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Lilo Linke: A ‘Spirit of Insubordination’
Autobiography as Emancipatory Pedagogy;
A Turkish Case Study

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, February 2016

I hereby declare that the thesis is my own work.

Anita Judith Ogurlu

16 February 2016

Abstract

This thesis examines the life and work of a little-known interwar period German writer Lilo Linke. Documenting individual and social evolution across three continents, her self-reflexive and autobiographical narratives are like conversations with readers in the hope of facilitating progressive change. With little tertiary education, as a self-fashioned practitioner prior to the emergence of cultural studies, Linke's everyday experiences constitute 'experiential learning' (John Dewey). Rejecting her Nazi-leaning family, through 'fortunate encounter[s]' (Goethe) she became critical of Weimar and cultivated hope by imagining and working to become a better person, what Ernst Bloch called *Vor-Schein*. Linke's 'instinct of workmanship', 'parental bent' and 'idle curiosity' was grounded in her inherent 'spirit of insubordination', terms borrowed from Thorstein Veblen. Experiences and writing these experiences up resembles Paulo Freire's pedagogy 'word=work=praxis'. Devoid of scientific or colonial gaze, she learned a new way of seeing, what Goethe called 'tender empiricism'. I argue Linke's praxis is an emancipatory pedagogy that worked toward betterment of the self and 'common man' (Veblen).

This interdisciplinary research revisits a question Veblen broadly investigated regarding individual and social evolution at the turn of the twentieth century. My primary question asks; how did Lilo Linke evolve from a 'self-regarding' individual to 'other-regarding' person to work for the betterment of the whole? The thesis comprises two parts. Part I interprets Linke's evolution evoking the *Bildungsroman* (Goethe). Using Veblen's cumulative causation methodology, I explore German 'native-bias' by juxtaposing it to Linke's 'spirit of insubordination.' Part II selects Linke's authorship (1937) on the modern Turkish Republic in its *Étatist* era and addresses my secondary question; how did Linke's praxis reflect in her narratives on Turkey? I suggest there are strong parallels between Linke's 'experiential learning' and 'spirit of insubordination' within Turkey, in that, they both worked for betterment of the whole under exceedingly trying circumstances.

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Abbreviations

Works

AA	Andean Adventure
AD	Allah Dethroned: A Journey Through Modern Turkey
CAV	Cancel All Vows
JN1	Journey From the North, vol. 1
RD	Restless Days: A German Girl's Autobiography
SCT	Social Changes in Turkey
TWE	Tale Without End
WIF	Wo ist Fred?

Introduction

But in fact men are good and virtuous because of three things. These are nature, habit or training, reason.

—Aristotle, *The Politics* (1962: 284)

I believe that the social sciences can be reinvigorated by the careful application of Darwinian principles.

—Geoffrey Hodgson (2006: 109)

This thesis researches the life and authorship of a little-known interwar period German writer and progenitor of social justice Lilo Linke (1906-1963). With little tertiary education, as a self-fashioned practitioner prior to the emergence of cultural studies, Linke's experiences and writing up these experiences constitute learning by doing. When read in totality, her rich oeuvre touches on themes such as economy, politics, media, war, hunger, emotion, revolution, evolution, resistance, inflation, labor, dress, consumerism, industrialization, the environment, health care, family, gender and religion, across the three continents she journeyed; Europe, Asia and Latin America. The study places her in each cultural and sociological context she lived and experienced to understand better the forces that acted upon her. I propose Linke might have evolved from a 'self-regarding' individual to 'other-regarding' person, in the way Thorstein Veblen posed humans have an instinct to work for common good of the whole. Her praxis, in the sense of Brazilian philosopher and pedagogue Paulo Freire (1970/1996), might be two-fold: (social) *work* with 'common man'¹ across cultures and *word* to enlighten and emancipate the reader, what I underscore in this thesis as, autobiography as emancipatory pedagogy.

Little thorough scholarship exists on Linke. Karl Holl (1987) conducted an investigation of her life—briefly touching on some of her authorship—with the hope this might serve as material for a later biography on Linke. Sabine Wenhold, a student of Holl, in a 2011 journal article framed Linke an economic journalist with Gustav Stolper as her mentor. This followed with a master thesis positioning Linke as a '*Neue*

¹ Veblen's use of the term is not gender specific.

Frau’ drawing on Homi Bhabha’s notion of hybridity (Wenhold 2012). In 2006 Nicole Brunnhuber included Linke with writers Ernest Borneman, Robert Neumann, Ruth Feiner and George Tabori. Focusing on several of Linke’s European narratives she asserts that Linke turned a ‘vacuous space of exile into the venue in which to launch a literary career’ (2005: 161). In listing her oeuvre, Brunnhuber curiously left out her Turkish autobiography. While Brunnhuber called Linke an ‘everyday hero’, to which I agree, she missed the full potential of Linke’s oeuvre. Categorizing her an exile writer might be inadequate, in that, Linke rejected the term ‘exile’ probably for a similar reason Hannah Arendt rejected the term refugee. ‘We don’t like to be called refugees. [...] ‘If we are saved we feel humiliated, and if we are helped we feel degraded. We fight like madmen for private existences with individual destinies...’ (1994: 114). Andean scholars working on land reform, labour and indigenous issues still cite Linke’s Latin American work (Ibarra 2010, 2011). And so the implication of this is that she is not just an exile but part of a society. Recently, Linke was cited in *Becoming Turkish* (2013), a study on early Republican Turkey by Hale Yılmaz. There has been no substantial study on Linke’s Turkish narratives, which is one of the reasons I feature them as a case study in Part II of the thesis.

My research draws largely but not exclusively from Linke’s autobiographies. This is supplemented with the autobiography of novelist and activist Margaret Storm Jameson, (hereafter Jameson) and the thesis also considers more recent work on her. The biography of Gustav Stolper, written by his wife Toni, is a useful source (1979) along with her memoir (1989). A Left liberal, Gustav was a prominent DDP (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*) member in the Reichstag and economic journalist. Stolper and Joseph Schumpeter founded the reputable economic journal *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* in 1926, featuring a strong roster of European intellectuals across diverse academic fields. Although Gustav, Toni, Margaret and Lilo shared a close-knit, life-long friendship, their correspondence is somewhat limited. Jameson burnt most of her letters before her death and Toni censored Linke’s private letters to her husband, with whom Linke had a love affair, leaving scant information on their relationship. World War Two and the consequent split up of Linke’s circle—her family in Berlin, the Stolper’s in the United States, Jameson in England and Lilo in Ecuador—limits what might have been richer correspondence. Linke’s few possessions in her Ecuadorian home that might have enriched the thesis were destroyed or went missing following her early and sudden death in 1963. Holl’s research findings on Linke in Ecuador helped place her activities in Latin America. In 2012 I visited Quito, Ecuador in search of her trace. Those closest

to Linke had died, even some just recently. I did, however, interview people familiar with her generation and circle and this helped further ground Linke in a Latin American context. In 2013 I visited some of the places Linke journeyed to and wrote of, including Marseille and Isle-de-Batz, a tiny island off the coastal town of Roscoff, France. The BBC archives, the British Library and Chatham House Library proved fruitful to locate Linke's BBC radio scripts and correspondence with British publishers. Her 1935 Turkish experiences speak naturally to my own, after settling in Istanbul, Turkey in 1993 where I continue to live.

Linke, in her time, was somewhat known to English-speaking readers and some non-English speakers as well. Some of her stories were published in Chinese (1936) and Japanese (1953). Beginning with her first autobiography *Tale Without End* (1934) (Fig. 1), M. D. S. of *The Manchester Guardian* wrote: 'Miss Linke writes as a young German wayfarer, spiritual child of the Weimar Republic' (1934). Thanks to Jameson introducing her to Alfred Knopf, an American publisher in London, she received international recognition. The *New York Times* printed a portrait photograph of Linke and columnist Harold Strauss praised her story on France. 'Lilo Linke's Well-Written Story of a Year's Impressionable Wandering Gives the Effect of Springing Straight From Life' (1934). Strauss congratulated Linke on her second autobiography *Restless Days: A German Girl's Autobiography* (1935). 'In Lilo Linke's own telling the quest of youth for new ideals becomes passionate, vivid, dramatic. [...] There are many writers born to the English tongue who could learn much about the resources of their own language from this German girl who uses it by adoption' (Strauss 1935). Linke's translation of Wolfgang Langhoff's *Rubber Truncheon: Thirteen Months in a German Concentration Camp* (1935) was reviewed in the *New York Times* (MacDonald 1935). He draws parallels between Soviet and German prison camps but makes no reference to Linke as the translator. When *Allah Dethroned: A Journey Through Modern Turkey* (1937) was published, the *New York Times* ran a near full-page article headlined: 'Lilo Linke's Vivid Panorama of Turkey in Transition' (Woods 1937). British publisher Constable & Co. advertised Linke's books alongside those of Naomi Mitchison, Bernard Shaw, Philip Lindsay and Reg Groves.

Post-WWII the political focus of statesman and the public alike shifted to rebuilding Europe, causing Linke's popularity to wane. Nevertheless interest in her authorship continued in Latin America. *Magic Yucatan: A Journey Remembered* (1950) [*Yucatán Mágico: Recuerdos de un Viaje* (1957)] (Fig. 7) was well received and used copies turn up as far off as Buenos Aires. Other works include *Andean Adventure: A*

Social and Political Study of Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia (1945); *Viaje por una revolución*, [Journey into a Revolution (1956)] documentation of the tin-miners struggle to nationalize the mines in Bolivia; *Ecuador: Country of Contrasts* (1954) commissioned by the *Royal Institute of International Affairs* in London and *People of the Amazon* (1963). Additionally, she wrote over two thousand articles in Spanish for a sociology column granted by the editor of Ecuador's liberal newspaper *El Comercio*.² Linke wrote for Latin American journals *Américas* and *La Hacienda*. She continued writing the odd article for the *New York Times* like 'Ecuador's Island Resort' (1956) and 'Industry Comes Late to Ecuador' (1957). Linke's only German work, *Wo ist Fred?* [Where is Fred? (1965)], written for German youth was published posthumously.

Linke experienced WWI, the November Revolution, Inflation, Turkey's modernization under Atatürk, European and British fascism, rising Nazism in Germany, WWII, the Ecuadorian–Peruvian War and Ecuador's right-wing governance under President Valesco Ibarra. An untimely death, at just fifty-six, ended her journey. Never hard-pressed for experiences—an extraordinary milieu of political, economic and cultural upheaval—Linke was fortunate to survive. A non-Jewish German who was skeptical of communism but, as she put it, 'knew that the truth must lie somewhere in that direction' left Berlin in 1933 (RD 363). She would start her life three times over. 'Fortunate encounters' helped steer her clear of fascism to embrace knowledge as a means of hope. In search of the 'truth' through writing her experiences, Linke set out to reshape facts, fallaciously presented in her epoch. Linke journeyed across France in 1932, Britain from 1933 to 1934, one year across Turkey in 1935, returned to Britain in 1936, took several extended journeys to Paris in 1937 and 1938, and visited Holland and Italy. In 1939, Linke arrived in Colon, Panama, gradually crossing the Andean heartland of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Bolivia, to settle in the mountain top bird's nest of peace, Quito, Ecuador, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1945. After WWII, she journeyed to Mexico in 1946, visited England five or six times and Germany several times but always returned to Ecuador. Linke worked endlessly for social justice for the marginalized poor and working class. Her social work in Latin America included literacy, hygiene, midwifery, children's puppet theatre, unionization of journalists, agriculture and reforestation projects. In Calderon north Quito, Linke funded a 'Radio School' that later became the *Escuela Fiscal Mixta Lilo Linke* in the early 1960s (Fig. 8) providing education to boys and girls five to twelve years of age from working-class families (Fig. 9). With her authorship in English, Spanish and German, Linke was an

² Letter from Lilo Linke to Toni Stolper, 17 December 1950 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

international soul, fluent in English, French, Spanish, some Turkish and Quechua.

Author of over ten books—five of which are autobiographies—short stories, articles in journals and newspapers, BBC radio talks and over two-thousand newspaper articles in Spanish, Linke used her time purposefully, working for betterment of the whole.

The thesis is grounded in the disciplines of sociology and cultural studies. I use cultural studies for the possibility to capture nuanced social and cultural formations’ and ‘native bias’, peculiar to each culture. Lawrence Grossberg offers the conjuncture in cultural studies—which is ‘always plural’ (2010: 25)—needs to include politics and economy and culture, in order to revive the discipline because not only the humanities but also knowledge itself is in crisis (p. 179). He criticizes,

what have become the rigidities and common sense of political and intellectual life, including the ease with which we substitute concepts for empirical work, the cynicism with which we approach or reject too many ideas because of their sources, or the automatic privilege we give, intellectually and politically, to the marginalized. I am discouraged by how easy it seems to be for cultural studies to become disconnected from the very real political questions and challenges that the world places before us as intellectuals, or to withdraw from our responsibility of questioning the questions themselves (p. 66).

Research on European individuals in non-European nations might be expected to draw from postcolonial theory. I have chosen not to pursue this route. First, my case study focuses on Turkey, a nation that was never colonized. Second, I am skeptical of post-colonial theory for similar reasons as Arif Dirlik (1994); namely that post-colonial discourse reproduces colonialism. Returning to Grossberg, he argues cultural studies must locate ‘possibilities of survival, struggle, resistance and change’ (p. 8) espoused as the ‘moral courage to criticize’ (p. 66). Karen Barkey echoes Grossberg’s concerns.

Cultural studies have gone too far in the direction of ignoring the basic structural determinants of social change, political institutions, and socioeconomic structures that are so important in light of the tremendous political and socio-economic transformations of the global world today (2008: 4).

Considering these points, I have been cautious not to burden the thesis with economic and political institutions but rather interweave Linke in them, and reciprocally, them in Linke. Today, her narratives across geographies, nations and cultures, might be a counter narrative to the dominant narrative of Samuel Huntington’s ‘clash of civilizations’ put forth in 1996 (2003). Linke’s German narrative may contribute to scholarship on Weimar suffering economic collapse. Molly Loberg (2013), discussing resistance to the American model of mass consumerism in Weimar, stresses there is scant literature on individual experience during crisis. ‘Neither the scholarship on Germany nor the broader transnational studies have fully integrated periods of

economic and political crisis' (p. 366). Thus, rather than post-colonial or literary theory, I frame the thesis employing the theories of Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929).

Like Marx, Veblen too, wanted to change the world. Neither historian nor anthropologist, as a radical realist, Veblen drew from Charles Darwin's theory of evolution borrowing his ideas about instincts but he was critical of Darwin's mechanistic approach. Frustrated with sociologists in his day for grounding research in statistics, as a social scientist he studied cause and effect, developing a cumulative causation methodology to understand why individuals and societies behave in certain ways. This thesis does not write a cultural history but rather cultural evolution. No one doubts that we evolve, allegedly through progress and civilization, but the question arises, into what kind of beings do we evolve and under what pressures? Do we evolve toward constructing a better world or do we evolve toward pecuniary gain, and if so, whose pecuniary gain, and at what cost to humanity?

Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921), a follower of Darwin, articulated a concept he called 'mutual aid' where humans, like animals, do not engage in prolonged competition but rather aid each other to ensure survival of the species.

The mutual-aid tendency in man has so remote an origin, and is so deeply interwoven with all the past evolution of the human race, that it has been maintained by mankind up to the present time notwithstanding all vicissitudes of history. It was chiefly evolved during periods of peace and prosperity; but then even the greatest calamities befell men—when whole countries were laid waste by wars, and whole populations were decimated by misery, or groaned under the yoke of tyranny—the same tendency continued to live in the villages and among the poorer classes in the towns; it still kept them together, and in the long run it reacted even upon those ruling, fighting, and devastating minorities which dismissed it as sentimental nonsense (1902/1987: 180).

Dugger (1984) claims there are strong parallels between Kropotkin and Veblen's work.

An interdisciplinary scholar, Veblen drew knowledge from economy, politics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, philosophy and literature, even folktales.³ Studying diverse cultures and world religions he treated Judaism, Christianity and Islam even-handedly. Veblen was fiercely critical of corporate America. He hardly fit the stereotype on an American. A Norwegian immigrant, modest, soft-spoken and hardworking, he was fluent in five languages. He kept abreast of Europe, in particular Marxist Werner Sombart and the German Historical School of Economics under the direction of Gustav von Schmoller. Veblen appreciated their holism and Darwinist approach to institutions that rejected Adam Smith's isolated individual (Dugger 1979: 430). Stolper included Veblen's *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (1915)

³ Veblen translated the thirteenth century Icelandic folktale *Laxdæla Saga* into English in 1925.

as essential reading for Linke and his readers, an indication he was familiar with this work (1940: 277).

Veblen wrote on diverse subjects such as culture, technology, industry, business ideology, labor, institutions, women's dress, consumerism, media and war, leading Stjepan Meštrović to call him a 'Dostoyevsky of cultural studies' (2003) and Michael Spindler the 'American Gramsci' (2002). Veblen supported first-wave feminism. Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) saw him a kindred spirit, whose work was 'illuminated by the most brilliant penetrating satire I ever saw' (Gilman 1999: 705). A wayfaring man, fiercely critical of higher education under the strong hand of businessmen, he drifted from university to university. Nevertheless, he founded the New School (1919) in New York with John Dewey and other academics. Today, Veblen is largely kept out of academia. According to Michael Hudson, 'Veblen's exclusion from today's curriculum is part of the reaction against classical political economy's program of social reform' (2015: 132). Geoffrey Hodgson believes Veblen's corpus of work has been highly misunderstood (2006). For instance, Theodor Adorno accused him of being the 'opponent of aesthetics who attacked culture' and also a 'proponent of technological determinism' (Simich and Tilman 1980: 632). He was criticized for 'technocratic elitism' (Bell 1963; Dobriansky 1957; Riesman 1953; Rutherford 1992). On the contrary, Joachim Schumacher, writing to Ernst Bloch on 11 September 1937, mentioned the following:

There is a certain Thorsten Veblen who is completely unknown in Europe, however, he has a lot more to say than most of our domestic people in this field [sociology]; Particularly in terms of specific challenges and materials they offer (Schumacher cited in Karola Bloch 1985: 520-521).

Rather than 'technological determinism' Veblen offered that industry, when managed by engineers and common man with a genuine concern for community good, would finally be freed from the fetters of absentee ownership that use production for pecuniary gain. Rational and efficient production could lift common man out of poverty by producing the essential goods needed. American literary critic Alfred Kazin regarded Veblen an artist, arguing that his 'learning became a series of illustrations by which to 'prove' that the warrior of barbarism, had given way to the priest and noble of feudalism only to yield in turn to the trader, the financier and the industrialist' (1942: 179). Realist writer Henry James read him as a 'restless analyst' (Martha Banta cited in Veblen 2009: viii).

Few scholars are familiar with Veblen today. At best they know *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899/2009). Veblen wrote many books. Using sarcasm and a

labyrinthine writing style, perhaps to avoid censorship in the United States,⁴ Veblen is not easy reading. Ahmet Öncü (2009) suggests if we read Veblen like Althusser proposed we read Marx—for a *problematique* or series of questions answering a larger question—we locate in Veblen’s corpus rich theory as valid today as a century ago. For Hodgson, ‘Veblen consistently tried to reconcile a notion of individual purposefulness (or sufficient reason) with his materialist idea of causality (or efficient cause)’ (2006: 111). For Öncü his *problematique* questions how human beings evolve from other-regarding to self-regarding (2009). Dugger and Sherman claim this process causes conflict in an individuals ‘instincts’ (2000: 149).

Writing on social change in Turkey, Linke posed an astute question, putting it this way. ‘It might be interesting for the scientist to find out in how far all of us live in two contradictory worlds, and at what moment we become conscious of the fact and draw conclusions’ (SCT 546). In posing this question, Linke prompted my research question. Beginning with what might appear two rather generic questions; *Who is Lilo Linke?* and *What Did She Write?* that shape the dissertation into two parts, the thesis opens out to explore the question Veblen already posed in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899/2009). Why do human beings, who work with purposeful intent for common good (other-regarding), evolve into predatory agents (self-regarding), inhibiting common good of the whole? The premise is that the opposite evolution occurred in Linke. I twist the question around to ask: How did Lilo Linke evolve from a ‘self-regarding’ individual to ‘other-regarding’ person to work for betterment of the whole? Certainly she lived in two contradictory worlds. War, hunger and deprivation, on the one hand, and mass consumer abundance on the other. I want to examine at what point, as she put it, one becomes ‘conscious of the fact and draw conclusions’. Here, I read ‘drawing conclusions’ as awareness. Awareness I read as critical. Irit Rogoff calls it ‘criticality’ whereby she states ‘living out something while being able to see through it’ (2012). I want to explore and understand why, as a non-Jewish German, Linke didn’t subordinate to Nazism when her family, in fact, did? What did Linke experience, what did she feel, in as much as she relates this, and whom did she encounter, in Prussia and Weimar, that changed her and set her on a journey in search of truth through knowing.

Raised in a dreary working class neighborhood in the east of Berlin, each new day brought war, class warfare, revolution, hunger and feelings of inferiority and envy, to name but a few. I suggest, Linke came to meet, hear, suffer, understand and learn—knowing through experience—or what in German is termed *Erfahren*. ‘[B]lessing lies in

⁴ The Frankfurt School later learned the term Marxism is not permitted by authorities in the United States.

hard work and not in gold', wrote Walter Benjamin. 'Such lessons in experience were passed on to us, either as threats or as kindly pieces of advice, all the while we were growing up: "Still wet behind the ears, and he wants to tell us what's what!" "You'll find out [*erfahren*] soon enough!" (1933/1999: 731). Having lived through WWI, when Linke came of working age in the early 1920s, coinciding with the hyperinflation in Weimar, she soon learned there was little work or gold. Perhaps these contradictions might have aroused a curiosity to ask what was happening to herself and to her society. 'The meanings of such words as soul, mind, self, unity, even body, are hardly more than condensed epitomes of mankind's age-long efforts at interpretation of its experience' (Dewey 2008: 323).

Although the kernel of 'knowing' may lie in experiences, experiences don't happen in a void. Experiences are grounded in a culture that cumulatively possesses a 'native bias', peculiar to each; a cumulative 'psychological inheritance' as the 'solidarity of inheritance within the group so designated' (Veblen 1915/1964: 4). Peoples, societies and cultures each live in their respective habituation. Veblen defined habit and habituation as follows:

[Ha]bit takes on more of a cumulative character, in that the habitual acquirements of the race are handed on from one generation to the next, by tradition, training, education, or whatever general term may best designate that discipline of habituation by which the young acquire what the old have learned (p. 38-39).⁵

We might also call habituation, habitual and habit a kind of 'social character' of a culture. While some contemporary sociologists claim 'social character' nonsociological and politically incorrect (Meštrović 1993: x) it should be noted Ferdinand Tönnies explored the shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* in Germany, where Georg Simmel continued along this vein, and Alexis de Tocqueville's 'habits of the heart of a people' explored facets of social evolution in America. Benjamin wrote it himself. 'Such lessons in experience were *passed on* to us' as advice or threats. Veblen believed humans learn by 'habituation rather than by precept and reflection' (1919/1964: 15). We learn from what we habitually do and see around us. John Dewey put it this way,

if our American culture is largely a pecuniary culture, it is not because the original or innate structure of human nature tends of itself to obtaining pecuniary profit. It is rather that a complex culture stimulates, promotes and consolidates native tendencies so as to produce a certain matter of desires and purposes (1938-39/2008: 76).

In this sense, humans are creatures of cumulative habit. But Veblen also underscored humans have instincts: the 'instinct of workmanship' (1914/1964: 27), 'parental bent'

⁵ Veblen uses race and means thereby the human race.

(p. 94) and ‘idle curiosity’ (p. 85) that he later loosely grouped as a ‘spirit of insubordination’ (1915/1964: 158). Humans have an instinct for purposeful work. Care for children, is extended to care for others, a stronger trait in women, because men, for Veblen, tend to be predatory.⁶ And humans are curious, after basic needs are met, to know about life. ‘He [Veblen] retained the idea that persons were purposeful’ (Hodgson 2006: 111). But ‘[a]ll instinctive behavior is subject to development and hence to modification by habit’ (Veblen 1914/1964: 38). Purposeful instincts are susceptible to contamination by habit. ‘Human deliberation and habits of thought are shaped by the social culture. But “it is only by the prompting of instinct” that human cognition and deliberation come into play. Instincts help to spur emotions that drive many of our actions and deliberations’ (Hodgson 2006: 113). Consumerism is a habit that reinforces self-regarding in social culture. Because habits are learned and not instinctual they can shape humans positively or adversely. Advances in the industrial arts (technology), and for what purposes industry is used, largely direct human evolution for Veblen. Hence, I offer, based on my reading of Veblen, humans have as much potential to be peaceable and industrious (instinctively) as they do to be predatory and war-like (habitually). The outcome largely depends on each social culture’s cumulative habit and habituation that constitute their ‘native bias’. For instance, if a social culture becomes habituated to the vested interests enterprise of ‘land-grabbing’ and wealth accumulation through armament trade, these habits will direct how this culture will continue to evolve, only worsening it, as it evolves or drifts further in that direction. Rather than collective work, because common man doesn’t control industry, they are inclined to shift and become selfish beings because industrial output steers them in that direction.

By the turn of the twentieth century ‘corporation finance’ and ‘Big Business’

⁶ Human psychology retains traits from earlier stages based on the distinction of work activity between men and women. Men fight and hunt (exploit) while women do menial work, picking up after the hunt (drudgery). Believing himself civilized in modern times, in actuality, he carries in his psychology, as habits of thought, a distinction between work that is exploit and work that is drudgery. With the rise of the modern industrial system, the distinction evolved to industry versus exploit. ‘Industry’ is the effort to create new things that have a purpose to benefit life. ‘Exploit’ is conversion of the energies of others to one’s own end (1899/2009:14). Industry cumulatively is seen as manual, dirty, unworthy and inferior. Exploit cumulatively is seen as honorific, noble, worthy and superior. Categorized further into industrial and non-industrial employment, it works out on a class basis. In the higher stages of barbarian culture these two classes are the Leisure class (p. 7) and the inferior class (p. 8). The leisure class is noble and priestly. Under a division of labour non-industrial employment is politics, war, sports, learning and priestly office (p. 9). The inferior class is industrial labour—industry and all practices that constitute livelihood for existence (p. 8). The leisure class is an institution (p. 7) evolved out of the distinction of employment judged worthy or unworthy. The distinction is arcane in industrial modern times yet this earlier preconception still directs a personal understanding between superiority and inferiority. ‘Such employments as warfare, politics, public worship, and public merry-making, are felt, in the popular apprehension to differ intrinsically from the labour that has to do with elaborating the material means of life’ (p. 12).

became the 'New Order' (1923/1964: 211) what Veblen calls the Vested Interests. 'A vested interest is a marketable right to get something for nothing. [...] Vested interests are immaterial wealth, intangible assets' based on three premises of businesslike management: a) limitation of supply; b) obstruction of traffic; c) meretricious publicity.⁷ All three secure profitable sales (1919/1964: 100). The new order runs on the 'masters of financial intrigue' (p. 89). While 'industry' is the effort to create new things that have a purpose to benefit life, 'exploit' is the conversion of the energies of others to ones own end (1899/2009:14). These business principles are the new 'exploit'. Small-scale industry of purposeful work to serve community good, evolved into industry for profit, serving vested interests. The vested interests are absentee landlords, corporate financiers, bankers, speculators and politicians, that include the clergy, military, courts, police and legal professions (1919/1964: 163). Staunch supporters of law and order, the latter secure the 'free income' of the kept classes. Kept classes live off the labour of the inferior class Veblen calls common man.

Contrasted with these classes who make up the vested interests, and who derive an income from the established order of ownership and privilege, is the common man. [...] He is common in the respect that he is not vested with such a prescriptive right to get something for nothing. And he is called common because such is the common lot of men under the new order of business and industry (p. 162).

Veblen further defined division between the classes as follows.

The three conventionally recognized classes, upper, middle, and lower, are all and several pecuniary categories; the upper being typically that (aristocratic) class which is possessed of wealth without having worked or bargained for it; while the middle class have come by their holdings through some form of commercial (business) traffic; and the lower class gets what it has by workmanship. It is a gradation of (a) predation, (b) business, (c) industry; the former being disserviceable and gainful, the second gainful, and the third serviceable (1914/1964: 184).

Common man is 'helpless within the rules of the game' (1919/1964: 163). The division between the vested interests and common man is a division between 'those who control the conditions of work and the rate and volume of output and to whom the net output of industry goes as free income [...] and those others who have the work to do and to whom a livelihood is allowed by these persons in control' (p. 161). Industry became a 'means of making money, not of making goods' (1923/1964: 85). The former distinction of work—esteem of the craftsman to craft a good—was contaminated on two accounts: the price system of labour and the institution of the Leisure class of 'pecuniary culture' (1899/2009: 24). Work as a means of self-esteem shifted to work for a standard of living. However, once the basic needs are met, common man is prone to

⁷ a) slowed production keeping prices high; b) business inter-rivalry; c) advertising and salesmanship.

emulate the class just above them because this ‘desire to excel in pecuniary standing and so gain the esteem and envy of one’s fellow-men’ becomes a ‘habit of pecuniary emulation’ (p. 26). In short, industry directs the habit of pecuniary emulation by producing endless goods to purchase and display to others. In short, this works out to mass consumerism. This becomes the habit of ‘invidious comparison’ a technical term Veblen used whereby ‘a comparison of persons with a view to rating and grading them in respect of relative worth or value—in an aesthetic or moral sense’ is learned (p. 27). ‘An invidious comparison is a process of valuation of persons in respect to worth’ (p. 27). These learned modes of behavior rest in what Veblen terms the institution of the Leisure Class. This institution, par excellence for Veblen, means unfettered ownership. He does not mean small-scale ownership but absentee ownership. He includes Negro slavery (1923/1964: 169); the country town (p. 170); enterprise of ‘land-grabbing’ (p. 187); and Gerontocracy (1914/1964: 42) as institutions. Institutions are cumulative habits that have come to be culturally taken for granted in social culture.

In the early 1920s German social culture was confronted by the impersonal *modus operandi* of ‘business-as-usual’ profiteers—‘getting something for nothing’ (American native bias)⁸ profiting from hyperinflation and American-style capitalism making serious inroads into Weimar. The thesis will explore how Linke and German youth responded or might have possibly resisted. For Linke some resented being forced into a ‘business-shape’ (RD 181). This had ramifications for common man in Weimar. For instance, Moritz Föllmer draws attention to rates of suicide⁹ that in ‘urban modernity’ was ‘an individual’s answer to capitalist exploitation or personal drama’ (2009: 195). Mass unemployment and welfare cuts seem to have played a role (p. 196). In the early 1920s, Berlin with its ‘confrontational political climate’ was particularly affected (p. 198). ‘Berliners would sleep on their sofas, deliberately ignoring the impending doom surrounding them’, what Föllmer refers to as ‘bourgeois indifference’ while blaming the ‘Republican “system”’ (p. 201). His discussion of German attitudes to suicide provides several examples. Some viewed suicide a result of the ‘Young Plan’s dire consequences’ (p. 202) or that ‘capitalism was ultimately irreconcilable with

⁸ American ‘native bias’ originated in the country town proprietor monopolies; grocer, hardware store, repair shop, etc. Capital from these businesses was invested in speculative land prices. He serves ‘joint pecuniary interest’ (p. 335). He becomes habituated to ‘getting something for nothing at the expense of the foreign immigrants’ (p. 335). Hailed a ‘meritorious citizen’ he enters politics as a senator, and extends his habit of speculation, land and stock (stock market capitalism), globally. Thus, ‘American business is eminently of a financial character, and the traffic of these financiers runs within the closed circuit of money-market strategy [...] the final discretion vests in the investment banker, not in the engineering staff or the manager of the works’ (Veblen 1915/1964: 339).

⁹ ‘In 1932 there were 85 suicides per million inhabitants in Great Britain, 133 in the United States, and 155 in France. In Germany there were 260’ (p. 196).

human life' (p. 203). 'A small businessman saw himself ruined by the "decline of our economy, unfair competition, and high taxes"' (p. 210). A former prison guard and doorman wanted to prevent the welfare office from forcing him to work for his unemployment benefits. He stated, 'before I go into forced labor, I will rather disappear to a foreign country or end my life' (p. 211). Engineering student Wilhelm Hagemann explained in a suicide note he was 'overwhelmed by the expectations of, and his obligations toward, family and friends' (p. 211). A mother stated: "'youth now has no Emperor, no god, and thus no footing anymore'" (p. 214). School principles and teachers often dismissed youth suicides attributing them to a 'superficial' or 'dishonest' character of the person, as was the case of a student, Heinz, who allegedly 'received expensive gifts from his parents, talked to his classmates about stock market speculation, and volunteered for female roles in school plays'. Heinz was judged an 'inauthentic person' (p. 215).

The New Order of Big Business collided with the German 'native bias' of industriousness and loyalty to the state.¹⁰ Benjamin wrote this German 'native bias' himself: 'Blessing lies in *hard work* and not in *gold*'. Each social culture adapts to or resists the scheme based on habituation cumulatively constructed into nation.

A nation is an organisation for collective offence and defence, in peace and war,—essentially based on hate and fear of other nations; a nationality is a cultural group, bound together by home-bred affinities of language, tradition, use and wont, and commonly also by a supposed community race,—essentially based on sympathies and sentiments of self-complacency within itself (Veblen 1919/1964: 147).¹¹

Nations, therefore, live in a 'state of habitual enmity and distrust' (p. 130). WWI was the result of a conflict of absentee interests between nations (Veblen 1923/1964: 3). American style business, of which Veblen was its best reader and critic, is important because it would be this 'New Order' that steamrolled across the globe,¹² ultimately affecting many of the cultures and geographies that Linke journeyed across. Elizabeth Maslen points out that Jameson foresaw this. 'Since World War I, she had been certain that America would take over Britain's old role' (2014: 297). The 'New Order' would eventually be emulated globally.

It is instructive to turn to the relationship between the new order of big business,

¹⁰ 'The German captains of industry who came to take the discretionary management in the new era were fortunate enough not to have matriculated from the training school of a country town based on a retail business in speculative real estate and political jobbery managed under the rule of "prehension, division and silence"' (Veblen 1915/1964: 193). Rather, Germans were 'captains of industry rather than of finance' (p. 194). I don't think Europeans, even today, understand this difference.

¹¹ Supposed 'community race' is sarcasm. Veblen did not believe a nation could be a race.

¹² Excluding USSR, China and pockets of fervent resistance against 20th century U.S. expansionism.

consumerism and politics in Weimar. Recent work from Julia Sneeringer (2004) illustrates how the two are inextricably bound. Weimar's post-inflation 'golden' period was awash with advertisements from Persil detergent, the C&A fashion brand, and Fön a hairdryer brand, to name a few, that shaped the political discourse around an alleged democracy of choice. 'Women! Vote for—Persil!' appeared as a 1924 advertisement. (p. 475). Of the explosion of advertising and political propaganda, Sneeringer underlines advertisements were timed to air simultaneously and even support political campaigns (p. 479). With women's suffrage declared in November 1918, they were perceived as consumers who could save the nation. Sneeringer provides an example of the German People's Party, DVP (*Deutsche Volkspartei*) agenda on stabilization.

DVP propaganda for the 1924 election contrasted Weimar's early phase of "Leftist chaos" with the present, when under DVP leadership, the government halted the "ruin" of the middle class and "at last" a wife could properly run a household. This linkage of shopping and national stability was intended to shut the door on a troubling time and begin the project of stabilization (p. 479).

In 1924, C&A ran a campaign with the following claim. 'It's your voice/vote that matters to us and that we strive, year in and year out, to reach' (p. 481). Sneeringer points to a play on the German *Stimme* that means both 'voice' and 'vote' (p. 480). These tactics were not unique to the DVP. The DDP (Left-liberal) and SDP (Social Democrats) also advocated that female consumers were needed to modernize and promote a mass consumption economy. Even Socialists viewed mass consumption positively (p. 486) despite the existence of strong anti-capitalist sentiment. For instance, the German Communist Party KPD (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*) was critical of using political campaigns for the 'packaging and sale of parties to voter-consumers' (p. 490). Yet, the KPD also emulated advertising by promoting products with the slogan 'Class Struggle Cigarettes' (p. 491). In 1924 Fön, the hairdryer brand, positioned itself as saving the German people, airing an advertisement that read: 'Democrat, socialist / here völkisch, there communist / countless parties—only Fön gets my vote!' (p. 491). In May 1928 Leiser (shoe company) ran an advertisement that coincided with the election results: 'Leiser shoes have already garnered millions of votes' (p. 493). Sneeringer asserts advertising and consumerism 'helped neutralize the destabilizing potential of female political power' where women allegedly had their voices heard (p. 496). Veblen would have underscored it their evolution from 'other-regarding' to 'self-regarding'.

Linke experienced war around her everyday. European civilization reverted to what might be called a former stage in human evolution: barbarism. German common man largely conceded to the vested interests because they were camouflaged as German

national interests. This was not unique to them. British common man was little different. Yet instincts deep in common man, when losing their standard of living and facing starvation, come to battle against the vested interests through strikes or what Veblen called forms of ‘sabotage’ with workmen slowing down industrial production (1921/2001: 5). Yet, not all of common man arrive at this realization. This brings about a split: those coerced by the vested interests and those who are not. This caused polarization between conservative and Left positions in Weimar (Scheck 2004). Common man who harbor hope for a revolution direct their efforts toward this goal while those harboring fear stick to the usual *modus operandi*.

Millions of men perished in WWI, leaving women to pick up the pieces. Having experienced hunger, deprivation and the fervent resistance of the workers in her east of Berlin neighborhood, Linke might have imagined, one day, she too would try to change the situation. Hunger is of fundamental ‘*economic interest*’, wrote Ernst Bloch (1986: 67). Hunger is both an emotional and physical state. ‘It seeks to change the situation which has caused its empty stomach, its hanging head’ (p. 75).

The No to the bad situation which exists, the Yes to the better life that hovers ahead, is incorporated by the deprived into *revolutionary interest*. This interest always begins with hunger, hunger transforms itself, having been taught, into an explosive force against the prison of deprivation. Thus the self seeks not only to preserve itself, it becomes explosive; self-preservation becomes self-extension (Emphasis added, p. 75-76).

For Bloch, hope rather than fear is the emotion to change the situation. ‘Hope, this expectant counter-emotion against anxiety and fear, *is therefore the most human of all mental feelings and only accessible to men, and it also refers to the furthest and brightest horizon*’ (Emphasis added, p. 75).

The epistemology of Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) is a critical hermeneutic of cultural history and socio-economic developments that led, he argues, to the realization of socialism vis-à-vis emancipatory imagination found in hope. An unconventional Marxist interested in imagination, he suggests even though ideology manipulates the masses it also offers emancipatory possibilities. Like Veblen, Bloch placed great emphasis on popular culture, but Bloch ferreted out of everyday life experiences, a philosophical treatise of hope located in cultural artifacts like daydreams, popular literature, fashion, sports and architecture. Bloch’s thinking is in stark contrast to Veblen who equated the new industrial goods a profit-making enterprise for the vested interests, a habit-making practice of ‘pecuniary emulation’ and ‘invidious comparison’ amongst common man.

Like Veblen, Bloch posed humans live in multi-temporality: the past, present

and future because they cannot clearly see the present and the past festers within them. ‘We could scarcely see a day ahead’, wrote Linke (*RD* 110). Yet, they project themselves toward the future or the Not-Yet, as Bloch called it. They anticipate something better for themselves and the world. ‘My own heart was hopeless, too, and full of useless remorse. Oh, in the future I would try all I could to help my mother’ (*RD* 35). This future orientation is what Bloch called *Vor-Schein* thereby meaning ‘anticipatory illumination’ projected toward a better life imagined in the present. He vehemently argued such ‘pre-appearances’ are neither escapist nor delusional but are real visions based on a lack in the present (Bloch 1986: 150). Humans imagine themselves on the way to becoming. Some hopeful souls imagine becoming a better person, living in a better world working collectively with others toward this goal. This is commensurate with Veblen’s premise that common man is a teleological ‘agent’ who sets goals for himself with an instinct to do purposeful work. Here, Veblen differs from Bloch’s thinking because while humans may set teleological goals for themselves, they are also prone to revert to earlier stages in human evolution such as barbarism because psychological traits still dwell in their present, reinforced by barbaric habits in the present. For Veblen these barbaric habits cumulated (evolved) as an outcome of the institution of the Leisure Class practiced as ‘pecuniary emulation’ and ‘invidious comparison’ that are forms of modern barbarism, oddly perceived as civilized. Veblen makes no mention of daydreams but for Bloch they are useful for future-directed ‘concrete utopias’ (Jack Zipes cited in Bloch 1996: xxvii). Art and literature also project concrete utopias. In fact, as a young man, Veblen was influenced by Edward Bellamy’s utopian novel *Looking Backward 2000-1887* (1888/2009), confirming the power of literature to impart an ‘anticipatory illumination’ in its reader. Bellamy’s evolution over revolution might have illuminated Veblen’s path. But Veblen also experienced, firsthand, American corporations overtaking American common man. His theories were written from experience. Veblen anticipated an achievable concrete utopia, namely; modern industry run by common man for betterment of the whole over the vested interests with no interest in industry other than for pecuniary gain. He hoped for bloodless evolution over a bloody revolution.

