

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Problems of Definition and Historiography of Kemalism	7
<i>Historiography of Kemalism</i>	10
<i>References</i>	38
(Trans)formation of Kemalism, 1920s–1930s	41
<i>Features of Political Consolidation in the 1920s</i>	41
<i>First Steps of Ideological Conceptualization</i>	45
<i>The 1931 Congress of the RPP and the First Party Program</i>	49
<i>Further Consolidation of Kemalism at the 1935 Congress</i>	52
<i>References</i>	60
Popularization of Kemalism: Intellectual, Contextual, and Popular Considerations	63
<i>Intellectual Framework</i>	63
<i>Propagation of the RPP Principles</i>	69
<i>Revision of History and Purification of Language</i>	71
<i>The Role of the Turkish Hearths and People's Houses</i>	74
<i>Everyday Kemalism: Symbolism and Images</i>	78
<i>References</i>	92

Transformation of Kemalism's Hegemony in the Post-Atatürk Era, 1940s–1950s	95
<i>Kemalism Without Mustafa Kemal</i>	95
<i>Establishment of the Multiparty System</i>	99
<i>The 1947 Congress of the RPP</i>	101
<i>Heading Towards the 1950 Parliamentary Elections</i>	103
<i>A New Role for the RPP</i>	107
<i>Increasing Antagonism and Its Implications</i>	111
<i>References</i>	119
 Kemalism in the Second Republic, 1960s–1970s	 121
<i>The Kemalist Principles in the Second Constitution</i>	121
<i>Kemalism and the Left</i>	127
<i>The RPP's New Identity</i>	130
<i>The 1971 Intervention: Radicalization of Domestic Politics</i>	133
<i>References</i>	146
 Problems and Perspectives of Existing Interpretations of Kemalism	 149
<i>Perspectives on Kemalism in the 1930s</i>	150
<i>Analyses Along the Key Principles</i>	155
<i>Widening Range of Interpretations</i>	157
<i>Contextualizing Popular Interpretations of Kemalism</i>	164
<i>References</i>	170
 Soviet Interpretations of Kemalism in the 1920s	 173
<i>Why Bother with Soviet Perspectives on Kemalism?</i>	173
<i>Early Soviet Approaches to Kemalism</i>	178
<i>Emergence of Identical Interpretations: Stalin's View of Kemalism</i>	181
<i>Communism, Kemalism, and China</i>	190
<i>References</i>	198
 Geopolitics and Complexities of Soviet Interpretations	 201
<i>Expanding Tide of Criticism</i>	201
<i>Convergence of Moderation and Criticism</i>	205
<i>Irredentist Trends, Pan-Turkism, and Soviet Responses</i>	210

<i>Interpretations of Kemalism in the Post-WWII Decade</i>	216
<i>Back to Normalization: Revised Interest Towards Kemalism</i>	219
<i>References</i>	228
Conclusion	231
Bibliography	235
Index	263