for a murder that took place in 1945. He wants to join them, but as Ismet Pasha does not want the occasion to turn into a political event, he asks him to wait until they come back. That day, Yakup Kadri feels very sorry for Ismet Pasha as he has to deal with such a slander in addition to political anxieties.

The Party is Changing

In the congress convened after the defeat in the 1950 elections, Kasim Gulek is elected as the party secretary instead of Nihat Erim, whom Ismet Pasha supports. When Yakup Kadri later speaks to the

delegates from Manisa, they state that they wanted to show their reaction against the chiefdom regime in this way because everyone is weary of Ismet Pasha's pressure.

According to Yakup Kadri, his party now has two headquarters; one is Ismet Pasha's house in Cankaya, and the other is the party headquarters in Ulus. While he is afraid of the collapse of the party, the government's decision to participate in the Korean War without consulting the parliament mobilizes the opposition. However, the press reporting in favor of the government interprets this opposition as the Republican People's Party's opposition to NATO. Yakup Kadri attributes his party's inability to express itself properly to the public to its avoidance of self-criticism because it is afraid of confronting its own internal conflicts.

A year after the victory of the Democratic Party in 1954, he is retired in Bern and moves to Ankara. He finds Ismet Pasha more alone than ever before. One day, during a conversation, Ismet Pasha asks him, "Would Ataturk tolerate one percent of what I suffer?" Yakup Kadri looks into space without saying anything. He thinks that Ismet Pasha is experiencing a kind of "Ataturk complex," but Ataturk would not put himself in such difficult situations in the first place.

When he goes to the party's new headquarters, he feels like attending a funeral. He finds only Kasim Gulek, except for the sullen administrative staff inside. Kasim Gulek tells that he has just come from the prosecutor's office and that a lawsuit has been filed against him for his every word criticizing the government and takes out a lot of files from his bag. Yakup Kadri senses a political passion in his attitude. With these cases, Kasim Gulek positions himself as an unconquerable opposition leader.

His Need to Write and Its Results

Despite everything, Yakup Kadri is aware that the government has a phobia of Ismet Pasha. Democrat Party members always speak out against Ismet Pasha when Yakup Kadri is at the same table with Adnan Menderes in Ankara Palas, where he has dinner almost every evening. Yakup Kadri keeps silent out of courtesy, and Adnan Menderes realizes that their talk upsets him and apologizes frequently. But all this only reinforces Yakup Kadri's urge to write what he can't say at dinner.

However, the newspapers in Istanbul try to act in accordance with the principle of impartiality, and *Ulus* [The Nation], which Ataturk desired to raise to the level of *Le Temps* and *The Times*, is closed. At that time, Izmir Deputy of the Democrat Party, Cihat Baban, suggested he write for the newspaper *Tercuman* [The Interpreter], which he publishes. He even changes the contract clause that prevents Yakup Kadri from writing for another daily newspaper upon Yakup Kadri's objection. Accordingly, *Ulus* begins to be published again.

Later, an investigation is opened against Yakup Kadri on the grounds that he insulted Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in an article. According to what Yakup Kadri later learns, one day, as Undersecretary Salih Korur had Menderes sign various documents, he warned him that the file he was about to sign was the case file against Yakup Kadri. Then, Adnan Menderes stated that he could not sue the author, who intellectually and emotionally contributed to him that much. Indeed, Adnan Menderes is an old fan of Yakup Kadri, who watched him from afar and even stalked him while Yakup Kadri was living in Izmir.

Ismet Pasha in Isolation

Yakup Kadri and his wife attend the reception given at the embassy due to the Iranian shah's visit to Ankara and see Ismet Pasha and his wife in a corner, looking around as if they are heirlooms. The shah of Iran, President Celal Bayar, Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Refik Koraltan and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes return from the meal, greet everyone and then go to a room. When Yakup Kadri tells the foreign minister that he has not seen the shah yet, the minister says that he can walk up to him whenever he wants and does not need an intermediary. Yakup Kadri, knowing that Ismet Pasha also wants to see the shah, but it is not appropriate for him to walk up to the shah as the former head of state, wants to mediate. But Ismet Pasha leaves the reception with his wife in anger. He complains loudly to the embassy officer, who asks why he is leaving, that he cannot find anyone to talk to.