In search of concrete utopias, a hopeful individual might search for others who share the same hope, to correct the situation that causes empty stomachs. Crowds bring people together in this. Being in the crowd for Elias Canetti means a possibility of overcoming loneliness and fear (1960/1981: 15). ‘As soon as a man has surrendered himself to the crowd, he ceases to fear its touch’ (p. 16). I want to know if Linke was

part of the crowd or if she searched for others who shared a similar goal or worldview. In Linke's case, at sixteen, it seems she was touched by a 'fortunate encounter' to overcome what might be feelings of fear and rejection during WWI. She admitted:

I do not know what would have become of me without Anne. [...] I lived in such abnormal times that I had seen death before I had ever seen life [...] She allowed me to read her books—poems by Rilke and Stefan George, Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* [...] only by knowing Anne was I able to understand what I read (RD 99).

Goethe, remarking on his 'fortunate encounter' with Schiller in 1788, articulated, their friendship was an 'enduring union rich in benefit to us and to others' (1995: 20). Their encounter furthered Goethe's philosophy. Of her chance to learn with Anne, Linke admitted: 'In fact, all my learning never happened in a one-and-one-is-two-way, but only in connection with a personal influence' (RD 99). For Goethe human evolution did not happen in a well-defined process of stages but in a series of 'wrong turns, twisting roads, hidden ways, and finally of the unintended jump, the energetic leap which takes us to a higher level of understanding'. Hence, a fortunate encounter contributes to a 'purer, freer state of self-awareness' (Goethe 1995: 21). My premise is that fortunate encounters (Jameson and Stolper) established Linke as a writer. Not only this, how might these fortunate encounters and future encounters contribute to her learning and way of seeing?

In light of this possibility the thesis considers Goethe's scientific method of 'tender empiricism', or what is termed *Zarte Empirie*, as a science for life. His method suggests both observation and participation are necessary to gather more reliable phenomena or facts for 'true' knowledge. Goethe observed: 'There is a delicate [tender] empiricism which makes itself utterly identical with the object, thereby becoming true theory' (1995: 307). Goethe likened the practice of seeing as reciprocal, in his admittance nature (as subject) sees back. It is like inhaling and exhaling, each reliant on the other. It underlines his idea on reciprocity between two things. Daniel Wahl interprets Goethean science as a 'conscious-process-participation epistemology' arguing it opposite to 'subject-object-separation epistemology' of Cartesian mechanistic metaphors and dualistic rationalism of Newtonian materialism (2005: 70). Goethe was critical of scientists in his epoch for collecting knowledge and using it as a form of domination rather than science for life, which is perhaps little different to Veblen's annoyance with sociologists' use of statistics to justify sociological research. Veblen too rejected dualist Cartesian ontology (Hodgson p. 112). Critical sensibility toward science and its use for domination also appears a concern for Freire.

The investigator who, in the name of scientific objectivity, transforms the organic into something inorganic, what is becoming into what is, life into death, is a person who fears change. [...] He or she does want to study change—but in order to stop it, not in order to stimulate or deepen it. However, in seeing change as a sign of death and in making people passive objects of investigation in order to arrive at rigid models, one betrays their own character as a killer of life (1970/1996: 89).

His premise seems commensurate with Goethe's postulation, 'when making observations it is best to be fully conscious of objects, and when thinking to be fully aware of ourselves' (1995: 308). Science claims objectivity. Çiğdem Esin, questions objectivity: 'if we're working with people, we're always subjective' (2008: 76). Esin speaks naturally to Goethe's claim: 'The manifestation of a phenomenon is not detached from the observer—it is caught up and entangled in his individuality (1995: 307).

Drawing further from Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the thesis considers his reciprocal premise 'true reflection—leads to action' and vice versa, an equilibrium of activism and verbalism defined as *word=work=praxis* to build a better world (1970/1996: 68). Authentic praxis is emancipatory because the 'objective of any true revolution—requires that the people act, as well as reflect, upon the reality to be transformed' (p. 111). Freire calls for a dialog of love. 'Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking' (p. 73). 'No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause—the cause of liberation. And this commitment, because it is loving, is dialogical' (p. 70). Linke's mode of writing might resemble a series of 'conversations' with her readers, a view Margaretta Jolly locates as stories 'defined through who listens, how and for what interest' (2014: 10). Jennifer Birkett and Chiara Briganti edited a collection of essays on Jameson titling the book *Margaret Storm Jameson Writing in Dialogue* (2007). Jameson strongly urged writers and journalists to imbue 'social conscience' in their writing (*JNI* 156). I will explore Jameson's influence on Linke and to what extent, if any, Linke engaged in Freire's praxis of a dialog of love. Did she encounter all socio-economic strata across her journeys or did she categorize people by class, possibly narrowing her vision? Freire put it: 'Human beings in communion liberate each other' (p. 114). 'Thus the road to revolution involves openness to the people, not mistrust' (p. 119). In this sense, Freire, like Goethe recognizes participation as vital.

Linke mixed autobiography, documentary and journalism, to craft stories with pedagogic value for a science of life. Her writing mode might resemble Wahl's understanding of Goethe's method that uses 'direct experience, empathy, intuition and imagination' (2005: 60). Linke's interest in exploring social problems and doing social work, then writing up her experiences, was participative. What did she document in

doing so? Linke's narratives asked questions to the 'self'—thus asking them to the reader—a juxtaposition device she honed to make the reader think. Linke, like Sergei Eisenstein's 'montage' method, sought to jar the reader, as he jarred the audience, to 'help itself' rather than 'entertain' it (1963: 84). I want to explore if Linke sees and writes with a multi-perspectival view. The premise is her writing is not one person's account but those of multiple voices found in her encounters.

Literary reviews portray Linke a 'wayfarer' or 'wanderer'. I find these descriptions somewhat vague, superficial and expected. If Linke was a travel writer, although that term might be considered problematic, what did she write? Debbie Lisle (2006) has criticised certain claims made about travel writing.

My point is that the cosmopolitan vision embedded in contemporary travel writing and espoused by many liberal thinkers is not as emancipatory as it claims to be; rather, it is underscored by the remnants of Orientalism, colonialism and Empire. [...] they actually produce new forms of power that mimic the 'previous sensibility' of Empire (p. 5).

Lisle does not group all travel writers into one camp and suggests there are 'emancipatory possibilities' for the genre.

Many travel writers make deliberate efforts to distance themselves from the genre's implication in Empire by embracing the emancipatory possibilities created by an interconnected 'global village.' Rather than 'harking back to a previous sensibility', these authors celebrate the interdependence and common aims of all cultures. In this sense, they 'lead from the front' by teaching us how to appreciate cultural difference and recognise the values common to all humanity (p. 4).

Here, Arif Dirlik's notion of 'difference in sameness' (2002: 45) comes to mind. Linke was critical of the self in whatever culture she journeyed. She worked hard, through writing and interaction with encounters, to expose and negate stereotypes, prejudices and habits of thought her readers might harbor toward other cultures. I have termed this approach her 'emancipatory praxis'.

If Linke's narratives have pedagogic and possible scientific value, then what is her positional relation to academia? Aslı Çırakmak (2005) researched texts written by ordinary travellers, on the one hand, and statesmen and intellectuals, on the other, to explore varied representations of Ottomans and Turks from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries by contrasting learning through 'superficial reading' with 'industrious experience' (p. 42). She concludes, 'there is a superior way to comprehend the lives of others and different manners and that is by travelling. As against the kind of learning through books, learning through experience seems to gain a new meaning and a distinctive quality' (p. 42). Çırakmak echoes Grossberg's call for empirical study. But Ayşe Trak (1985) points to limitations in social science, chiefly development literature:

It is extremely hard for the Western student of economic development, even the best-intentioned one, with deep sensitivity and vast knowledge of different fields of social science, to make political and ethical statements about a country with which he is not personally involved (p. 92).

Was Linke personally involved with Turkey? Moreover as a non-academic with no authority of academic qualification, does this limit or discredit her work or strengthen it? Derrida was critical of the alleged ‘professional’ for his or her tendency to objectify science. He put it:

The writer can be ignorant or naïve in relation to the historical tradition which bears him or her, or which s/he transforms, invents, displaces. But I wonder whether, in the absence of historical awareness or knowledge s/he doesn’t “treat” history in the course of an experience which is more significant, more alive, more necessary in a word, than, that of some professional “historians” naively concerned to “objectify” the content of a science (Derrida 1992: 54-55).

Derrida viewed autobiography as liberating because it asks: ‘Who am I? Who is me? What’s Happening’ (p. 35)? In corollary, Kazin thought ‘the autobiographical mode can be an authentic way of establishing the truth of our experience’ (1964: 216). This thesis considers if Linke’s experiences might become a kind of science as a pre-cultural studies self-fashioned practitioner, prior to the discipline.

Considering this, did someone fund her or was she writing independently? Was it her instinct for purposeful work? Was her aim to write ‘truths’ as a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of her time? Journeying into nations’ most rural enclaves, as a woman, seems rather courageous. Was Linke a self-proclaimed feminist? My findings indicate she did not declare herself one. I do, however, consider Linke’s life-way was one of a forthright, independent and strong woman. Jameson, Linke’s close friend was critical of first-wave feminism. Incidentally, Veblen thought women more courageous than men. Although expected, I do not employ feminist theory nor does the thesis take a strong feminist stance, other than Veblen’s argument women are less predatory than men. Wenhold already framed Linke a *Neue Frau*. I wish to avoid Cartesian binaries.

Oddly, Linke was perceived a man. A journalist, commenting on one of her Latin American narratives, wrote in the *Times Literary Supplement*: ‘Mr. Linke writes well about the jungle and its people’ (Holl p. 89 fn 111). Journalism suffers from writers-reporters who are not adequately informed about where or whom they are writing. Ece Temelkuran (2010) in an interview conducted in Armenia suggests to her interviewee: ‘We’re both right to be wary of the journalists who visit our countries. [...] Only by listening to someone who cares deeply about a country can you learn the truth about that country’ (p. 37). Did Linke care ‘deeply’ about Turkey? Did she see journeying there a chance to establish herself as a writer or was she simply curious to see how others had succeeded at building a nation where in Weimar they had failed?

Part II concentrates on Linke's autobiography *Allah Dethroned: A Journey Through Modern Turkey* (1937) and a journal article *Social Changes in Turkey* (1937), written after a yearlong journey across the Republic in 1935. Another work *Hitler's Route to Bagdad* (1939) has been excluded because it is a reified academic text void of intuition or understanding, containing only facts. 'Turkey' appears as one chapter shaped by a Dr. A. E. Mende (1939: 11). Her authorship and knowledge of the Republic appears to have been exploited by the Fabian Society.¹⁴ My analysis largely uses her autobiographies that allow the human and other humans she encounters to come through in the stories. This directs my secondary question; how did Linke's praxis reflect in her narratives on Turkey? I suggest there are strong parallels between her 'experiential learning' and 'spirit of insubordination' within Turkey, in that they both worked for the betterment of the whole under exceedingly trying circumstances. I evaluate her narratives of experience and interaction with civil leaders, military officials, engineers, doctors, teachers, directors and students—common man in totality—to assess if she was a passive observer or active participant. If Linke did evolve from a self-regarding individual to other-regarding person, to cultivate a new way of seeing as put forth in Part I, did she direct a xenophobic, Eurocentric, scientific or Orientalist gaze toward the Turks?¹⁵ Findings illustrate she did not see in these odd ways. She appears to have approached Turkish fortunate encounters more in line with Goethe's 'tender empiricism' and Freire's 'dialog of love'. This might lead us to question if Linke's narratives are critical toward the industrialization under Mustafa Kemal and his peers. Scholars writing on the Kemalist regime have pointed out foreign journalists and filmmakers were used to produce positive propaganda about the Republic as the nation forever felt under threat of negative publicity (Boyar and Fleet 2005). My premise is that her texts are left open with carefully nuanced criticism and praise.

Not only in Weimar but also in the Turkish context and the countries to which she would later journey, I see her in the position of the woodcutter in the painting of Şeker Ahmet Paşa (1841-1907) *The Woodcutter and the Forest*. This late-Ottoman painter studied in Paris, and perhaps the experiences afforded there helped cultivate a

¹⁴ Of the British *Fabian Society*, V. I. Lenin (1920) wrote it a 'reformist organisation founded in 1884. The membership consisted, in the main, of bourgeois intellectuals. The Fabians denied the necessity of the proletariat's class struggle and the socialist revolution, and contended that the transition from capitalism to socialism was possible only through petty reforms and the gradual reorganisation of society. In 1900 the Fabian Society joined the Labour Party' (1920 fn 6). Margaret Storm Jameson loathed the 'bureaucratic elitism of Fabian socialism' (Birkett 2006).

¹⁵ Use of 'Turks' refers to what has evolved to 'Türkiyeli' that accounts all citizens of Turkey. I do not break down each ethnicity because it would render the thesis illegible. I treat Turkey and 'Turks' as I treat Canada and 'Canadians' whose totality define a nation.

new way of seeing; a multi-perspectival one. In his painting Ahmet depicted a woodcutter figure from both the perspective of the woodcutter working in the forest and perspective of the forest over the woodcutter. The painting, because of a perspective error between an omnipresent beech tree at the far right of the frame and a woodcutter and his mule on the left, fascinates John Berger. The viewer sees a kind of ‘double vision’. Berger put it:

Now this experience, which is that of anybody familiar with forests, depends upon your seeing yourself in double vision. You make your way through the forest and, simultaneously, you see yourself, as from the outside, swallowed by the forest. What gives this painting its peculiar authority is its faithfulness to the experience of the figure to the woodcutter (1991: 88).

I suggest this ‘double vision’ might not be so different from how Linke sees. A pauperized person telling stories of the self, (fear and hope) journeying in the forest (different cultures) cultivates in Linke a ‘criticality’ mentioned earlier. In the sense of Goethe, it is an ability to see and experience in a multi-perspectival manner reliant on the method of ‘tender empiricism’. Turkey, a nation and culture unfamiliar to Linke, is a chance to experience new ways of doing and being in another habituation. It allows her to step outside of herself because there, she will meet habits and habituation different, yet the same, to those experienced in Europe. She might experience Dirlik’s ‘difference in sameness’. It might be ‘emancipation and enlargement of experience’ (Dewey 1910/2007: 156). How do the Turks look back at her and possibly teach and change Linke? I put forth the idea Turkish encounters may have served as Linke’s teachers contributing to her evolution and her work for common good in Latin America.

If Linke is working for a science of life and if her narratives have pedagogic value, it might be proper to recall Goethe’s advice to scientists.

All things in nature, especially the commoner forces and elements, work incessantly upon one another; we can say that each phenomenon is connected with countless others just as we can say that a point of light floating in space sends it rays in all directions. Thus when we have done an experiment of this type, found this or that piece of empirical evidence, we can never be careful enough in studying what lies next to it or derives directly from it. [...] To follow every single experiment through its variations is the real task of the scientific researcher. His duty is precisely the opposite of what we expect from the author who writes to entertain (1995: 16).

Then the task for Linke might be to see the ‘variations’ in other cultures. Taking Big Business as the ‘light’—perhaps darkness for many souls—sending its ‘rays’ across the globe, Linke’s journey is a way to see and learn how Turkey and her people were in the process of adapting to the abstract notion of living in a Republic. Dewey’s first principle of ‘continuity’ posed ‘every experience lives on in further experiences’ (1938: 27). Linke’s German struggle for democracy is continuity in another form in Turkey’s

struggle to build a nation. ‘Interaction’ for Dewey ‘assigns equal rights to both factors in experience—objective and internal conditions’ to form a ‘situation’ (1938: 42). Situation and interaction are inseparable. Linke’s learning in one situation is an equal learning in another which in Freire’s reading of situation offers the following:

People, as being “in a situation,” find themselves rooted in temporal-spatial conditions which mark them and which they also mark. They will tend to reflect on their own “situationality” to the extent that they are challenged by it to act upon it (1970/1996: 90).

Just as Linke attempted to understand her experiences in Weimar, her ‘situation’ in the Turkish case of their ‘situation’ is to ‘find out the way in which the elements of a culture interact with each other and the way in which the elements of human nature are caused to interact with one another under conditions set by their interaction with the existing environment’ (Dewey 2008: 76). Here, habits and instincts come into play. In other words, how does the ‘spirit of insubordination’ in the people of Turkey interact with the new social conditions (habits) propagated by Mustafa Kemal and his peers to cultivate a modern Republic? Linke posed questions for the reader. Was Atatürk ‘Beloved—or feared?’ (*AD* 19). Again, she was trying to make sense of what she saw and experienced.

I felt confused. The modern station, the broad avenue, the post-war façade of the hotel, and these ragged men and women with their primitive means of transport and certainly an equally primitive life—were they merely two different stages in a natural development, or two worlds following two parallel roads that would never meet, or were the up-to-date things I had seen, strewn about at random by an inconsiderate government beyond the means of the country (*AD* 17)?

Were things just strewn about or did they have a purpose? What end did they work for?

Linke made some comments about Turkish social formation and structures in her autobiography, either woven into the narrative or as endnotes to the chapter. I pick up on some of these. In placing Linke in her German habituation with a ‘native bias’ peculiar to it, I find it equally important to place the Turks in their habituation and to tease out a ‘conventional wisdom’ peculiar to them. To do so I explore Ottoman social structures and institutions to better understand out of what past they evolved. The Ottoman Empire lasted a long time, beginning in the twelfth century, a period long enough for a culture to establish certain habits and habituation. Thus, certain social patterns and formations cumulatively shaped this vast expanse of peoples and cultures. There is much to learn on the subject. For instance, production in the Ottoman Empire according to Halil İnalcık has been largely misunderstood as the Asiatic mode of production (AMP) based on British colonial documents Marx read on India, to construct

an overall analysis on Asia. India and the Ottoman Empire were different entities and İnalçık questions the validity of sourcing information tainted by British colonialism (1993: 139-140).

Although Mustafa Kemal and his peers worked to make a clear break from the empire to constitute a fresh start in the Republic by literally sweeping away the old, this does not mean they entirely swept away ‘native bias’. By locating a certain ‘native bias’ it also becomes apparent what challenges they were up against or employed to their favor. I briefly turn to Ottoman habituation to interpret the origins of certain habits and habituation that may have carried over in the formation of the Republic. Resting between Part I and Part II, a chapter entitled *Empire to Republic* explores these peculiarities. The thesis considers the reasoning and worldview constituting the Ottoman social formation and their adaptability and resistance, cumulated in the Ottoman Empire, and to what extent habit and habituation continue or evolve in the Republic. By the nineteenth century it becomes apparent adaptability and resistance was caused by outside intervention aimed at reducing the empire to an inferior, insubordinate position, leading to eventual collapse. World War I was the outcome.

Şerif Mardin argues micro study on modern Turkey is much needed as there is too much focus on the macro of state and social structures that tend to brush over individual experience (Mardin cited in Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997: 66). Moreover, Esra Özyürek claims the 1920s and 1930s in Turkey are often remembered as a nostalgic utopia, to which there is a ‘lack of real witnesses’ (2006: 17). Here, Linke’s narratives, as a witness to Turkey’s modernization, may contribute to scholarship on the era. Academic research in the last two decades on the late Ottoman and early Republican era has criticized an alleged ‘elite’ for top-down rule that imposed their beliefs and behaviors on the people (Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997, Keyder 1987, Mardin 1997). Kasaba put it:

...the political elites saw themselves as the most important force for change in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. To them, Ottoman-Turkish society was a project, and the people who lived in Turkey could at most be the objects of experiments. They freely used categories such as “old” and “new” or “traditional” and “Western” in order to reduce the dimensions of their task to manageable proportions and present themselves as the sole bearers of progress. They regarded reform strictly as a top-down process (Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997: 23-24).

Marxist analysis of the early Republican era divides the populace into ‘elite’ bureaucrats whose power rests on two groups—commercial bourgeoisie-landowner class and the military-civilian bureaucracy—ruling over a laboring and rural populace, largely comprised of peasantry (Öncü 2003). Rule under a single-party RPP (People’s

Republican Party) known as the early Republican era drew individuals from the bureaucracy, military and substantial landholders to form what has been termed ‘elites’ (Olson and İnce 1977; Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997; Mardin 1997) and in the Marxist tradition the ‘bourgeoisie’ (Ahmad 1977; Keyder 1987; Savran 1992; Boratav 1992). Additionally, some academics refer to the Strong State Tradition, a particularist view that does not place a main focus on conceptualizing the economy or capitalism but this does not mean they ignore entirely these conceptualizations in their research (Mardin 1973; Heper 1985; Göle 1997). This diversity of vantage points, what might be referred to as a multi-perspectival approach, may baffle foreign academics that seek a clear dichotomy of either/or. The thesis draws knowledge from these diverse views.

Through Linke’s eyes and experiences, I take a closer look, as Mardin and Özyürek suggest, as to how these ‘elites’ or ‘bourgeoisie’ or possibly ‘common man’ worked on the ground together, how they interacted and possibly cooperated to cultivate a flourishing Republic. Linke makes it clear the exceedingly trying circumstances they faced. First, they were impoverished from a series of wars fought over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Second, trade restrictions, lack of industry and the Depression seriously challenged and impeded early industrialization. The ‘elites’ could not eradicate poverty or change old habits overnight. Here, her way of seeing might provide a multi-perspectival view on the role of women, the ‘elites’ as well as the ‘peasantry’ because she encountered them all.

Linke does not arrive at an inopportune time. In fact she journeys across the nation at the height of *Étatism*, the rolling out of Turkey’s proposed ‘third way’ (*üçüncü yol*) (Okyar 1965; Birttek 1985; Tuna 2009). The Turkish ‘experiment’ of *Étatism* presents a problem for Marxist class-analysis due to the nature of the ‘mixed economy’ that allowed for diverse modes of production such as private enterprise, state-run and state-owned industry and agricultural production. There was not a central committee like in the USSR rather it relied on the responsibility of bureaucrats, local mayors and state banks to build-up state industries. *Étatism* is not socialism outright nor is it capitalism either. In fact, there is much contention about *Étatism*, apparent in the chapter *Empire to Republic*. Linke would traverse this dynamic setting to experience this experiment. Osman Okyar (1965) and Faruk Birttek (1985) both analyze this period, but for the most part, Turkish-style *Étatism* has been by-passed by academic research. In 1932, Mustafa Kemal defined the project as follows:

The principle of *Étatism* that we have chosen to follow is not in any way the same as in Collectivism or in Communism which aims at removing all instruments of production and

distribution from individuals, thus organizing society on a completely different basis and leaving no room for private and individual enterprise and action in the economic field. The end of Étatist policy, while it recognises private initiative and action as the main basis of the economy, is to bring the Nation in the shortest time possible to an adequate level of prosperity and material welfare, and in order to achieve this, to ask the State to concern itself with those affairs where this is required by the high interests of the Nation, especially in the economic field (Atatürk cited in Okyar 1965: 101).

While his statement might appear a declared plan carved in stone, it might also be flexible. Okyar points out ‘pragmatic and practical considerations far outweighed any doctrinaire motive in the adoption of Étatist policy. Necessity, and not a doctrinaire vision of the future, was the mother of Étatism’ (p. 101). I put forth this might constitute a kind of knitting the nation together through common workmanship. Here, there is an opportunity for Linke to contribute knowledge on a rather ignored subject. For this reason Turkey provides a good case study. It allows a view of Linke as a sensitive participant, absorbing others voices and striving to find signs of common betterment, in the context of a newly modernising and developing country where there was an avowed interest in working for betterment of the whole.

Determined to encounter all socio-economic strata she even met people in their homes. In this sense, she practiced the philosophy of ‘going to the people’ that sociologist Ziya Gökalp called for (1959: 259), an earlier term borrowed from the Russian *narodniki* by Yusuf Akçura. Terms like ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’ in the early Republican era drew primarily, but not exclusively, from Gökalp. Influenced by positivism and Émile Durkheim he reworked an original treatise that outlined Turkish culture (rural) and civilization (urban) as inherently compatible with Western civilization. By fully embracing western science and methods Gökalp argued that Turkey was equal to Europe. To facilitate the ‘cultural revolution’ there must be a ‘going to the people’ of reciprocal exchange whereby urbanites would bring Anatolia civilization, and Anatolia would bring urbanites ‘culture’. Education became the catalyst for social (r)evolution.¹⁶ Everything done was to teach a new cultural pattern. In a fledgling nation with over eighty percent of its national economy based in agriculture how would they industrialize and from where would they find skilled workers? What role would women play in the effort to flourish as an independent sovereign nation? Linke was witness to this ongoing process in 1935.

The title of Part I of the thesis: *Who is Lilo Linke?* constitutes three chapters that follow her evolution from a self-regarding individual to other-regarding person.

¹⁶ Across the thesis I use revolution and evolution interchangeably as (r)evolution. The revolution was realized in a war against the imperialist invasion of Anatolia. The reforms of Mustafa Kemal were also distinctly revolutionary in virtually all areas of everyday life. As the thesis touches on the former empire, I construct my frame to also encompass social evolution of the people within Turkey.

Chapter two places Linke in the German context of social, political and economic turmoil during WWI and the Weimar Republic using Veblen's notion of habituation. I explore her early emotions and employ Bloch's notion on hunger as an emotion, such that, hope rather than fear, guided Linke to imagine becoming a better person in a better world.

Chapter three juxtaposes learning in educational institutions, what is 'stultification' for Jacques Rancière, to that of learning outside the institution through daily experiences and 'fortunate encounter[s]'. I consider how Linke's encounters constitute a new way of seeing and learning that resemble Goethe's scientific method of 'tender empiricism' *Zarte Empirie*. Fortunate encounters helped her overcome a strong sense of learned inferiority.

Chapter four extends this way of learning to Freire's *word=work=praxis* as Linke's writing has emancipatory goals. Further thought is given to Linke's refusal to bend to institutional demands, and whose spirit might resemble what Veblen called a 'masterless man'.¹⁷ She seemed to possess a 'spirit of insubordination' in the sense Veblen offered, owing to an instinct for purposeful work, care of others, and curiosity.

Empire to Republic, a chapter resting between Part I and Part II, briefly outlines the (r)evolution out of the Ottoman Empire into the Turkish Republic to touch on 'native-bias' peculiar to the Ottomans and later to the Turks, to assess if Linke's way of seeing and conclusions drawn were realistic or exaggerated. *Étatism* is discussed underlining the aims of Mustafa Kemal, his peers and common man on this journey.

Part II opens out the ideas of Veblen's 'spirit of insubordination' as they appear in Linke to mirror how these same instincts emerge in those within Turkey to work for the betterment of the whole.

Chapter five sets Linke in Turkey by way of 'idle curiosity' in the sense of Veblen, and reviews the ideas of Gökalp, Ülken and Baltacıoğlu comparing them to those of John Dewey on pedagogy. Taken together they form a blueprint for national education. Not unlike Linke's 'experiential learning', common man was in the process of learning by doing, as witnessed on her journey across Anatolia.

Chapter six explores the 'instinct of workmanship' in common man to suggest Linke was little different from Turkish women and men working toward a better future for the whole. Following Linke's journey, I reveal how women worked alongside men and how both viewed the process of social change. Her position as a woman traveling

¹⁷ Veblen's use of the term is not gender specific.

across Anatolia, draws attention to *word=work=praxis* as a ‘tender empiricist’ as she has a keen sense of the Depression impeding their progress.

Chapter seven opens out Veblen’s notion of ‘parental bent’ and the relationship between the peasantry and civil leaders, directors and engineers in their efforts to industrialize. By way of Linke’s experiences, I explore from whom they borrowed ideas and how they implemented them in state-run industry and cooperatives. I consider their practice similar to Veblen’s ‘Soviet of Technicians’ and contrast it to ‘pecuniary gain’.

Chapter eight, in lieu of a conclusion, presents findings on Linke from her work in Ecuador using them as a measure to reflect, intuit and confirm what her aims were in writing on Turkey. Reviewing Linke’s life in totality, I summarize what she taught and what I learned: autobiography as emancipatory pedagogy, thus closing the circle.

Part I: Who is Lilo Linke?

Embracing Life

From Hunger to Hope

Forward, forward, we have far to go to find the blue flower
near the ridge of the mountains. If you get tired, I shall
encourage and support you, but forward, follow me!
—Lilo Linke (*RD* 178)

Linke's stories document what I conceive as her journey to becoming a better person. Exploring her emotions and actions to understand better what she and German society were experiencing and would continue to experience, I assert that her narratives are pedagogies of hope amidst social, political and economic turmoil—WWI and the interwar period—in a time of darkness. This chapter examines Linke's stories while drawing from Ernst Bloch's ideas on 'concrete utopias' (1996: xxvii) and Veblen's notion of habituation (1914/1964: 38-39). Veblen reasoned behavior coerced by 'imbecile institutions' that used self-aggrandizement and fear (1914/1964: 43) as technological advances transformed people from peaceable instincts into war-like habits (1899/2009: 11, 19). Linke's experiences and her writing up of them constitute praxis to transform experiences of despair into stories of hope as 'anticipatory illumination' (1996: 73). Bloch called this *Vor-Schein*¹⁸ and meant thereby a projection toward utopia by developing an ability to imagine becoming a better person in a better world (p. 156). Bloch posited hope, for some, arose from the emotion of hunger yet Linke's early emotions were seldom hopeful. Surpassing imbecile institutions, after experiencing and recognizing their coercion and imagining herself beyond them, I examine how Linke evolved from a 'self-regarding' individual to 'other-regarding' person to work for betterment of common man (Dugger and Sherman 2000: 149; Öncü 2009).

Restless Days, written at the age of twenty-eight was Linke's second autobiography and an account of her growing up in the east of Berlin amongst the working class in tenement houses in a dreary industrial zone. Constructing her story from the point of view of a young person genuinely trying to make sense of such

¹⁸ *Vor-schein* is translated 'pre-appearances' but Zipes uses 'anticipatory illumination' (Bloch 1996: xx).

tumultuous times in a society fragmented by war and class warfare, her narrative relied on childhood memories but also included accurate and detailed experiences in her later association with politicians when Linke became involved with the DDP (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*) political circle. Holl lauds Linke for her authentic and ‘vivid description of political events such as election campaigns and mass rallies’ and as a direct witness her ‘unerring depictions of political personalities who had crossed her path’ (1987: 73). I intuit her account to be truthful, based on research findings and her lived experiences, to write stories as she stated, that would be ‘as near the truth’ as possible.¹⁹ I assert these are counter-narratives to the dominant narrative of war, inflation, consumerism, racism and fascism. Linke was documenting what was happening to her and her society and the rapid change it was undergoing. Not only did she tell of petty everyday normative family disputes but also the deep-seated social problems that festered in Linke and German society as a whole. With little higher education her text is not reified with theoretical terminology or party propaganda, thus leaving it open to interpretation. For example, Linke wrote that rather than turning communist, she knew the ‘truth lay somewhere in that direction’ (*RD* 363). She did not choose a particular Left but leaves her narratives open. I read her narrative as a pre-cultural studies work that has much to teach from below about the everyday situation in which those in the east of Berlin lived and how German habituation gradually evolved from being industrious and peaceable to predatory and war-like, in the Veblenian sense.

I begin with an overview of the Linke family and habituation in which they lived. Lilo Linke was born 31 October 1906 into what she defined a ‘petit bourgeois’ family in the working class district in the east of Berlin. Her father Paul Johannes Friedrich Otto Linke (*Fig. 3*) born in Tannenwalde, Prussia (1878-1933)²⁰ was a civil servant employed as a topographer-surveyor for the Prussian government drawing maps on the eastern front. In WWI he was stationed in Graudenz (*RD* 10) eastern Prussia (now Poland) but not on the front line. Despite conservative views he was on the side of peace (*RD* 83). Juliane Henriette Lucie Linke (Mickley) (*Fig. 4*) was born in Berlin (1875-?)²¹ and worked as a railway assistant. The couple married on 5 February 1906.²² Lucie left her post to become a housewife. Paul and Lucie represent a generation habituated to Bismarck’s *Kulturkampf*.

¹⁹ Chatham House Library (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) Registry File 10313/2, Letter from Lilo Linke to Research Secretary Miss Margaret Cleeve, 3 May 1952.

²⁰ Nichtamtliche Eintragungen. With permission, Marc Linke, 2013.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* constructed the façade of a 'culture war' against Catholics by Protestants after annexing Alsace and Lorraine (1871) from France. Disguised as a religious clash, in actuality, it was the push for industrialization over agriculture that pitted landowners against industrialists, fomenting an economic clash. In an expansionist race—period of unfettered liberalism from 1870 to 1914—Germans competed with rival British, French and Dutch colonialism for territory and economic supremacy. The German Colonial Society (*Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*) became the apex of the expansionist movement (Short 2012: 24). Social democracy was suppressed. Taxation and tariffs forced German common man to foot the bill for expansionism. Bismarck's authoritarian rule employed agent provocateurs to pass an Exclusion Bill against the Socialists. Three pillars of bourgeois society—state, law, economy—were complicit in *Kulturkampf* using the media, amongst other tactics, to propagate a religious clash. To further coerce Germans into war-like habit, two events were staged in 1878. On 11 May, Max Hödel a tin worker shot at the Emperor and was later executed. It was later proven he had no contact with social democracy. On 2 June, Dr. Karl Nobiling shot the Emperor, seriously wounding him. He committed suicide and left a note stating he didn't know why he did the act (Oliveira 1942: 52-53). These incidents fomented animosity against socialists and the bill was passed. Only in 1890 did social democracy throw off Bismarck's authoritarian rule (1878-1890). The SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) constituted a 'rival public' that articulated a 'counterdiscourse' to conservative German expansion (Short p. 18). But in 1914 the SPD supported the vested interests and entered WWI on 1 August. Rosa Luxemburg and six SPD members opposed to the war founded the *Gruppe Internationale* on 5 August 1914 (Kuhn 2012: xxiv). Habituated to *Kulturkampf* Lucie was likely coerced, as others of conservative sentiment, to extremist views against the socialists, French, Russians and Jews. Scheck (2004) points out conservatives and the right actively campaigned against socialists and social democrats in Weimar. Lucie's taken for granted habits of thought expressed in the home inevitably influenced her children. Was only *Kulturkampf* to blame?

In *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (1915/1964) Veblen questioned why Germans had a proclivity for militarism. Cumulative causation brought about this 'native bias' (habituation). First, the Germans were the last group to embrace Christianity after paganism. In so doing, they had not experienced the coercive 'make-believe' of statecraft as Christian dynasties in southern Europe. Embracing Christianity with serious rigor, Germans became habituated to an admirable life perceived as a

‘master-class’ (p. 96). This took centuries to learn and would take time to unlearn. Second, as Germans were late to establish a nation-state they held a native bias toward ‘princely enterprise, resting on an increasingly useful and increasingly loyal populace’ (p. 96) that cumulated in the contamination of the ‘modern scheme of institutions and modern conceptions of life’ (p. 97). A ‘sense of national solidarity and of feudal loyalty and service have coalesced’ Veblen proposed, ‘to bring this people to that climax of patriotic devotion’ (p. 98-99). Third, Germans took the lead in industrialization having borrowed ideas that took the British centuries to develop.²³ In Veblen’s mind, the British paid the ‘penalty for having been thrown into the lead’ (p. 132). By the twentieth century England’s technology was outdated and their workforce exhausted. Germans, on the other hand, had a young well-educated workforce, adept in technological knowhow. In the so-called modern phase of civilization with improvements in transport, communication and warfare technology, an increase in national defense and competitive armament caused jealousy and hostility between nations (p. 21). Germans took the lead in the Industrial Arts ‘forcing the pace’ in a ‘race for preparedness’ for war (p. 20). Veblen was not laying blame with Germans in particular. In *An Inquiry Into the Nature of Peace* (1917/1964) he clarified: ‘All people of Christendom are possessed of a sufficiently alert sense of nationality, and by tradition and current usage all the national governments of Christendom are warlike establishments’ (p. 6) whose sacred formula is ‘[t]he Kingdom, the Power and the Glory’ (p. 64). Christian nations’ ‘warlike ideal of worth’ and ‘patriotic ambition’ has a distinctly ‘concrete form of personal loyalty to a master’ and ‘coalesces with a servile habit of mind’ (p. 55).

Jealousy and ambition reached a climax between 1870 and 1914. Hostility was propagated between nations by those Veblen called ‘phrase-makers’, whose task was to stimulate national, predatory war-like habit of mind in common man, since the latter would give their lives in the war adventure of ‘patriotic manslaughter’ (p. 41). For instance, the French propagandist Maurice Barrés (1862-1923)—journalist, politician and novelist—was a revivalist of ‘nationalisme’ over patriotism, creating a cult of ‘le peuple’. ‘Never had *le peuple* been made to sound so like the German *Volk*’ (Ousby 2002: 186). Veblen believed statesmen exploit the human instinct of ‘joint prestige’—former prestige of work for the community (1917/1964: 51). Prestige evolved into ‘national honour’ (p. 59) against competitors. Sentimental phrases like, ‘national honour is beyond price’ (p. 27) or ‘affairs of honour’ and the like became ‘spiritual capital’.

²³ The English took ideas from Continental Europe during the Thirty Years War, thus skilled workman that fled to the island helped advance the English Industrial Arts.

Flag usage and ‘recital of an appropriate formula of words’ move ‘in the realm of magic’ (p. 29). Prestige cumulated to preserve the community’s ‘material interests’ and the vindication of ‘national honour’ was now perceived as advancement of a nation’s culture (p. 23). For Veblen, this type of coerced patriotism breaks the peace. Of the Peace Conference, MacMillan points out in her work *Paris 1919* (2001), the Allies presented Weimar a reparations bill of 132 billion gold marks. Concerned they might expand manufacturing and dump cheap goods on world markets, the hefty bill, in Lloyd George’s envious words, ‘would mean that for two generations, we would make German workmen our slaves’ (p. 187).

This jealousy and hostility between nations and their statesmen appears narcissistic. Rather than pathological conceptions of narcissism, Erich Fromm (1973/1990) equated it a component of authoritarian domination taking active or passive forms. An authoritarian attitude is thereby a masochistic desire to submit to authority and a sadistic urge to control others. The ‘narcissistic person achieves a sense of security in his own entirely subjective conviction of his perfection, his superiority over others [...] He needs to hold on to his narcissistic self-image, since his sense of worth as well as his sense of identity are based on it’ (p. 272). Building on Fromm, Cheliotis asserts humans are prone to narcissism because of ‘the desire to uphold or improve one’s social standing according to the requirements of given cultural milieus and the overarching “metastructures” of politics and the economy’ (2011: 338). Common man and elites alike may be narcissists. In the context of group narcissism, it constitutes a ‘lack of real satisfaction in life’ (Fromm p. 275). Humans can become cruel and treacherous. Fromm gave an example of group narcissism. ‘The violation of one of the symbols of group narcissism—such as the flag, or the person of the emperor, the president, or an ambassador—is reacted to with such intense fury and aggression by the people that they are even willing to support their leaders in a policy of war’ (Fromm p. 276). Pairing Veblen’s thoughts on honour with Fromm’s ideas on narcissism, they appear to speak naturally to one another, both on a sociological and individual level. Within this envy and hostility between cultures and nations, which cumulated in authoritarian regimes that incited group narcissism, Linke would have to find her way.

Just eight years old when WWI broke out, Lilo’s world appeared nothing other than normal. She had little idea, then, what ramifications the war would have on her future. Unaware of the real reasons that led to WWI her mother blamed the constructed enemy. Paul was absent from the home for long periods leaving Lucie, Lilo, younger

brother Heinz²⁴ (*Fig. 2*) and their grandmother Lilo viewed a stoic Prussian, to manage the household. In the role of a bossy sister, Lilo bullied and terrorized Heinz, learning this habit from organized battles in the back streets (*RD 56*). Only nine years old, Heinz was caught with a gang of boys stealing watches (*RD 58*). These older boys frequently engaged in street fights. ‘Sometimes many hundred boys from eight to sixteen years of age were involved. It was a matter of honour for every “male” inhabitant of Weser-Strasse to defend it against the shameless and detestable cowards of Kronprinzen-Allee. [...] There was no idea of fair play; “Victory or death” was the battle-cry’, wrote Linke (*RD 56-57*). Children’s street games mirrored the games of war between nations. Linke’s use of words like ‘honour’, ‘cowards’, and ‘battle-cry’ reflect the phrases of statesmen. In corollary, the ‘battle-cry’ of striking workers (class warfare) at armament factories in her neighborhood was a reality in the children’s everyday lives. Economic success was the social fact of European society. To maintain a ‘standard of living’ brings respectability in the ‘ability to pay’ (Veblen 1919/2007: 394). When common man lost his standard of living, his self-esteem and dignity was also lost. Unable to maintain a decent ‘standard of living’ it only fueled further jealousy and hatred toward neighbors and nations alike.

Her parents forever quarreled over money. Lilo’s relation with her father was affable. He ‘clearly preferred me’ (*RD 18*). But in another instance she recalled him caning her. Paul, the son of a Prussian soldier, seemed to treat his children with a strong hand. He reprimanded: ‘Don’t stoop so! Sit up! Don’t walk on your big toe! Stand straight’ (*RD 17*)! Lilo confided: ‘We rarely found the way to each other’ (*RD 18*). Paul likely inherited his father’s learned habit of military discipline and might have repeated this habit in training his children. Relations with her mother were also strained. Lucie’s incapacity to give or receive love reflected on the children. Her only pleasure was the piano, despite a lack of talent, according to Lilo. She resented Lucie’s habit of hero worship. ‘[The piano] was an altar erected to the heroes of the war, and my mother held a silent worship in front of it’ (*RD 27*). When a neighbor lost her son, Lucie consoled her: ‘You can be proud, Frieda—you have sacrificed him for the Fatherland’ (*RD 28*). Acknowledging herself as obstinate Lilo wrote: ‘My parents, especially my mother, soon learnt that it was better for all of us when they just left me alone’ (*RD 17*). From these passages it appears Lilo was critical of and distant from her family, particularly of her mother’s extremist views.

The German patriotic devotion described in Linke’s narrative might seem like

²⁴ Lilo encrypted his name as Fritz. His birth name was Gustav August Heinz Linke (1908-1969).

petty incidents yet they suggest that common man was coerced into a war-like habit of mind in everyday life. Her narrative naturally speaks to Veblen's theories²⁵ written around the same time Linke actually experienced them. On a school trip Linke visited a forty-two foot wooden statue of Hindenburg (Iron Hindenburg) erected in Königsplatz in Berlin on 4 September 1915. The monument was a means to raise money for the war. Writing of the event in 1934 Linke was, by then, critical of German habituation.

[N]ails were sold, golden, silver, copper, iron ones, and every purchaser could hammer them himself into the monument. All the schools went in large troops to fulfill their patriotic duty. I bought ten iron ones instead of one of silver, and with a strong effort I nailed each of them deeply into the wood, hoping that by some mysterious transference Hindenburg himself might feel the pain (*RD* 12).

But as a young girl of nine, hammering nails into Hindenburg's massive wooden feet must have had a profound effect on her and fellow Germans—a display of noble devotion and patriotic duty. Those critical of the statue, like Adolf von Hildebrand a renowned German sculptor, commented in a letter to a friend 'the hammering of nails into a portrait statue makes a hellishly barbaric impression—this manner of expressing admiration for a hero remains baffling' (cited in Simmons 2001: 211). German newspapers reported only five hours after the opening of the monument over 20,000 nails had been hammered into the feet. Citizens signed their name in the 'Book of Iron' to confirm their support for the war (p. 211). War symbols permeated life to such an extent even soldier statuettes were made out of chocolate. Linke recalled eating her brother's most prized possession leaving just the legs. 'He thought him much too valuable to destroy and kept him on the highest board of his book-shelf' (*RD* 20). Heinz was horrified. Linke threatened: 'I shall kill him, I shall kill him; if you find his bloody corpse one day, you need not look for the murderer' (*RD* 21).

On the eve of WWI, reading was the most popular leisure activity (Donson 2004: 580). For the first time, youth literature was used to mobilize masses of youth to join the war (p. 581). While Karl Kautsky and Clara Zetkin rallied against militarism and jingoism in youth literature in 1906 (p. 582), with the anticipation of WWI publishers profited handsomely off war literature. Borrowing from the theologians, war was depicted as a 'Holy War'. Owing to this, slaughter on the front line was distorted.

Youth literature during the war accordingly transmitted to a wider audience than before the myths of heroism, patriotism, sacrifice, afterlife, adventure, and manhood. Like teachers and leaders of youth clubs, most authors of youth literature wanted to mobilize youth in support of the war and reproduced the same patriotic portraits, shibboleths, and concepts of "the Spirit of

²⁵ From 1870 onward, Veblen experienced first hand the corporate take-over of the United States by railroad, steel and gold conglomerates.

1914” that dominated adult literature (p. 580).

War, as Veblen acknowledged, was a masculine domain—men tend to be predatory—a psychological trait carried over from an earlier predatory stage that played out in the present as an ‘able-bodied men’s office to fight and hunt’ (1899/2009: 15). From youth literature, boys learned that to enter ‘manhood’ meant going to war (Donson p. 581). Stories taught and promised ‘adventure’ at war, inciting young men by the tens of thousands to volunteer. Theodore Roosevelt proposed ‘manhood was tied to youthful vigor’ calling it ‘strenuous masculinity’, a dominant concept not only in North America but also across Europe (p. 580). ‘Picture books anthropomorphized England as a nefarious schoolboy in need of a good whipping; novels had male and female characters whose favorite activity was to show “good German hate” toward England’ (p. 584). In short, life was completely habituated to war. Every point of interaction with common man was a chance to teach and coax predatory habit, cumulated from *Kulturkampf* and earlier statecraft. It would be remarkably naïve to suggest Lilo, her family and neighborhood lived in isolation from war when all facets of life were permeated by it. Her autobiography is laden with experiences that remark on this predatory mindset, increasingly manifest in aggressive behavior of adults and children alike.

Linke’s poignant narrative attempted to make sense of what she experienced. She posed a question to her readers and to herself. ‘Why was it that I hurt Fritz [Heinz] and my mother so willfully?’ and recalled a gruesome incident. ‘At the age of four I had killed a frog by stamping on it a hundred times, softly at first and then more and more firmly till it was nothing but a yellow-green mud’ (*RD* 21). Startling behavior for a young child, Lilo attempted to rationalize and make sense of her emotions and actions.

It was cruelty and jealousy that made me act like this. It was the dark satisfaction of making somebody else suffer, but it was also the proud wish for power, the wish to command another person’s feelings and doings, to cause them, to control them. And it was finally the longing for excitement, the will to go to the extremest limit of sensation. I wanted to burn and to be burnt. My imagination revelled even in the depth of unhappiness (*RD* 24).

Evident in Linke’s excerpt is the articulation, for the reader, of her feelings of ‘jealousy’ after learning the ‘proud wish for power’ and ‘longing for excitement’ mirroring battles against the enemy, essentially narcissist in character. The habit of terrorizing her brother, learned from playing street battles (like battles between nations), smacks of sportsmanship. Veblen associated sports with war because, as in sports, one must outdo an opponent. In England, sport is an addiction ‘diverting interest from the make-believe of sports to that of war’, but in the German Fatherland ‘sporting blood’ is the ‘idle classes into the service’ and further ‘growth of an aggressive war spirit’ (Veblen

1915/1964: 247). In corollary, Lucie's sentiment was commensurate with Veblen's idea on German 'native bias'. 'You can be proud, Frieda—you have sacrificed him for the Fatherland' is testament to 'personal loyalty to a master'. Veblen proposed that when sufficiently coerced, humans revert to barbarism, no matter how civilized they perceive themselves. Coerced habit of mind taught them to accept it 'honourable' and 'worthy' to assert a 'strong hand'. 'Under this common-sense barbarian appreciation of worth or honour, the taking of life—the killing of formidable competitors, whether brute or human—is honourable in the highest degree' (Veblen 1899/2009: 17).

Living in this darkness, how did Linke see through her mother's behavior and extremist sentiment and that of her society at large, to begin to question and become critical of it all? For Veblen, this moment is a question of 'human behavior under pressure of changing circumstances with a minimum of change in the formal rules which govern this behavior' (1923/1964: 225). Under the pressure of continued pecuniary gain of the Vested Interests—the formal rules of 'business-as-usual'—life becomes so unbearable for common man that they eventually rebel. Wealth accumulation through bloodshed eventually triggers those with idle curiosity, to question the business—rising prices and lowering living standards. For example, the Allied Powers implemented a blockade literally starving the German population into defeat that didn't let up even after the war (Vincent 1985: 50). Common man was direct recipient of this barbarism. I turn to Linke's experiences of hunger during the war and Inflation, which paradoxically, helped her imagine and project the emotion of hope toward a better life out of the darkness.

Devoting a chapter to the subject: 'What Shall We Eat? Wherewithal Shall We Be Clothed?' (RD 31) Linke wrote: 'Food queues have for ever burnt themselves into my memory' (RD 41). They drank *Ersatz-Kaffee* or 'dishwater' as they called it and ate potatoes of a 'greenish pulp' with brown *Ersatz-Sauce*—gravy of ground down pebbles. 'We consoled ourselves, saying: "It cleans the stomach, anyhow."' The same raw material was used for the manufacture of soap, which was advertised with the slogan: "Avoids the superfluous lather!" Sand was also the essential ingredient of a certain soup and of a "sand"-wich paste' (RD 33). Lilo and Heinz devoured the family's meager weekly food ration.²⁶ Discovering an empty panty, Linke wrote of her mother:

She was tired of fighting in the void, too tired for anything. Life was not worth the trouble. To lie down and die—what a temptation! But she could not leave us children, she had to carry on. I

²⁶ This hunger would continue after the war. At the peak of the Inflation over ninety percent of an average family budget was spent on food (Sneeringer 2004: 489).

was older than my age, I knew what she felt. My own heart was hopeless, too, and full of useless remorse. Oh, in the future I would try all I could to help my mother (*RD* 35).

‘Hopeless’, but still wanting to ‘help’ her mother, Linke devised a clever tactic of faking fainting spells to get priority in food lines. ‘Undernourished and thinly dressed, too tall for my ten years, I stood among them to get a piece of meat or a pound of bones. My numb hand was scarcely able to hold the money and the ration card’ (*RD* 33). Linke wrote of the experience ‘slowly a fear began to rise in me, right from my feet through my whole body, a fear of nothing special, just a general feeling of anxiety which seemed to empty me and hindered me from breathing’ (*RD* 37). On occasion she received a beating from women who discovered her fake fainting spells. ‘On the whole I suffered the hunger without complaint, or at least with no more than the normal complaint of a growing child that never gets enough food to eat’ (*RD* 39). When the international Quaker Society arrived at her school after the war, of the physical examination by the doctor, Linke recalled:

My spine stuck out like that of an old hack, my shoulders hung forward, my chest was sunk in. The doctor only cast a glance at me and said to the nurse: “Of course, number one. How old did you say? Thirteen.” This group comprised the undernourished; both my brother and I belonged to it. My mother received the news as if it sullied her honour (*RD* 86).

Her mother’s sullied ‘honour’ is another indication of a ‘loyal populace’, such that even though her children were diagnosed as undernourished, Lucie preferred to deny the fact. Veblen’s assertion that common man keeps up appearances by feigning a ‘standard of living’, fearing others will judge them unworthy, is applicable here. Lilo too, was forever fearful of her appearance. ‘No little part of my restraint, my nervousness and shyness was caused by my shabby and ridiculous appearance’ (*RD* 40). Although she lived in poverty as many others in her community, she learned it was necessary to put on a front of respectability through dress. ‘Dress’ for Veblen, is not clothing for protecting the body but for ‘protecting the wearer’s respectability’ (1919/2007: 395). Dress is a pecuniary habit. Linke remained forever concerned about her appearance and dress for the rest of her life. Near starvation, her body might have resembled the thin and distraught deformed figures in Egon Schiele (1890-1918) paintings. What might the experience of hunger have meant for Linke? Might hunger have been influential to her metamorphosis or evolution from despair to hope? How might the emotion of hope project a new way of seeing to embrace life?

‘All too little has been said’, wrote Bloch, ‘about hunger’ (1986: 65). Since we need it for self-preservation, hunger is our basic drive. Critical of psychoanalysis, Bloch criticized Freud and Jung; Freud for deleting hunger to a ‘sub-species of the libido’ (p.

67) and Jung for hiding it in ‘archetypes’ (p. 62). He thought drives were ‘subject to historical change and new ones arise with newly set goals’ (p. 67). In Bloch’s mind, Freud’s basic drives were only good in their own time because of the ‘changing ways in which needs are satisfied’ (p. 69). He argued hunger ‘is never discussed as a *variable of socio-economic conditions*’ (p. 64). Hunger is of fundamental ‘*economic interest*’ (p. 67). Bloch claimed hunger both an emotional and physical state. The fundamental drive of self-preservation is a ‘felt’ drive originating from hunger through ‘craving and loathing’ manifest in ‘mental feelings and emotions’ (p. 70). Citing Goethe’s *Faust*: ‘Blood is a very special juice’, Bloch connected the emotion of hunger to its ‘organic disposition’, ‘...a quite special juice flows through all mental feelings, it comes from the heart, a blood which is also psychological’ (p. 70). Bloch grouped emotions like fear, envy, anger, contempt and hate as those of *rejection* while emotions like contentment, generosity, trust, admiration and love as those of *inclination* (p. 73). Emotions possess a temporal aspect as ‘expectant emotions’ project toward a real future while ‘filled emotions’ respond to the immediate unreal where nothing new happens (p. 74). Bloch considered hope the most authentic emotion. It was superior to fear. However, not everyone was hopeful. Only those who embraced hope could imagine a better future. ‘Hope, this expectant counter-emotion against anxiety and fear, *is therefore the most human of all mental feelings and only accessible to men, and it also refers to the furthest and brightest horizon*’ (Emphasis added, p. 75).

I suggest Linke’s narrative espouses Bloch’s idea of how the physical drive of hunger becomes an emotion. ‘Slowly, a fear began to rise ... through my whole body’ is an emotion of rejection in her being cast away from the other needy in the line: rejection even by the rejected. It is all hunger-based that is, economically based, a result of economic strangulation during wartime and the Inflation. Her statement, a ‘feeling of anxiety which seemed to empty me’, is one of a ‘filled emotion’ while ‘in the future I would try all I could to help my mother’ is an ‘expectant emotion’ that imagines herself correcting the situation which causes hunger. Paradoxically, learning from hunger causes a shift to the expectant counter-emotion of hope, in that Linke will ‘try and help’ her mother or perhaps all others ‘in the future’, because, like her mother, ‘I knew what she felt’. Linke will come to learn and feel what other common man experienced through deprivation, regardless of culture or geography. This learning is further manifest in her autobiographies in France, Turkey and Latin America. ‘Hopelessness’ or a temptation to ‘lie down and die’ will help guide her metamorphosis in the other direction, toward a better future through imagining herself becoming a better person,

working with others toward a future-oriented concrete utopia. As a child she ‘suffered the hunger without complaint’ but as an adult, when food queues had ‘burnt themselves’ into her memory, she took action to change the situation. In Bloch’s words: ‘Out of economically enlightened hunger comes today the decision to abolish all conditions in which man is an oppressed and long-lost being’ (p. 76). Linke’s evolution into a human being working for the common good—an inherent ‘instinct’ for Veblen—when read from Bloch’s point of view is *Vor-Schein* that has its roots in hunger. Hunger is of ‘revolutionary interest’ because it is a motivation to ‘change the situation which has caused its empty stomach’ and is a means of self-preservation. In Bloch’s words:

Hunger cannot help continually renewing itself. But if it increases uninterrupted, satisfied by no certain bread, then it suddenly changes. The body-ego then becomes rebellious, does not go out in search of food merely within the old framework. It seeks to change the situation which has caused its empty stomach, its hanging head. The No to the bad situation which exists, the Yes to the better life that hovers ahead, is incorporated by the deprived into *revolutionary interest*. This interest always begins with hunger, hunger transforms itself, having been taught, into an explosive force against the prison of deprivation. Thus the self seeks not only to preserve itself, it becomes explosive; self-preservation becomes self-extension (Emphasis added, p. 75-76).

Linke learned certain rebelliousness from hunger in that she wanted to end what caused her empty stomach. In short, hunger helped her evolve from a ‘self-regarding’ individual to ‘other-regarding’ person to work collectively for the betterment of the whole. Thus far, I placed emphasis on hunger. I now turn to ‘imbecile institutions’ as I believe, although inimical to thriving, they were also instrumental in helping Linke embrace life. But how did she recognize the coercion of these institutions?

Had Linke blindly followed her mother’s habit of mind, it is probable she would have become a Nazi subordinate, like many others she knew, including Heinz. But when she witnessed an alternative view to her mother’s view she began to question. Fervent resistance and strikes, what Veblen termed ‘sabotage’ of the industrial system against the vested interests by war-weary common man driven by hunger, deprivation, poverty and anticipation of a better future, begot the November Revolution (1918). This ended the war. The Bolshevik revolution bolstered German morale in those keen to overturn the German monarchy and capitalism. Experience of class uprising offered an alternative view, as instincts of purposeful work—toward equality, egalitarianism and commonality—began to resurface over predatory habits. Common man directed their anger not against the enemy but against the vested interests. Only twelve at the time, too young to fully grasp the implications of class warfare, Linke recalled how the ‘fervent resistance of the workers’ changed her outlook.

I only noticed the Revolution as far as it happened on our doorsteps. To me it seemed merely a local affair. About a year later, the armed rebellion against the Republic led by Kapp was averted by the general strike and the fervent resistance of the workers. In my memory these two events are indissolubly fused, they broke into my childish life as one upsetting event and for the first time I realized dimly the existence of a greater force beyond my own important self (*RD 75*).

Violent revolts ‘on her doorstep’ caused Linke to question what was happening, forcing her to think beyond her ‘own important self’. She vividly recalled the uprising.

The factories in our district were on strike, the workers were armed; on the roof opposite our house they set up a machine-gun. [...] Then all of a sudden armoured cars stormed through the road, and men shouted: “Clear the streets! Shut the windows! Leave the balconies!” [...] A second later the men in the car began to shoot, into the air, into the houses, along the street... (*RD 77*).

She questioned the injustice of voluntary right-wing troops (*Freikorps*) directed at the armed workers and futility in armed resistance after witnessing a horrible incident.

He was the first dead person I ever saw. I shuddered with disgust and confusion. There were more people about in the street now, all looking quite ordinary, as if nothing had happened. Perhaps they did not know. Someone had stepped into the little pool; a few bloody footprints were on the pavement, growing paler and paler; the last was hardly visible. Suddenly the shock took hold of me and I began to cry... (*RD 81*).

Linke sided with the workers. The experience became a life-long learning.

My mother always said all the Spartacists were murderers. But he could not be one he was murdered himself. The other man had said it. The other man was a worker and looked very anxious and worn out. I was fond of workers and simple people. They were kind and genuine and never fussy like old aunts and fine grown-ups who always talked with children as if they were half-wits. I hated them. But I could not hate the workers (*RD 81*).

While these tumultuous events clearly influenced Linke, her mother remained steadfast in her mindset against the Socialists and Jews. ‘I can’t bear it—these traitors, these—these villains’ (*RD 76*). Rather than console her daughter, Lucie chastised her, again indicative of Veblen’s view of a ‘loyal populace’. Her mother scoffed: ‘Oh, these Red bloodhounds. [...] Stop crying—don’t waste your tears’ (*RD 82*). Later discovering a Diary of Rosa Luxemburg on Lilo’s bookshelf, Lucie burned it and washed her hands (*RD 83*). Lilo was often forced to resolve her emotions alone making her older than her age, when she wrote:

So cruel, so hurting was life. [...] nobody guided me. I was alone, my only companion, my only governor, my only judge. My father was away, my mother was worried and weak, my teachers were helpless under the strain of knowledge and understanding. And there was no God whom I could have asked to hold me (*RD 43*).

Linke articulated how resistance by common man altered her habit of thought and might be interpreted as her nascent political awakening. Class warfare became the catalyst to break the spell of ‘honour’ and ‘national duty’ as a corrective to coercive habituation.

Too young to join the uprising, as a witness, how did her experiences of despair evolve into daydreams of ‘anticipatory illumination’ of hope for a better life?

‘Man’s life is activity; and as he acts, so he thinks and feels’ (Veblen 1934/1964: 85). Not the emotion of hunger alone but also her ‘activity’ based on reason and the instinct for ‘purposeful work’ afforded her new possibilities to daydream and to direct her thinking toward the future. At this juncture there is a clear discrepancy between Veblen and Bloch. Veblen believes humans ‘learn by habituation rather than by precept and reflection’ (1919/1964: 15) whereas Bloch placed emphasis on emotion, physiology and artifacts. To my mind, Linke became aware of coercive habituation simply by experiencing it firsthand. As she met and spoke with common man about their lives, new experiences caused her to reconsider her mother’s sentiment and the habituation in which they lived. I suggest, she gradually arrived at what Rogoff calls ‘criticality’, or, in other words, ‘living out something while being able to see through it’ (2012). Common man must work for a livelihood. In war or peace, the rule is ‘business-as-usual’ (Veblen 1923/1964: 221 fn 11). Hoping to find purposeful work, when work was scarce let alone purposeful, paradoxically, her experiences became illuminating.

The church offered youth a chance to earn a few marks by delivering letters to those in arrears of the church tax. Collecting money, on behalf of the church, Linke sarcastically called those she solicited money from her ‘customers’. When she knocked on doors many responded: ‘Church? Pay? We’ve nothing to do with the church. Let the rich pay. [...] We haven’t a pfennig in the house’ (*RD* 102). Linke recalled: ‘Some gave us a lecture on atheism, socialism, or communism, some just told us the misery of their lives: poverty, hunger, hard and badly paid work or not work at all...’ (*RD* 102). Common man proved to be the best educators. Linke admitted: ‘The stories we had heard and experienced on the back stairs would have filled a first-hand book’ (*RD* 103). After long deliberation about god, she reasoned: ‘I can’t believe in anything I don’t understand’ (*RD* 105). Linke’s habit of mind changed, evident in the following passage. ‘After the confirmation I never went to church again, and in the future neither attended “Ottchen’s” religious lesson nor the headmaster’s Monday morning sermons, which since the Revolution were voluntary. I had definitely had enough of it’ (*RD* 109). Linke learned something was wrong with the church in their habit of taking money from the poor. The church, no longer a sacred place of worship, acted like a ‘business’ enterprise and ‘swindle’, terms she used owing to experiences with coercive institutions. Harder (2012) explains church practices at that time. Youth deemed ‘wayward’ or

degenerate were rounded up and put in Reformatories.²⁸ Inmate ‘Paul K.’ experienced the correctional institute firsthand, claiming it a ‘pretended religiosity’ fallen into ‘the arms of the Christian Army recruiters’ (p. 17).

As the Inflation deepened, revolutionary fervor in Germany was replaced by panic and mayhem. Clearly remembering what had happened in 1922, Linke wrote:

It was a world without security. We could scarcely see a day ahead. The country was in a state of growing fear. The mark had begun to fall rapidly. Ordinary men and women could not understand what was happening. It seemed to them that some sinister and uncontrollable force was destroying the money in their pockets. Millions of people faced starvation. In the war they had gone hungry, but now with hunger and the fear of hunger was mixed a frightful despair (*RD* 110).

These ‘sinister’ forces that Linke wrote of are the Vested Interests destroying the money in their pockets. Vested Interests are predators looking for victims they can devour, victims here meaning, not only individuals but also national economies they prey on to undermine them by fixing prices on the stock market to accrue millions. In 1923, at the peak of the inflation, Linke wrote how the lack of money further upset their home.

My mother was always lamenting that it was impossible for her to make both ends meet, my father—whenever he was at home—always asking what the deuce she had done with all the money he had given her yesterday. A few tears, a few outbreaks more did not make a difference enough to impress me deeply. Yet, in the long run, the evil influence of the inflation, financially as well as morally, penetrated even to me (*RD* 132).

Fritz Lang’s film *Dr. Mabuse* (1922) is an astute depiction of the vested interests exerting financial terror in Weimar, and reducing common man to ruin. In 1922 German stocks were extremely cheap (Voth 2003: 67). Despite some stabilization of the mark after 1924, ‘stock market capitalism’ continued. Veblen’s cumulative causation underlines ‘stock market capitalism’ to be an American ‘native bias’. By 1926 the Reichsbank was greatly concerned funds were still being diverted from productive national use to the stock market (p. 67) and that holdings in gold and foreign exchange might easily take flight if foreign investors decided to ‘repatriate their financial gains’ (p. 67). Inflows of ‘hot money’ had their roots in ‘speculative balances lent principally by American firms’ (p. 68). Alarmed that capital did not return to the economy, ‘[Hjalmar] Schacht [director of the Reichsbank] made scathing remarks about the “luxury consumption” enjoyed by speculators who had made easy gains on the stock market. [...] For the Reich and the German economy, these foreign luxury imports, paid

²⁸ Between 1921 and 1929 the number of reformatories swelled from 142 to 1,798, indicating many restless youth were swept from the streets to allegedly put a good work ethic into them. In 1929 there were a total of 131,773 beds. Twenty-three percent of reformatories were privately owned. Young girl inmates were accused of moral offences as ‘fallen women’ (p. 13).

with capital gains from the stock exchange, are unhealthy and unbearable' (p. 71). Foreign investors, the 'masters of financial intrigue' (Veblen 1919/1964: 89) were 'getting something for nothing'. In this manner, business 'deranges the ordinary conditions of life for the common man' (p. 117).

Eyewitness to the inflation, Elias Canetti viewed it the 'depreciation' of the individual. 'Whatever he is or was, like the million he always wanted he becomes nothing' (1960/1981: 218). No one is exempt. 'The process throws together people whose material interests normally lie far apart. The wage-earner is hit equally with the rentier' (p. 218). Veblen's use of the term 'common man' was not for nothing. For Canetti, '[n]o one ever forgets a sudden depreciation of himself, for it is too painful. Unless he can thrust it on to someone else, he carries it with him for the rest of his life' (p. 219). In the Veblenian sense, unable to maintain any 'standard of living' the self-esteem of common man is crushed. It has far-reaching consequences. Linke wrote:

The middle class was hurt more than any other, the savings of a lifetime and their small fortunes melted into a few coppers. [...] Full of hatred, they accused the international financiers, the Jews and Socialists—their old enemies of having exploited their distress. They never forgot and never forgave and were the first to lend a willing ear to Hitler's fervent preaching (*RD* 131-132).

Coupling Sneeringer's findings with Veblen's ideas on the shift from 'other-regarding' to 'self-regarding' particularly through consumerism, Linke clearly illustrated, the middle class were all too willing to selfishly turn to Hitler for perceived stability. Although the international financiers are blamed, not an incorrect accusation, statesmen turned to themes of religion and ethnicity (statesmen here being the mouthpiece of the vested interests) to sway the populace in favor of their political agenda.

Despite bleak prospects, Linke persisted with hope and determination to embrace life. Upon graduation from *lycée*, she took a three-year apprenticeship at a first-class bookshop with a lending library near Potsdamer Platz. Her narrative is a hopeful future-oriented projection. 'The world was like a polished apple, fresh and colourful and juicy, and I wanted to get my teeth into it. I arrived at the library full of expectation' (*RD* 118)—an 'expectant emotion'. Yet Linke's present never delivered what she hoped of a better future. Banished to the basement (as an apprentice) she equated her work with that of 'a subterranean mole, shoveling up hills of books instead of fertile earth' (*RD* 118). Humiliated, 'I was not an errand-girl, I was an apprentice and had gone to a secondary school' (*RD* 119). Frustrated with the 'spirit' of the time, Linke sarcastically referred to work as her 'business career' (*RD* 287). Eventually placed on the shop floor, she familiarized herself with the clientele and learned much about psychology by observing clients, distinguishing intellectuals from wealthy patrons. The

habit of ‘invidious comparison’ is prevalent in her narrative. ‘The title “doctor” did not compare favourably with the glamour of the word “von”’ (*RD* 119). Common man’s ‘pecuniary emulation’ of the Leisure class institution also hoped to ‘get something for nothing’. Linke wrote about the swindle.

Now the inflation came and destroyed the last vestige of steadiness. [...] The whole population had suddenly turned into maniacs. Everyone was buying, selling, speculating, bargaining, and dollar, dollar, dollar was the magic word which dominated every conversation, every newspaper, every poster in Germany. Nobody understood what was happening. There seemed to be no sense, no rules in the mad game, but one had to take part in it if one did not want to be trampled underfoot at once. Only a few people were able to carry through to the end and gain by the Inflation. The majority lost everything and broke down, impoverished and bewildered (*RD* 131).

For example, in January 1919, the mark was 8.9 to the USD. By 15 November 1923 it was 4,200,000,000,000 to the USD (Stolper 1940: 151). Prices and salaries fluctuated daily. Desperate co-workers bought and resold books, changing marks into dollars to partially recoup eroded salaries. Linke also joined the swindle yet was concerned it was a ‘great fraud’. Like the Leisure class, common man turned to banditry, directed to do so by the vested interests because ‘one had to take part in it if one did not want to be trampled underfoot’. Common man’s sense of workmanship was further contaminated by pecuniary gain through speculation on the stock market and earning money through fluctuating currency exchange rates. Habits of others around her taught her the same habit, like Veblen asserted of learning from habituation—behavioral conditioning, if you will. A fellow co-worker scoffed at Linke, ‘...what a simpleton you are! [...] The boss doesn’t hesitate to take advantage of you, so why should you have any scruples to do the same with him? We all do it [...] Yes, all of them—on my word of honour’ (*RD* 145). Linke admitted, ‘I spent the money I “earned” on a new skirt, a velvet hat, feminine accessories for my outfit, chocolates, and other luxuries. Linke became an avid shopper. Everything I did was subordinated to the one purpose: to make myself more attractive’ (*RD* 145). This is what Veblen meant by ‘invidious comparison’. Linke’s use of ‘earned’ indicates an awareness her salary was *not* legitimately ‘earned’, but accumulated through speculation, forced upon common man, to do the same to survive. Hence Veblen made it clear, common man is ‘helpless within the rules of the game’ (1919/1964: 163). They are bound to lose. There is no ‘fair play’.

‘Pecuniary emulation’ became the new conformist habit, making those who participated more ‘worthy’ by acquiring goods and those who couldn’t afford to ‘unworthy’. Consumerism left others starving in the street as common man no longer worked purposefully for the community but directed work efforts to acquire new goods

produced by modern industry. Loberg (2013) posits Berlin ‘a highly commercialized and formerly prosperous city afflicted by shortages, inflation, and rampant violence’.

Darkened street lights, tattered poster advertisements, street hawkers in shopping districts, ramshackle kiosks, loitering crowds, and smashed display windows were the exemplary features of this emergent cityscape. They reflected not only frustrated consumer desire but also deep uncertainties about the future of capitalism (p. 367).

In spite of despair in the streets, Linke, like others, was enthralled by the spectacle and learned the leisure habit of shopping for pleasure. ‘My eyes had lost their hungry look’ (*RD* 146). Physical hunger had been supplanted with consumer appetite. Although advertising slogans are a directive to consume, there is no guarantee *all* do. ‘Semiotic resistance’ writes John Fiske, ‘not only refuses the dominant meanings but constructs oppositional ones that serve the interests of the subordinate is a vital a base for the redistribution of power as is evasion’ (1989: 10). This false satisfaction was short lived for Linke and some others. Resistance to the ‘American model of mass consumer society’ was also a reality (Loberg p. 366). Linke’s following passage represents a fundamental step in her evolution.

But I was getting slowly restless and nervous. A growing fear took hold of me. I could not go on with all this swindle, I began to hate myself for it. I was wasting myself, I had to stop this kind of life before I was completely lost. Yet it was difficult to get out of it (*RD* 146).

Despite learning the habit of consumerism (self-regarding), only by experiencing its emptiness, did Linke eventually arrive at a feeling of dissatisfaction that influenced her metamorphosis in the realization this endless ‘pecuniary emulation’ (Veblen) was nothing other than a ‘swindle’ (Linke). Bloch’s ideas on utopic pre-appearances found in popular culture, fashion and the like, appear sound—albeit in Linke’s case—consumer goods only gave a momentary vision for a better future. Bloch’s thinking did not account for countless others who further evolved into pecuniary beings—habitual shoppers (self-regarding)—as Veblen asserted. While Linke stopped ‘this kind of life’ many others did not. For instance, in the early 1930s a young French woman Violette Nozière murdered her working-class parents in Paris simply for money to buy the latest fashions (Maza 2011). Paradoxically, as Linke lived amidst the ‘mad game’ the new business ‘spirit’ that brought the Inflation, dwindling salaries, and the consumerist spectacle, she learned from it and these experiences helped redirect her thinking.

Approached by a co-worker in the bookshop to join a group promising the ‘Creation of a New Community’ Linke became a member of the Trade Union for Shop and Office Employees. ‘I plunged into a new but healthy adventure, and I was saved’ (*RD* 148). ‘Saved’ in this sense, implies saved from the emptiness and loneliness of

consumerism and self-regarding. She anticipated a chance for purposeful work with the group. The union did not declare itself staunchly Left. To attract members it emulated principles of the *Wandervögel* movement.²⁹ Linke recalled: ‘From the time when the *Wandervögel* in our school had not considered me worthy of an invitation to join them, a feeling of inferiority was left in me. Of inferiority and of envy’ (RD 185). While the union was not the official *Wandervögel*, she had a chance to overcome earlier feelings of inferiority. Young members were expected to officially join the trade union once they reached twenty-two years of age. Unlike the *Wandervögel*, union leaders were responsible to the trade union; were to discuss trade union issues and accept only young employees as members. Union activities exposed members to diverse organizations—an alternative to the consumerism Linke experienced. The union struck a cord, tapping the instinct to work for common good and a better future for Germans, in their youth members. Linke explained.

This is what I wanted: to be a member of the group like all the others, perhaps one day to be their leader, but to be like them, cut out of the same wood and modelled after the same image: the *Wandervögel*, this simple, genuine, well-balanced being with its youthful standards of values, its firm but optimistic outlook on life, its independence, its lack of reverence for outward authority, and its defence of noble emotions (RD 151).

Reacting against the complexity of having to ‘keep up with appearances’ of ‘pecuniary emulation’, Linke wanted to associate with those perceived genuine, independent, non-authoritarian—simple and optimistic rather than pretentious and complex.

The local council organized cheap theatrical performances and light musical entertainment and ballet shows and issued free tickets for the different youth organizations, from the Young Nationals to the Young Socialists, from the Association for German Culture Abroad to the No More War Movement, from the Boy Scouts to the nudists, from the Bible Circle to the vegetarians and the Cyclists’ Union. We were all peacefully housed under the same roof (RD 152-153).

The experience introduced her to many others hoping to achieve the same end: democratic society. ‘At that time we believed in the possibility of fair play and the existence of a general willingness to achieve the common good’ (RD 153). This is a clear indication Veblen’s instinct of good intention was still alive in the German youth. However, when mass unemployment reached acute numbers in 1932, some drifted to predatory habit under Hitler. Linke admitted: ‘It was many years later that we began to pursue each other with the hatred of deadly enemies’ (RD 153). During her experiences

²⁹ *Wandervögel* (migratory birds in German) was a movement founded in the late nineteenth century that sought a return to nature, independence and freedom. Influenced by Romanticisms’ rejection of societal restriction, youth hiked into nature and lived by spartan measure. Sewing their own ascetic clothes, the group had a uniform appearance. Post WWI, *Wandervögel* leaders were disillusioned by the war. In the late 1920s the *Wandervögel* came under the sway of Hitler.

with the union she wrote: ‘We should change the world, we should re-create it in a new and better way’ (*RD* 154). This is a clear indication of Bloch’s idea of ‘anticipatory illumination’ as Linke’s activity (in the Veblenian sense) helped her imagine becoming a better person by engaging with the collective *to* become a better person—a concrete utopia on the way to becoming through activity and experience.

Flourishing in the union, Linke became a youth leader at just nineteen. The experience contributed positively to her metamorphosis. ‘I had to make friends, with each of them, to get their confidence, and to arouse the consciousness of unity. From a self-centered person I had to become a pedagogue, a model, and a leader, and yet a friend’ (*RD* 168). This passage points to Linke’s awareness she was working to change what she perceived as her self-centeredness. The union sent youth members on long marches into the countryside to familiarize them with nature, collectivity and solidarity to regain self-confidence and self-esteem using nature as a means of emotional replenishment. Linke’s narrative tells of hiking throughout the night and singing songs. A plentitude of frogs jumped out from the dense brush in the Klein-Bergedorf region. Responsible for the girls in the group, she recalled: ‘Out of my memory the day rose when as a little girl I had killed a toad [frog]. I shuddered. [...] Be careful—don’t step on them—don’t step on them!’ They took no heed, responding: ‘They are tough’. Linke felt pained (*Fig. 5*). ‘Was there no mercy’ (*RD* 166)? To my mind, this simple but tenderly recalled incident acts as a marker to indicate her changed habit of thought. Moreover, it is a foreboding passage, as it appears youth who grew up like Linke still couched predatory behavior, in how they willingly crushed the frogs, just as the *Freikorps* had crushed the armed workers. Linke, on the other hand, remembered her past mistakes and worked to correct them in the present in anticipation of a better future. Embracing life, Linke fostered both an individual and collective hopefulness.

We were all young, less than twenty years of age, a good type of youth, healthy and radiant, full of gaiety and yet sincere, and, above all, alive right to our finger-tips. We were tense with electricity, and crackled at the slightest touch (*RD* 197).

I equate her expression of emotions as progressive and vastly different from self-regarding ones she had previously learned from consumerism and war. The experience compensated for her unfulfilled employment at the bookshop. Activity with the trade union was experiential learning and assisted her projection toward a better future. But this too, was short-lived, as Linke began to recognize cracks in the façade of the promised ‘new community’.

But at the same time this individual was subordinated to something greater than itself: the group. And the group was only a part of the whole movement, which stood again humbly in a greater community. There was freedom, but there was also sacrifice. We chose our leader, but after we had chosen we had to follow him. This was one of the hardest things for me to learn (*RD* 151).

Why was following the leader the ‘hardest’ thing for Linke to learn? I cannot know this completely, however I argue in chapter four, her insubordinate spirit did not favor being subordinate to anyone. In fact, Linke may have had some narcissistic tendencies. Oddly, Linke’s text points to a ‘proud wish for power’ in her early days, but as I have articulated she questioned these emotions. As an adult she fled institutions sensed to be authoritarian, simply refusing to subordinate. This might have caused her to start and end participation with them. Thus, her narrative appears contradictory, a device Linke employed to provoke her reader to perhaps question their narcissistic tendency. On the one hand, the union habituated youth to a concrete utopia of a new community, but on the other, such excursions became a means to subordinate youth or redirect their restless spirit. She explained: ‘The reason for this restlessness might be that the misery of war and revolution and inflation had depressed us too long and that everyone was not in pursuit of some personal happiness. One joined groups in the hope that they might have a recipe for the best method to achieve it and because one was afraid not to be alone’ (*RD* 180). At this time, these groups were progressive providing an outlet for the youth to imagine a better future.

One of these events was a national gathering of all youth groups in Stralsund on the Baltic seaboard in August 1924 (*RD* 184). Stralsund was important because it was in the free state of Prussia (1918-1932)—democratic at that time. Five thousand members assembled (*RD* 193). Linke recalled the speech delivered by the union leader.

Hail to all of you, friends! [...] how could our union exist without you, the young ones? [...] This summer school will give you an opportunity to make yourself more intimately acquainted with the history and aims of our great union. At the same time we shall be conscious of the fact that only a joyful spirit can conquer life, and therefore we shall dance and sing and play and carry out the preliminary competitions for Stralsund. [...] ‘Stralsund!’ is the battle-cry all over Germany. [...] be always conscious of our movement’s device: ‘Only unity gives strength!’ I herewith declare the week-end school open. Hail’ (*RD* 187-188)!

Youth sang, marched and exhibited their talent in arts and sports. Linke was responsible for the east of Berlin girls’ group. The event fostered relations with union members and helped Linke project toward a better future. She wrote the feeling of collectivity.

We lost our own shape and significance and yet, at the same time, regained a new one. We were enormously proud of our companions and of our common cause, we seemed to be superior to those who did not belong to us because we wore a badge and had a slogan which we could follow. We were lifted out of anonymity by belonging to a publicly appreciated and acknowledged association, lifted out of the loneliness of individuality into the comradeship of the thousands who stood like a wall between us and the chaotic world (*RD* 196).