Ismet Pasha's New Strategy

Ismet Pasha changes his persisting angry mood and praises Adnan Menderes in the parliament one day. Meanwhile, Menderes, who is listening to the speech in his room in the parliament, joins the meeting and goes up to the rostrum and gives a similar response.

Later, Ismet Pasha reads aloud the speech he prepared to give at the rally in Izmir to Yakup Kadri at his son's house in Istanbul. Yakup Kadri is uncomfortable with that he mentions Adnan Menderes as a qualified politician and statesman. He thinks that this shows Ismet Pasha, who previously criticized Adnan Menderes, as an inconsistent person. While warning Ismet Pasha about this, Bedii Faik enters and supports Yakup Kadri. After a while, Lawyer Ekrem Amac shows up and tells Ismet Pasha that based on the secret information he received, Adnan Menderes is sincere about breaking the ice between them, and their warning is in vain.

Shortly after, Ismet Pasha is invited to a diplomatic meeting for the first time. Adnan Menderes is very close to him. They leave by making an agreement to meet later. However, they never meet again. Moreover, the conflict between the government and the opposition gets even more aggressive than before.

The Liberty Party

Deputies who are overwhelmed by the increasing pressure of the Democratic Party found the Liberty Party. Ismet Pasha wants to cooperate with this new party before the 1957 elections. As Yakup Kadri speaks with the Chairman of the Liberty Party, Fevzi Lutfi Karaosmanoglu, he realizes that they are willing to cooperate and starts mediating between the two parties. However, the Liberty Party members fear that Ismet Pasha can trick them, as the Republican People's Party members are afraid that the intellectuals in the Liberty Party can take their place.

One evening, Yakup Kadri goes to Ismet Pasha's son's house in Istanbul. There, he finds Ismet Pasha with Fevzi Lutfi Bey and Party Secretary Dr. Ibrahim Oktem sitting with a sullen face. As soon as Ismet Pasha sees him come, he hands him the paper he is holding and asks to examine it and act as a referee. Yakup Kadri notices that the paper is about the conditions of collaboration and understands that Ismet Pasha is uncomfortable with the condition that the party leaders should not accept key positions such as the presidency or the prime minister if they win the election. After reviewing the file, he states that the last part of this text, written in good faith, is excessively idealistic. Thereupon, Ibrahim Oktem affirms him by saying that they are new in politics. But Ismet Pasha replies that they are master politicians since they can prepare such conditions. After they leave, he tells Yakup Kadri that that condition is against him personally, that he does not trust them, and that it is not right to cooperate with them.

They still cooperate as the election approaches, but their cooperation remains on paper due to a change in the law. However, after the election, the Democrat Party turns into a minority government with the participation of Liberty Party members to the Republican People's Party.

The Road to the Coup

People both complain about the deteriorating economic conditions and continue to vote for the Democratic Party in the elections. Yakup Kadri cannot believe this inconsistency, but on the other hand, he thinks that his party, which criticizes the government, cannot explain in a clear language how to find solutions to the problems. People still blame the Republican People's Party for the National Protection Law enacted in 1940 to expand the state's economic power. Whenever the Democratic Party is criticized because of the economic conditions, it silences the opposition by reminding them of the troubled days caused by the law.

And yet, Ismet Pasha declares that it is right to resist a power that has lost its legitimacy. Thereupon, the government established an Investigation Commission on April 18, 1960, thinking that Ismet Pasha encourages the army to coup. Yakup Kadri never believes that Ismet Pasha has such an intention. One evening, while chatting with Ismet Pasha, his friend tells Ismet Pasha that it is necessary to act now. But Ismet Pasha objects to him, saying that the government is running a coup regime and that what needs to be done is bringing things into line with the law.

After a while, as Yakup Kadri is a guest of Semsettin Gunaltay, the provincial head of the party, he learns that some of the students who criticize the government are arrested. On the way back home, the students stalking him approach him to complain that they are left alone by the public and the party. Yakup Kadri questions whether he has a moral responsibility in this state because of his writings in *Ulus* and whether the party organizes them or not. But in the end, he comes to the conclusion that the revolt of the youth exceeds any political party. As a matter of fact, a few days later, when he visits Rector Siddik Sami Onar, who was dragged on the ground by the soldiers, Siddik Bey tells him that the commander threatens him to make the students suffer, but that the students do not give up, and that he is not very hopeful for the future.