Being part of the crowd brought feelings of jubilation and security against loneliness. In his cumulative study on crowds, Canetti wrote: 'There is nothing man fears more than the touch of the unknown. He wants to *see* what is reaching towards him, and to be able to recognize or at least classify it. [...] All the distances which men create round themselves are directed by this fear' (1960/1981: 15). Only by being in the crowd does he overcome the fear of being touched. 'As soon as a man has surrendered himself to the crowd, he ceases to fear its touch' (p. 16). German youth, as Linke, overcame even if momentarily, feelings of fear against authoritarianism, be it the dictates of new consumerism, coercive political wrangling or increased militarism.

Yet, the trade union experience also led to her 'criticality' of them. Writing in 1934 she could see how the situation had changed. On-lookers cheered from Stralsund balconies: 'Hail! ...optimistic spirit of youth... joyfully doing their duty... employees standing in the midst of life... work honours... unity gives strength' (*RD* 199)! In this passage is the 'collective of prestige' but also the collective tainted with 'honour' and 'duty', German 'native bias' in the present. While I have little doubt Linke and the collective worked for genuine good, unfortunately, their democratic goals were to be misdirected in the 1930s. Her skepticism speaks naturally to Bloch's. According to Zipes, Bloch supported the Left but kept a critical distance from the party.

Bloch felt that one reason why the fascists were able to gain control in Germany was that the communists spent more time attacking the social democrats and spreading meaningless, rhetorical propaganda than addressing the needs, dreams, and wants of the German people. [...] Since the Communist party and other left organizations relied on empty slogans and called for paternalistic programs that failed to speak to basic human needs, it was no wonder that the people turned to National Socialism with its mythic ideology and concrete welfare programs (1996: xviii).

The National Socialists were able to touch common man where the Left had failed to do so. NSDAP preyed on the emotions of rejection and fear.

Nevertheless, the experience helped Linke project 'anticipatory illumination' toward the future, drawing her own conclusions for how she might use this learning in the future. The experience became a template for what an alternative imagined utopia might be. In her words, 'I had never been happier in all my life. I was carrying the sun in my body as a healthy woman carries a child'. She expelled old conventions of habitual thought. 'I felt as if I had gone through a thorough process of cleaning and polishing which had rid me of all kinds of superfluous conventions, inhibitions, and complexes and had produced a being 'fresh as a new pin' (*RD* 176). Returning to Berlin from Stralsund, she recalled a daydream in her 'ambition to stand above the crowd [...] but at that moment it was not even clearly known to myself'. Her daydream is

commensurate with Bloch's 'anticipatory illumination' projected toward a future utopia in imagining herself a better person who will also help others emancipate themselves.

I shifted from one tired foot to the other and dreamt, dreamt—I saw myself a great woman, and inspiring leader in whom thousands put their trust, and in my heart the will for sacrifice and service was inseparably mixed with the ambition to stand above the crowd and to make them follow me towards a goal that I had designed for all of us; but at that moment it was not even clearly known to myself. [...] Forward, forward, we have far to go to find the blue flower near the ridge of the mountains. If you get tired, I shall encourage and support you, but forward, follow me (*RD* 178)!

This points to a hidden ambition or anticipation to lead for common good. This excerpt was immediately followed by a vivid description of the east of Berlin, her reality.

The train rolled through the suburbs of Berlin—ugly houses, factories, waste pieces of land. Then nothing but the grey rocks of tenements, moving closer and closer towards the railway line until the engine puffed desperately for lack of breathable air and slipped at last exhausted into the dark hole of the station hall (*RD* 178).

Her expectant emotion is a daydream of hope out of former hunger. 'Our own room is pre-figured here, the free life that is coming', posed Bloch (1986: 22). Mention of 'superior' is important as Linke's later 'fortunate encounters' and journeys help overcome the feeling of inferiority. These journeys not only ensure physical self-preservation but are also a secret space of emotional self-preservation.

Unable to tolerate deteriorating work conditions at the bookshop, a friend from the union arranged a contact for Linke at the Young Democratic League in Berlin (youth wing of the DDP) (*RD* 275). The experience would habituate her in party politics and political institutions. Negotiating a living wage for herself with DDP members, an ambitious Linke asserted: 'I am not just a typist [...] I am a skilled organizer and would help you in the Berlin groups, and I could also do some political work, I think I am quite a good speaker' (*RD* 283). They were impervious. She began as a typist to the secretariat on the National Board of Young Democrats in 1926. The Youth League regarded itself more Left than the Social Democrats (*RD* 365) and functioned relatively independent of the DDP. Responsible for giving lectures, writing pamphlets and organizing youth, she soon realized her lack of knowledge in history and politics as 'void deserts in my education' (*RD* 287) divulging 'I could truthfully say that my stomach was as empty as when I had started ten years before' (*RD* 288). She and her friends were 'forced not only to *learn* but to *act*' (Emphasis added, *RD* 293). Prior to Hitler's entry into the Reichstag (1933), it was a time of 'intensest political excitements' (*RD* 298). Permanent crisis become habitual (*RD* 325). Pacifists and the Left pushed a plebiscite for expropriation of ex-princes (*RD* 293). Civil law declared 'estates and

castles and works of art wholly private property. The decision was always in favour of the princes, and the impoverished State had to pay', remarked Linke (RD 294).

Not yet twenty and unable to vote, she campaigned vigorously for the plebiscite visiting the same homes approached earlier to collect the church tax. Political debate around issues of the national flag, secular education and rearmament fomented hostilities across the political spectrum, frustrating Linke's hope for a 'German Republic united in brotherhood and governed in social justice and liberty' (RD 310). As poverty increased the Left sought to galvanize power with a campaign to return German state money to common man through expropriation of the ex-princes. The center and Left parties attempted to unite but conservatives refused to cooperate. A fifty percent vote would allow the German Supreme Tribunal (*Reichsgericht*) to pass an expropriation bill. To get the bill passed the government needed either Left or Right support. When the DDP sided with the Left, they were accused of reigniting Bolshevism. The conservative DNVP (*Deutschnationalen Volkspartei*) pushed their agenda while the 'National Socialists moved an amendment: the "princes of the banks and the Stock Exchange" should be likewise expropriated' (RD 295). Money touched the hearts and minds of Germans. Prior to the June ballot, Hindenburg confused the agenda by raising an issue of flag usage. The former empire flag (black-red-white) was to be flown alongside the Weimar flag (black-red-gold). This furthered disunity, igniting Junkers, clergymen and employers to pressure voters against the plebiscite.

In 1927 Linke became an official DDP member and was invited to speak at the women of Berlin branches (RD 336). Coaxed by a Youth League member, she founded three groups, two in the east of Berlin and one in Potsdam (RD 336). She spoke to a girls' youth group, declaring: 'German youth repudiates coercion. It believes in freedom and therefore democracy. [...] We shall not rest until we have created the State of tomorrow with work and freedom and happiness for all' (RD 343). In 1928, she campaigned with Georg Bernhard—editor of *Vossische Zeitung*—and delivered a speech at Eberswalde (RD 361). Feeling 'deeply confused' (RD 363) by political party rhetoric, she admitted: 'Not for a moment did I consider turning Communist, but I knew that the truth must lie somewhere in that direction' (RD 363). In the 1929 election, she campaigned with the Youth League joining a caravan of cars, distributing leaflets to encourage DDP votes and called out slogans like 'Confound Nazi tricks, Vote number six' (RD 369)! *Stahlhelm* blocked their road. A confrontation ensued but in this instance did not become violent (RD 369-70).

Linke conceded of all her efforts in politics: 'We believed we were the vanguard

of a new and free Germany, but we were merely a few regiments rallied to cover the retreat' (*RD* 294). Disgusted by DDP consent to Weimar building a cruiser prohibited under the Treaty of Versailles and for undermining their pacifist stance (*RD* 351), with 'criticality' Linke remarked: 'I saw how it had come to this. I understood. I had watched the constantly recurring difficulties too long now to condemn anyone without consideration. But I was no longer willing to take part in the game' (*RD* 377). She left politics the next day. Yet her participation in the political 'game' led to a fortunate encounter with Gustav Stolper who would dramatically influence her life.

In sum, Linke's experiences and the experience of writing them up was a praxis of 'self-encountering' that caused her eventual 'criticality' toward Weimar habituation. Questioning her emotions and acts, Linke recognized her journey toward evolving the self. Despite a tendency toward narcissism like much of her society, Linke forever struggled against subordination to authoritarianism. Eventually settling in Ecuador (*Fig. 6*), she told friends: 'I have settled here because in Ecuador I can do what I want to do'.³⁰ Linke had found her home (*Heimat*) (*Fig. 7*). For Bloch, *Heimat* meant a completion, the 'goal of an upright gait' toward overcoming 'exploitation, humiliation, oppression and disillusionment' (1996: xxvii). Oddly, Linke's future Andean *Heimat* evolved out of an anticipatory illumination, imagined on her train journey back to Berlin from Stralsund. As we recall, Linke imagined a 'blue flower near the ridge of the mountains'—the opening quote to this chapter. Quito rests in the Andean Mountains, whose skirts are blanketed with *Lupinus* plants bearing blue-purple flowers. At the time Linke wrote this passage she would have had no way of knowing she would eventually live in Ecuador. Linke's autobiography was a story of evolution from hunger to hope.

³⁰ Newspaper article published in 1976 authored by a close friend of Linke's in Ecuador. I cannot cite the newspaper and the sender wishes to remain anonymous.

‘Fortunate Encounter[s]’

A Chance to Learn

I do not know what would have become of me without Anne. Perhaps uncontrolled sentimentalities might have led me the same way as my family, my school-friends, and—as it seems at the moment—the majority of my countrymen: into the arms of the Nazis.

—Lilo Linke (*RD* 100)

Drawing from Linke’s autobiographical narratives this chapter examines the ways in which she learned in and outside educational institutions. School experiences were habituated in WWI, the November Revolution and Inflation. I explore the contradictory ways in which her school was both used as a site of learning and eliciting consent to war. This is followed by my interpretation of her learning experiences outside the institution where I suggest Goethe’s notion of ‘fortunate encounter[s]’ (1995: 18-21) offered a chance to learn by unlearning a learned inferiority taught at school, what Rancière calls ‘stultification’ (1991: 109). I am interested in how fortunate encounters may have contributed to her struggle against, and evolution beyond, ‘self-regarding’ pecuniary emulation sought in obtaining goods to instead embrace ‘other-regarding’ instincts of solidarity and community livelihood (Dugger and Sherman 2000: 149). This was Veblen’s vitrolic argument against business civilization (Öncü 2009). Linke’s evolution cultivated a new way of seeing and being, not so unlike Goethe’s scientific method ‘delicate [tender] empiricism’ *Zarte Empirie* (Goethe 1995: 307). Linke cultivated these encounters, what Goethe termed ‘vitally interlocking relationships’ (Bywater 2005: 298)³¹ to foster emancipatory participation with common man regardless of culture and geography.

With Prussia at war, one might wonder what kind of education the young Linke received at the eight hundred all-girl *Schule an der Victoriastadt* in Friedrichsfelde, in the east of Berlin. Linke told of these contentious school years in *Restless Days*, in a

³¹ Goethe’s essay ‘Our Undertaking is Defended’ (1807) in 1817 became the introduction to his work on morphology (cited in Bywater p. 297).

chapter titled ‘War School 1914-1918’. Educated at this institution for ten years, she graduated from *lycée* in 1923 at sixteen (*RD* 110). A teacher training college was attached to the institution (*RD* 64). Typical of the epoch, education was gender-divided in Prussia. Our habitual mindset might assume an all-girl school less authoritative and militaristic than an all-boy one, but we soon learn her teachers and headmaster thought ‘highly of discipline and subordination’ (*RD* 63), perhaps typical in wartime. Beyond regular lessons of arithmetic, German, history, religion and French, as well as singing, drawing, needlework and gymnastics (*RD* 113) female students participated in the war effort. They collected everything from brass latches and bones to plum stones and stinging nettles to be recycled as war provisions (*RD* 62). ‘Some of the teachers valued a copper pot higher than a faultless translation from the French’, Linke recalled (*RD* 62). Those collecting the most were given ‘a book or a framed picture of Hindenburg or a diploma’ (*RD* 62). Under teacher supervision female students were assigned a soldier, whom they wrote letters to on the front line and sent packages of tobacco, ersatz chocolate, their photograph and a cross to boost soldier morale. When soldiers were injured, students visited the hospital. When a soldier died, they visited the grave. German children were not shielded from the horrors of war but rather were actively kept focused on the whole experience. ‘I lived in such abnormal times that I had seen death before I had ever seen life’ (*RD* 99). Paradoxically, involvement in the war effort—mandatory at her educational institution—might be conceived as a coerced ‘experiential learning’ (Dewey 1938), tainted with the religiosity of a ‘holy duty’ to the Fatherland (*RD* 68), practiced to reinforce an economy of order for the order of war.

During the post-1870 impetus for state building, mass education became the main enterprise aimed at politically constructing society and its citizens as oriented toward progress (Meyer et al, 1992: 129). To believe education would bring freedom and progress to the German nation when students were half-starved must have required a great leap of faith. How could one fathom learning under such compromised conditions? ‘Some began to come barefooted to school, in normal times a revolutionary attack on the dignity of the institute’ (*RD* 71). Education wasn’t a normative means of consent to bourgeois hegemony in the Gramscian sense. With Prussia at war, the institution became a repressive apparatus of control in the Althusserian sense, not unlike the police or army. It is little surprise Linke described school as, ‘more a prison than a house for little girls’ (*RD* 61).

Marjorie Lamberti (2002) points out, education was the central focus of political-cultural contestation that began in the Wilhelmine Empire (1890-1918),

reached fever pitch after the November Revolution (1918) and continued in the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). For Lamberti much of this period has been underestimated in historical literature on pedagogy and politics. '[A]ctivists of the German Teachers' Association can undisputedly claim the central place in a historical account of the school reform movement since 1900' (p. 1). After 1908, educational reform became a movement for progressive education, known as the New Pedagogy *Neue Pädagogik* (p. 11). The movement aimed to equalize education for boys and girls with a focus on student participation; to abolish class privileges of elite preparatory schools; and question the need for religious education, *Konfessionelle Schule* (inherited from Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*) to make all schools secular *Weltliche Schule* (p. 59) or common schools *Regelschule* (p. 61). Education would be 'emancipation from the church' (p. 26). But Pastors and conservatives accused reformists of 'hostility' toward religion (p. 27). Scheck (2004) points out conservatives and the right actively campaigned against socialists and social democrats, blaming them for tainting German youth toward internationalist and Bolshevik ideas that sought to sweep away Germans and the German nation. Hence Linke's school experiences were set in a highly volatile period. But her narrative makes it clear subordination and religion was exercised. Students curtsied. Teachers bowed. Heels clicked to authority. Hymns were sung—all habits of honor and servile prestige—Veblen's premise about German cultural inheritance. After the November Revolution on 29 November 1918 school religious practices were prohibited (*RD* 109; Lamberti p. 45).

Poverty in the spring of 1917 became unbearable, particularly in the east of Berlin but also in the working-class districts of the mass unemployed in Wedding and Neukölln (Föllmer 2009: 209). Armed street battles ensued between police and revolutionary workers in Linke's neighborhood. 'The authorities thought it advisable to garrison a battalion in our district in order to ensure enthusiasm' (*RD* 71). Further surveillance was implemented. Even before the November Revolution there was much agitation from teachers because of declining salaries (Lamberti p. 44) that might indicate the decision for surveillance measures at schools were not, perhaps, only for students but also for teachers. 'All the schools in the neighbourhood formed a lane to welcome the soldiers, the pupils of the four secondary schools near the town hall and the adjoining barracks, the others farther behind' (*RD* 71). A young, wounded Lieutenant Bernhard Fink replaced the head mistress Miss Mullerthal who suddenly died (*RD* 69). His classroom presence—sign of military power—caused a stir with adolescent female students. Capturing their attention with heroic war stories, Linke

recalled he ‘faced death more than a dozen times’. ‘[O]ur mouths were open with amazement. [...] The uniform fitted him like a young god, and he was not merely an ordinary hero, but an airman’ (*RD* 68-69).

Following the November Revolution that ended the war, the opposition—coalition of Catholics, DDP and SDP—replaced a defeated Junker-bourgeoisie alliance. Confronted by progressive demands to create a new type of man, with new ideas and a new structure for society (Borinski 2014: 48), mass demonstrations, strikes and riots were common, as the old order was not yet ousted. Education became a locus for change and was one of the most contested sites of political debate for educational reforms. According to educationalist Fritz Borinski, the adult education movement *Volkshochschule* was characterized by social realism and akin to a ‘spiritual movement’ (p. 50) driven by spontaneity, dynamism, critical thought and a social attitude to work for a democratic ‘common wealth’ to supersede the old ‘attitude of uncritical optimism and snobbery, mass entertainment, and uncreative neutrality which regarded adult education as social welfare’ (p. 55). The movement influenced educational institutions at all levels and comprised part of Linke’s school experience. School Councils were one such experiment. ‘Upper forms [...] were asked by the Ministry of Education each to elect a representative out of their midst who should act as a mediator between them and their teachers’. Relying on an atmosphere of ‘goodwill’ mediators avoided ‘discontent’ (*RD* 87). Linke was elected a council member by her form. Students were to independently develop interest groups in literature and drama. But teachers showed little faith in their abilities and initiatives, shadowed their every move and curtailed activities. Linke concluded: ‘The council was a snake without teeth—it could only cringe, but not bite’ (*RD* 88). So there was effectively a tension between militaristic schooling and progressive movements for education reform.

In March 1923 Linke graduated with best marks in all subjects (*RD* 113). Linke wrote that only three female students in her form stayed at home following graduation. Some of them went to secretarial colleges for a yearlong shorthand typist program while most took apprentice positions in shops, offices and banks (*RD* 117), reflecting ideas about the emergent new woman (*Neue Frau*) and the increasing employment of women in the postwar. Possibilities were available for young women at a plethora of new business colleges, as there was a demand for female economists. Linke opted out. ‘The idea of spending six more years in classrooms and lecture halls was simply repulsive. I had finished with that kind of education’ (*RD* 117). Free from ‘jail’ as she called it, ‘I had hated going to school, hated being rebuked and moulded and educated after

somebody else's will' (*RD* 113).

It would be unfair to single out German education as a unique case. Rancière points to education in general as a 'locus of class division' (1991: xvii). Moreover he states: 'War is the law of the social order' (p. 82). For him: 'Social irrationality finds its formula in what could be called the paradox of the "superior inferiors": each person is subservient to the one he represents to himself as inferior, subservient to the law of the masses by his very pretension to distinguish himself from them' (p. 86). It is a stultifying vision of the world, 'when we believe in the reality of inequality' (p. 109). In this sense, explicators teach inequality and are accomplices to war. 'To explain something to someone is first of all to show him he cannot understand it himself. [...] a world divided into knowing minds and ignorant ones [...] the intelligent and the stupid' (p. 6). Linke's history and religion teacher used these methods. 'He tried hard to help us on to the right way—words, words, words poured down on us, and when his own speech ran dry, with his last whisper before the bell rang he recommended books to continue the task of education. Not a single girl ever read them' (*RD* 91). Linke, although I cannot speak for other students, found difficulty in making a connection between what she was taught at school and the real world outside.

As an outsider interpreting Linke's experiential stories, although paradoxical, I think there might have been an aspect of 'fortune' in her institutional education during a time of extreme incongruities in Prussia and later Weimar, not because so many poor souls never attended school while Linke did, but rather, experiencing such gross contradictions might have provoked 'criticality'. Linke was able to learn not only the role of institutional education in shaping the individual as subordinate to power but also to gradually cultivate what Borinski defines 'what ought to be' as a 'realistic education for life' outside the institution. Linke's suffering became a 'knowing'—Walter Benjamin's *Erfahren* (1999: 731). While 'war school' taught a forced sense of responsibility to care for others, albeit only fellow Germans, this need not imply such learning will never be used by the oppressed as new ways to make meaning, to subvert, to rethink, to reuse, such knowledge against authority for betterment of common man. Linke might very well have learned dedication to humanity through this odd 'experiential learning' (Dewey). In my view, Linke's experiences of overt state repression likely contributed to her skepticism and suspicion of authority, what Veblen thought natural between 'common man' and the 'vested interests' (1919/1964). Her admittance, 'never to write a silly essay, to learn French grammar, to feel inferior in the gymnasium, never to crib, never to be afraid, to be threatened by bad marks or rebukes

in the form book, never to do dull homework' (RD 113) expressed what many of us can relate to about school. Rancière's assertions about education mirror her experiences, as teachers, in the role of 'explicators' engage in the 'stultification' of students. As we will see, when Linke experienced alternative learning (with a fortunate encounter) to the 'irrational' superior-inferior, a sense of emancipation for a chance to learn took hold.

Encountering Anne

At a children's nursing home in the Riesengebirge in 1920, just as the Inflation was poised to devastate the German middle-class (Stolper 1940: 151), Linke met Anne, a sixteen year-old daughter of a Jewish scientist, her first fortunate encounter. 'She was the most unobtrusive person one can imagine, yet her influence on me worked like the chisel of a sculptor...' For the first time someone took genuine interest in sharing with Linke. 'She allowed me to read her books—poems by Rilke and Stefan George, Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, a few modern plays and essays'. Manifest as a new way of learning: 'Only by knowing Anne was I able to understand what I read'. Anne was 'carefully educated and intelligent far beyond her age', Linke observed (RD 99). At school Goethe's poems and Schiller's *St. Joan* had been taught as the struggle between 'inclination and duty' (RD 90) of which Linke grasped little. But of learning through a personal influence she confessed:

(In fact, all my learning never happened in a one-and-one-is-two-way, but only in connection with a personal influence.) She helped me to discover that sentiments need not be sentimental, that a restless heart and spirit have to be checked by form and knowledge, and—most important of all—that respect, logic, and justice are the qualities which alone are able to regulate the anarchy of man in a humane and livable way (RD 99-100).

Despite trepidation, Lilo accepted Anne's invitation to her Berlin home and '...after a few more visits I had conquered my shyness and received some object lessons in good behaviour'. Linke experienced something she didn't know existed. 'I had never been in a house where book-shelves were the chief furniture and where everything was selected with care and dignity' (RD 100). A world normally unfamiliar to many like Linke, Anne's middle-class home was so unlike Linke's where her mother's piano served as a 'hero gallery' (RD 30) of Hindenburg and Ludendorff portraits. Eventually drifting from Anne, she never forgot the encounter as it exposed her to habits she wasn't normally habituated to. The experience of a possibility to learn made a lasting impression on her.

Certainly all this was not quite so clear to me at that time, and it did not change my confused and selfish character from one day to the next. But somehow in the future I knew about the existence of this truth, it directed my outlook, and I could never completely forget it (*RD* 100).

Her encounter reveals several insights into learning and experience that might provide a partial answer to the question Dewey posed (1938).³² ‘What is the place and meaning of subject-matter and of organization *within* experience’ (p. 20)? First, the experience exposed Linke, through a ‘personal influence’, to Anne’s alternative knowledge about literature. We cannot know what the two discussed but it appears Anne’s knowledge of Goethe, Rilke and George was more relevant for ‘real’ life learning over Rancièrian ‘stultification’ of the subject-matter taught in the classroom, utterly divorced from life. Linke pointed out earlier her history teacher used Goethe’s poems to teach ‘duty’ and subordination to the state. No education is neutral, according to Paulo Freire as pedagogy is a political act. ‘Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it’ (1970/1996: 60). In my view, the experience between the two adolescents undermined the teaching at state institutions and represents a radical political act. Without experiencing subject matter through a personal influence, Linke might have never cultivated ‘criticality’. Recall her quote at the beginning of the chapter ‘uncontrolled sentimentalities’ had led her countrymen ‘into the arms of the Nazis’. Linke could see clearer than fellow countrymen the future of Germany. Second, Linke defined herself as a ‘selfish’ character, indicative of a growing self-awareness and nascent self-reflexive journey to evolve toward a more ‘other-regarding’ person. Impossible to measure to what extent Linke accomplished this goal, her desire *for* and willingness *to* work toward such an end is crucial. Third, the assertion ‘respect, logic, and justice’ guide man in a ‘humane and livable way’ and that ‘existence of this truth’ was to be found in knowledge, indicates Linke’s use of rationality, over irrational acts she witnessed, namely, Howitzer trenches in her neighborhood as class warfare ensued between revolutionary workers and *Freikorps*.

One considers how a student in the east of Berlin might have concentrated on a book or school lessons. Habituated to social and political polarization between the Left and Right that eventually saw the rise of Nazism (Baranowski 2000: 1158), certainly Anne and Linke would have sensed some form of angst, intolerance and hatred—whether in the east or west of Berlin—although tensions might have been more pronounced in everyday life in the east. Their encounter might have fostered a common ‘knowing’ (*Erfahren*) as the two transcended prejudice—Germans of German Jews and

³² John Dewey’s seminal work on education first appeared in *Democracy and Education* (1916) comprising his main theories. *Experience and Education* (1938) incorporated his earlier ideas.

German Jews of Germans—additionally melting divisions between the classes. Dewey suggested, ‘personal experiences may mean more multiplied and more intimate contacts [...] more, rather than less, guidance by others’. Dewey referred to ‘continuity’ and ‘interaction’ as two principles for learning from experience (1938: 42). ‘An experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment [...] whatever conditions interact with personal needs, desires, purposes, and capacities to create the experience which is had’ (p. 43-44). Dewey developed ‘a well thought-out philosophy of the social factors that operate in the constitution of individual experience’ (p. 21). The social in which Linke learned, i.e., oppression and the dire situation of Prussia at war prioritized the necessity of a ‘personal influence’. Their learning encounter might be akin to the praxis of Freire.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970/1996) Freire challenged ‘explication’ from another angle. The problem lay not in the institution itself but in how teachers taught. He called it ‘bank knowledge’. Students were mere containers to be filled by the teacher where reciprocal learning of the teacher-student and student-teacher was problematic (p. 53). Born into poverty, Freire believed the oppressed suffered ‘dehumanization’ by oppressors but could teach themselves out of oppression and ‘recover their lost humanity’ (p. 26). Working from within the institution, Freire asserted that teachers could challenge the institution by creating new teacher-student-teacher relationships of reciprocal learning. Rancière, on the other hand, radically rejected institutional education altogether claiming those with the *will*, capable of teaching themselves. I suggest Freire’s teaching philosophy somewhat mirrored ‘tender empiricism’ and ‘fortunate encounter’ with the profound idea knowledge needn’t dominate and control, as Goethe criticized of Descartes rational man. Not to be ‘filled’ by a teacher in teacher-student classroom ‘stultification’, Anne and Lilo’s student-student relation might very well have become a reciprocal and radical act that introduced Linke for the first time to a love of learning—along the lines of Greek *philosophia* ‘love of wisdom’. Lilo’s curiosity filled Anne’s need for sharing. Should Anne’s sharing be misconstrued as charity, Freire was careful to distinguish between the fearful who ‘extend their trembling hands’ for ‘false charity’ with ‘human hands which work and working, transform the world’ (p. 27). Experiences with Anne might have helped Lilo recover her ‘lost humanity’ by overcoming a learned inferiority at school and through class stratification, played out in everyday class warfare in the streets.

Why should the encounter of these two young women be any different from that of Goethe and the German writer Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) when they met in 1788

(Goethe 1995: 321 fn 7) just as the French Revolution was about to set Europe ablaze? In fact, Goethe's scientific method 'tender empiricism', *Zarte Empirie*, evolved out of their 'fortunate encounter' when Schiller suggested his study on plant morphology was not just observation but an 'idea' in itself. Schiller had helped further Goethe's thinking on how 'experience' was congruent with an 'idea' and that elements must connect the two. Goethe admitted this set in motion an 'enduring union rich in benefit to us and to others' (Goethe 1995: 20). This implies learning is not a selfish act but a social act that benefits the whole. The ten-year friendship that followed until Schiller's death developed Goethe's aptitude for philosophy and helped him arrive at the conclusion, human development did not happen in a well-defined process of stages but in a series of 'wrong turns, twisting roads, hidden ways, and finally of the unintended jump, the energetic leap which takes us to a higher level of understanding'. Thousands of encounters, too numerous to record, contribute to a 'purer, freer state of self-awareness' (p. 21). The Goethe-Schiller encounter is a meaningful exchange as between any two individuals, if it takes them to a higher level of self-awareness, in this case, Linke's experience with Anne. Here, Dewey's first principle of 'continuity' for interpreting experience as an educational force and function argued, 'every experience lives on in further experiences' (1938: 27).

Encountering Gustav

In January 1929 Gustav Stolper hired Linke as a typist at his reputable theory-based economic journal *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* (1926-1933) co-founded with political scientist and economist Joseph Schumpeter. Attracting high profile figures and intellectuals from across Europe, writers contributed articles on economy, politics, history, culture, psychology and sociology.³³ The journal welcomed diverse political opinion even if it differed from the editors. Stolper used the *Volkswirt* as a platform for his activities in the Reichstag as a DDP *Deutsche Demokratische Partei*, parliament member for Hamburg (Wenhold 2011: 98), discussed further along.

Linke's employment relation with Stolper blossomed into a love affair, condoned by his wife Toni (née Kassowitz), also a main contributor to the journal.

³³ Social democrat and economic theorist Carl Landauer and psychologist Georg Katona were permanent editors. Contributors included, economists Lujo Brentano, Theodor Heuss and Wilhelm Röpke, Fritz Naphtali, sociologist and economist Alexander Rüstow, Hungarian political economist and historian Karl Polanyi, Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht, physician August von Hayek, Prussian Prime Minister Otto Braun, social democratic union leaders Fritz Baade and Ernst Tarnow, politician Hans Luther, philosopher and cabinet adviser Kurt Riezler, politicians and key figures in the women's movement Gertrud Bäumer and Marie-Elisabeth Lüders.

Prejudice might presume a man twenty years Linke's elder exploited the enthusiastic and attractive woman, perhaps like the businessman depicted in *The Crime of Monsieur Lange* (1936) by French filmmaker Jean Renoir. A time of both opportunity and exploitation as men of Linke's generation had been killed at war, across the twenties young women took positions as typists and secretaries in new business firms and public bureaus (Führich 2000; Kracauer 1998). After Linke's work at the DDP *Youth League* that inevitably led to her encounter with Stolper, habit of thought might view this working-class woman from the east of Berlin, 'fortunate' to be associated with the elite DDP circle. Now connected to journalists, economists and politicians she could 'progress' as a 'career' journalist. Rightly so, Wenhold confirmed: 'A host of friends and personal contacts helped Lilo to put down roots into this wide area' (2011: 98). This is part of the story and the least interesting. Linke's credentials needn't be justified in her proximity to the 'success' and 'expertise' of Gustav Stolper or his circle—asymetric power relations of generational, class, gender difference and Cartesian binaries of rich/poor, educated/uneducated, male/female—incidentally, an old way of seeing, articulated further along in the chapter.

Stolper was not always privileged. He too, had lived despair and used knowledge and the search for truth as a way out of darkness toward hope. Toni's biography of Gustav explained that his grandparents were *Wanderdruckes*³⁴ and had emigrated from Zhuravno in Lviv Oblast (Ukraine) to settle in Vienna, assimilating to Austrian culture (1979: 19). Gustav (1888) was the middle of three children, Martha (1885) and Ida (1897). In the stock market crash of 1895-96, Gustav's father lost everything. His self-respect was tarnished from which his marriage and family never fully recovered (p. 21). At the age of eight Gustav quickly learned 'other-regarding' as he took responsibility for his family's needs. No stranger to suffering, Gustav saw his sister Ida given to a children's care home as the family could not make ends meet. Martha was married off to a wealthy man and later the couple became victims of Hitler. His mother's nephew, a well-educated bank clerk and Social Democrat warm to Marxism, became an elder brother for Gustav (p. 23). Educated at a *Sophiengymnasium* in central Vienna in Latin and Greek, German history, language and literature (p. 25), fellow student Theodore Dürnbauer recalled: 'He was not an ambitious career oriented student, who wants to be the first in his class at any price, but this innate quality in him meant that he undertook everything thoroughly. [...] He had an outstanding pedagogical talent' (p. 27).

³⁴ *Wanderdruckes* refers to forced migration and to seek social elevation.

At eighteen Gustav envisioned becoming an economic journalist (p. 30), a profession not yet a discipline at university.³⁵ His career formed a synthesis of literature, philosophy and moral social duty. Gustav was attracted to economy, literature and ‘[l]ove of the facts’ (p. 30) as a form of philosophical wisdom between human constraint in social circumstances, on the one hand, and the freedom to enjoy with fellow common man, that all flourish, on the other. Drawn to education, he believed a teacher’s value rests in the ability ‘to intervene with his word, where circumstances are beyond conventional understanding, where misunderstandings threaten to distort things; the moral obligation vis-à-vis the humans suffering, whom the free man ought to serve’ (p. 30). Gustav and Toni were avid readers of politics, economy, history and sociology. Toni was born into a bourgeois family although she claimed them not typically bourgeois (Stolper 1989: 13). She described herself a *Gebildet* meaning ‘educated’ in German.³⁶ At university Toni joined a club of socialist students (p. 23). In their early courtship, Gustav and Toni sat in lectures given by Georg Simmel on the philosophy of money (p. 53). They were friends with individuals across many political spectrums of the Left, including Rudolph Hilferding (p. 98). Gustav appreciated the works of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, but in particular Goethe.

As a science for life, Goethe’s method requires observation *and* participation to gather more reliable phenomena or facts for ‘true’ knowledge. ‘There is a delicate [tender] empiricism which makes itself utterly identical with the object, thereby becoming true theory’ (1995: 307). He best defines this reciprocal process as follows:

When people of lively intellect first respond to Nature’s challenge to be understood, they feel irresistibly tempted to impose their will upon the natural objects they are studying. Before long, however, these natural objects close in upon us with such force as to make us realize that we in turn must now acknowledge their might and hold in respect the authority they exert over us. Hardly are we convinced of this reciprocal influence when we become aware of the twofold infinitude: in the natural objects, of the diversity of life and growth and of vitally interlocking relationships; in ourselves, of the possibility of endless development through always keeping our minds receptive and disciplining our minds in new forms of assimilation and procedure (Goethe cited in Bywater p. 298).

Henri Bortoft referred to Craig Holdrege’s description ‘to think like a plant lives’ (2012: 62). When Nature is observed it too challenges the observer back with the need to be understood. One must not ‘see’ past Nature. I extend Goethe’s use of ‘nature’ to include nations and cultures. Daniel Wahl (2005: 70) calls Goethe’s scientific method

³⁵ Ignaz Jastrow was one of the founders of the *Handelshochschule* (1906) at the University of Berlin—the first academic education for business. Two years later Frank W. Taussig, a friend of Jastrow’s founded the *Harvard Business School* (1908). (Redlich 1957: 62).

³⁶ ‘The term ‘gebildet’ in Germany means they have read widely and their minds are cultured and so on. But we were also in touch with the people of Vienna in their characteristic ways’ (p. 13).

‘conscious-process-participation epistemology’ arguing it exactly opposite to ‘subject-object-separation epistemology’ of Cartesian mechanistic metaphors and dualistic rationalism of Newtonian materialism. In Goethian science, the observer *is* the participant and lives *in* the world *with* ‘direct experience, empathy, intuition and imagination’ (p. 60) to cultivate a new way of seeing. Whether Linke or Stolper were familiar with Goethe’s scientific method of study is uncertain, yet their praxis appears to mirror the characteristics of ‘lively intellects’ practicing ‘tender empiricism’.

For Goethe, lively intellects practice an infinite two-fold process. First, they welcome diverse voices and explore the vitality amongst them. Second, they allow these voices to influence them with new ideas that gradually facilitate their metamorphosis or evolution. Lively intellects see the world in an entirely different way by using three capacities as a method of tender empiricism. They combine *Anschauuen* (seeing) and *Anschauungen* (intuitions) to form a synthesis *Vernunft* (rationality). *Anschauungen* (intuitive perception) allows one to see how a part *Gestalt* (structured form) comprises the whole *Bildung* (formation) and vice versa. In the case of Linke, this implies recognizing her own culture but also that of another simultaneously. Bortoft uses the simple line drawing of a duck-rabbit as a metaphor for Goethe’s way of seeing (p. 23). When viewed from different angles the drawing represents a duck and rabbit, yet is one figure or ‘multi-perspectival figure’ (p. 75). Ron Brady referred to the process as ‘becoming other in order to remain itself’ (p. 76). Transferring this idea to Linke’s lifeway or *Weltanschauung* (rejecting party politics of both the Left and Right)—self-preservation—she not only learned but also became the other in order to return to the self, incidentally, an act completely opposite to that of Nazism, where German culture was the only culture deemed superior. Importantly, Goethe’s *Gestalten* (structured forms) are never fixed or at rest. ‘[E]verything is in a flux or eternal motion’ (1995: 63).

Linke’s ‘perceptive imagination’ *Anschauuen*—a new way of seeing—imbricated experiences and narratives across geographies, written in what might be categorized as the *Bildungsroman* genre. Drawing from Franco Moretti, stories of one’s formation and cultivation in the German *Bildungsroman* constitute a form of pedagogy (1987: 29). For Moretti, Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister* is the birth of the *Bildungsroman* (p. 3). *Wilhelm Meister* is non-capitalistic. Goethe’s characters promote social cohesion over idleness. In Moretti’s words:

work in the *Bildungsroman* creates a continuity between external and internal, between the ‘best and most intimate’ part of the soul and the ‘public’ aspect of existence. Once again we have the congruence of formation and socialization, but there is more. For a work defined in this way is in

fact indistinguishable from what a large part of the German culture of the time called 'art' (p. 30).

According to this reading, in the German tradition, work is not about *having* but *being*. Moretti sees a cultural difference between a protagonist experiencing his/her formation and maturation in the German tradition (p. 56) from the 'insipid hero' (p. 11) of the English tradition. Mired with heroic, happy endings, the English tradition discredits the genre. The German genre doesn't produce commodities but rather objects that are harmonious with the whole as a form of 'reappropriation' with the one who created them (p. 29). For Moretti, 'Goethe's choice is not motivated by the desire for melodramatic 'effect': it is rather a superb combination of rhetorical and cultural strategies' (p. 70). With this German-British cultural difference on *Bildungsroman* exposed, in what follows, I approach Linke's encounters with Stolper and later with Jameson, as would a tender empiricist, to interpret their reciprocal collaboration as 'lively intellects' involved in a kind of *Bildungsroman* of self-development.

Encrypting his name as 'Dr. Berger' Linke remarked of Stolper, 'my chief, was in every regard an outstanding personality' (RD 385). Stolper also wrote highly of Linke, dedicating a seven-page letter: 'For L. the American friend searching and fighting for truth' in *This Age of Fable* (1942). Using 'L' to address her, as Linke was now in Latin America, such precautions were wise as suspicion against Germans as possible Nazi-sympathizers was common. His sincere passage typified Linke's honest aims and curiosity to know.

You are bewildered. You are not an historian or an economist or a sociologist, but simply an honest person who takes life seriously and wants to understand the political and economic world we live in. The fears and hopes, the worries and wishes, the perils and plans of which we are the involuntary objects never leave you alone. You think and talk of them day and night, they are with you wherever you turn. It is a frightening world, and the public debate makes it even more frightful because the appeal to fear has become a customary argument where knowledge is wanting. [...] You are not aware how easily you become prey to propaganda because certain slogans, by virtue of endless repetition, are eventually taken for granted (p. xiii).

While an indication of how he perceived Linke 'an honest person who takes life seriously' Stolper also succinctly captured the essence of how German common man was coerced into, in 1942, WWII. While Stolper wrote the letter to 'L' it might well be seen as generic counsel for the reader. His wisdom was of a tempered man and his passage rings strikingly familiar with the current 'war on terror' to the same end. On a visit to Berlin in 1932, Jameson observed Stolper was 'a fine intelligent head' and 'a man who knows he is better informed than anyone he is likely to meet' (JNI 274).

The *Volkswirt* gave Linke an extraordinary chance to learn. Habitual thought

might equate her position simply as an apprentice—not an incorrect assumption—yet profound ‘experiential learning’ coincided with one of the most intense political periods of Weimar; 1929 to 1933. Linke was direct witness *to* and active participant *in* the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggle between rivaling political parties in Weimar’s multi-party democracy to conquer economy, law and state—the three pillars of bourgeois democracy—whose ‘winner’ sealed the nations’ fate. Freire’s (1970/1996) notion of ‘situationality’ is central to their experiences as a ‘vitally interlocking relationship’ with a common cause to save Germany. ‘Human beings *are* because they *are in* a situation. And they *will be more* the more they not only critically reflect upon their existence but critically act upon it’ (p. 90). Dewey also dwelt on the notion of ‘situation’. Dewey’s second principle, ‘interaction’, for interpreting educational force and function, ‘assigns equal rights to both factors in experience—objective and internal conditions. Taken together, or in their interaction, they form what we call a *situation*’ (1938: 42). Situation and interaction are inseparable. Dewey criticized traditional education for emphasis on external over internal factors that guide experiences.

Obviously, the *Volkswirt* was not divorced from life but actively engaged in influencing public opinion to divert Weimar from further political polarization. Hansjorg Klausinger (2001: 249) points out that after the capital flight of 1929, reparation payments became the main focus of the *Volkswirt* and its contributors debated alternative solutions to the German Depression. Stolper was adamantly against credit expansion, believing Germany suffered a lack of confidence (p. 254) and was ‘a prisoner of her own inflation experiences’ (p. 256). Stolper used the *Volkswirt* as a platform to build support for his economic plan. On 5 October 1929, he revealed his Mannheim Plan for Germany at the DDP *Parteitag*. Robert Pois emphasizes, Stolper’s program stressed state involvement in the economy as crucial; called for less tax on the poor and middle-classes and profit-sharing schemes with the proletariat. He blamed the lack of capital distribution on monopolies. For Pois, Stolper was a man ahead of his time, in that, his economic program resembled that of a ‘semi-welfare state’—a political plan in the Western World implemented only after WWII. He goes on to claim Stolper’s effort to ‘build bridges’ between the bourgeoisie and proletariat was of ‘immense significance’ (1976: 68-69). Hence, Stolper used facts to help common man ‘flourish’ as his DDP political point of view wanted to foster a middle ground for the betterment of Germany as a whole. Misunderstood and attacked from both sides, his economic plan was never brought to fruition.

The *Volkswirt* taught Linke new habits, like seriousness and responsibility to

work for ‘truth’ over the lies of rising NSDAP propaganda. Reading daily the political and economic sections of international newspapers in three languages, after a short period working alongside Toni, Linke wrote the *Chronik aus der Woche* (The Weekly Chronicle) section of the journal (Wenhold 2011: 99). She learned to debate and discuss diverse topics and typed Gustav’s DDP speeches. Rather than an employer-employee relation, Stolper took it upon himself to educate Linke. She appreciated his pedagogical generosity, patience and empathy. Linke was fortunate, in my view, for this alternative chance to learn—similar to her experience with Anne—devoid of fear, intimidation or stultification. In her words:

Important for me was that he was generous enough to become my teacher instead of being annoyed by my lack of knowledge, and that he possessed the genial ability to explain a complicated economic process in its essential outline in such a way that I could understand what I was writing down for him (*RD* 385).

A considerable chance to overcome inferiority and recover her ‘lost humanity’, Linke earned a new set of eyes, learning the discipline of economy and its omnipresence on everyday life. Stolper fondly remarked on her development in October 1930, ‘Telephone with Lilo, her voice is clear and strong. It is [...] happy, very active’ (Wenhold 2011: 101). Stolper was reassured of his efforts. Difficult to envision why this mundane excerpt has importance, the economic context in which Stolper stated it is crucial. Workers on relief went from 2,258,000 on 15 March 1930 to 6,031,000 by March-end 1932 (Stolper 1940: 197). Germany was paralyzed with fear. According to Jameson, ‘Berlin at that time was conscientiously corrupt and gross, with misery, grey hunger, uncertainty, in the background’ it was ‘boiling like a crater’ (*JNI* 267).

In autumn 1931, Linke briefly returned to institutional education, narrating the experience in her first autobiography *Tale Without End* (1934). Attempts were made to re-educate the masses for future work, a highly problematic endeavor according to Borinski. Adult education programs had to allow for diverse neurosis, constituting the pathology of idleness. The long-term unemployed no longer believed they would ever work again. He pointed out: ‘The irrational fate aroused an irrational state of mind; and the whole society, not only its “unemployed sector”, was overcome by the emotions and fears of a period of mass catastrophe’ (p. 166). Stolper helped her obtain a scholarship to an adult education program; *Akademie der Arbeit* (Academy of Labour)—a joint program with Frankfurt University—offering classes in economics, politics, sociology, social policy and law, for workers (Wenhold 2011: 100). Sixty experienced laborers; boys and men from across Germany between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, attended the nine-month program. Frankfurt University was known as the ‘citizens’

University, a Bürger-Universität and the *Akademie* for its association with the trade union movement and 1918 Revolution (Borinski p. 92). As with the adult education experiment mentioned earlier, teachers encouraged student participation and discussion similar to the *Volkshochschulbewegung* (p. 96). The curriculum focused on ‘Labour’ and ‘Society’ teaching ‘realistic education for life’ (p. 96). This alternative adult education was in striking contrast to what Jameson, as an outsider, observed in 1932. ‘University professors and secondary schoolmasters were permitted openly to teach disrespect for the existing constitution and to foster a Nationalism of the most violent and anti-democratic colour’ (*TWE* xxiii). Universities had now become a *Wartehalle für Unbeschäftigte*—waiting rooms for the workless. ‘The lecture-rooms are so crowded that students pin to the floor scraps of paper with their names, to reserve a few inches of standing room’ (*JNI* 270).

Borinski viewed the *Akademie* a ‘stimulating attempt at combining academic work and workers’ education, at finding a new way of providing a College education with a genuine political impetus and a social-educational spirit’ and was ‘watched inside and outside Germany’ (p. 97). The task was to ‘shape anew the order of European life’ as Borinski asserted: ‘Realistic fact-finding in the spheres of economics, state, law, society, psychology, etc. is determined, ultimately, by the question “What ought to be”’ (p. 95 fn 108)? Linke approached her chance to learn with earnestness. The only female student, ‘I worked hard to keep pace. Gave lectures, wrote essays, debated, asked’ (*TWE* 4). While critics on the Left blamed the *Akademie* for not educating ‘improved fighters’ for the Labour Movement but rather ‘semi-intellectuals and snobs’ (Borinski p. 96) Linke’s account, based on lived experiences, differs. She and fellow comrades seem to have graduated as fighters when she admitted: ‘We all wanted to learn as much as possible. Most of us were keen Socialists, determined to understand’ (*TWE* 4). On 1 May 1932 fellow *Akademie* comrades marched together. ‘Socialism is still alive’. After 1933 Linke conceded: ‘There was never another first of May for us’ (*TWE* 11). In my view, instrumental to this experience, was the principle: ‘What ought to be’. It likely encouraged Linke to continue learning and gathering facts pertinent for a ‘realistic education’ and praxis of ‘tender empiricism’.

In June 1933, the *Volkswirt* was forcibly sold to SS entrepreneurs in what Toni recalled ‘a careful legal disguise’ (Wenhold 2011: 102). Essentially, the journal had crossed the path of the NSDAP (Klausinger p. 258). When Hitler entered the Reichstag he eliminated all opposing economic opinion. Carl Landauer was arrested and Stolper was concerned, not only for his colleague, but also for his own life (Wenhold 2011:

102). The Stolper family left for the United States. Gustav, according to Klausinger might be viewed 'a kind of tragic hero' (p. 263) resolute on liberal democracy. Gustav's son Wolfgang acknowledged his father's efforts as '[a]ct of a deeply moral man who does the right thing even when it seems hopeless' (Wenhold 2011: 97). Linke went to England. Lilo and Gustav reunited in Mexico in 1946 following WWII. Although parted, their relationship continued until Stolper died of a stroke on 27 December 1947 at age fifty-nine. Three days prior to his death he wrote Lilo: 'In 1948 I have to go through my 60th Birthday—which means I have to start thinking on the liquidation of my life. How I'll do it God only knows. It is too absurd' (p. 108). Lilo remained, continuing their work, in the universal language of English. In a letter to Toni, Linke wrote from South America about Gustav with great fondness: 'I would have needed his help very much... I want to make something good out of my life... so that as part of my life Gustl will live on' (p. 108).

As a pioneer of knowledge and 'outstanding pedagogical talent' largely self-taught, in the spirit of his grandparents, Gustav was a wayfarer, willing to share with those who possessed an honest determination to learn. Thus, I suggest, deep-rooted experiences of inferiority and injustice early in life, directed Gustav's praxis as those of a higher ideal to emancipate another. But this is a tricky project, for as Rancière believes '...to emancipate someone else, one must be emancipated oneself. One must know oneself to be a voyager of the mind, similar to all other voyagers' (p. 33). Toni recalled Lilo's relationship with Gustav, '...the chance of her life which she took up with courage, prudently supported by her mentor' (Wenhold 2011: 99). In my view, the political and economic crisis brought a shared responsibility to emancipate Germany from ruin, making Lilo and Gustav equal in the struggle. Their actions evoke Rancière's assertion, '...emancipation is the consciousness of that equality, of that reciprocity that alone permits intelligence to be realized by verification' (p. 39). Rather than Stolper's 'success' I suggest common obstacles, failures and disappointments experienced by Stolper and Linke helped cultivate their common aim to do 'good' for common man in their 'vitally interlocking relationship'. In my view, Gustav's willingness to educate Lilo is a voluntary radical act.

Encountering Margaret

In 1931 Linke journeyed across England for three months staying in the homes of miners, factory-workers, shopkeepers, commercial travelers, trade-union secretaries and farmers (*RD* 400). She had come to see what her 'English comrades' were thinking

and doing (*TWE* xii). Jameson first met her at a Labour conference in Scarborough. In her autobiography, *Journey From the North* (1969/1984), Jameson wrote: ‘Turning, I saw what I took to be a schoolgirl in a shabby coat and a soft hat pulled down over her eyes’ (*JNI* 270-71). What she ‘took’ for a ‘schoolgirl’ was a person whose experiences had made Linke far older than her age. When she asked Linke, ‘[w]hat do you want most?’ Jameson expected her to respond: ‘To have the money to travel. Or: To be heard of.’ Linke simply stated: ‘To live, to work, to build a world where is freedom and bread for all’ (*JNI* 272). Jameson was taken aback. ‘Where had this East Berlin child [...] learned to defend herself and her opinions in any company, politely, but with unshakable self-will’ (*JNI* 275)? This started their life-long friendship.

In early 1933, with Hitler now in the seat of power, Linke wrote to Jameson, ‘...one must either commit suicide or try to handle the situation [...] we feel old and tired and do not have the comfort that those coming after us will carry on our work and ideas’ (*JNI* 308). Jobless and homeless, she arrived on Jameson’s doorstep in June looking merely for a ‘chance to live’ (*JNI* 309). Having escaped German fascism, as Oswald Mosley had established the British Union of Fascists the previous October, the mood in Britain was similar. Maslen (2014) points out:

The British Union of Fascists was still flourishing; and when, in the same year, one of the first Gallup polls asked those interviewed whether they preferred Fascism or Communism, 70 percent of those under thirty chose Fascism, and a disturbingly high proportion of the upper classes, while not actively supporting Oswald Mosley, leaned toward Fascism because they feared Communism (p. 149-50).

In 1930s Britain, German and Austrian refugees numbered over seventy thousand (p. 244). Unwelcome in Britain (Wenhold 2012: 26)³⁷ they suffered ‘dehumanization’ at the hands of British authorities and were interned as enemy aliens and jailed in camps (Maslen p. 244). In 1938, Churchill took a move to arrest anyone and everyone considered a possible threat, declaring, ‘collar the lot’ (Gillman 1980: 153). Even those associated with PEN were not immune (Maslen p. 245-46). Additionally, Hitler’s Brown Network pursued German pacifists and political figures abroad.³⁸ Two women living nearby Linke, Dora Fabian and Mathilde Wurm, possibly became Network victims. Their case still remains unsolved (Wenhold 2012: 33). Britain was a dangerous place. Perhaps, Linke’s proximity to Jameson’s political, academic and literary circles

³⁷ The *Aliens Restriction Act* (1919) and *The Aliens Order* (1920) restricted work for aliens (refugees). Aliens were kept a close eye on and if found undesirable were swiftly deported. Any capital brought to the UK was to be redirected to “depressed” areas of England to bring employment to British subjects.

³⁸ Theodor Lessing was murdered, Otto Lehmann-Rußbüldt was under surveillance and there was a planned assassination of Karl-Heinz Spalts (Wenhold 2012: 30).

largely on the Left, might have dissuaded Hitler's Brown Network from pursuing her.

As with Stolper, habit of thought might assume Jameson a savvy bourgeois blessed with the full privileges of her class. Such is true. Yet rather than a self-centric lifestyle of privilege Jameson subordinated herself to others, that they become productive, creative human beings. She campaigned for social justice of the poor and saved refugees from prison and death. Born in the conservative town of Whitby—northern shipbuilding port in decline—her father William Storm Jameson of Norwegian ancestry (Maslen p. 11), worked on merchant ships from the age of thirteen. Marrying his half-sister Hannah Margaret, the couple had four children; Margaret (1891); Winifred (1895), Harold (1896) and Dorothy (1906). Jameson was no stranger to suffering. Raised in a dysfunctional marriage, her father's abuse toward her mother saw violence breed violence. Margaret received the brunt of her mother's anger (p. 12). A lonely child she recalled: 'There are no sharper mental torments in life than those endured by the child marked out to be ridiculed [...] and convinced of inferiority' (*JNI* 43). Inferiority was compounded with the north-south divide in Britain. In her lifetime, Margaret lost Harold, killed in action in 1917 (Maslen p. 34) and Dorothy in an air raid on her Reading home in 1943 (p. 295).

'[D]etermined to get myself to a university' (*JNI* 42) preparing for matriculation exams at a school in Scarborough, Margaret fraternized with students Sydney and Oswald Harland—'red-hot socialists' (Maslen p. 16). Winning one of three available state scholarships in Yorkshire, Jameson studied English at Leeds University (p. 15). Pressured by her mother, she married a fellow Leeds student and gave birth to her son Bill in 1915. With a strong dislike for domesticity, she used education as a means to freedom and pursued a MA in Modern European Drama at Kings College. Reluctantly working as an advertising copywriter in London for a brief period, she published *The Pot Boils* (1919), her first of sixty-five books. Writing for the socialist weekly *New Commonwealth* (*JNI* 153-54) she was infuriated by dismissive language in the British press over German and Austrian children dying of hunger. 'For the first time in my life I had the sense, horribly familiar later, of a dark wave of pain, cruelty, fear, gathering force at the other side of Europe and about to rush down' (*JNI* 156).

Jameson found her own way to 'walk through the fire', an expression I borrow from twentieth century American poet Charles Bukowski (1999), without relinquishing her principles. Siding with the Left yet skeptical of them, she feared in trying to change a bad situation they only made it worse (Maslen p. 31). Although supporting organized labor Jameson openly criticized union leaders. Through involvement with English PEN

in 1922, she found common ground with pacifist Hermon Ould, jailed in 1917 as a contentious objector. Ould admitted, 'it was not easy... to find people ready to accept the proposition that Germans, too, were human' (p. 56-57). American publisher Alfred Knopf hired Jameson as a literary agent for his London office to scout new writing talent. But 'making money would never be Margaret's prime motive' (p. 157). Divorcing her first husband, she married Guy Chapman—an intellectual equal—who suffered trauma after being gassed in WWI, to which he emotionally never fully recovered (p. 66). Financially supporting Guy and her son Bill, she was 'permanently short of cash' (p. 101) and had to compromise by writing for mainstream publications. In a 1933 letter to Vera Brittain Jameson joked: 'My life, between German refugee [Lilo], Guy and Bill, is a cross between a boarding house keeper and a receptionist... I cook breakfast for four, make beds for three, run about showing my refugee to people I hope will help her, and in the intervals write my novel. I think I am an ass' (p. 126). Jennifer Birkett (2009) wrote of Jameson's fondness for Linke:

Lilo Linke, poor, beautiful, and a fiery socialist, brought with her from East Berlin a contempt for old men and an enthusiasm for change that reminded Jameson of her own iconoclastic youth. They immediately became close friends. Lilo for Jameson was the 'Younger Brother' of fairytale, brimming with life and enthusiasm, always successful, and always loved (p. 105).

Steadfast in support of Linke, 'I began to harry her to write down this French adventure, as a start'. Linke had journeyed across France in 1932 for six months. After several weeks she produced the manuscript *Tale Without End*, 'written in what she imagined was English' (*JNI* 310). Jameson made revisions hoping she would learn. 'She would attend for a few sentences; then, seized by a fit of yawns, get up and go away, saying, "Do it as you like, dear Margaret"' (*JNI* 311). Linke learned her own way. 'In a few months, merely by listening, talking, reading (a little), she wrote clear lively English, as later in South America she learned to write Spanish' (*JNI* 311). To warm English readers to Lilo's first autobiography, Jameson penned a generous introduction. Imparting similarities in 'our mood of 1913' to 'create a new world' (*TWE* xiv)—a spirit still alive in 1932 Germany—Jameson illustrated the obstacles German social democrats faced. 'My sharpest insight into the responsibility of my own and other countries' was 'for the growth of the Nazi teaching...' when Germany signed the *Treaty of Versailles* (*TWE* xxi). She added, Lilo's story 'is worth listening to, for the unselfconscious directness and honesty of the narrator' (*TWE* xxxvii). Margaret sent Lilo—manuscript in hand—to a close friend, Michael Sadleir at Constable & Co. press, who as a generous publisher welcomed the work (Maslen p. 125).

Seldom idle, Linke took up every chance to educate Anglo-American ‘native bias’ (habituation) out of its habitual mindset of indifference. Wenhold states an ‘important aspect is the effort to enlighten the Anglo-American reader as to the cause of the Weimar Republic’s failure and the threat Hitler poses to all of Europe. In the face of appeasement as the prevailing public opinion in England, Lilo Linke believed enlightenment to be a painful necessity’ (2011: 104). Jameson agreed. ‘Better education was vital’ to attain ‘a fully educated and classless society’ (Maslen p. 137). In December 1933, Linke persuaded reluctant Labour politicians Arthur Henderson, William Gillies and Aneurin Bevan to rally for the release of SDP politicians, Ernst Heilmann and Friedrich Ebert’s son, Fritz Ebert, imprisoned in German camps.³⁹ She was active in the campaign to save Carl von Ossietzky, a German pacifist and winner of the 1935 Nobel Peace prize for exposing Hitler’s rearmament of Germany. Linke and playwright Ernst Toller looked after Ossietzky’s daughter Rosalinda in Darlington (Wenhold 2012: 16). During an interview Holl noted, ‘[e]ven as an old woman, in 1991, Rosalinda von Ossietzky-Palm mentions the special place that Lilo Linke had taken in her life, and that she had never forgotten her. She said she had been so totally different from other young German women’ (1987: 64). Linke translated into English the story of Wolfgang Langhoff, a socialist theatre director imprisoned in a prototype WWII camp in 1933, titled *Rubber Truncheon: Being an Account of Thirteen Months Spent in a Concentration Camp* (1935). She journeyed across Turkey in 1935, published an article *Social Changes in Turkey* (1937) and was invited to give a talk at the London *Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs* (1937). ‘I trembled for her, but she spoke with the greatest simplicity and coolness to an audience which listened with respect’, recalled Jameson (JN1 311). Linke frequently spoke on the BBC radio program *Newsmap* and gave a talk on Turkey (Wenhold 2011: 107)⁴¹ and contributed a chapter on Turkey for the anthology *Hitler’s Route to Baghdad* (1939).

‘Margaret was increasingly aware of the European situation, and her friendship with people like young Lilo Linke brought her firsthand news of growing violence against the Jews and those on the left; for active Social Democrats like Lilo were now being treated as no different from Communists’, wrote Maslen (p. 102). However, to my mind, Maslen has overlooked how Linke transformed her encounter with Jameson into a ‘vitally interlocking relationship’. Rather than ‘brought’ news, Linke made

³⁹ Harrison Brown to Arthur Henderson, 2 October 1933, IO/GER/3/59, National Museum of Labour History (Manchester, UK)

⁴¹ Frank Horrabin hosted the program inviting figures like Karl Polanyi and A. J. Toynbee to discuss political, economic and cultural issues. Linke spoke on the Turkish Republic on 6 December 1938.

Jameson experience their situation firsthand. On a 1932 visit to Berlin, Lilo arranged a programme, ‘all part of my education’, Jameson recalled (*JNI* 277). Lilo took her to a ten thousand strong communist workers rally in support of Socialist candidate Ernst Thälmann at Sportpalast, where women recited poetry of jailed husbands and children held banners as police broke up the crowd. She had Margaret debate with Communist friends and DDP *Youth League* members and experience gross class inequality. In 1937 the two women stayed in Paris over the summer. Linke introduced her to a diverse group of friends to help Margaret see how fear tore at the heart of Europe more than it did in Britain. ‘I had with my own eyes seen “the other France”’ (*JNI* 363). Her fortunate encounter with Lilo fortified Margaret’s sense of responsibility. Evident in a 1938 letter, Jameson confided to journalist and friend Harrison Brown:

But the Home Office won’t give them their visas, nor refuse them either. I lie awake at night wondering who else I can get at to do something. It is awful. And of course they are only a drop in the ocean of threatened people, Jews, socialists, social democrats, communists (Maslen p. 205).

Linke’s *Cancel All Vows* (1938) was a first attempt at a novel handling the subject of exile. Hope is a central theme, indicative of the responsibility Linke felt to elicit hope in dark times. Exploring the post-WWI male psyche of an injured German veteran—Julius Bergmann exiled in France—she captured the plight of ordinary refugees and thousands of youth, whose education and future were forfeit to war. Holl sees protagonist Marthe Jansen ‘unmistakably a self-portrait of Lilo Linke’ (1987: 74). I agree with his assertion. ‘Her way through exile is covered as part of the narrative in *Cancel All Vows*, not as an inescapable fate to be suffered passively, but as an [integral] part of a life plan to be shaped through her own responsibility’ (p. 75).

Inevitably Jameson’s philosophy influenced Linke, providing another non-institutional chance to learn—free of intimidation and stultification—in order to recover her ‘lost humanity’. At a lecture in Leeds titled *The Novel in Contemporary Life* Jameson stated, ‘novelists had a responsibility to engage with such problems of their society as poverty, political extremism, and the ever-present debates about war and peace’ (Maslen p. 114). They should be a ‘receiving station’ for the voices of society and ‘sensitive enough to detect the past and the future existing in the present’ (p. 181). She thought it necessary to collect facts about the human condition. ‘We need documents, not, as the Naturalists needed them [...] but as charts, as timber for the fire some writer will light to-morrow morning’ (p. 174). In Jameson’s view: ‘People should learn to consider the interests of others even to the extent of preferring them and thus counteract selfishness and self-interest’ (Golubov 2007: 100). For Jameson, changing

society began with an active role in the growth of the community (Golubov 2002: 9). As Jameson put it, the writer must ‘go and *live* for a long time at one of the points of departure of the new society’ (McLoughlin 2007: 110).

Nattie Golubov (2002) argues interwar period women writers Jameson, Holtby, West and Mitchison focused on the ‘average individual as a social rather than simply a psychological individual’ to challenge post-WWI British readers’ selfish, consumerist lifestyles (p. 6). Characters in Jameson’s novels underwent ‘a gradual transformation of personality’ (p. 9). In some ways Storm Jameson’s authorship might relate to the genre of *Bildungsroman*, which would challenge Moretti’s earlier assumptions about English literature. They gave supreme ‘worth’ to the individual. As a relational self, the individual has the ability to shape their future. Autonomous and self-conscious agents can transform their social conditions by being both separate and connected to others (p. 38). Golubov concluded these writers’ praxis wasn’t fully solved in their novels, as theory didn’t completely reflect practice (p. 10). To debate Golubov’s conclusion is beyond the scope of my research. What interests me, however, is Jameson’s notion of ‘shared humanity’—a belief in human commonality acknowledged when ‘prejudices are eroded by experience’ (Maslen p. 295). Jameson argued if Europe were to survive, it would have to change its attitude toward other civilizations (p. 308). Returning to Dewey’s notion of ‘subject-matter’ in experience at the outset of this chapter, Jameson’s *un-habitual* thought is vital as it implies living in a ‘new society’—Linke’s Turkish journey—might help transcend prejudice, what Linke intuited of English-speaking readers toward the people of Turkey and the rest of the world. Her radical act to emancipate readers to see anew and disrupt habitual thought, using autobiography as a form of pedagogy, is explored in the Turkish case study.

Certainly Jameson’s epistemology was manifest in her worldview and engagement with Europeans as an autonomous agent regardless of institutional limitations by PEN, the British government and capitalism. The first to admit her ‘bourgeois weakness’ of ‘trying to lead a comfortable life’, Jameson oscillated between the organic community of Whitby and an estranged life of industrial capitalism (Golubov 2002: 66). I suggest it was Linke who actively practiced Jameson’s epistemology. Lilo journeyed extensively in other cultures. Lilo would ‘go and *live* for a long time’ in a ‘new society’, like Turkey. Lilo was a proper autonomous agent, as she did not commit herself to the interests of only one nation but of common man across nations and cultures. Lilo underwent a ‘gradual transformation of personality’—a Veblenian evolution or Goethean metamorphosis. Lilo’s praxis hoped to ‘transform the

world' (Freire 1970/1996: 27).

In my view, Linke's praxis was a combination of Goethe's *Bildungsroman* and Veblen's 'instinct of workmanship' (purposeful work). Rather than idle wandering, each experience was a 'fortunate encounter' that enriched her evolution. 'From a self-centered person I had to become a pedagogue, a model, and a leader, and yet a friend' (RD 168). A 'tender empiricist' she was receptive to diverse voices. 'I always tried to be on good terms with everyone' (RD 287). Life-long friendships with Stolper and Jameson were proof Linke didn't limit herself to one class but also never relinquished support for the proletariat, although she was not one of them, having classed herself 'petit bourgeois' she certainly had empathy for them. Growing up in a working class neighborhood in the east of Berlin had shaped her political subjectivity. 'I could not hate the workers' (RD 81). Her stories about the 'dehumanization' of common man at the hands of capitalist oppression also told of struggles to retain their dignity when faced with the onslaught of business civilization which for Veblen 'deranges the ordinary conditions of life for the common man' (1919/1964: 117).

Organizing young employees into trade unions, Linke's empathetic narrative captured the resentment of common man primped and modeled to a 'business shape' and 'never being themselves'.

There was Marie selling shoes; Quicks apprentice—no, errand-boy in the bookkeeping department of the German Cable Works; the twins, Elisabeth and Gerda, pretty girls, the nicest singers in the group, both shorthand-typists in large firms; Werner, a clerk in a pneumatic-tire factory; Erwin, the rather wild-looking black-haired flute-player, who had just given up his secretarial job at the Central Abattoir because he was so sick of it and was now looking for something else that would suit him better; Klärchen, friendly, always smiling, but shy, apprentice in a firm for ladies' underwear; Herbert, working in the propaganda department of a bootblackening factory and hoping to become a commercial traveller for the same firm; Clover, a salesman in a cheap tailor's. And so on, the long list of all our members, sweating from morning till night in huge or odd rooms, pushed about and pushing, modelled into a suitable business shape and never being themselves—could they really put enthusiasm into their work and draw satisfaction out of it? Even I, who had entered my self-chosen job with so many aspirations, had long discovered that I had gone into a blind alley (RD 181).

Linke need not have described each person. Sociological statistics would have sufficed. But her praxis of 'tender empiricism' narrated the proclivities and talents of each to 'humanize' fellow Germans in the hope of building empathy on the part of the Anglo-American reader, with an aim to undermine their habit of thought about Germans, reasoning it might help avert war.

Hans Albert Kluthe, founder of the German Freedom Party DFP (*Deutsche Freiheitspartei*) in Paris in 1937 to aid anti-Nazi exiles, certified 'on behalf of the international headquarters of the DFP' Linke was an 'upstanding democrat for over

twelve years' and contributor to 'excellent educational work in England' (Holl p. 77 fn 55). Leaving Britain in June 1939, as a progenitor of social justice, Linke continued her praxis in Latin America; a consistency and continuity of 'eternal motion' across nations and cultures in a sea of economic waves tossing common man to and fro. Disembarking the *Reina del Pacifico* at Colon, Panama in the summer of 1939 in *Andean Adventure* (1945), she wrote about a plethora of common man in the form of different ethnicity, religion, and nationality (*Gestalten*) striving to overcome obstacles. With war months away, a motley crew of travel-companions, who might never have joined the same table, sat together. She wrote of them with the same empathy she had of fellow Germans she organized for the trades union.

We were six round the table: Johnson, a tall, handsome Englishman returning to the tropics after a holiday in Europe, who now acted as our guide—half a year later I learned that he was a crook, but by then odd news of any kind no longer surprised me; Salvador, a young Peruvian whose sunburnt figure might have enchanted a Greek sculptor, but for the shortness of his legs, on his way home after twelve years of life and studies in Paris hardly remembering his still distant country; a young Dutchman playing Pollux to the Peruvian Castor and travelling because he was twenty years old, youth being in his opinion sufficient reason for moving across the world; a German, who only by a miracle, or thanks to his peasant stubbornness and constitution, had survived four years in a concentration camp, now on his way to Bolivia, where in time he hoped to acquire a farm of his own; Hanna, a Czech Jewess with whose eighteen innocent years he had fallen in love, and who was going to La Paz to join her father, hoping to find work as a beauty specialist; and lastly myself (*AA* 7).

For a 'lively intellect', it was a chance to learn from diverse people with common problems, never free from imbecile institutions, irrespective of identity or nation. 'Waiting for mail, for money, for vital documents and visas, German and Polish and Rumanian and Russian Jews, Czechs, and anti-Nazis from all over Central Europe spent hours playing cards and telling one another their tragic or banal experiences' (*AA* 9). Her text mirrors Goethe's way of seeing. 'We can postulate a perceptive imagination which apprehends identities and similarities... I do not mean an imagination that goes into the vague and imagines things that do not exist; I mean one that does not abandon the actual soil of earth' (Bywater p. 301). Arif Dirlik's 'difference in sameness' comes to mind (2002: 45).

In sum, Linke's ability to transform unfortunate situations into a kind of fortune was remarkable. Each fortunate encounter provided chances for Linke to learn and assimilate new knowledge for the science of life. Astrida Orle Tantillo sees Goethe's science not one of repeating the same task but of 'intensification', *Steigerung*, that changes the individual and the task, offering the individual potential for growth and development (2002: 22). The principle of intensification incorporates feelings and intuition to strive for perfection and is nature's ability to overcome obstacles and to

create. For me this is a promising principle because it supports the idea Linke did evolve from a self-regarding individual to other-regarding person. She practiced Jameson's idea of 'shared humanity' writing and living: 'What ought to be'. Jameson recognized her evolution. 'In some way or other she annoyed the London Germans [...] I think by being so full of life, so amazingly more developed, than they remembered her. It is always hard to forgive people for growing faster than oneself' (Holl p. 79). Rather than endless wandering of a traveller, Linke's praxis was goal oriented: 'To live, to work, to build a world where is freedom and bread for all' (*JNI* 272).

‘Spirit of Insubordination’

An Emancipatory Praxis

Her total lack of subservience was one of her most surprising virtues. [...] No authority as such, no difference or age or class, made the faintest impression on her. She was never defiant. She was simply, in all times and places, her own boss.

—Margaret Storm Jameson (*JNI* 275)

Linke seemed to possess a ‘spirit of insubordination’ in the sense offered by Veblen (1915/1964: 158). Thus far I explained how fortunate encounters set her on the way to becoming an author, thanks largely but not exclusively, to the efforts of Stolper and Jameson. Yet for Linke to be a malleable piece of clay in their hands—an apprentice to be shaped, disciplined and approved as a master (*Meister*) in her own right—makes her story incomplete and rather dull. On the contrary, I suggest she did not become a master but chose instead to cultivate herself as a ‘masterless man’⁴² (Veblen 1914/1964: 276). This chapter unpacks Veblen’s ideas on insubordination and relates them not only to Linke’s experiences but also how this ‘spirit’ manifests itself in her authorship, experiences and *Weltanschauung*. Her narratives reshape facts grossly manipulated by ‘phrase-makers’ (p. 26) in imbecile institutions. Writing ‘matter-of-fact knowledge’ (p. 62), she produced new knowledge as a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of business exploit, which for Veblen implied, the conversion of the energies of others to one’s own end (1899/2009:14). Linke wove genres of journalism, documentary and autobiography to craft truthful stories as an emancipatory praxis, similar perhaps, to what Freire claimed as *word=work=praxis* (1970/1996: 68) to emancipate herself and her readers with a hope to transform the world.

In June 1939, Linke arrived in Colon, Panama, gradually crossing the Andean heartland of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Bolivia, to settle in the mountain top bird’s nest of peace, Quito, Ecuador, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1945 (*Fig. 6*). There, she was a relatively autonomous agent, befriending economists, politicians, journalists,

⁴² Veblen’s term is not gender specific.

social workers, artists and writers—her new ‘fortunate encounters’. But not only this, she worked for and with Ecuador’s marginalized poor, indigenous Quechua and Ecuadorian common man. Employed by Ecuador’s leading liberal newspaper *El Comercio* the editor gave Linke free reign to report on social and economic problems and improvements in poor Quechua enclaves, affording her a chance to practice social work. Even today, Linke is cited in labor and agricultural journals for her excellent work *on* and approach *to* social problems and challenges Latin America faced and still faces (Ibarra 2010: 147; 2011: 197). Galo Lasso Plaza (1906-1987), president of Ecuador (1948-1952) and friend of Linke’s, was a respected leader for his ability to engage with all socio-stratifications inclusive of the Quechua. Linke’s reciprocal relations with Plaza, political economist Miguel Albornoz (1935-2012)—with whom she frequently published (Linke and Albornoz 1960)—Alfredo Pareja Diezcanseco (1908-1993) novelist, journalist and diplomat, she viewed a writer of the people (Linke 1956), Marxist poet Jorge Enrique Adoum and Manuel Agustín Aguirre, founder-general secretary of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Ecuador (*Partido Socialista Revolucionario Ecuatoriano*) were ‘lively intellectuals’ working for common good.

With no children of her own, Linke took her nephew Hans (youngest of her brothers five children) out of post-WWII German poverty to settle him in Ecuador. The *Pacifico del Reina* ship was under repair, which meant Linke had to find a temporary school for Hans in England. Rejection letters from the *Friends’ School* in Great Ayton, Yorkshire⁴³ and the *Friends’ School* in Lancaster⁴⁴ did not thwart her insubordinate spirit. She secured a place at *Newburgh Priory School* in Coxwold, Yorkshire. Linke expressed appreciation to Mrs Daws.⁴⁵ Linke monitored Hans through correspondence with the school and tried to encourage the Headmaster to have sympathy for him, writing: ‘These last years in Berlin the only law was that of the survival of the fittest, which explains his aggressiveness’.⁴⁶ Lilo returned with Hans to Quito in the spring of 1948. His dream was to become a motor engineer, but Linke realized this would be difficult in Ecuador. Despite efforts to help Hans, she was unsuccessful. A family

⁴³ Letter from *Friends’ School* Great Ayton, Yorkshire, 13 October 1947. With permission, Marc Linke, 2013.

⁴⁴ Letter from *Friends’ School* Lancaster, 11 October 1947. With permission, Marc Linke, 2013.

⁴⁵ Letter from Lilo Linke to Mrs Daws, Newburgh Priory School, 21 October 1947. With permission, Marc Linke, 2013.

⁴⁶ Letter from Lilo Linke to Mrs Daws, Newburgh Priory School, 5 December 1947. With permission Marc Linke, 2013.

memoir indicates Hans fled Quito for Colombia where he got into trouble with the authorities.⁴⁷

On a research visit to Quito in May 2012,⁴⁸ I was unable to interview those closest to her. Research of Linke's Ecuadorian circle reveals evidence of a once 'spirit of insubordination'. In Calderon north Quito, Linke supported a 'Radio School' which later became the *Escuela Fiscal Mixta Lilo Linke* (Fig. 8) in the early 1960s, providing education to boys and girls five to twelve years of age from working-class families (Fig. 9). The school was a result of her endless work for social justice of the marginalized poor and working class. On my visit there, I met young children who were bright and enthusiastic students, just as Linke would have known them in her time. Linke's picture adorns the school walls and the pupil's uniforms are embroidered with her name. I interviewed one of Ecuador's most renowned journalists I call N⁴⁹ who told me about Manuel Agustín Aguirre. 'He was a big fighter and a grand leader of the socialist party'.

They wanted to terminate the capitalist system. There were many confrontations in textile factories and beer factories... much exploitation. Workers were fighting to put in place a workers code and syndicates. They were guided by the intellectuals. [...] She was with the writers, painters, and revolutionaries. The community was against American imperialism. In 1944 the government elected and accepted civil rights for workers. It wouldn't have been possible to get this far without the intellectuals in this struggle.

When I questioned him further about the poet Jorge Enrique Adoum, he smiled with fondness and responded: 'a grand poet [...] He was a great intellectual and a bohemian. He was very provocative. He was so talented. It was very interesting listening to him. He was a Turk'. I found N's reference to Adoum being a Turk curious. Adoum was Syrian. Those of N's generation considered anyone from that region of the world a Turk. About the Turks, N added: 'They sold a lot of textiles. They had big shops'. One of Ecuador's caricaturists, I call T,⁵⁰ informed me about journalists in Linke's era.

They had no schools for journalism. *El Comercio* was like a school for journalism. The editors were the teachers. [...] The rural community was vulnerable and there were community radios as well. It began in Ecuador but spread to Peru, Bolivia and all Latin America. [...] There was mass poverty in the community and journalists were leaders in those times. And said when things were not good.

When I asked him if journalists were unionized, he responded with an unequivocal 'yes, of course, permanently'. Of his ethical stance toward journalism, he admitted there were three topics he never drew, 'religion, women and children'. I found his wisdom

⁴⁷ Personal memoirs of Hans Linke. With permission, Marc Linke, 2013.

⁴⁸ Julian Assange took political asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy in London 19 June 2012 shortly after my return to London. For this reason, I do not wish to reveal full names of people interviewed.

⁴⁹ Interview in his Quito home, 24 May 2012.

⁵⁰ Interview in his Quito home, 28 May 2012.

enlightening, so different from the ‘phrase-makers’ in Europe today who believe freedom of the press is the freedom to draw vulgar religious caricatures. I interviewed the wife of a respected artist in Ecuador I call M.⁵¹ She told me Olga Fisch (1901-1990) was a close friend of Linke. Born in Hungary, Fisch too, worked for common good when she settled in Ecuador in 1939.

She was interested in popular art. [...] She was a strong character with a good eye for art. She bought indigenous art and guided the Quechua to convince them to work but with better materials. [...] Europeans appreciated things the Ecuadorians never did.

She improved their craftsmanship and thus their economy. The handicraft community is a ‘spirit of individual self-sufficiency’ for Veblen (1915/1964: 270-71). Rodolfo Pérez Pimentel⁵² wrote the following of Fisch’s contribution to Ecuador.

Galo Plaza invited her to his farm in *Zuleta*, where he had organized a shop with a group of young embroiderers. Olga taught them how to make tablecloths and place mats embroidered with traditional designs, adding a little fringe that was a popular feature in Central Europe. There is still a prosperous cooperative in *Zuleta*, which offers jobs to many of the peasants.

M admitted her husband had been influenced by these efforts to help the indigenous.

We are all Mestizos. This wasn’t accepted by the so-called white people or by the Indians. The Indians didn’t accept it because they thought they were ‘pure’. The whites didn’t want to accept it because they didn’t want to be associated with the poor.

One of Ecuador’s most prominent women writers, I call A,⁵³ told me: ‘The Ecuadorian people should be grateful to her [Linke] because she talked about subjects that no one else was interested to talk about. The person who always really discovers the country is the foreigner’. I also interviewed a European woman who has lived in Ecuador over twenty years I call B.⁵⁴ She provided additional information on Linke, although she never met her, because she came to Ecuador much later. B told me Linke was known for her creativity and ability to inspire people. She worked to establish hygiene and inoculation programs and contributed to the ‘Radio School’, where broadcasts reached remote areas to overcome illiteracy. She helped the workers, farmers and women solve their problems. Linke was a close friend to Arthur and Gene Fried who imported construction machinery. Interestingly, those I interviewed were confused about Linke’s identity. Some thought she was American, others said she was from London. A few knew she was German. Linke likely had to be cautious owing to Latin American suspicion of Germans being possible Nazi sympathizers.

⁵¹ Interview in their Quito home, 29 May 2012.

⁵² <http://www.diccionariobiograficoecuador.com/tomos/tomo12/f2.htm> (Accessed 10 September 2015)

⁵³ Interview in her Quito home, 23 May 2012.

⁵⁴ Interview with her in a Quito café, 22 May 2012.