The Coup of 1960

While Yakup Kadri is a guest of his relative Fevzi Lutfi Bey in Izmir, he is woken up early to listen to the radio. The sound on the radio announces that the army has seized power. When he walks around the city in the afternoon to see the effect of the news, he sees that everyone is the same as they were yesterday, but the always noisy coffeehouses are quiet. When he goes to the Democratic Izmir printing house, he learns that different information has come from different sources about the coup and that the leader's identity has not been confirmed yet.

However, everyone talks about a person named Agha Cemal. Yakup Kadri heard this name from an officer he met in Istanbul. The officer said that Commander of the Land Forces Cemal Pasha was known as Agha Cemal as he was loved by everyone and would be their leader if necessary. As a matter of fact, the next day, Cemal Gursel flies to Ankara from Izmir by a private jet.

Yakup Kadri asks Ismet Pasha why he is not satisfied with the situation, and Ismet Pasha explains why he is not satisfied by saying, "These staff officers know how to come but do not know how to leave," referring to the National Unity Committee that carried out the coup. Yakup Kadri thinks that he refers to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. But he believes that the main reason for his dissatisfaction is that although he called Cemal Gursel after the coup to inform him that he was at their disposal, Cemal Pasha does not take any steps to benefit from his experiences.

After the Coup

The National Unity Committee proposes Yakup Kadri to be a member of the Constituent Assembly. But Yakup Kadri, underlining that he is from the Republican People's Party, suggests that they should work with an independent person. However, the committee states that he is exempted from such evaluation. Although the committee works with independent people, many figures are dismissed due to personal interests, during the liquidation process of the old regime. Among them are important professors from the Faculty of Medicine. Yakup Kadri strongly criticizes this situation in his articles published by *Ulus*.

The pleasant atmosphere created by the coup fades away as the legal focus on the government violating the Constitution, enacting anti-democratic laws, violating human rights, turning citizens against each other, leading the state to bankruptcy, switches to the details of the politicians' private life during the trial at the Supreme Court. And sometimes, the case turns into a fight between the Democratic Party and the Republican People's Party.

Since the National Security Committee does not trust the newly formed Justice Party, it holds meetings to take the pulse of the Republican People's Party as the 1961 elections are approaching. The party members express that they are to win the election by a large margin. Then, Yakup Kadri asks why the positive effect of the coup is fading away and states that the party is no longer likely to win by a large margin under the current conditions.

As a matter of fact, the party receives a cold welcome in all regions. Yakup Kadri suggests the party's Manisa provincial head inviting Ismet Pasha to give a speech in Manisa after his visit to Izmir, but the provincial head disagrees, saying that if Ismet Pasha shows up, the party loses their ground. When Yakup Kadri spends some time among the people, he finds out that some have lost their land because of a favored political figure; some have gone through unfair investigations on the grounds that they are from the Democratic Party. When he goes to a meeting organized by the party in a coffeehouse and announces that Ismet Pasha will make a speech that evening and that they can listen to it on the

radio, some of the people inside quietly leave. Some of the rest get angry, and some fall asleep while listening to Ismet Pasha. The scene surprises Yakup Kadri because he believes Ismet Pasha's words make people emotional. Upon this, he asks his relatives why they also do not like Ismet Pasha. They say that they know him as a spiteful person and that he has caused unrest in the country but do not know the exact cause they do not like him.

After the Elections

The Republican People's Party fails to achieve their goal in the elections. Ismet Pasha opens the parliament and then leaves, declaring that he is tired. So, Yakup Kadri becomes the temporary chairman as the second oldest deputy. As he rests in the room reserved for the chairman before the presidential election, General Fahri Ozdilek and Colonel Sezai Okan from the National Unity Committee hastily enter the room and say that they heard that the party members are planning to vote for Ismet Pasha instead of Cemal Pasha. Yakup Kadri tries to explain that this is not true, but thus realizes that the phobia of Ismet Pasha develops not only in the people but also in the soldiers.