Linke was a true embodiment of Veblen's 'spirit of insubordination' owing to 'instinct of workmanship', 'idle curiosity' and 'parental bent'. This spirit referred neither to passionate, destructive rebellion—individual or en masse—nor to barbarism that smashed civilization in the name of progress. Rather, humans possess an instinct for effective work, an aptitude he called 'instinct of workmanship'. Man is a self-conscious agent who sets 'teleological' activities. 'He is an agent seeking in every act the accomplishment of some concrete, objective, impersonal end. By force of his being such an agent he is possessed of a taste for effective work, and distaste for futile effort' (1899/2009: 16). The sense of workmanship instinctually values '[e]fficient use of the means at hand and adequate management of the resources available for the purposes of life' (1914/1964: 31). '[I]t is a despicably inhuman thing for the current generation willfully to make the way of life harder for the next generation, whether through neglect of due provision for their subsistence and proper training or through wasting their heritage and resources and opportunity by improvident greed and indolence' (p. 26). The New Order of 'Big Business' was the greedy culprit. (1923/1964: 211). Small-scale industry of purposeful work to serve common good of the community cumulatively evolved into industry for profit serving the vested interests. Industry became a 'means of making money, not of making goods' (1923/2007: 85) that wastes human and natural resources.

The 'parental bent' instinct may appear specific to caring and welfare of children, but overall, it is concern for the common good and survival of the species as a whole. 'Parental bent' tends to be more female, not as a biological trait, but a result of cumulative causation across millennia whereby womanhood was played up by a scheme of 'magical observances' as 'mother nature' symbolized fertility, fecundity, growth and nurture (1914/1964: 94). It is possible that Ecuadorian artist Andrade Moscoso's symbolism of mother-nature motifs, crafted on Linke's tombstone at the *El Bátan* cemetery in Quito (*Fig. 10*), responded to her *Weltanschauung* and Ecuadorian cultural inheritance. Veblen thought women possess a stronger proclivity for the instinct of workmanship. 'The impulse is perhaps stronger upon the woman than upon the man to live her own life in her own way' (1899/2009: 232). In Linke's case, she was not fond of institutional authority.

Humans have a proclivity for 'idle curiosity' to explore the mystery of life. In general 'they want to know things, when graver interests do not engross their attention' (1914/1964: 85). Curiosity was 'idle' for Veblen because while 'no utilitarian aim enters in its habitual exercise' the 'material information which is by this means drawn

into the agent's available knowledge may none the less come to serve the ends of workmanship' (p. 88). Holl agreed Linke possessed an 'insatiable curiosity'.⁵⁵ Curiosity led her authorship and labor for social justice, guided by a sense of workmanship and parental bent to help rid Ecuador of illiteracy; promote hygiene and midwifery to lower child mortality rates; stimulate children's education through puppet theatre; support unionization of journalists as their spokesperson; support better agricultural methods; and improve the environment through reforestation projects. From where did Linke get her a 'spirit of insubordination'? From where did Veblen source this spirit? I turn to her early childhood experiences.

Linke spent some of her formative years in East Prussia fraternizing with peasant children and their families along the Baltic Sea and nearby inland enclaves like Masuria. As her father was from Tannenwalde (Prussia) family visits there do not come as a surprise. Linke began her autobiography *Restless Days* with a prologue titled 'East Prussia August First 1914', an account of childhood summers there. Fond recollections of sitting on the steps with peasant children, talking of the endless countryside, playing together as the sun warmed their naked limbs, is evident in the following passage.

I knew the lakes and swamps from my earliest childhood. I remembered the woods through which we had driven in a ranger's car, the strong smell of horses' sweat in front of us, and the glow-worms which glittered around us at night. I remembered long walks over the soft moss and the blue surprise when I suddenly stood on the border of a lake. Trees were fallen down into the water, roes and birds came to drink, and we stood motionless to watch them. [...] It was the ever-green country of a fairy-tale, and it belonged to me, it was secretly my own (*RD* 11).

This nurturing habituation for Linke was the opposite in the metropolis where Simmel observed 'growing distance in genuine inner relationships and a declining distance in more external ones' (1907/2005: 481). Already habituated to urban society, or what is termed *Gesellschaft*, these Prussians appear to have habituated her to an affinity with community, or *Gemeinschaft*. Habituation not only to the urban but also to the rural might justify the ease with which Linke later journeyed across diverse nations into their most rural enclaves, affording her an ability to nurture genuine and uninhibited relationships. In Masuria, Linke experienced other ways of doing, other ways of living, other ways of being, from urban habituation that shaped individual and social relations in its own likeness.

Children are sensitive to something wrong in their world. They flee in an instinctive act of self-preservation to something, someplace or someone that offers a shelter from unhappiness. Masuria was 'secretly' her own. Masuria wasn't a 'holiday

⁵⁵ Interview with historian Karl Holl in his home in Bremen, Germany, February 2013.

destination’ for Linke—terminology that smacks of a capitalist mindset—rather it was her shelter, a place to engage in social relations unlike those in Berlin. As a child, Linke couldn’t explain her unhappiness. Only time and experience uncover unhappiness for those few curious souls, like Linke, in search of ‘what ought to be’. Experiences lived with East Prussian peasant children influenced her, evident in prioritizing them in her prologue. But what cultural inheritance did these Prussian peasants possess? Did they cultivate an alternative worldview and life-way akin to a ‘spirit of insubordination’?

Tucked amidst footnotes in *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (1915) Veblen’s cumulative causation methodology uncovered a peculiarity in the Baltic littoral—during their pre-Christian and early handicraft era—what he viewed habituation embodied in freedom, work, civic life and community as a ‘systematised anarchy regulated by common sense’ (p. 323). Communities in western Russia (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), northern Poland and Germany, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland comprised the Baltic littoral.⁵⁶ Habituation was a quasi-anarchistic ‘Live and Let Live’ that for Veblen implicitly means peace, where the group flourishes and also respects that other groups should flourish. Freehold farmers and traders in timber, tools, flint and amber, they prospered peaceably (p. 45). The Baltic littoral mixed with other cultures, borrowing ideas to improve technologies, yet maintained their culture by discouraging ideas become ‘ultra-rigorous authenticity’ (p. 324). Simply, they resisted being ruled by their knowledge. Veblen saw it ‘a civilisation of workmanship and fecundity rather than of dynastic power, statecraft, priestcraft or artistic achievement’ as in the Roman Empire (p. 43).

Veblen proposed that the Baltic littoral was a prototype of peaceable habituation. Geographically isolated, people lived in autonomy of neighborly local self-government. Laws were founded on ‘good will’ over canonical doctrines. For Veblen ‘insubordination is the vital principle of this defunct system of local self-government, whereas it is the sin against the Holy Ghost of dynastic coercion’ (p. 327). Enough neighborly contact to form a sense of solidarity, they were not governed by overt surveillance (p. 323). Beliefs were built on the code of ‘neighborly common sense’ of ‘Live and Let Live’ (p. 327), not to be confused with the civil codes of John Locke as ‘natural rights’ tainted with ownership rights. Veblen posited that ‘common man must by natural bent be gifted with a penchant for letting his neighbor live as good him seems, within the same margin of neighborhood tolerance’; an ‘ideal of “justice”

⁵⁶ This rich civilization has been evidenced in Baltic Stone-age artifacts.

according to the anarchistic conception'. He concluded this 'anarchistic animus may well mark a generic bent of the human race at large' (p. 328).

Masuria—Linke's 'secret' place—at that time, was a dense wilderness part of the Baltic Heights (Conzen 1945: 1). The region was a 'frontier community' (Kłoskowska 1997: 37) where a dialect called *Wasserpölen*; a German-Polish mix was spoken (Cordell 2009: 6). The people were considered 'Germanized Poles' (p. 8) and were Protestant (Żarnowska and Pearson 1991: 302). Although East Prussia was ethnically diverse (Orr 1980: 310) in 1804 Prussian authorities began to Germanize the region (p. 311). Education of the peasantry was substandard (p. 306). Although land east of the Elbe abounded with large estates, after 1820 the peasantry became increasingly impoverished, reduced to agrarian laborers (*Instleute*) working on these estates (p. 306). This social formation continued right up to the mid-twentieth century (Żarnowska and Pearson p. 299). Ermland was the only exception where there was a growth of independent peasant holdings (Orr p. 306 fn 9). For instance, during the 1848 revolt 'impoverished Masuria, nestled away in its geographic isolation and ethnic remoteness from the rest of the province, for the most part remained [...] quiescent' (p. 317). Characteristic of a Slav house-type, Masurian *Schaluppe* were made of timber and had thatched roofs (Conzen p. 8). Masurian town plans differed from the rest of Prussia, as they showed no evidence of fortification (p. 9).

Here exist some of Linke's East Prussian childhood friends, perhaps souls with a 'spirit of insubordination'. More than a wanderlust child enthralled by nature, Baltic experiences impressed on the young Linke a tacit sense of 'Live and Let Live' over the race for pecuniary gain in Berlin. For a child, the difference is inexpressible but it is sensed, as Linke sensed there was something wrong in her home. Instead, a loving touch, sharing of food, play with inventive children in a community living in relative dignity—albeit poor—are experiences never to be removed from one's sense of self. Linke's friends perhaps were practicing pedagogues of insubordination. Experiences with them would have had profound psychological effects on the young Linke, evident in her often expressing a longing for simplicity. Her everyday in Berlin was exactly the opposite; fractured, contentious; and habituated to the pretentious habit of keeping up appearances and subordination to authority. In search of a less complex life where minds were less muddled, she offered: 'I was always longing for simple, unreflecting friendships, straightforward and not complicated by inexpressible thoughts and feelings' (RD 15). Writing of fellow student Hein Fleuter at the *Akademie der Arbeit* she described him 'simple as water' (TWE 9). Of friend Madam Compan in Paris, Linke

wrote, 'I had explained to her what I wanted: to see the life of the worker, the simple man, the poor' (*TWE* 91). Linke's spirit of insubordination was both an instinct of good intention in her, because Veblen thought all humans have this instinct, but was also cultivated out of experiences in Masuria as a youth.

Prussia followed by the Weimar Republic had a militaristic tendency, sourcing much of its predatory prowess from East Prussia. Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Clausewitz were East Prussians. Veblen's hypothesis seems porous, even contradictory, to Baltic peaceable tendency. His analysis is as follows. Cumulative causation closed paganism in the tenth century when the Viking enterprise, using former pagan kinship, emulated the idea of raids from the Roman Empire (1915/1964: 306-07). Eleventh century German Teutonic Knights under the Holy Roman Empire imparted on *Völkerwanderung* (German migration) that persisted under Bismarck's unification of Germany (1871). Since the Baltic littoral was last to embrace Christianity in Europe, feudal Prussian princes (Junker) fervently adapted to predatory habit, not having been sufficiently habituated to corrosive power for centuries as those under the yoke of the Roman Empire.

Workmanship, once done for the interests of the community, cumulatively evolved into workmanship for interests of the State. The subject became a citizen. State interests became the citizens' interests. 'The coalescence of the community's consensus of interest with the State's ambitions is a coalescence by submission or abnegation, whereby the community lends itself, willingly and even enthusiastically, as a means to the State's realisation of its own higher ends' (p. 165). Notably, as a good German, Linke obeyed the laws of the State, witnessed in her choice of political party engagement, DDP and SDP over the KPD. A sensible patriot, she pushed the boundaries of State but was not subordinate to militarism or nationalism. To my mind, Linke was in a similar situation with the craftsmen centuries before in her decision to work for democracy in Germany. Only when attempts failed, did she leave and ply her trade (authorship and social work) wherever she journeyed, merely asking for a 'chance to live'.

German common man is not militaristic. Common man is endowed with instincts for purposeful work but based on habituation and 'native bias' is also prone to coercion on behalf of the vested interests that tease out latent predatory habits to serve their interests, assumed to be state interests. To what extent common man becomes divided—some siding with war, some siding with peace—is largely dependent on the length of time they are habituated to militarism and take it for granted. Once the New

Order of economic success and pecuniary gain became the creed of the twentieth century, common man largely learned to side with this order. Such habituation stifled human potential for Veblen because ‘under the rule of the current technology and business principles, industry is managed by businessmen for business ends, not by technological experts or for the material advantage of the community’ (1914/1964: 351). Common man learned the habit of ‘self-interest’ through the directorate of ‘business interest’. Impersonal corporate capital replaced the former personal employer-owner. Small-scale industry of purposeful work to serve common good of the community evolved into industry for profit. Industry, for Veblen, became a ‘means of making money, not of making goods’ (1923/1964: 85).

‘Business’ was very much the word of the day during WWI and the business of hyperinflation that followed. Linke’s narrative about the young members she organized for the union and the ‘business shape’ they were forced to fit in overnight is testament to the new business order. Ernst Gläser, a German-Norwegian violinist and conductor, expressed his experiences during WWI as follows:

Many began to make money out of the war. It became a sort of industry... We had experienced the war as a great impulse to brotherhood; now we saw it suddenly declared to be a business proposition. [...] Had Germany become a firm and the war a commercial undertaking... (Gläser cited in Vincent 1985: 19).

Should Gläser’s experiences seem unsubstantiated, according to Feldman: ‘Only two groups may be said to have derived any benefits from the war: the industrialists and the workers employed in the war industries’ (1966: 105). Under the New Order, it is ‘business as usual’. Business merely shifts from production of goods to production for war. Arendt stressed the relationship between business and war in WWII. ‘Cooperation between the S.S. and the businessmen was excellent’ when ‘famous German firms as I. G. Farben, the Krupp Werke, and Siemens-Schuckert Werke had established plants in Auschwitz as well as near the Lublin death camps’ (1992: 79). *Business is war*. Religion and ethnicity become means to an end by business exploit. Loss of life is the cost of doing business.

In the hyperinflation, the Leisure Class swept up the spoils then splashed their leisure life-style across the new mass media.⁵⁷ Driven by ‘self-interest’ of pecuniary gain they became figures of emulation not only between themselves but also for common man emulating their behavior. The learned habit compares possessions, consumption and waste with those of another, what Veblen coined ‘invidious

⁵⁷ Adam Fergusson wrote about social repercussions when money lost its value in Weimar (1975/2010).

comparison' (1899/2009: 74). Common man is further lured away from a sense of workmanship and instead works for a salary to keep up appearances in the display of goods. Personal worth is measured by pecuniary standing. In the German case, common man's 'native bias' of duty to industry and the state clashed with the rapid penetration of American business enterprise. Linke often used the word 'swindle', or as Veblen put it 'getting something for nothing'. Like many others, Linke too, frequented bars, restaurants and cafés along Kurfürstendamm, awkwardly emulating the Leisure Class institution. Existing on a knife-edge of seduction into prostitution, sober self-realization or both,⁵⁸ the following passage clearly indicates her eventual refusal of all the 'sparkle' and fanfare.

In the beginning I had been shy and awkward. [...] I never knew how to behave, what to say or to do, I was hot and nervous, had not enjoyed it, and had gone through it all like an oppressive dream. I even spoke English with Walter to give myself the appearance of a whimsical foreigner and to make my mistakes seem intended as American and arrogant fancies. [...] I began to see behind the screen of all this made-up life and luxury. At first immensely impressed and overawed, I quickly become bored with it. The golden calf Inflation did not sparkle nor make me dance and worship (*RD* 134).

Linke's 'spirit of insubordination' made her question the 'made-up life and luxury' but only after she had experienced it for a while and recognized its emptiness. An instinct to do purposeful work grumbled within her. Experiences of the workers fervent resistance and memories of an alternative life-way in Masuria, stirred hope to change her situation.

'Masterless Man'

Veblen argued industrious peasants and craftsmen, for centuries, had an instinctive spirit of insubordination within them. Owing to warring princes, craftsmen fled barbarity to ply their trade wherever needed. Veblen had much to say about these individuals calling them 'masterless men' (1914/1964: 276)—forerunners of eighteenth century liberalism. A craftsman is a self-sufficient 'creative agent standing on his own bottom' who has 'an irreducible factor in the community's make-up' and 'draws on the resources of his own person alone' not bound to a landlord and asks 'nothing but an even chance to do what he is fit to do' (p. 235). Paradoxically, Linke would share something in common with masterless men of yesteryear.

When Anglo-American vested interests clashed with Prussian industrial efficiency, threatening the former's economic supremacy, it sucked the rest of the world into the vortex of war, leaving millions without property, possessions or prospects.

⁵⁸ Linke's narrative did not indicate she was involved in prostitution. She did often interview prostitutes to learn about their circumstances. Many women did go into the trade in Weimar for mere survival.

Linke too, searched for a life-way and ‘chance to live’. Too young to escape as a child, in 1933, she already anticipated WWII. Asking ‘nothing but an even chance to do what he is fit to do’, Linke became a ‘masterless man’ in the sense offered by Veblen. ‘Man’s life is activity; and as he acts, so he thinks and feels’ (Veblen 1934/1964: 85), is useful here, as his premise naturally speaks to Linke’s activities and acts that shape her thinking. The more Linke was habituated to the Weimar Republic in utter disorder, the more her insubordinate instinct for justice grew increasingly bold and forthright. Unable to rely on anything, self-preservation and reasoned common sense guided her to take shelter in the community of a trades union—emulating the *Wandervögel*—that provided some means for a sense of purposeful work. It gave her a chance to overcome learned inferiority. Union participation, later introduced her to encounters with party politicians. Following a speech she delivered in 1927 for the DDP at a local branch in the east of Berlin she met a former *lycée* teacher. Linke had gradually come to recognize, ‘I was free, not submissive to anyone, an independent citizen; in fact, more independent than Dr. Müller himself, who at least in his profession had to obey instructions, whilst I had nobody above me’ (RD 336).

In Britain, Linke continued to uphold ideas of justice although she conceded German democracy had failed. Enlightening those she befriended in England to political realities in Germany, she often faced a sea of indifference. British society was under the spell of the new media and consumerism in the interwar period (Golubov 2002: 42). Utilizing every chance to inform—those willing to listen—she challenged British habit of mind. With unshakable conviction Linke posed provocative questions to poke holes in habitual thought hoping to incite awareness to the plight of democratic Germans. Critical of British-style socialism Jameson recalled Linke question their politics.

“But why is your Labour Party sitting glum and sad, repeating like old women: We must be calm, do not let us be excited, keep very quiet and all will be well? Why don’t they wave their arms and shout: We are socialists, let us fight?” | “Perhaps because they are English.” | “Oh, no.” | Her smile showed strong perfect teeth, very white. | “This four weeks I am talking with people of all classes, and they are not as if *dead since years*” (Emphasis added JN1 271).

Her observation was a pertinent one, an obvious end result of British business exploit. Kropotkin wrote on the issue in his time. Merely belonging to a trades union or political body cannot be taken as a manifestation of a mutual-aid tendency (1902/1987: 213).

Co-operation, especially in Britain, is often described as “joint-stock individualism”; and such it is now, it undoubtedly tends to breed a co-operative egotism, not only towards the community at large, but also among the co-operators themselves. It is, nevertheless, certain that at its origin the movement had an essentially mutual-aid character (p. 214).

Jameson did not take offence at Linke's penetrating questions but directed sharp questions back, making for a healthy reciprocal exchange and new knowledge. While Jameson took Linke's assertiveness in her stride, less understanding friends asked: 'What the devil do you see in this half-educated conceited gutter-snipe with her intolerable airs of knowing better' (*JNI* 311)? Jameson's response was telling. 'I am drawn irresistibly to all I am not and would like to have been [...] to this German girl's energy, essential innocence, fearlessness, invincible gaiety' (*JNI* 310). Her 'surprising virtues' as a masterless man appear to have intrigued Jameson. Simply she viewed Linke 'her own boss' (*JNI* 275).

In Veblen's mind, masterless man was capable of working without a master, *Meister*, for common good. Rancière echoes Veblenian thinking when he states, 'the human soul is capable of teaching itself by itself, and without a master' (1991: 139). Linke cultivated friendships with other masterless souls. Ralph Bates was one such person. He journeyed to Spain and worked *with* and wrote *about* workers in the olive fields and was an advocate of partisan solidarity against Franco's fascism. *The Olive Field* (1936) is a story of both the love Bates experienced in a community working for its betterment and survival and also the atrocities experienced when small tenant farmers buckled under Franco's dictatorship and committed suicide. Bates captured truthful stories from below. His following passage exposes how the Spanish government dealt with the workers. 'Civilized Government [...] composed of Radicals and Catholic Christians [...] bring in coloured moslems to put down the Spanish workers' (p. 453). Hauntingly reminiscent of Anglo-American imperialism in the Middle East today, Moors arrived with the Foreign Legion from Africa. 'It can't be true... they'd never do it,' he whispered (p. 452).

Jameson's proposal that by living in another society individual behaviour would evolve to 'counteract selfishness and self-interest', vis-à-vis service to the community, appears commensurate with Veblen's instinct to work for common good. Linke's numerous talks on BBC radio programs aimed at enlightening British audiences to what other cultures were thinking and doing to work for common good. Despite good intentions to document their workmanship, imbecile institutions tried to minimize and diminish Linke's 'good will' messages of democracy, peace and justice, especially in nations Britain perceived inferior.

Research of her BBC radio scripts reveals evidence of her insubordinate spirit.

In a script titled *In The Jungle of Yucatan* (1948),⁶¹ Linke spoke about how the Mexican government was actively involved in building schools and educating rural enclaves of pure Maya Indians—‘who have never submitted to any outside authority’—near Dzula on the flat peninsula adjacent to British Honduras. Eighty people from the Mexican Cultural Mission ‘have nothing to do with religion’, Linke wrote (p. 6). The love and dedication of José (an engineer), with an aim to help fellow Mexicans, resembled Veblen’s call for governance by a ‘Soviet of Technicians’ (1921/2001: 83), perhaps a motivation inspired by the Mexican Revolution. Linke’s script confirmed Mexico’s self-progress and self-emancipation. But parts of the script were crossed out indicating censorship on behalf of the institution. She wrote: ‘The Mexican government is doing a lot for education, and, as a rule, even, in out-of-the-way places I found the Mexicans most eager to learn’ (p. 3). This was crossed out. Concluding her talk, Linke highlighted the main reason for their success. ‘They have the right outlook, but they have also something which is perhaps even more essential: love for the people among whom they work, out there in the jungle of Yucatan’ (p. 7). This too, was crossed out. Linke emphasized the ideas of Carlos (leader of the Mission) as a sound approach to work for common good and social justice. This passage was not censored, perhaps if only because, methods used would be perceived primitive and reproduce a dichotomy of superior-inferior for the BBC radio audience. It read:

You have to go slow. It’s no good trying to change century-old habits overnight. First, we’ll help the villagers to build a pump and water-tank, instead of the primitive open well they are using now. Then we’ll say to them: Why don’t you grow some flowers round the tank and make a little park? They love flowers, and they’ll certainly grow furious when the pigs will ruin the park. Then we’ll say: why don’t you put the pigs into a sty? They’ll say: oh, but then we’ll have to feed them, and we have only just enough maize for ourselves. Then we’ll say: we’ll show you how to select your seeds and use better methods of agriculture so that you will get twice as big a crop as now. You see, you start with something basic, in this case the water, and then the rest follows. If we forced them to lock up their pigs just now, we would only get a revolution, and they might even kill us. You have to be patient. That’s the way progress is brought about (p. 7).

Thus, Linke teaches her audience ‘patience’ is the way to evolve entrenched century-old habits not force or violence. Her statement is of a tender empiricist understanding the doing and thinking of other cultures. But business is impatient. Investors want profits.

Another script titled *Not As Easy As ABC* (1948)⁶² remained unscathed.

Speaking on a literacy program for illiterate adults in Ecuador, Linke was critical of taking a film-van up into remote Indio villages in the Andes—where many never saw a film before—that not only screened a film but also news reels about bayonet practices

⁶¹ Lilo Linke, *In The Jungle of Yucatan*, 5 April 1948, 09:15 - 09:30 am. BBC Archives, Reading, UK.

⁶² Lilo Linke, *Not As Easy As ABC*, 14 June 1948, 09:15 - 09:30 am. BBC Archives, Reading, UK.

of American assault troops. Embarrassed, Linke could not face the Indios afterward and wrote a scathing but true account of barbarism at the hands of business interests.

Technical backwardness has hitherto kept them unaware of man's world-wide inhumanity to man; unaware of the *tinsel and shabbiness of our age*; unaware of cheap comic strips and gangster films; unaware of atom bombs, and, most important, of our growing *doubts in our own survival*. Maybe you agree that, just as racial discrimination is not so much the problem of the so-called inferior races as of the discriminator, so illiteracy in the world of today is really the *problem of the literates*. [...] If we want real progress, humility will have to replace our *arrogance* (Emphasis added p. 6-7).

A point well taken here is her mention of 'inferior' races as not the ones to blame but rather the 'discriminator'. Arrogance must be overcome. Linke forever fought against it.

Linke was commissioned by the *Royal Institute of International Affairs* in London to write a comprehensive study on Ecuador. But the *Royal Institute* had little intention to publish an autobiography, and made it clear Linke was to construct a reified political, economic and social study based on pure facts—a guide for Anglo-American visitors, business or otherwise. *Ecuador: A Country of Contrasts* (1954) was the result. Meeting notes from the *Royal Institute* reported the 'draft synopsis submitted by Miss Linke did not conform to the pattern of the other information studies but that this had been posted before she had received the copy of Mr Butland's *Chile*'.⁶³ If a satisfactory synopsis were produced she would be invited to undertake the study. Not wanting to conform, yet full of good intention, the Research Secretary Miss Cleeve received a stubborn response from Linke.

I hope to be allowed to be a little bit more analytical and critical than Mr. Butland in his book on Chile which in my opinion is written a little too much in Ye-Oulde-Textbook manner, both as far as content and style are concerned.⁶⁴

She pushed for inclusion of diverse voices to ensure authenticity and to see their situation, as would a tender empiricist, careful to avoid the 'outsider's lack of understanding'.

I have always felt that it was a very good thing to quote people of the country to write about —politicians, writers, journalists, etc. This gives authenticity to the book, and also obviates the necessity of being too critical oneself (which might be interpreted as an outsider's lack of understanding), by using a spokesmen well-known and generally respected nationals.⁶⁵

Dissatisfied with their proposed title of the book, Linke firmly but kindly put it:

⁶³ Chatham House Library (The Royal Institute of International Affairs), Extract from the minutes and agenda of the Research Committee, 37th Meeting, 20 May 1952, Registry File 10313/2, Point 635.

⁶⁴ Chatham House Library (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) Registry File 10313/2, Letter from Lilo Linke to Research Secretary Miss Margaret Cleeve, 16 June 1952.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

The title he [Professor Humphreys] suggests (Ecuador—a Land Divided) would be excellent for a chapter, but maybe a shade too strong for the whole book. ‘Small Country of Great Contrasts’ would be less absolute, but perhaps more appropriate.⁶⁶

Clearly, Linke conceived another type of study from the centuries-old habit of divide and rule. Rejecting the contentious title ‘A Land Divided’, intent on writing with authenticity by using diverse voices to ensure an even-handed point of view, her sense of responsibility was real. Evidently, these were not the principles of the *Royal Institute*. That autumn, Linke was invited to undertake the study, but it was noted, only ‘with the addition of special chapters on the position of the Church and of the Army’.⁶⁷ Her study would be one in a reputable series: *The Latin America Information Studies*. Acceptance of the project meant furthering her reputation. Exploiting the institution, Linke used royalties accrued from the commissioned work to direct future projects to better common man.

Linke journeyed to Bolivia in 1952 to document the tin-miners struggle for nationalization of the mines, under the exploit of three corporations that pilfered the lion’s share of Bolivian revenues. Living with the tin-workers, meeting the MNR *Movimiento Nacionlista Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), and learning of the tensions between business exploit and Bolivian common man, she wrote *Viaje por una Revolución* [Journey Into a Revolution (1956)]. Prior to embarking on the project, Linke wrote the Research Secretary, offering a book proposal on Bolivia.

I should like to write the book *as near the truth* as anybody could hope to get it, and should it turn out too offensive for people here, I might either publish it under a pseudonym or just be brave and face the consequences. It is high time somebody spoke out freely, because I feel we don’t get anywhere with all this polite fixing of smoke screens. [...] That is why attempts at reaching a solution of national problems such as the one now under way in Bolivia are so interesting. I have therefore decided to spend my three-month-summer-vacation there this year. I want to compare with my impressions nearly ten years ago when the Bolivian National Revolutionary Movement was still in its infancy (Emphasis added).⁶⁸

Once again, Linke’s insubordinate spirit was willing to ‘face the consequences’ to work for the common good. Moreover, a closer read of her statement reveals her aim to capture their social evolution in how these events affected Bolivia ten years on. Ann Zulawski (2010), in researching Che Guevara in Bolivia, argues Linke had a keener insight on the issues than Che himself. In Zulawski’s words:

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Chatham House Library (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) Extract from the minutes and agenda of the Research Committee, 38th meeting, 21 October 1952, Registry File 10313/2, Point 651.

⁶⁸ Chatham House Library (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) Registry File 10313/2, Letter from Lilo Linke to Research Secretary Miss Margaret Cleeve, 3 May 1952.

During her stay Linke attended union meetings and learned about working-class life. She reported that many of the miners there and in other mines had come from the countryside, where they had been hacienda *colonos* or had had access to small plots of land. This information shows a connection between peasants and workers that Guevara did not recognize, seeing the miners as militant proletarians and the peasants as indigenous people unable to defend themselves (p. 197).

Linke's Bolivian narrative was written during McCarthy's witch-hunt regime against the Left and was promptly rejected by British and American publishers. Another insubordinate soul, her friend Jorge Enrique Adoum, ensured its publication in Spanish.

Authorship as Insubordination: *word=work=praxis*

Forever sensing possible death amidst Prussian/Weimar militarism of war, in the revolutionary armed conflict in her neighborhood and severe malnutrition she suffered during the blockade in WWI, authorship for Linke was a means not only to express certain truths but also to confirm her existence as a common sense, rational being. Media in Prussia and later in the Weimar Republic took on a distinctly inflammatory tone. Rivaling political parties, class warfare, strikes, frequent elections, the Inflation, education reforms, mass unemployment, expropriation of princes and re-armament, to name a few, comprised the material for 'phrase-makers' to propagate *disorder* over *order* required for democracy to function. Headlines obfuscated the 'facts' with predatory passions of honor—'With God for King and Country' or 'All Power to the Councils' or 'stab in the back defeat' to coerce Germans to side with the Right or Left. For Plotkin and Tilman: 'Dispassionate common sense is just what prevailing institutions seek to complicate and mediate with an array of chronically dissatisfied and highly personal longings and passions' (p. 200). Imbecile institutions 'mix messages and conflate symbols' (p. 181). For Vincent, intellectuals were coaxed to side with war.

Deep emotion cannot be sustained indefinitely, either in an individual or in a people. Recognizing this fact, the leadership in each country won the intellectual to its cause. Poets, novelists, journalists; a tremendous number in each country excited the population to fever pitch and cultivated the seeds of hatred so skillfully that even the unprejudiced began to believe that justice was solely on the side of their respective countries. When combined with the terrible demands of total war, the propaganda of World War I was only too successful in creating mass hatred and mass delusion (1985: 23).

In this excerpt, it is precisely seen how common man became habituated to war. Ironically, even as capitalism made information and its reproduction accessible, it skillfully managed to muddle minds. The few rejecting the dominant discourse—Left liberals, pacifists, internationalists, Linke and her fortunate encounters—utilized their dispassionate common sense to express alternative notions of 'truth' against the 'fable' of their age. Liberal thinker José Ortega y Gasset read his epoch as 'accession of the

masses to complete social power' (1930/1964: 11). But this mass power is not one of other-regarding, as would be an enlightened revolution, but more of self-regarding masses prone to propaganda and consumer habit. 'The mass crushed beneath it anything that is different, everything that is excellent, individual, qualified and select. Anybody who is not like everybody, who does not think like everybody, runs the risk of being eliminated (p. 18). Despite constant angst and fear for their future, Linke put her proclivity for 'idle curiosity' to purposeful use based on a real need to re-shape manufactured facts. Mixing genres of journalism, documentary and autobiography, she worked to craft truthful stories. I now unpack each genre.

Journalism became a dominant discourse in her era. Newspapers documented and delivered 'facts' about events. A few writers, poets, literary critics and intellectuals were uneasy and skeptical about the influence of journalism over society. Walter Benjamin quoted the founder of *Le Figaro* (Villemessant) who stated the nature of mass information means, 'an attic fire in the Latin Quarter is more important than a revolution in Madrid' (1939/2007: 88-89). Information became muddled, not just facts. Articulating ideas or stories to others was difficult. For Benjamin: 'If the art of storytelling has become rare, the dissemination of information has had a decisive share in this state of affairs' (p. 89). Storytellers once crafted stories as a form of 'counsel' that were 'woven into the fabric of real life' as a form of 'wisdom'. 'The storyteller takes what he tells from experience—his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale.' But Benjamin was pessimistic about the genre. 'The art of storytelling is reaching its end because the epic side of truth, wisdom, is dying out' (p. 87). Even though Benjamin thought 'counsel' was rapidly decreasing because 'communicability of experience is decreasing' (p. 86-87) this does not mean storytelling has ended. I suggest Linke wrote stories of counsel that are pedagogical. There is much to learn from them. Fortunately, Rancière is less pessimistic than Benjamin. He sees the craft of writing a means to overcome superior-inferior as 'the unique chance of intellectual emancipation'. He put it:

each citizen is also a man who makes a work, with the pen, with the drill, or with any other tool. Each superior inferior is also an equal who recounts and is in turn told by another, the story of what he has seen. It is always possible to play with this relation of self to self, to bring it back to its primary veracity and waken the reasonable man in social man (1991: 108).

While Benjamin might be justified for his pessimism, the need to read or hear a story is still with us, especially if we take into account Veblen's assertion there is an instinct, no matter how suppressed, that stubbornly wants to work for common good.

Veblen observed there was a shift in language use he called 'matter-of-fact

knowledge’. This way of thinking evolved as new habits of mind—practiced in the act of work, skill and industry—became a means to create new knowledge or ‘patterns for matter-of-fact industrial insight’ (Plotkin and Tilman 2011: 120). Tilman carried the point further and argues, ‘matter-of-fact’ is hostile to coercion, religion, loyalty, subjection, superstition, ritual and tradition. Matter-of-fact ‘deserves a privileged position as a habit of thought that leads to knowledge and values that are superior to their ceremonially encapsulated opposites’ (1996: 229). Plotkin and Tilman, quoting Veblen, state: ‘It is the constant care of the pillars of society to see that... antiquities of the human spirit’—the sentimental values of emulation, business as usual, patriotism, and religion—are not overly “sterilized” by clear thinking’ (p. 185). Advances in the industrial arts brings clearer thinking to sweep away religious, superstitious, ritualistic language, thus more pragmatic. Linke’s statement about Verdun when she traveled there strikes me as matter-of-fact, making it clear war is business for the vested interests, after they transformed fields of slaughter into a tourist destination. ‘They always say that the French make a business out of their battlefields’, wrote Linke (*TWE* 42). ‘Matter-of-fact’ in the poems of the Russian futurist poet Mayakovsky also come to mind.

We’re needed in Moscow, | me and you, | there’re not enough | of our long-legged sort. | But
with those legs | you won’t be passing | through snow | and typhoid-typhoons. | Here they give
them | for caressing | at banquets | for oil-tycoons (Mayakovsky 1928).

Following the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia’s rapid industrialization brought new habits of thought and innovative forms of documentation, as in cinema. Sergei Eisenstein stated: ‘Cinema first and foremost is montage’ (1963: 28) and ‘montage is conflict’ (p. 38), the very essence of conflict in being. Eisenstein’s montage directed a new way of seeing. ‘The film’s job is to make the audience “help itself,” not to “entertain” it’ (p. 84). Cinema, as new media *par excellence*—synthesis of art and industry—influenced writers and artists alike. Slatan Dudow’s montage in *Kuhle Wampe: Or Who Owns The World* (1932)⁶⁹ used startling juxtapositions. For instance, a husband reads a newspaper article to his wife about the sensational life of Dutch courtesan Mata Hari, juxtaposed with his wife tabulating inflationary food prices in a notebook. In support of facts, then, narrative need not be either/or but a synthesis of fact and story, intelligently woven into film and autobiography alike. Not mere documentation, it is juxtaposition of visuals and facts that bring new knowledge. Briganti (2007) argues while Storm Jameson ‘pursued the political allegiance to the

⁶⁹ Linke wrote a review of the film. It was published in ‘Radikaldemokratische Blätter’ where she also briefly engaged with the Radical Democratic Party (Wenhold 2011: 99).

documentary that brought together socialist writing, the documentary film movement, and the anthropology of Mass-Observation, she could not see that egalitarianism and democracy would be much encouraged merely by documenting the lives of the working classes' (p. 82-83). Jameson's view is commensurate with Eisenstein. As with film a novel must 'help' an individual, not 'entertain' the reader.

Linke's autobiographies—written as 'matter-of-fact' knowledge—crafted both experience and fact into storytelling that documented social evolution based on lived experience across diverse geographies. She may have borrowed Jameson's praxis of daily note taking of conversations (*JNI* 291) to construct dialogical texts of authenticity. Kazin (1964) posed, 'the autobiographical mode can be an authentic way of establishing the truth of our experience' (p. 216). Reshaping the facts—real names, dates and places—is the convention of the narrative of autobiography. Linke wrote her stories as a form of 'counsel' with pedagogy in mind, not only for self-knowledge but as an act of reciprocal exchange, trusting the intelligence of the reader to unlearn the learned of ill-used fact. Storytelling is emancipatory for Rancière. 'The very act of storytelling, an act that presumes in its interlocutor an equality of intelligence rather than an inequality of knowledge, posits equality, just as the act of explication posits inequality' (1991: xxii).

Linke's authorship, I suggest, represents the equilibrium of action (social work) and reflection (authorship). Reliant on reciprocal exchange, her narrative praxis and life-way was commensurate with a Goethean 'conscious-process-participation epistemology' (Wahl) and mirrored the pedagogical praxis of Freire. True action leads to reflection and vice-versa for Freire. Trusting the oppressed and 'their ability to reason' is emancipatory (1970/1996: 48). A writer must go to the people. For Benjamin: 'A great storyteller will always be rooted in the people, primarily in a milieu of craftsmen' (1939/2007: 101). For Freire, dialogue is itself '*the word*' of 'reflection and action' (1970/1996: 68) but equilibrium is necessary between reflection and action. 'When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter, into *verbalism*' (p. 68) losing its transformative power. On the other hand, if action occurs without reflection 'the word is converted into *activism* [...] action for action's sake [and] negates true praxis and makes dialogue impossible' (p. 69). What gives Linke's narrative such value is evident in her passage on Carlos from the Mexican mission. Her inclusion of 'love' as central for rational and responsible social change reflects Freire's thinking. 'If I do not love the world—if I do not love life—if I do not love people—I cannot enter into dialogue' (p. 71). Linke's workmanship is an act of love to cultivate *word=work=praxis*. In no way,

then, was her work tainted with a mindset bound up in superior-inferior and worthy-unworthy, so propagated by business exploit, imperialism, scientific and colonial gaze.

Linke's method of writing, analysis and conclusions, along with her way of living was that of 'tender empiricism'. For instance, when writing of Colombian children she suggested 'co-operation' (reciprocal exchange) would bring about their improvement.

As conditions in Europe improve, so they will improve here. The best way out is that of co-operation. I found a living example of it among the shoe-shiners of *Bogotá*, with whom I made friends in order to learn more about their struggle for existence (*AA* 94).

Goethe's notion of reciprocity brings infinite knowledge while for Freire reciprocity is a move toward 'humanization' because as the 'oppressors dehumanize others and violate their rights they themselves also become dehumanized' (p. 38).

The pursuit of full humanity, however, cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity; therefore it cannot unfold in the antagonistic relations between oppressors and oppressed. No one can be authentically human while he prevents others from being so (p. 66).

Linke was dehumanized and struggled to overcome dehumanization by reconstructing her life, through acts and authorship. For Kazin: 'The writer seeks to press his consciousness into being—to convert his material openly and dramatically into a new human experience' (p. 214). Linke's praxis was two-fold: *work* for common man across cultures and *word* to enlighten and emancipate the reader—autobiography as emancipatory pedagogy. The result is an emancipatory praxis that does battle with manufactured knowledge of academia; an *evolution* of knowledge not *collection* of knowledge for domination, what Goethe accused of scientists in his epoch. Linke rewrote facts to write truthful stories. An insubordinate spirit, she challenged the 'phrase-makers' of 'Ye-Oulde-Textbook'.

I have selected several examples from her oeuvre. Resembling Goethe's method of *intuitive perception*—'ability to survey an object in every detail' to 'grasp it correctly'—Linke uses intuition(s) (*Anschauungen*) to *see anew* the similarities of human injustice across cultures. Cumulative thought-experience acts as her *perceptive imagination* through seeing (*Anschauen*) to form common sense reason (*Vernunft*) as a synthesis that confronts the assumed superiority of British and European culture. Juxtaposing one experience within another, she expressed injustice in the following passage through the synthesis of a Berlin and London experience. 'Day after day we had to queue up for the barest necessities of life. When I came to London a few years ago

and saw the waiting crowds outside the theatres my mind was haunted by a bitter memory' (*RD* 32). 'Cultural synthesis' for Freire is the,

mode of action for confronting culture itself, as the preserver of the very structures by which it was formed. Cultural action, as historical action, is an instrument for superseding the dominant alienated and alienating culture. In this sense, every authentic revolution is a cultural revolution (p. 161).