The first coalition government falls apart because it can't compromise on the pardon of political prisoners; The Justice Party asks the Republican People's Party for 24 hours, but the deputies reject it in a night meeting and leave the parliament by singing an anthem.

Yakup Kadri is disturbed by the fact that the Republican People's Party, which later relies on a stronger coalition government than before, starts to show off to the Justice Party, which is left alone in the parliament this time. In an article in *Ulus*, he writes that he is ashamed to be a part of the Republican People's Party.

Ismet Pasha's Changing Attitude

For Yakup Kadri, the coup is an operation on a sick body, but pus still flows from where the scalpel touched. Although Ismet Pasha is the only person to stop this, to stay in power, he always implies that the army is to take over the government at any moment. However, he prevents the coup on February 22, 1961, by a soldier named Talat Aydemir. Yakup Kadri states that Ismet Pasha's determined stance against the coup is to sustain his power. However, the same Ismet Pasha continues his sleep when Hasan Dincer and Celal Karasapan call him on the night of the same soldier's attempted coup on May 21, 1963. He has his wife tell them that such a thing would not happen and that they should not be childish. The indifference of a distrustful statesman like him gives birth to all sorts of rumors in political circles.

Themes

Conflict Yakup Kadri's political memories contain conflicts between different groups. First of all, the National Association of Defense does not consider the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia competent to represent Anatolia, as the Committee of Union and Progress wants to prevent all other political formations from functioning in Istanbul. Secondly, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Ismet Inonu continue to conflict until Mustafa Kemal's death. Third, since the deputies do not agree on any principle, the core staff of the party plan to liquidate some of their colleagues, while the opponents organize and found the Progressive Republican Party. Fourth, the uprising organized by Sheikh Said causes an armed conflict within the country and a split between the deputies in the parliament. Fifth, Yakup Kadri's *Kadro* magazine, which is founded to explain the principle of statism to the public, is criticized by the deputies for making socialist propaganda and causes a conflict between Yakup Kadri and the party. Sixth, the Liberal Republican Party, which is founded at the request of Mustafa Kemal, unearths reactionary individuals and functions as a front against the Republican People's Party, and a conflict arises between the party's chairman, Fethi Okyar, and the deputies. Finally, after the death of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Ismet Inonu is declared as the National Chief, and his oppressive regime gives birth to the Democratic Party. But the Democratic Party also builds its own oppressive regime, paving the way for a coup.

Taking a stand Yakup Kadri is a person who does not hesitate to express his opinions and take a stand. He writes a scathing criticism because he is angry that the issue of providing pensions for the caliph and members of the old dynasty is prioritized over the presidential budget. Seeing that even the deputies do not know the meaning of statism, he publishes a magazine. While everyone

considers Hitler's victory inevitable during the Second World War, he expresses that Germany is about to reach a stalemate. He does not hesitate to warn Ismet Inonu about the corrupted political figures. Since he gets to listen to the ideas of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes about Ismet Inonu, but keeps silent out of courtesy, he pens his thoughts in the newspaper and criticizes Adnan Menderes fiercely. He does not hesitate to express that he is ashamed of the Republican People's Party's show of strength to the Justice Party, which is left alone in the parliament.

Disillusionment Yakup Kadri returns to Istanbul, expecting to find a city full of people happy with the success of the national struggle. However, he finds a divided city. That is his first disappointment. As he thinks that no one other than Ismet Inonu can be the prime minister, Mustafa Kemal and his friends do not want to grant Ismet Inonu political power. However, when Ismet Inonu finally becomes prime minister, Yakup Kadri is disturbed by his attitude towards the political figures getting involved in corruption. He never forgets the way Ismet Inonu reacts to his plan to sell his house because he cannot pay the loan he got from Isbank. Inonu interprets his decision as childish, implying that he does not know how to exploit the government's resources. As he positions himself as an inaccessible person after the death of Mustafa Kemal, he turns into a puzzle for Yakup Kadri. Although he tries to explain Ismet Inonu's attitudes with the stress caused by current political problems, the fact that he has Ataturk's picture removed from the stamps to put his own and that he does not honor Ataturk's memory changes his thoughts about him. Ismet Inonu is no longer a national hero; he is a good politician who creates new strategies to protect his own power.

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