Linke proposed 'Londoners' were neither superior nor inferior to Latin Americans but rather humans that all face the same injustice. 'The physical power of man is surprising. Maimed or bombed or hunted, lepers, Londoners, refugees, they all carry on with their lives in the face of illness and hunger and death' (*AA* 60). Writing on the regionally unemployed in Ecuador she drew parallels with Britain.

Yet it is possible to live for years in coastal towns like Lima or Guayaquil without once being reminded of the Indians. Like the unemployed miners of Great Britain, they are tied to definite geographical regions and may never enter the vision and consciousness of their compatriots in other parts of the country. But, like the miners, they deeply influence the fate of the rest by forming a sore spot in the body politic and economic that is poisoning the blood (*AA* 36).

Linke wrote what she lived and lived what she wrote. Writing narratives of hope, she crafted herself a figure of emulation, inspiring a kind of 'follow me' for her readership. Kazin believes an author sets himself up 'as a model for emulation' (p. 211). In a chapter titled 'The Fight for Health in the Tropics' (*AA* 53) she remarked on the experience of volunteering. 'To encourage a little girl who resisted with all her might the energetic nurse's attempts to push the spoon into her mouth, I swallowed a small dose myself, and I immediately felt like howling with the rest' (*AA* 63). In *Cancel All Vows* (1938), her first attempt at a novel, Linke used protagonist Marthe Jansen as a self-portrait (Holl 1987: 75). Her story told about experiences ordinary refugees lived in France; lawyers, unionists, judges, university professors amongst countless common man (*CAV* 137). *CAV* also explored the German male psyche struggling with regret for participation in WWI. A passage between Julius (German veteran without one leg) and Marthe (German refugee student) meeting in the Tuileries Garden in Paris, offers her reader a glimpse at Marthe's un-habitual behaviour when Julius asks:

"Do you never feel sorry for being a waitress in a miserable French restaurant—and one who works illegally at that—instead of being a doctor in Hamburg?" | Again the expression of surprise rounded her face, and again she laughed, two dimples forming in her cheeks: | "Dear me, no. What does it matter? It is all the same. And if I get some money, I might become a doctor yet." [...] He leaned back, more and more impressed. [...] Were women always more courageous than men, or was Marthe an exception? She must be good company, he thought, always full of vitality and content with little. Could one learn these things from her? [...] In any case, Marthe was probably stupid and insensitive to more subtle emotions. And of course, there was that obvious lack of breeding (*CAV* 24-25).

The excerpt above is filled with contradictions, done on purpose, I suggest, to provoke the reader. Not only does Linke reflect that she (Marthe) no longer gives worth to certain employment status, nor does she attach value to pecuniary gain. ‘Could one learn these things from her?’ Linke constructs the female protagonist as a woman of courage who one can learn from. Moreover, Linke attacks the notion of ‘breeding’ an honorific habit of yesteryear, carried over to and taught in imbecile institutions ever-present in the twentieth century. The narrative has a sense of gaiety. Linke’s mode of writing expressed hope despite the reality of gloomy despair amongst refugees in Paris. When Marthe and her friends at café *Nègre Joyeux* on Rue Mouffetard received news of their friend Franz, beheaded by the Gestapo, to endure this horrific event, Linke still wrote a message of hope.

She [Marthe] was no coward—though she smiled when people called her brave—but she wanted to live with all the intensity of her being, and death—even heroic death—was denial and to her the eternal end of all things (CAV 190).

Holl asserted Linke’s positive message in *Cancel All Vows* illustrated a personal stake in embracing and constructing life. ‘Her way through exile is covered as part of the narrative in *Cancel All Vows*, not as an inescapable fate to be suffered passively, but as an [integral] part of a life plan to be shaped through her own responsibility’ (1987: 75).

Another instance where Linke was a ‘model of emulation’ was the speech she gave on the BBC radio program ‘Young Ideas’ offering counsel about money.

Some rich people seem to think that you can only enjoy life when you are poor. I have just received a letter from a wealthy Belgium woman, who says that she envies me because I have tramped all over Europe with only a few coppers in my pocket. ‘You make friends with everybody’, she writes, ‘and everybody is kind to you and helps you. You get the whole world for nothing, whilst I have to pay for everything without ever getting my money’s worth’. I must confess I can’t really pity her. I never found it difficult to get rid of my money. A number of years ago I was fed up with my life. I was then rather a sentimental girl. One day I found I had a twenty mark note in my pocket and there didn’t even seem to be much sense in spending it, so I changed it into twenty silver pieces and distributed one after the other to the beggars of Hamburg. But when I met the twentieth beggar, I turned my back on him and went into a restaurant to buy myself some food with the last mark that was left. A month afterwards I was on my way to France. I only hope the twentieth beggar has meanwhile forgiven me (Linke 1935b).

The above excerpt speaks of a changed Linke—suggesting others change—an evolved person who no longer worships money but is in search of love (upright gait and purposeful work), the love she eventually found in home (*Heimat*) in Ecuador.

Linke’s storytelling wrote of industry and work, on the one hand, and of her struggle to overcome coercive habituation, on the other. She aimed to expose that which was taught in ‘lurid adventure’ folktales, which according to Donson propagated national sentiment on the eve of WWI (2004: 579). ‘Their stories portrayed girls and

boys whose bravery and sacrifice ensured Germany's victory' (p. 581). Fairy tales were the most popular genre of youth literature (p. 582). Girls and boys also read German romantic masterpieces, 'Goethe's *Gotz von Berlichingen*, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas*, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*' and foreign classics like 'Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea*, James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, and Daniel Dafoe's *Robinson Crusoe*' (p. 581-82). War literature promoted that courageous killing of the enemy brought pleasure (p. 589).

Fairy and folk tales have also been manipulated across the ages. For instance, French Orientalist Antoine Galland (1646-1715), in search of identity to counteract the other, wrote *Les Mille et Une Nuits* (The Thousand and One Nights) as twelve volumes. Having learned Arabic, he did more than translate their tales. 'He actually adapted the tales to suit the tastes of his French readers, invented some of the plots and drew material from an Arabic informant to form some of his own tales' (Zipes 2006: 73-74). Following in Galland's footsteps, Pétis de la Croix (1653-1713) crafted similar exotic embellishment to the Turkish folktale (p. 73-74). Around 1808, Dortchen Wild passed her knowledge of oral folktales on to Wilhelm Grimm. Revised no less than seven times, when *Hansel and Gretel* was published as *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children's and Household Tales) in 1857 much of its gruesome content was eliminated to suit new socialization (p. 196). Linke read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Robinson Crusoe* (RD 20) and occasionally referenced fairy tales.

Not only reading fairy tales in her youth, Linke's days as an apprentice in the children's section of the Berlin bookshop, inevitably, made her familiar with the genre. Jameson, a savvy literary agent, would have sensed the challenges Linke faced as a non-native English writer from Weimar and may have suggested her autobiographies be published as pseudo adventurous tales to appeal to an English reader. They would not attract the gaze of Hitler's Brown Network. 'She was like Ulysses, pleased to have a story to tell' (Jameson cited in *TWE* xxxvi). Jameson fondly called her the 'goose-girl' of the German fairytale. Linke's physical appearance and circumstances—pauperized, attractive young women turned wayfarer—might have inspired the idea. Artist Willi Soukoup illustrated woodcuts for *Restless Days*, to add visual craftsmanship to Linke's truthful story but they did not appear in the published work.⁷¹

To clarify, Linke did *not* write fairytales per se, but borrowed terms from the genre. The title *Tale Without End* and the use of 'adventure', 'journey', 'fable' and 'tale' allude to a transition from despair to hope but are also forms of affirmation to an

⁷¹ Soukoup's woodcuts appear in the German translation recently published in 2005.

illusion. Once upon a time... we had money. Once upon a time... there was work. Of the Inflation she wrote: 'Again and again fate hurled the helpless individual into the boiling kettle of a wicked witch' (*RD* 131). Twists and turns, lost then found, convention and reinvention, the reader never knows where Linke might end up on the journey of love and knowledge.

In *Tale Without End*, Linke told stories of French common man and their instinct of workmanship as *canut* silk weavers, wine producers and fisherman, to name a few. The work is a fine cultural study of the social fabric of France and the social evolution it underwent in 1932. Her story is also testament to how mass unemployment was a reality for millions. *TWE* was a form of 'counsel' about the contentment industriousness brings but the story was equally a sober and moral warning about German refugees and countless others forbidden to work and left without purpose, indicating a yet to come danger. A chapter titled 'Refuse' explains the reality of those staying in a shelter.

A hell must have started up in their memories when they were laying sleepless or hunted by dreams in the clean beds of the shelter, nothing but numbers, refuse on the dust-heap of mankind. More than anybody else I admire them for their patience, and often I wonder why they do not organise and try to burn the whole world down (*TWE* 181).

Linke wrote a semi-fictional story *Wo ist Fred?* [Where is Fred? (1965)]. The title was inspired when Lilo didn't find Hans in his bed one morning.⁷² The story also borrowed from Ecuadorian myths about hidden treasure in the Andean mountains. Her only story authored in German, it was published posthumously. Linke wrote with German youth in mind. *WIF* is a story about adventure and is a tale of 'counsel' calling for dialog and cooperation between cultures and nations. The protagonist failed because of his exploit—greed for gold—and consequent mistreatment of Ecuadorians as a means to an end. It is an allegory of improvident business and dehumanization of Latin American common man.

Returning to her prologue 'East Prussia August First 1914' Linke never forgave Hindenburg—later learning of the Battle of Tannenberg at school—for the atrocities committed against her East Prussian childhood friends. Gas was used for the first time in WWI. In the winter of 1915, Hindenburg's grim offense against the Russians—Winter Battle of Masuria—took place (Trumpener 1975: 469 fn 31). Carrying the pain of their tragic end must have been a heavy burden. The only traumatic narrative to appear in her entire oeuvre, in the pen of a gruesome folktale, reads as follows:

⁷² Memoirs of Hans Linke. With permission, Marc Linke, 2013.

I saw them wading deeper and deeper into the swampy water, their brains filled with agony. Green slime swelled up from underneath their feet, covered their ankles, their knees, grasped towards their hearts; a green death sat grinning on their shoulders. They could not even cry, earth and water filled their mouths. But their last rattlings frightened the birds and the deer, their rotting bodies would poison the lakes. Masuria, my fairyland, had been violated, its eternal summer was gone (*RD* 12).

In sum, Linke's spirit of insubordination illustrates how Veblen's notions were manifest in her authorship and conception of life, *Weltanschauung* or *Lebensweg*, life way, constituting an emancipatory praxis in the sense Freire offered. Experiencing the 'New Order' firsthand, she cultivated her writing to that of 'matter-of-fact knowledge' as a counter-narrative to 'phrase-makers' from imbecile institutions. A masterless man (*Fig. 6*), she dedicated her life to purposeful work for common good across each geography and culture she journeyed, only when all efforts to bring democracy to Weimar were exhausted. Kazin thought it probable 'this trait, this growing celebration of one's own powers, can be found among pure scientists as well' (1964: 215). A storyteller of social evolution, and her evolution, Linke wrote truthful stories for the science of life to transform the world. Dirlik thinks, there is nothing wrong with 'truth claims' (2002: 16) when they counteract gross injustices.

Part II: What Did She Write?

Empire to Republic

A Journey Across Civilization

Home truth one: True Turkishness means rejoicing in the infinite plurality of people as we rejoice in the infinite multiplicity of nature. —Moris Farhi (2007: 431)

[Izmir, Turkey]...I had seen and heard it all before, but rarely so welded into a whole, so contented and sure of itself, acknowledging the existence of Europe and yet still holding out against its influence where it tried to overstep its boundaries. —Lilo Linke (*AD* 283)

Might Linke have viewed Turkey sharing a common fate, in other words, equating their independence—defeat of imperialism—via construction of a modern Republic, as similar to her struggle to bring democracy to Weimar? Did the Turks reflect Linke’s ‘spirit of insubordination’? To answer these questions we need to know the Turkish people more intimately. We cannot begin in 1935. Linke takes us on this journey in the case study that follows. Obligated to consult Ottoman historiography, sociologist Şerif Mardin suggests *Begriffsgeschichte* (conceptual history) should not be left to Western hegemonic discourse of Orientalists (2008: 4). He rejects Eric Hobsbawm’s thesis of ‘invention of tradition’ and offers the idea ‘we refurbish the concepts that were already central in our earlier cultures’ (p. 10). This exploration differs from other scholars in my use of Veblen’s cumulative causation methodology to investigate how ‘native bias’ (conventional wisdom) may help us understand better the evolution from Empire to Republic. Here, I hope to illustrate the Republic bears some ties with its Ottoman past but equally these ties were constituted in a constant inter-exchange with the European polity. If there is a ‘spirit of insubordination’ (instinct of workmanship, parental bent and idle curiosity) within Turkey, what social formations cultivated this proclivity and what forces caused this formation to evolve?

Teasing out cultural inheritances from the Ottoman Empire is a risky project. The empire covers a near millennium of rule. Republican pioneers wanted to make a sharp break from this past because they set their gaze toward the future not the past.

Certainly, they had valid reasons for the decision that come to the fore across this chapter. Impossible to cover the vast periods of cultural evolution in detail, I have focused on several major periods of rupture and change. My exploration into Ottoman habituation is neither to inspire a longing for the glorious Ottoman past nor is it a blueprint for political interests to exploit and benefit certain party regimes. Rather, it is a good-will attempt to understand what types of ‘psychological inheritance’ form a ‘native-bias’, or what Veblen also termed ‘conventional wisdom’ (1922/1964: 39), that was passed over to the republic. To approach this, I extract some excerpts from Linke’s texts—largely found in her chapter end notes—to confirm the authenticity and depth of her work by juxtaposing it to recent scholarship on the empire and also to ground a Turkish ‘spirit of insubordination’.

In the central Anatolian city of Sivas, Linke visited the Sky College (*Gök Medrese*) built in 1271. Describing mosaic patterns, azure turquoise tiles and calligraphic scripture she concluded: ‘All these manifold decorations melted into one impression, that of extreme order’ (AD 26). Her use of the word ‘order’ for Islamic art is well grounded as an artistic expression of their *Weltanschauung*. The Ottoman Empire originated from Central Asian Oğhuz Turks (600-1400 AD) that blossomed out of the Seljuk Empire (1037-1194). Prior to Islam, the Turkic Oğhuz were pagan and worshiped a sky-god, a belief called *Tengrism*, hence the name ‘Sky College’. Halil İnalcık explains the work titled *Kutadgu Bilig* (1070) means ‘reason is the pillar of happiness’. Written by the eleventh century poet-thinker Yusuf Has Hacib it is an ethics on governance (1993: 8). Hacib proposed that gentleness or forbearance (*hilm*) and personal humility is a ‘philosophical system for life’ (p. 2). ‘In everything consult reason (*akl*) and knowledge (*bilü*)’ (p. 8).

Osman *beg*⁷³ (d. 1326), from whom the empire took its name, was an effective leader of small *beyliks*⁷⁴ on a porous western frontier after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. With the conquer of Constantinople in 1453, contrary to assumptions the empire was an Islamic entity, Ottoman habituation coalesced Tengrism, Islamism, Sufism, Christianity, Judaism and Aristotelian traditions into what Barkey calls a ‘bricolage of institutions’ (2008: 72). Muslims intermarried with Christians. Simply, they ‘coopted their enemies’ (p. 65). Through wise resource distribution, they built up horizontal networks that earned them legitimacy in rule. This is evident in the sixteenth century work ‘Ethics of Kınalızade’ by the Ottoman Men of Letters. Cemal Kafadar

⁷³ Group leader.

⁷⁴ Territory under the jurisdiction of a group leader.

asserts ‘even when they ventured into concrete observations from their own time, [they] never strayed from the theoretical position elaborated by Aristotle in his Ethics on the nature of commercial exchange (*teamül*)—that it is a necessity for human existence and that it requires fairness in exchange’ (1986: 151 fn 123). Beyond its meaning in jurisprudence, *teamül* denotes a way of being, of ‘habitual things and practices’ (*alışlagelmiş şeyler*) achieved in ethical conduct. For instance, Jews fleeing the Spanish Inquisition were welcome in the empire. Non-Muslims practiced their religion freely, providing it not upset the Islamic order (Barkey p. 110). The Janissary (*devşirme*) institution selected and converted young, talented Christian boys to Islam where they were educated at Palace schools (*Mekteb-i Enderûn*) and placed in top leadership positions (Başgöz 1968: 1). This privilege ensured loyalty to the state and wedded Christian polities to the empire. Religious colleges (*medrese*)⁷⁵ educated the Islamic clergy, judges and bureaucrat administrators. The empire was one of order. Pope Pius II (1405-1464) compared Ottoman Islamic order with the disunity he observed in Europe.

[Christendom] is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates... every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest... Who will make the English love the French? Who will unite the Genoese and the Aragonese? Who will reconcile the Germans with the Hungarians and Bohemians?... If you lead a small army against the Turks you will easily be overcome; if a larger one, it will soon fall into confusion (Coles cited in Nişancioğlu 2013: 148).

Interestingly, the term ‘Turk’ is used synonymously with the Ottoman Empire. Mardin points out that ‘Turks’ and ‘Turkishness’ was not an ‘invention’ but rather that ‘all state documents [Ottoman Empire] even though full of bowdlerized Arabic-Persian expressions were not drafted in some kind of pidgin but in a language easily identifiable as Turkish’ (2008: 11). German linguist Max Müller’s theory on *Turanism* linked language groups of Turanic people to Central Asian Ural-Altai language (1855). It is instructive to recall Veblen postulated that groups united around a ‘community of language’ (1915/1964: 4). Terms like *halk* (people), *devlet* (state), *millet* (nation), *hak* (right as in *İnsan Hakları*—Human Rights), *hukuk* (law) and *vatan* (fatherland)⁷⁶ were all pre-existing concepts used by the Turkish modernizers (Mardin p. 11).

Linke forever rejected nationalism based on her experiences of it in Weimar but she also understood patriotism was not necessarily an outright evil. ‘Nationalism needs an adversary. Turkey, however, has no exterior enemy whom she wants to fight’ (*AD* 148). Of republican pioneers patriotic aims for unity and order, she concluded:

⁷⁵ *Medrese* curriculum included mathematics, history, medicine, Arabic philology and Islamic law.

⁷⁶ Terms are also shared in Persian.

In other circumstances such unrestrained patriotism and the deification of the head of the state would have annoyed and repelled me. I have always considered nationalism more a vice than a virtue. But I understood that in the case of Turkey it had a necessary function. It was needed to unite a primitive peasant population which for so long had been held together by the person of the Sultan who was both successor of Osman, and Caliph or “Shadow of Allah on Earth” (*AD* 148).

Believing patriotism common across humanity, Veblen pointed to its use and abuse.

[T]he patriot may be moved by many and divers other considerations, besides that of the national prestige; and these other considerations may be of the most genial and reasonable kind, or they may also be as foolish and mischievous as any comprised in the range of human infirmities. He may be a humanitarian given over to the kindest solicitude for the common good, or a religious devotee hedged about in all his motions by the ever present fear of God, or taken up with artistic, scholarly or scientific pursuits; or, again, he may be a spendthrift devotee of profane dissipation, whether in the slums or on the higher levels of gentility, or he may be engaged in a rapacious quest of gain, as a businessman within the law or as a criminal without its benefit, or he may spend his best endeavors in advancing the interests of his class at the cost of the nation at large (1917/1964: 34).

From these various ‘patriotisms’, Linke will show across the case study that perhaps Turkish patriotism was of the ‘genial and reasonable kind’ of certain ‘solicitude for the common good’. Contrastingly, Richard Robinson (1951) only saw ‘Atatürk acting with typical ruthlessness’, who ‘jettisoned the experiment and crushed the very opposition which he had encouraged’ (p. 427), who ‘seized dictatorial powers’ and ‘forced reforms’ (p. 426). Perhaps there is some truth in this. Veblen also noted, ‘among the followers of Islam, devout and resolute, the patriotic statesman (that is to say the politician who designs to make use of the popular patriotic fervor) will in the last resort appeal to the claims and injunctions of the faith’ (1917/1964: 35). Did Mustafa Kemal and his peers practice this form of patriotism?

When in Samsun, an Anatolian city on the Black Sea coast, Linke met the mayor. She observed: ‘Whilst we went on talking about Samsun and its problems, people kept coming into the room without so much as knocking at the door, and the mayor attended to them and their documents—how many documents there were about!—and turned back to me with an apology. [Linke asked] “Does everything in this town pass through your hands?” Instead of answering, he reached for an old volume on his desk and began to read aloud and translate:

His door shall be always open, and consultation with him should be easy. It has been said: If any person to whom a single affair of the believers is entrusted, shut his door so that the oppressed and needy cannot reach him, to that man the Gate of Mercy shall be closed in the time of his great need, and he will be deprived of the universal compassion and perfect kindness of the Exalted and Lofty Allah (*AD* 159).

The mayor informed Linke: ‘This is a quotation from an old book on Ottoman *statecraft*. Our Republic is secular, but these *old principles* are still valid—though, of course, my secretary protects me from the worst. If you ever go to Ankara—and you

ought to—you will find the doors equally open there’ (Emphasis added, *AD* 159). Linke was also told: ‘We have a different attitude toward religion. More matter-of-fact, more *terre-à-terre* [down to earth]. We can smile at things that hurt us’ (*AD* 228).

In the Empire, patrimonial rule and a tributary mode of production placed subjects into two classes: ruling elites, the sultan and his administration of bureaucrats (*sipahî*), religious officers (*ulema*), military groups (*Janissary* and *timar*) and respective families; and the masses (*reaya*) subjects. Historian Mete Tunçay points out the empire was not a theocracy (1994: 158). For Barkey, the empire was rationally constructed through diversity, legitimacy, negotiation and resource distribution across a centralized empire. The glue holding the structure together was an ideological-juridical apparatus (through judiciary practice) and belief in state-owned land under protection of the sultan. Judges (*kadi*) administered dual laws—Sultanic (*kanun*), Islamic (*şeriat*), principle of accommodation (*istimalet*) for non-Muslims. Judicial appointments were rotated every three years (Barkey 2008: 95). To dissuade corruption, judges answered directly to Istanbul. Innovative laws were implemented whereby complaint was encouraged to protect subjects. A subject could directly go to the top officials in Istanbul and make a claim against any injustices brought upon him (Barkey 1994: 86).

Only under Selim I (1512-1520), when the empire expanded eastward, did imperial Istanbul reason that in order to knit the empire together it was necessary to adopt Sunni Islam as an institutionalized umbrella ideology to evolve from a horizontal to a vertical network of rule. Although Sunni Islam was practiced in urban centers, rural subjects were free to follow Sunni and/or heterodox folk Islam, Sufism and Shi’ism. Rather than divide and rule, they implemented what Barkey calls a ‘hub-and-spoke’ centralized network; a negotiated initiative to ensure the provision of goods and services between the imperial center (hub) and regional peripheries (spokes) as a ‘state-society contract’ (2008: 17-18). Within the imperial distributive economy, the hub controlled production, land, labor and capital under state institutions that also ‘enhanced the practices and the interests of each side’ (p. 17).

Linke’s discussion with the mayor of Samsun seems to reveal the ‘conventional wisdom’ of good governance from the past, when he told her: ‘The people’s interests come first [...] Their comfort is more important than the profit of some unscrupulous individual’ (*AD* 159). Thus, rather than a doctrine of Islam outright, the secularists borrowed from ‘Ottoman statecraft’ guided by rationality, negotiation and legitimacy that borrowed from the former ‘state-society contract’ in Barkey’s understanding of the term. In the *Kutadgu Bilig* it was governance based on humility, reason and knowledge.

Mustafa Kemal's infamous war slogan during the *War of Independence* (1919-1922), 'the real owner and master of the country is the peasant' (Başgöz 1968: 134) was not base jingoism. I propose it derived from 'native bias' found in the family farm institution. The main distributive institution of the empire was the peasant family farm (*çift-hane*)⁷⁷ to meet agricultural production. The state gave peasant families two oxen and tools needed to operate their individual farm, leaving them largely self-reliant (Barkey 2008: 108; Keyder 1983a). Peasants were not serfs. Keyder makes this clear.

The Ottoman Empire was not feudal: the nature of the state, its role in the determination of the class structure, in social reproduction and in that class structure itself was fundamentally different from the pre-capitalist order we have come to know as European feudalism (1987: 7).

Barkey agrees. 'Except for harvesting and taxation times, peasants and landholders had little interaction. A complete image of the English or French lord's manor life—is missing' (1994: 93). Linke noticed in 1935 the 'absence of a bourgeoisie in our European sense' (*SCT* 550). In the empire no accumulation of land was permitted. Surplus was delivered to the state as a form of tax payment and the peasant lived off the remainder. Provisions were redistributed across the empire to supply the urban centers. The family farm unit (*çift-hane*) was part of a larger division of labor in the land-tenure system (*timar*). A state bureaucrat (*sipahi*) was granted land-tenure and was responsible to ensure surplus from the land, to collect state tax (*öşr*) from peasants and a quota of soldiers (*askeri*) for military campaigns. A bureaucratic layer reproducing core state ideology across the empire, state bureaucrat posts rotated every three years. To my mind, excluding the elite and farm-units, Ottoman habituation might be envisioned a kind of pre-set dance floor where state actors (bureaucrats, judges, clergy)—like dancers—continuously switched partners, as their appointments rotated from polity to polity. Although a fixed structure, subjects were in perpetual renewal; a series of departures and arrivals that reproduced adaptability, fluidity, sociability and new learning. Linke will note in the case study that well-educated students were happy to be posted 'wherever we are needed' in the Republic (*AD* 149)—'conventional wisdom'.

Barkey points to the distributive system across the empire, which we will see further along in the chapter, appears to surface again during the *Étatist* period. Imperial Istanbul supervised internal and external trade, raw material allocation, the flow and quantity-quality of goods across peripheries and kept trade routes and markets accessible and serviced to enhance state wealth. Urban craftsmen and tradesmen guilds

⁷⁷ The term literally translated means a coupled household.

(*esnaf*) were granted special privileges and were responsible to increase Ottoman wealth. When necessary, imports were controlled to protect guilds. Manufacture was regulated to supply lucrative intra-regional and external trade along north-south and east-west trade routes. Manufactured goods including cloth, fine silks from Bursa, rare prized Angora goat hair,⁷⁸ wools, leather, food produce, spices and commodities like silver and wheat were traded from India to Europe and Russia to the Maghreb. Merchants, as interlocutors between Europe and the empire, secured new markets and trade, establishing trade colonies under Ottoman protection in Venice, Ancona and Lviv (İnalçık and Quateart 1994: 189).

Another distributive institution and ‘Ottoman innovation’ (Singer 2005: 493) was the urban hospice-kitchens (*imaret*), numbering over one hundred from Jerusalem to the Balkans. The practice originated in the Turco-Mongol tradition established in İznik and Bursa in the 1330s (p. 494). From the thirteenth to nineteenth century the purpose-built hospice-kitchen was ‘a nexus of patronage, charity and hospitality’ and did not appear in any other Islamic society (p. 481). Clients, visiting dignitaries, travelers, traders, merchants, religious leaders, scholars, students, families, those working in other institutions and indigents, were welcome. Kafadar notes: ‘The redistributive process becomes progressively more elaborate as the state’s wealth grows’ (1986: 30). The institution reproduced an ethos for betterment of the whole and habituation to *teamül* fairness in exchange. In Veblenian terms, we might equate these institutions with maintaining ‘common good’ through ethical and rational governance.

Fernand Braudel wrote of the Ottoman Empire: ‘It all seems curiously modern’ (1995: 91). Ernest Gellner, writing of the ‘terrible Turks’, admits the Ottoman Empire ‘was stable, strong and long-lived’ and a ‘political system of great authority which was not based on the cohesion of a pre-existent tribal group, but on the contrary relied on a conspicuously non-tribal elite’ (1981: 73). Lord Palmerston, the British foreign secretary to the Ottoman Empire in the mid-nineteenth century, was annoyed with Muhammad Ali—a rebel from the empire who declared himself the Khedive of Egypt—because his governance was a kind of ‘simple State Socialism’ (Ridley 1970: 210). Certainly, subjects in Ottoman habituation were not equal, as special privileges existed between the Imperial hub and peripheries, as well as between religions, ethnicities, armies, merchants, tradesman, guilds, bureaucrats and peasants. Institutions did provide for a measure of ‘common good’ and for a unified and well-governed empire. Linke

⁷⁸ Anatolian towns Ankara, Beypazar and Tokat supplied highly sought fleece from Angora goats, indigenous to these regions and held a monopoly on them from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries.

intuited the Republic was a ‘capitalism of civil servants’ (*SCT* 551).

How might Veblenian analysis interpret the empire? In some ways, ‘Live and Let Live’ habituation is commensurate with some institutions in the empire. Veblen pointed out the self-reliance of peasants engaged in ‘anarchistic systems of manual labour’ (1915/1964: 325) that allows one to ‘do his work in his own way’ whereby ‘he will not transgress the margin of tolerance rooted in the moral common sense of his neighbors’ (p. 329). İnalçık and Russian agrarian economist Alexander Chayanov suggest that the family farm unit (*çift-hane*) comprised the ‘natural economy’ in Russia and the Ottoman Empire (İnalçık and Quateart 1994: 143). An ‘economically efficient system’ it did not seek to produce surplus value beyond family needs (Chayanov 1991: 91). In this sense, the Ottoman peasantry, structured on self-reliant production units, were habituated to ‘Live and Let Live’. More importantly, there was no private ownership at this stage in the Empire. Veblen equated private property with the rise of the institution of ‘pecuniary emulation’ and ‘invidious comparison’—the needless habit to compare ones wealth with that of another (1899/2009: 23). There is little fetishism of property as with the bourgeoisie in Europe. The sultan was perceived the sole provider of land tenure, technology, markets, appointments, protection and security. It was in *all* the subjects’ best interests that the imperial system function. Fairness of exchange (*teamül*) was the ‘spirit’ that united the empire through diversity, trade, manufacture, law, education and resource distribution to procure a ‘Live and Let Live’ ethos. Was this the ‘oriental despotism’ Karl Wittfogel referred to in his magnum opus on the subject in 1957?

This ‘native-bias’ still existed in 1935, when Linke experienced the centuries-old habit of bartering, noting ‘both parties have or will acquire a personal relationship to the piece in question, it is no meanness of character which drives them to bargain, but the desire to compare almost abstract values’ (*AD* 25). Linke espoused these ‘abstract values’ were not about the price but more about friendship.

The Classical Era of Ottoman trade and production with the Genoese and Venetians (European middlemen) faced external challenges when the Holy League (1571) united Catholic maritime states and attempted to break the Ottoman monopoly. Scholars attribute the European economic crisis of the early seventeenth century to the influx of silver from Latin America and the vibrant Atlantic economy (Kafadar 1986: 138). The economic crisis triggered the Thirty Years War (1618-48). Craftsmen fled from the Continent to England and were transmitters of Asian-Anatolian manufacturing techniques, becoming an early catalyst for British industrial development (Gekas 2007:

13). Ömer Lütfi Barkan notes ‘wheat, copper, wool, and the like’ were ‘sucked out of Ottoman markets’ (Barkan cited in Kafadar p. 138 fn 93). This economic upset was about to evolve the empire in another direction. Faced with internal and external challenges the Ottomans sought alternatives for trade by granting the French (1569), British (1583) and Dutch (1612) capitulations or ‘pledges of friendship’ as a means to secure ‘political advantages’ (İnalçık 1994: 189). Braudel noted the result.

[A]fter 1570 the Mediterranean world was harassed, bullied, and pillaged by northern ships and merchants, and that these merchants did not make their *initial* fortune in the India companies or in risky ventures on the Seven Seas. They fell upon the wealth present around the Mediterranean and seized it in any way they could, respectable or disreputable. They flooded the area with clever imitations of the excellent southern textiles and even marked them with the universally reputed Venetian seals in order to sell them under that “label” on the usual Venetian markets. As a result, Mediterranean industry lost both its clientele and its reputation (1977: 88).

In 1591, the British sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to source raw materials from India. Sea-routes gradually replaced overland caravans for this function (Keyder 1983b: 58). British merchants flooded the empire with cheap textiles. French and Dutch merchants penetrated the lucrative silk trade in Damascus. Forbidden in Ottoman capitulations, the empire was flooded with ‘counterfeit coins imported chiefly by the Dutch’ (İnalçık 1994: 375). From then on, the empire became increasingly entangled in defensive wars to protect territories and trade routes that altered and evolved Ottoman habituation.

Keyder (1983a), Kasaba (1987) and Wallerstein (1989) argue the Ottoman Empire was ‘incorporated’ into the world-system while Ottoman scholars (İnalçık and Quataert 1994; Barkey 2008) argue the empire adapted and recovered. Skeptical of ‘decline’ theories Barkey believes:

In employing this term “decline” and in locating Ottoman decline in the sixteenth century, scholars have contributed to the pernicious comparison of Western rise and development as opposed to Islamic decline. If Ottoman society was in decline, then its social, political, and cultural production was deemed in the negative, a lesser and wanting polity that would end up imitating the West (p. 22).

Faced with these challenges, the Ottomans gradually liberalized tax-farming by evolving the land tenure institution (*timarot*) and modernizing the military. Elites did not overthrow the state, as in Europe, but sought ways to be re-incorporated. Imperial Istanbul (hub) created regional policies, pitting elites against one another, rather than against the state. Bureaucrats (*sipahi*) were replaced with irregular upstart peasant soldiers (*sekbân*). Alongside the Janissaries (Barkey 1994: 69-70),⁷⁹ officials

⁷⁹ Janissary corps grew from 8,000 (1527) to over 50,000 (1669) to fight foreign wars.

encouraged *sekban*—small groups of irregular armies—to serve multiple purposes. These ‘armed bandits’ forced *timar sipahi* off the land, conducted extortion campaigns, forcefully collected tax and raided villages (p. 153). Governors (*sancakbeyi*) and governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) received grants to ‘keep the provinces dependent on and cooperative with the center’ (p. 77). Rivalry for state appointments kept regional administrators in perpetual competition. Tax was collected, prices were fixed (*narh*) (Kafadar p. 130), provinces swore loyalty to the core, well-trained provincial armies swelled and tax-farming blossomed. Consenting to dissent, Istanbul met its objectives and maintained control in an empire that had outgrown the sultan. Normally, ‘not a strongly demarcated class society’ social inequalities fomented rebellion (Barkey 2008: 214). When the European economic crisis spilled into the empire, the Ottoman currency (*akçe*) became valueless (*hurde*) (Kafadar p. 75). Janissaries went unpaid and when artisans joined them, a revolt took place known as the *Beylerbeyi Incident* (1589) (p. 43). *Celali* rebellions (1596-1610) sparked across Anatolia. The dispossessed flocked to urban cites, overwhelming the infrastructure.

Coined the Tulip Period (*Lale Devri*) (1718-1730), inspired by the cultivation of magnificent tulip gardens, Ottoman elites opened up to the west and contemplated Ottoman values while emulating (perceived superior) lavish European lifestyles. Display of wealth aggravated the poor and destitute in Istanbul. Elites encouraged consumption of foreign luxury goods. Some sixty years prior to the French Revolution, angry crowds attacked the Imperial palace in Istanbul in the central district of Beşiktaş in 1726 (Barkey 2008: 215 fn 36). The leader of the rebellion Patrona Halil—ex-soldier and petty trader artisan—gathered ‘artisans, petty bourgeoisie, small-scale merchants allied with religious students, *ulema* leaders and Janissary men’ determined ‘to stop the regime that robbed them of their daily living’ (p. 213). They burned their way to the palace, demanding the execution of the Grand Vizier but did not threaten the sultan (p. 216). The revolt caused reform and reconstituted a ‘moral economy’ (p. 217). Onerous taxes were repealed and the Beşiktaş palace was torn down. A rim had been formed around the hub-and-spoke.

Despite dissidence, adaptability and empowerment through the agency of multiple and diverse social groups, evolved empire rule into ‘modern state rule’ (p. 227). In the countryside, ‘multiple networks’ reorganized on communal lines, developed community agriculture, water supplies, roads, bridges and schools, local employment and trade investment, for betterment of the regional community as they had learned from the earlier practices of imperial governance (p. 244). This is instructive, indeed,

because we will see in the case study that some of these ‘communal’ formations occur again in the Republic. These notables filled the gaps in state provisions and services and became the ‘modern architects of Turkey’ (p. 262). These networks conducted direct trade with Europe. Trade flourished. But the once ‘appointed’ merchants, acting as interlocutors between Europe and the Empire, meant ‘Ottoman Muslim and non-Muslim merchants, landholders, peasants, and notables now encountered not only the vagaries of the international market and the difficulties of a provisionist state, but also the increasingly negative, imposing, and demeaning language and discourse of the Europeans’ (p. 242).

External challenges forced the Ottomans to remilitarize in order to defend the empire. This learned habit of self-defense to continuously protect Ottoman territory against foreign intervention evolved, it can be said, into a ‘psychological inheritance’ or ‘native bias’ whereby empire subjects—acting on behalf of the empire—learned to react with a certain defensiveness against adverse stimuli. Simply, we might call it ‘jumping to conclusions or suspicions’, sometimes founded and sometimes not. This learned habit caused a drift away from *teamül*. Ottoman students were educated in Europe to learn military science. In the nineteenth century, the empire founded its own military academies. The military became embedded in state power. Linke commented: ‘If therefore today a great number of former generals and officers hold high positions in the Republic as members of the government, *valis*, deputies, and so on, it is not so much a sign of a military dictatorship ruling over the country, as an outcome of this earlier politisation of the army which brought about a passionate belief in reform’ (AD 72).

The military, bureaucrats, pashas, viziers, religious leaders (*ulema*), notables (*ayan*), even women, purchased life-term revenue farms (*malikhane*), thus forging fiscal relations between Istanbul and the peripheries. In the eastern peripheries of Damascus, Aleppo, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Adana notables were awarded contracts (Barkey 2008: 234). Keyder suggests that even in the twentieth century western Turkey had an independent peasantry while the southeast peasantry was bound to exploitative landlords (*ağas*), resistant to relinquishing land to the state (1983b: 62). Additionally, Armenian, Greek and Jewish moneylenders collaborated with state bureaucrats to provide capital for these land purchases. Aware of some stigma toward them she wrote:

The Turks generally did not interfere with the religion of their subject races. The Armenians, believing in a Catholicism of their own, might have lived peacefully among the Moslem majority if they had not attracted their destructive hatred for special reasons. They developed a special aptitude for banking and trade and thus became the Jews of Turkey, like them accused by their debtors of unscrupulous hardheartedness (AD 84).

If this is true, it was based on experience of the interaction with these actors and their European counterparts. For instance, in signing the *Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca* (1774) with Russia, when the Ottomans lost Crimea, Russian merchants fomented unrest. '[E]ven though the majority of the merchant class of Trabzon had been Muslims, with Russian commerce and European intrusion, Greek merchants displaced Muslims and acquired a dominant trading position. Shifts of this sort occurred in many other centers' (Barkey 2008: 285). It is misleading to assume that *all* Greeks, Jews and Armenians engaged in trade and banking, as some were also artisans.

The nineteenth century saw a shift away from negotiations, diversity and legitimacy toward standardized rules and regulations (p. 26). The Young Ottomans were embroiled in fierce rivalry between French, Russian and British imperialist expansion. Acceleration of capital accumulation and movement of people and goods initiated new knowledge, diverse grievances and national consciousness. Emergent Western Anatolian notables—now a fully landed class in their own right—accumulated wealth from cotton and maize *çiftlik*s during the late eighteenth century boom (Kasaba 1987: 824). They demanded more state-owned land (*vakif*) held under religious privileges of the *ulema* class. These inter-competing foreign and local actors vied for concessions, just as state coffers depleted, leaving over-taxed peasants and the poor to foot the bill. The *Sened-i İttifak* 'deed of agreement' (1808) was negotiated and signed between the State and coalition of powerful Anatolian families, the first of its kind in the empire (Barkey 2008: 205). The Ottoman central government (Sublime Porte) signed a series of treaties to gain much-needed access to international markets (Kasaba 1993: 220). Under pressure to suppress a revolt in Egypt, the Ottomans signed the *Balta Limanı Treaty* (1838)—a bilateral free-trade agreement—the most liberal of the time according to Lord Palmerston (Wallerstein 1989: 177). The last vestiges of Ottoman *teamül* habit were incommensurate with foreign exploitation. Perhaps the Ottomans read treaties too literally, in that, they stipulated equal privileges to European and Ottoman interests (Kasaba 1993: 218). The Ottomans became habituated to foreign enterprise operating directly on their soil all the while these foreign actors were set on undermining Anatolian networks. This was not 'Live and Let Live' by any means.

The Ottomans entered the *Tanzimat Era* (1839-1876) literally 'reorganization' period. Mardin notes a schism in world-views amongst Ottoman intellectuals at the time; some desired a return to the Ottoman-Islamic golden age of the 'good' state (2000: 197) while others wanted modernization including in military science (p. 202-03). Statesmen-diplomat Reşid Pasha—architect of the *Tanzimat*—drafted a semi-

constitutional charter *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (1839) for an Ottoman nation whereby all subjects would benefit from identical civil rights, not dependent on religious affiliation (p. 14). The edict drew the attention of foreign actors towards the treatment of Christians. When reforms made Ottoman subjects equal, Christian privileges with respect to community service were suspended. Christian groups, in need of employment, faced a debt-burdened Muslim populace seeking similar posts in state institutions (p. 18). Foreign interest in Christian welfare was superficial. Linke clarified this for her reader. ‘The foreign powers, ready to interfere in order further to weaken Turkey, sided with the Armenians under the pretext of shielding Christian minorities’ (AD 84). They used Christian grievances as a bargaining tool to gain privileges from the state. Thus foreign intervention influenced the discourse on Ottoman statecraft. The Porte’s international relations, under the concert of Europe only brought confusion (Mardin 2000: 16).

For instance, an 1856 Rescript granted legal rights to Ottoman minorities for Western-style education (Göçek 1993: 522). Foreign education institutes were allowed to teach in their respective language and ‘train their coreligionist’. US Protestant missionaries, Austrian and Italian Catholics, Russians and Greeks, opened foreign schools (p. 523). Jewish schools practiced an integrationist policy ‘aimed to educate, civilize, and regenerate the community’ (p. 532). Despite receiving the same education, Göçek believes Western powers ‘fostered an ideology of separateness’ through ‘ethnic segmentation’ (p. 531).

[T]he Young Ottomans and Young Turks, who were trained in the Western-style educational system of the Ottoman state, launched political movements. Due to differing cultural interpretations, the political outcome of the first group’s efforts took the form of independence movements, while the second group changed Ottoman political rule by deposing the sultan (p. 507).

While Göçek’s assertion is not unfounded, considering Ottoman habituation in diversity, it might be argued, a schism in education already existed. For example, non-governmental *salons* like the *Beşiktaş Scientific Society* (Mardin 2000: 229) were rich with Ottoman and Western intellectual collaboration. When American educator George Washburn met Vekif Paşa, a Young Ottoman, he was startled by the latter’s knowledge of Western thought. A secretary at the British Embassy found the level of conversation with Ottoman colleagues surprising. ‘We read together the best English classics—amongst them the works of Gibbon, Robertson and Hume—and studied political economy in those of Adam Smith and Ricardo’ (p. 209). Decades later, Mary Mills Patrick, an American teacher at the Istanbul Women’s College between 1871 and 1924,

remarked that her ‘students were in some ways abnormally clever [...] It seems amazing to me now that such intelligent classes could have been possible after such a short history of the new school’ (Patrick 1934: 38). Her students, Bulgarians, Turks, Russians, Armenians and Kurds became doctors, bankers and lawyers. Halidé Edip Adivar, who we meet in the case study, was one of her students.

Print capitalism was a catalyst for nationalist ideas and Ottoman self-perception, locally and internationally. The Ottoman Empire was constructed as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’⁸⁰ in the international press, propagating a sense of ‘inferiority’ in the Ottomans. Concerned about the way the empire was headed, Young Ottoman intellectuals⁸¹ well versed on international affairs and working as translators in the Sublime Porte Translation Bureau, formed the Patriotic Alliance (*İttifak-i Hammiyet*) in 1865 to form an Ottoman nation along Islamic lines (Mardin 2000: 20-21). Exiled to Paris in 1868, they regrouped as the Young Ottoman Society (p. 44).

Allied with Britain and France, the Ottomans entered the Crimean War (1853-56) although not everyone in Istanbul wanted to go to war (Mardin 2000: 205). Linke also commented on these earlier adverse relations with Tsarist Russia.

For centuries Russia and Turkey had been at daggers drawn. The Tsars had always longed to conquer Constantinople in order to gain control over the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles as an outlet to the Mediterranean. Gradually, but steadily, they encroached upon the Turkish territory, making their final effort in the Great War (*AD* 85).

The Ottomans acquired their first European loan to fund the war effort (Birdal 2010: 26). Later to default on interest payments, they turned to Jewish, Greek, Armenian and Levantine bankers—Galata Bankers or ‘Galata Vampires’ as they were known in Europe. ‘Hence, the beneficiaries of the growing financial instability and uncertainty in the Empire’, states Birdal ‘were the Galata Bankers and their collaborators in the bureaucracy’ (p. 25). It reignited contention from the Turks against these groups. An Anglo-Greek consortium founded the *National Bank of Turkey* (1859) and the Anglo-French *Banque Impériale Ottomane* (1863) (p. 32). The global economic depression of the 1870s, forced an overburdened Empire into bankruptcy (p. 54).⁸² Ironically, this coincided with the first Ottoman Constitution (1876), drafted by the Young Ottomans, which was to be suspended in 1878. Sultan Abdülaziz was ousted by a military coup.

⁸⁰ Tsar Nicholas I, conversing with British ambassador Sir George Hamilton Seymour, coined the term in January 1853.

⁸¹ Young Ottomans were interpreters working in the Porte and well versed on international affairs. They included Mehmed Bey educated at the Ottoman school in Paris, Nuri Bey, Reşad Bey, poet Namık Kemal Bey, Ayetullah Bey well exposed to Eastern and Western scholars, and a publisher Refik Bey.

⁸² Debt defaults reached £252,801,885.

The General who led the coup admitted it was ‘the despair he felt at the Ottoman Empire’s ever catching up with the West that made him rebel’ (Mardin 2000: 216).

Prior to Ottoman bankruptcy, the government established their first tobacco monopoly *İdare-i İnhisariyeyi Duhan* (1873) (Birdal p. 130-31). Working on a banderole system, it incorporated a plethora of small-scale tobacco farmers into production. However, the monopoly was to be short lived. In order to repay Ottoman debt, the British and French founded the *Ottoman Public Debt Association* (OPDA). The Decree of *Muharrem* (1881) accelerated foreign direct investment vis-à-vis the OPDA, an ‘outpost of European Imperialism’ (p. 126) that sucked all Ottoman potential state wealth out of the empire. The decree stipulated,

revenue from the salt and tobacco monopolies, the stamp and spirits taxes, the fish tax, and the silk tithe in certain districts as well as the Bulgaria tribute, the revenue from Eastern Rumelia and the surplus of the Cyprus revenue were irrevocably ceded to the OPDA, until the debt was liquidated (p. 54).

The OPDA outsourced Ottoman tobacco production to the French monopoly Régie and small producers were cut out of the enterprise putting thousands out of work (p. 138). Thanks to Russian socialist Parvus Efendi,⁸³ parasitic practices of the French Régie Company (1883) and OPDA were exposed in the nationalist *Türk Yurdu* journal (1910-1914) (p. 7). In an attempt to suppress smugglers, Régie hired surveillance guardians (*kolcus*) for crops, warehouses and export docks (p. 139). Illegal tobacco crops were burnt (p. 164-65). Fearing reprisals, Régie increased profit shares to the Porte (p. 163) threatening to sever international markets should they revoke the concession. Low-waged non-Muslim women worked in Régie factories. Régie’s *kolcus* swelled forming an irregular army⁸⁴ brutalizing the populace.⁸⁵ Hundreds of cases were brought before the courts and judges often sympathized with smugglers. Turning a blind eye, foreign entrepreneurs acted like a ‘government within the government’ (p. 150). In this manner, the Ottomans learned double-digit bookkeeping and European business management (p. 174). Here, Wittfogel’s ‘oriental despotism’ seems to make more sense.

Ottomans granted the Germans concessions (1888), making their late entrance into the empire, ironically, advantageous. ‘The new German state was regarded with sympathy and hope by the Ottoman Sultan’ (Keyder 1987: 55-56). The Kaiser announced he was the ‘closest friend of the 300 million Moslems in the world, and their

⁸³ Alexander Parvus Helphand, a Russian socialist and comrade to Leon Trotsky, coined the term ‘continuous revolution’. Exiled to Siberia in 1905 for his involvement in the revolution, Parvus later lived in the Ottoman Empire. Apparently he became wealthy through arms sales.

⁸⁴ *Kolcu* grew from 3,617 in 1886 to 6,500 in 1895 (Birdal p. 148).

⁸⁵ Between 1884-1908, 20,000 smugglers, some estimate as high as 60,000 were killed (Birdal, p. 139).

Caliph, the Sultan' (p. 56). The Germans viewed Ottoman geographical proximity, resources and low population, suitable for their own long-term plans to use Anatolia as a supplier of raw materials for German industry (p. 56).

Expanding portfolios of the British and French invested in railway construction across the empire. The Germans also laid railways, which would become, according to Gustav Stolper a main catalyst for WWI. 'The Berlin Government crossed the path of England when it offered, with the military, their economic aid to Turkey in Asia and began to lay out a railroad system in Asia Minor' (1942: 201). This would validate Lenin's thesis on rivaling imperialisms (1917/1996). Unable to invest in the railway due to debt repayment, to cover cost of the railways seen as 'economic progress', the Ottoman government granted 'a variety of ancillary rights to the railway companies, such as the ownership of any mineral deposits, including oil, that could be found within 20 kilometers on either side of the Baghdad railway line from Konya to the Iraqi provinces' (Birdal p. 97). Labor to lay the lines utilized both foreign and local manpower, paying better salaries to European workers and generating 'inferiority' in the local workforce. Ironically, as tracks were laid to unite the Ottoman Empire, secessionist provinces shrunk the territory.

Anatolia engaged in struggle to retain their spirit of subordination, evidently curtailed by European business and the Ottoman monarchy, not such unusual bedfellows. The British purchased large tracts of coastal land in western Anatolia—assumed sites for serfs and plantations—but Anatolians reverted to various forms of sabotage, like refusing to work, disobeying orders and using pragmatic tactics to dodge rules. Merchants used different national flags to export goods, while locals resorted to banditry, kidnapping foreign officials, burning crops, smashing textile machines, striking in ports, attacking merchants and demonstrations by miners and tobacco workers (Kasaba 1993: 232). British and French contradictory foreign trade policy, not its incompatibility, roused the masses (p. 230). Regional peripheralization, Wallerstein argued, used the post enlightenment Euro-intellectual idea of 'oriental despotism' that assumed once a despotic ruler was deposed, the masses lacking autonomous social networks would be too disorganized to unite and would succumb to the core (1989: 238). What the Europeans didn't realize was that the Ottomans had already rebuilt their networks a century prior. 'Multiple networks' were alive with diverse actors. 'The fluidity and multiplicity of their occupations, their diverse origins, and their varying relationships with the state make it impossible to group them as a class' (Barkey 2008: 244). Much to the surprise of the British, Anatolia was *not* India.

The Young Turks

Central to national struggle was the influence of Balkan and Russian immigrants more attuned to national and socialist ideologies and active in political, economic and social spheres, than the people in the eastern peripheries (Tunçay 1994: 164). Salonika was an *entrepôt* a swathe with revolutionary and nationalist ideas. Mustafa Kemal was born in Salonika and prominent members of the Left were Balkan *dönme*,⁸⁶ journalist Sabiha Sertel Zekeriya, poet Nazım Hikmet and Turkish Communist Party leader Şefik Hüsnü (p. 164). Socialism was tainted with ethnic chauvinist tendencies, such that socialist groups tended to act independently over a unified Ottoman socialist movement (p. 163). Ethnic progressives preferred socialism. Ethnic conservatives preferred national independence. Socialist ideas spread across Anatolia in Greek and Armenian circles. Illustrated earlier, non-Muslims were viewed ‘suspect’ due to historical external challenges and accused of weakening the state (p. 160). It didn’t help matters that the *Socialist Internationale* endorsed the ‘right to self-determination’ as the treatise merely exacerbated notions of further empire dissolution (p. 163). Obstacles to a unified socialist movement were hampered by the ‘psychological traits inherited from the Hamidian period’ (p. 145). Socialism clashed with nationalism (p. 168).

The Young Turks—as they were known in Europe—comprised civilian and military secret societies that united as the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress). Drafting a program to synthesize diverse demands, end absolutist domination and challenge *ulema* class privileges over state affairs their goal was to establish a secular nation with rational and legal institutions regardless of ethnicity or religion. The Young Turks were to be found in the commercial bourgeoisie, landowner, civil servant, military cadet and urban working class groups. Economic boycotts against foreign imports and strikes erupted across the empire as a political weapon (Çetinkaya 2014: 40). Not only those fueled by Muslim resentment but *all* fed-up with the tyranny of Sultan Abdulhamid (1876-1909) united in action (p. 25). In July 1908, the Young Turks aimed to oust the sultan and formed a representative government.

The almost bloodless revolution of the Young Turks had “Ottomanism” as password and “Liberty, Equality, Justice” as motto. Their objectives were the rescue and modernization of the Ottoman Empire. Within a few months Istanbul was to be “the freest city in the world”. Photographs captured for eternity the enthusiasm and fraternization of the various communities. Thousands of outlaws living abroad came rushing back, from Europe, Russia, Egypt and Iran (Tunçay 1994: 138).

Young Turks organized irregulars and after a summer of protest, the Sultan feared for

⁸⁶ Jews converted to Islam.

his life. Pre-empting the Young Turks, the sultan saved his position by reinstating the 1876 Constitution. The CUP continued to consolidate groups of socialist, nationalist and liberalist color against the *ulema*, still a legitimate power with a majority. The Young Turks were not yet able to confront the sultan's military, until post WWI.

On the eve of WWI, the CUP aligned with the Central Powers (p. 58). The Germans interest in the Middle East and the Turks in Central Asia inspired eastward expansion. Foolish attempts to regain eastern territory soon found the Ottomans entangled in messy struggles on the eastern frontier. Subordinate to German military, the CUP collaborated with their war campaign strategies, to the detriment of Armenians and the Turkish army alike. Bülent Gökay (1997) suggests that the CUP was caught between British imperialism and Russian Bolshevism. Ethnicities and religions were used in war strategies. The Entente stirred up southwest Russia, (1) to distract Central Powers on the eastern front, believing the western front would be easier defeated and (2) to keep Bolshevik Russia, who signed a peace treaty with the Germans, in the war. British military attaché in Petrograd, General Alfred Knox established a 'South Eastern Union' using Ural and Dagestan Cossack units. Lloyd George commented on Knox's 'Cossack initiative'.

With the help of the Cossacks, the Georgians and Armenians could be reinforced against the Turks at the Caucasian front. [...] These Christian forces of the South, if organized, could occupy the Donets Basin and thus keep the German and Turkish forces from getting coal, iron, or oil from Russia or grain from Siberia (Lloyd George, cited in Gökay p. 11-12).

Entrance into WWI was an opportunity to end OPDA capitulations. War did not end in 1918 for the Young Turks. A battered Anatolia had lost her artisans and Greek and Armenian bourgeoisie. A series of population exchanges would take place after the war. Anatolia had to face the fight of her life. At this conjuncture, then U.S. President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' conspicuously emerged, of which the twelfth point stipulated, Turkey's 'secured sovereignty'. Peace deals made by the Big Four⁸⁷ in Paris 1919 had intentions to carve up the spoils of Anatolia between the imperialists. The Young Turks seized upon this ambiguity in a struggle for national independence.

The Young Turks, following their predecessor Young Ottomans were equipped with a blueprint for the modern Republic, largely carried out by Mustafa Kemal. Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), the 'real founder of Turkish sociology' (Berkes 1936: 242), studied in Paris and was influenced by positivism. The first chair in sociology was created for Gökalp at the Ottoman university *Darülfünun* (Istanbul University) in

⁸⁷ The United States, Britain, France and Italy.

1912.⁸⁸ Much of his work drew from Durkheim's *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique* (1895) but rather than mere translation, using some of the terminology, he reworked the treatise into a 'native product' commensurate with what he termed Ottoman 'civilization' and Turkish 'culture'. Gökalp shirked *Tanzimat* aims to amalgamate East and West (1959: 276). Cosmopolitanism in Istanbul revolted him as books, posters and signs in Arabic, Persian, French and English reinforced the dichotomy of the Ottoman political structure: dual courts, dual schools, dual taxes, dual budgets and dual laws. A pragmatist at heart, he blamed the *Tanzimatists* as Europeanized elites. '[L]ike flowers raised in hot-houses' they merely emulate all things foreign (p. 262). He wrote of Anatolian culture: 'Everything among the people, their way of clothing, their spirit of surrender and quietness, their unpretentious heroism, in short, their whole life, is original' (p. 263). Gökalp reasoned Turkey could be Western and a modern civilization (*çağdaş uygarlık*). In his words:

There is only one road to salvation: To advance in order to reach—that is, in order to be equal to—Europeans in the sciences and industry as well as in military and judicial institutions. And there is only one means to achieve this: to adapt ourselves to Western civilization completely (p. 276)!

Agitating for 'national rights' the Young Turks laid the basis for armed struggle (Zürcher 1991: 11). In March 1919, the Young Turks lost an election to the pro-entente monarchist *Freedom and Understanding Party*. Following the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, imperialists partitioned Anatolia. The treaty stipulated, eastern Anatolia become an independent Armenia, southeast Anatolia become a Kurdish state, the French remain in Adana province, the Greeks rule Thrace and western Anatolia, Istanbul and the Bosphorus remain free zones and central Anatolia be ruled by the Turks (Başgöz 1968: 32-33). Groups of armed resistance, organized by Turkish and Kurdish notables, merchants and landowners, inclusive of women fighters, set a national independence movement in motion.

This sparked three struggles within the struggle. First, the anti-colonial national independence struggle defended the 'motherland' against imperialism. Second, a struggle between propertied notable classes along ethnic and religious lines ensued. Third, a fight between the Ottoman 'imperial' government in Istanbul over the 'national forces' of the newly established Grand National Assembly (1920) in Ankara arose. Mustafa Kemal and his cadre of men and women alike, while cannon fire could be heard in the distance from the advancing Greek army toward the city (p. 34), founded

⁸⁸ In 1919 Gökalp was arrested by the Allied forces and exiled to Malta as a political prisoner.

the Ministry of Education on 2 May 1920 (p. 37). There was no education budget. Teachers went unpaid. Books had to be smuggled from Istanbul to Ankara (p. 43).

The first national Constitution was written to safeguard the people and protect their national rights. A deputy clarified their circumstances. ‘Eighty per cent of the population consists of villagers. They are poor, starving, sick and uneducated. They are subjugated by their religious and tribal leaders and by their local landlords’ (p. 37 fn 6). As the cadre saw it, the Republic faced two external threats: European imperialism (western ideal) and communist Russia (eastern ideal). The Grand National Assembly populist program stated:

The experiments in political democracy which have been undertaken since the Tanzimat reforms have not offered this class anything and have not improved their lot in any way. It is not possible to gain representation in the Assembly for the peasants and artisans who have carried the nation on their shoulders simply by the forms of parliamentary democracy and free elections (p. 37 fn 6).

Mustafa Kemal and his peers were adamant about a ‘third way’ (*üçüncü yol*) to ‘steer a course between both communism and political democracy’ (p. 36). The Turkish Republic was to be freed of social, economic, ethnic and cultural cleavages and instead bound to national unity. *Tanzimat* ‘experiments in political democracy’ remained a bitter Ottoman experience. Ironically, Linke drew a similar conclusion in Weimar, in her admittance: ‘Political democracy in itself was not enough, and moreover it had failed already’ (RD 363). In the German case this led to fascism. In the Turkish case it reinforced a Strong State Tradition (Heper 1985) that was not fascist but rather drew from ‘conventional wisdom’ cumulated in the empire. Turkey was left impoverished after the war but had an advantage over Weimar. It did not suffer Inflation on that scale. As the majority lived off the land, they were able to feed themselves. In the end, nationalist forces pushed the imperialists out. Ankara defeated Istanbul. In November 1922, Mustafa Kemal abolished the sultanate, no longer recognizing its legitimacy. Declaration of the modern Republic of Turkey took place on 29 October 1923. Out of the ashes of empire evolved the modern Turkish Republic.

Imagine putting Britain in the 1923 Turkish context. No monarchy. Minimal bourgeoisie. No capital to rebuild infrastructure. Paralyzed trade. Capitulations. No skilled manpower. No up-to-date industry. Impoverished peasantry. Demeaned populace. Yet based on what we know of Ottoman cultural inheritance, persistence and adaptability, when I return to Mardin at the outset of this chapter, there were concepts, habituation and habits upon which they could ‘refurbish’ and build a modern

Republic—cumulated across a millennium as conventional wisdom. First, they had a blueprint sketched out for a modern Republic from their century-old terms *halk* (people), *devlet* (state), *millet* (nation) and *hukuk* (law) already practiced in the empire. Second, there was a collective consciousness in the people having defeated imperialism. Third, they had a leader—beloved or feared—determined to lift the people out of their inferior status with Europe.

Hegel believed the State to be a ‘Divine idea on earth’ (1988: 39) and likened it to constitution and causation as in building a house. ‘Building a house is, to begin with, an inner goal and purpose... The elements are utilized according to their nature, and yet they cooperate toward a product by which they themselves are being limited’ (p. 30). Hobbes’ conception of the state was born out of modern ideas on individualism. For Nietzsche the ‘state is the coldest of all cold monsters. Coldly it lies, too; and this lie creeps from its mouth: ‘I, the state, am the people’ (1987: 75). As a pragmatist, Veblen defined ‘nation’ as an ‘organisation for collective offence and defence, in peace and war [...] bound together by home-bred affinities of language, tradition [...] sympathies and sentiments (1919/1964: 147). Jean-Jacques Rousseau focused on ‘freedom’ and the belief man is essentially born good but corrupted by his environment. Recognizing humankind far from their free natural state in nature, the means with which civil society could achieve a measure of some freedom was through well-developed social institutions, what Rousseau worked out as the ‘social contract’ (1762/1964). In Gökalp’s words a ‘social group must have an existence, an organized form and institutions, in order to assert its existence in the consciousness of its members’ (1959: 79). The ‘social contract’ would protect freedoms against those with intent to enslave others. In the Turkish case this was European imperialism. Should we find this perception exaggerated, it is instructive to turn briefly to Mary Helen Stefaniak’s *The Turk and My Mother* (2004) to sense how impingement of freedom by others remains in the human psyche; the denial of ‘Live and Let Live’. The opening chapter of her book begins with a reflection on her mother.

I suppose, especially people who lived hard lives in tiny villages like hers, in a part of Europe [the Balkans] that was so used to being cut up and handed around like cake at the end of every big and little war that my mother could tell you who was king when she was a girl but not what he was king of (p. 15).

The desire to build and govern a Republic, free from foreign intervention, constituted the ‘spirit’ of the Turkish pioneers; their possibility for ‘Live and Let Live’. Rousseau reasoned good governance is cultivated through ‘advantageous exchange’ between government and citizens such that each side benefit (1964: 375). This bears striking

resemblance with the former Ottoman habituation *teamül* but in a twentieth century setting. Mustafa Kemal read many Enlightenment philosophers but was most fond of Rousseau, perhaps for his emphasis on ‘freedom’ and inherent human ‘good’. We recall ‘good’ for Veblen constituted purposeful work for common good over selfish gain.

Whichever way we define state, as an abstract idea considered western in origin, it is still widely discussed. As we see across the case study, state in the Turkish context, was perhaps not an abstract idea alone, but possibly an idea realized through concrete practice to construct a new life, a new chance to live. Marx did not favor the state. Nevertheless, the Turks engaged in revolutionary praxis in their ability to build a nation from the bottom up such that they *change* their situation. ‘The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to *change* it’ (Emphasis added, Marx 1845). Constructing a new life, working on the self to help others is an instinct of intentional good for Veblen. Governance as a ‘philosophical system for life’ (*Kutadgu Bilig*) that consults ‘reason’ and ‘knowledge’ was alive in the Turkish psyche. It was necessary to ‘refurbish’ old concepts with a multiplicity of new ones to overcome their learned sense of inferiority to Europe. Not just to ‘catch up’ it was a means to reinstate dignity in common man. I intuit Turkish spirit of insubordination, spear-headed by Republican pioneers, might resemble a similar spirit in Linke, who too worked to overcome learned inferiority in Weimar. They had to cultivate what they had in hand, which was not very much, but at the same time was everything. The people. Common man.

Although borrowing ideas from Europe, the Turks also looked farther afield. Halidé Edip Adivar writing to Mustafa Kemal on 10 August 1919 warned ‘these Powers’ want to ‘divide up the country’ (Kemal 1929: 83). Vassif Bey wrote to Mustafa Kemal: ‘I look upon England as our eternal enemy and America as the lesser of the two evils’ (p. 97). Refet Bey also preferred an American to a British mandate stating rather bluntly that a British mandate ‘would lead every human community into slavery and suffocate the minds and consciousness of the people’ (p. 95). Thus, the lesser evil was the United States, whom they perceived at the time, a distant somewhat disinterested polity. They reasoned the Americans more advanced industrially and truly western.

Accused of being a reductionist, international relations scholar, Alexander Wendt, poses a realist and constructivist argument that ‘states are people too’ (2004: 291). ‘They are ‘intentional’ or purposive actors. [...] They might be *organisms*, understood as forms of life; and they might have collective *consciousness*’ (p. 291). ‘In the case of the state, for example, individuals would have to share an ‘idea of the state’

as an actor with particular interests' (p. 298). In short, all within Turkey must embark on the same journey. 'Common knowledge gives groups enough structure for their members to act rationally on collective intentions' for Wendt, such that, 'groups can do things individuals cannot' (p. 299).

However, owing to century-old habits in Ottoman habituation, some regions within the vast empire were still accustomed to certain privileges (former hub and spoke). When a Kurdish revolt (1925), led by the same men who were allies in the *War of Independence*, made demands for a Kurdish national government and return to holy law and Caliphate (Zürcher 1991: 81) the 'native-bias', on behalf of the RPP responsible to secure the nation, reacted defensively to protect the territory *all* had fought to secure. Turkey's geographical position very much dictated its fate. While the Bolsheviks declared the 'right to self-determination', British and French colonizers in neighboring Arab regions were forever a threat. Robert Olson points out British Lieutenant Colonel A. Rawlinson stirred up a Kurdish revolt in 1920-21, apparently not aware his actions had created false hopes for a Kurdish nation (1987: 98). Martial law was declared across the fledgling Turkish Republic, ending any socialist aspirations also (Tunçay 1994: 157).

In this case, the umbrella idea to unite Turkish common man would be secularism over former Sunni Islam. The Turkish language, which Mardin indicated was already the pretext for unity in the empire, became the official language. Not all facets of democracy like civil rights and freedoms were immediately addressed. Neither urban-rural contradictions, namely the expropriation of large landowners exploiting rural labor, nor some skeptical conservatives who wished to return to the constitutional monarchy, were immediately resolved.

Republican pragmatist pioneers began by rewriting laws. The CUP comprising the former 'Association for the Defence of National Rights' ADNR, renamed itself the RPP or Republican People's Party (1923) (Zürcher 1991: 30). Borrowing from the French Third Republic model of *laïcité*, separating religion and state, the 'cultural revolution' underway completely restructured political, legal, economic and education institutions. The Caliphate and office of the Grand Vizier *Şeyh ül-Islam* (1924) and *tarikats* (religious brotherhoods) were abolished. *Medrese* religious schools were closed (1924) and replaced by the Ministry of Education. The Unification of Instruction Law (1924) safeguarded that all students receive the same secular education. The Hat Law (1925) banned the fez and turban. The calendar was westernized. Adoption of the Swiss Civil Code (1926) gave equal status to women and right to vote, 'one of the most

revolutionary acts in terms of the de-Islamization of social life' (Toprak 1987: 224). The Italian penal code and German Commercial code were also adopted the same year. The Law for the Encouragement of Industry was introduced in 1927. In 1928 the Latin alphabet replaced Arabic script. Islam as a state religion was dropped (1928) but Turkification of the Islamic call to prayer was enforced (1932). And in 1929, the Foreign Trade Regulation Law was put into effect.

Linke noted some facts that might point to a somewhat distributive economy. Swamps were drained to rid them of breeding places for mosquitos causing malaria. Peasants were compensated, as the government encouraged and assisted them to cultivate cotton (*AD* 60). Erzincan was to be the future region for silk production (*AD* 60-61). Mulberry trees were distributed free of charge (*AD* 61). Afforestation had started in parts of the country. Top-breed horses and bulls could be borrowed for breeding purposes. A serum institute was established (*AD* 61). Since 1925 the government engaged in an active fight against *trachoma*, the Egyptian eye disease. Millions of people received free examinations regularly (*AD* 223). Similar campaigns against tuberculosis and venereal disease were underway (*AD* 259).

Once institutions had been established and new laws written the global Depression set in. *Étatism*, state-run and owned industry, was declared by the RPP in 1932 as a rational means for 'monetary stability and balanced budgets' (Olson and İnce 1977: 230). This 'mixed economy' experiment allowed several modes of production to operate simultaneously like private enterprise, state-run and state-owned industry and agricultural production. The Turkish planned economy was among the first applications of general planning to the capitalist system in the 1930s (p. 230). To date Turkey's 'economic miracle' has not been recognized. Additionally, it was a model for other developing nations at the time (Altuğ et al, 2008: 394). Mehmet Özay points out the varied and diverse understanding or misunderstanding of the critics toward *Étatsim*.

Kemalist development strategy emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as a pragmatic experiment in *étatism* (*Devletçilik*), which has been variously described as "a modernised form of merchantilism," "an advanced type of socialism," as a "'third way' outside capitalism and socialism" or, more critically, a system providing "a poorly managed capitalist economy in which most of the capital happens to be supplied by the government." The immediate origins of *étatism* have been ascribed to either contemporary communism or fascism, but more realistically, it was conceived as a home-grown strategy to meet the challenges of nation-building rather than as a dogmatic, universalistic ideology (1983: 49).

According to Özay, the main idea behind Kemalist socioeconomic development was to 'raise the standard of living' (p. 50), which is interesting here, if we consider Veblen's ideas on the subject. This does not imply emulating wealth but rather to achieve some

standard of living that meets basic needs to pull the poor out of dire poverty. Mustafa Kemal made this clear in his opening speech at the economic congress in Izmir in 1923. He wanted to tackle the economic devastation left from the war. Referring to the times as the ‘People’s Era’ he also implied it was an era of ‘economic ideals’ to be replaced by ‘fatalist attitudes’ about poverty being a ‘virtue’. He stated: ‘This country of ours is one that is not only fit but most suitable to be made into a paradise for our children and grandchildren’ (p. 50). To achieve this the ‘state apparatus would have to promote reforms in legal and social as well as economic spheres in order to offset centuries of neglect and backwardness inflicted upon the Turkish nation by the Ottoman sultans’ (p. 51). Birdal has illustrated how this neglect was not self-made but rather with European exploitation collaborating with the sultans. Özey points to negative and positive impacts of *Étatism*. First, it ‘perpetuated a collective psychology of state paternalism’ whereby the government was looked to for everything, a ‘native bias’ from the days of the Ottoman sultan (p. 53). Second, contrary to earlier statements about the ‘economic miracle’ Özey claims *Étatism* did not ‘accelerate the rate of aggregate economic growth’ (p. 53). While industry did thrive it sacrificed the agricultural economy. He makes no mention of WWII as a possible factor. Third, he claims it breeds a kind of ‘cradle-to-grave’ form of ‘welfareism’ (p. 56). But a positive impact for Özey was the cultivation of ‘self-reliance’ (p. 54).

Unlike what might be expected of a dictatorship, there was, indeed, lively debate around the subject. Mustafa Türkeş (2001) in his recent study on the *Kadro* journal⁸⁹—that supported the ‘third way’ between capitalism and socialism—points out the varied views on *Étatism* (p. 95). Ahmet Ağaoğlu favored economic liberalism, using Henry Ford as an example. Ahmet Hamdi Başar, on the other hand, argued the ‘aim should be economic self-reliance, in the sense of a self-sustaining economy’ and ‘advocated a planned economy’. For Başar, ‘a planned economy was the only way to avoid the devastating effects of the world economic depression, which Turkey and other countries were currently going through’ (p. 97). Okyar suggests, the founders of *Étatism* ‘never gave a precise and exact formulation of what they had in mind’ (1985: 103). For Okyar: ‘*Etatism* can be considered an independent economic system, in the genuine meaning of the term, something different from capitalism on one side and from socialism on the other’. The advantages far outweighed the disadvantages (p. 103).

In sum, I hope to have outlined across this chapter a ‘native-bias’, both

⁸⁹ Contributors were patriotic Left intellectuals like Burhan Asaf Belge and Ismail Hüsrev Tökin.

progressive and sometimes reactionary, in the evolution from Empire to Republic. While the (r)evolution was largely claimed to be a social revolution from above (Savran 1992: 51-54) perhaps Linke's 1935 journey can shed some new light on what appears to be, in the discussions above, a relatively contentious area of debate for and against the étatist experiment. Forever flexible and adaptive, Turkish common man seems to have worked under exceedingly trying circumstances, as did Linke, simply for 'a chance to live'. Quoting Mustafa Kemal, Linke wrote: 'Never expect anything from the past; take only advice from the past. Expect everything from the future. Let your eye and soul always face forward. Let your life be filled with joys and happiness' (*AD* 222). On this note, we enter the case study to discover what Linke saw and experienced and her unique 'tender empiricist' reading of it all.

‘Idle Curiosity’

The Turkish Case

Home truth two: Just remember every culture, every civilization, every literature has its own splendour.

—Moris Farhi (2007: 436)

She was already a whole generation ahead of me, a generation not troubled with memories and sufferings of the war or the confusion of Europe on which she had turned her back. —Lilo Linke (*AD* 222)

After the (r)evolution Turkish pedagogy worked to reshape society anew. This chapter examines pedagogy as a facilitator of cultural evolution and Linke’s experiences of educational reform put into practice. New methods of ‘experiential learning’ meant education became the ‘emancipation and enlargement of experience’ (Dewey 1910/2007: 156). I begin by weaving Veblen’s ‘idle curiosity’ (1914/1964: 86) into pedagogy and workmanship. This follows with the blueprints for Turkish pedagogy put forth by early twentieth century thinkers Gökalp, Baltacıoğlu, Ülken and Dewey. In the 1930s, to circumvent obstacles of the global Depression, Gökalp’s sociology of ‘going to the people’ was revisited. Wherever Linke went she found common man, particularly the youth, engaged in learning. Her experiential narratives are testament to Turkish pedagogues theories put into practice in cities, towns, villages and labor settings. I suggest Linke shared a common emancipatory praxis of ‘experiential learning’ with the Turks. Is it naïve to assume an entire nation metamorphosed into a classroom working for betterment of the whole? Did the new pedagogy succeed in recreating the Republic?

In March 1935 Linke arrived in Istanbul. First claiming it represented a ‘shapeless white patch on which a few scenes out of the Arabian Nights were crudely painted’ she immediately corrected herself.

Most of us remain faithful to the fairy-tales we heard in our youth. If we travel, we attempt more often than not to find those places in which our imagination was at home at the age of six, and rarely is it something new we are looking for. But again and again, untaught by experience, we are disappointed (*AD* 3).

‘Untaught by experience’ alludes to how Linke will ‘unlearn’ the ‘learned’. But did she

have no idea about Turkey? On 24 March 1923 Mustafa Kemal made the cover of *Time Magazine* and again on 21 February 1927. Halidé Edip Adivar, a prominent female intellectual active in the revolution and founding the Grand National Assembly in Ankara alongside Mustafa Kemal, made international news from 1928 onward. Did Turkey's early aspirations and later success at building an independent Republic on her own terms attract Linke's curiosity? Was Turkey a symbol of hope for some? In Linke's *Cancel All Vows*, a clue appears in the jubilation of her main protagonist Marthe when German professor Fink was granted a teaching post in Istanbul. 'Marthe suddenly closed her eyes and smiled whilst two large tears were rolling down her cheeks'. Linke continued, 'she [Marthe] had done right in refusing to abandon hope' (CAV 348). Engagement with the Left and Linke's friendships with German Jews made her better placed to detect early signs of danger and later when danger arrived to search possibilities for a 'chance to live'. Habituated to a hostile Britain and Europe riddled with fascism, it was difficult just to stay live. Linke's relationship with the Stolpers and *Volkswirt* circle made her aware of German-Jewish academic emigration to Turkey. On 17 September 1933 Albert Einstein wrote to the Turkish president İsmet İnönü, requesting Turkey grant refuge to German Jews (Riesman 2007: 262). He met Einstein's request.

Linke approached encounters and experiences with 'tender empiricism' to *see* anew and thus 'unlearn' prejudices and misconceptions about Turkey and encouraged her readers to do the same. She put Jameson's theory of how a writer must 'go and live' in the 'new society' into practice (McLoughlin 2007: 110). Jameson recognized that Linke's 'sense of responsibility was full-grown' (JN1 272). In search of a 'shared humanity' in the way Jameson used the term, Linke had no trepidation in meeting peasants in village homes, workers in factories and a plethora of low- and high-ranking officials, educators, students, engineers, doctors and soldiers. She was surprised to learn they succeeded where she and her friends in Weimar had failed. 'We, too, had endeavoured to reform a whole population. We had failed, probably because we had asked and given too much at the same time too little. Not everyone knows what to do with liberty' (AD 72). Linke refers to all the efforts to which she herself, together with fellow youth in the Trades union and later members of the DDP *Youth League* had worked to bring democracy to Weimar such that common man flourish.

Veblen's 'Idle Curiosity'

Partly ontological, partly a psychological inquiry, Veblen thought 'idle

curiosity' was a predisposition of human conduct. People want to know things. But they exercise curiosity—what he called 'surplus energy'—only once 'graver interests do not engross their attention'—in short, once needs of 'nutrition, growth and reproduction' have been met (1914/1964: 86). The majority of common man use their time to meet everyday necessities. They have little 'idle' time, unless, they become idle due to a lack of work. Should this be the case, idleness may lead to predatory war-like tendencies when coerced by imbecile institutions. But Veblen also admitted 'common man does not eagerly pursue the quest of the idle curiosity, and neither its guidance nor its award of fact is mandatory on him'. A few curious individuals, Veblen called 'wayfarers' or 'sporadic individuals' accused of being 'accounted dreamers' of 'unsound mind'—were responsible for the cumulative achievement of 'systematized knowledge'. Those with 'instinctive curiosity' disturbed the 'habitual body of knowledge on which workmanship draws' (p. 87).

Human curiosity is doubtless an idle propensity, in the sense that no utilitarian aim enters in its habitual exercise; but the material information which is by this means drawn into the agent's available knowledge may none the less come to serve the ends of workmanship (p. 88).

Veblen's use of 'idle' and 'utilitarian' leaves an ambiguousness attached to 'curiosity'. When imbricated in workmanship, 'idle' might mean idle workers, machines and factories at the hands of Vested Interests who manage the industrial system inefficiently but 'idle' may apply to an 'idle' workman ready to work for common good. Idleness, particularly among Turkish peasants, was couched in poverty following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and constant war. In Germany, six million unemployed in 1932 were powder kegs of 'idleness' waiting for Hitler to light the fuse.

Linke directed her idle curiosity toward purposeful work. Her experiences and writing up these experiences are constructed in such a way that they allow contradiction of the 'habitual body of knowledge'. 'Workmanship makes use of whatever is available' (Veblen 1914/1964: 88). Linke's 'idle curiosity' evolved as a mission to tell the truth of her times—or as she put it to Jameson in London 'carry on our work and ideas' (*TWE* xxxiii)—cultivated out of 'vitaly interlocking relationships' in fortunate encounters. Encounters in themselves were trial and error chances. A different set of encounters might have set her on the way to embracing Nazism over life. Curiosity led her to other curious souls. Thus 'idle curiosity' is a 'fortuitous circumstance' (Veblen p. 88) of trial and error. If one gets positive results, experience becomes repeated learning (continuity for Dewey) that evolve habits.

To be curious is half the equation. To channel curiosity into knowledge is key.

In reference to Goethean science, Holdrege emphasized earlier, to be curious about a plant requires one ‘think like a plant lives’. While Rancière claims an individual can learn outside institutional education—and this notion is not necessarily untrue—it would be foolish, however, in the case of Turkey, to assume the peasantry could learn piecemeal without institution or educator. There was scant educational infrastructure in many regions of the Republic. Schooling did have a function. But what pedagogical philosophy; what student-teacher practice; what common aim would form a blueprint for Turkish education? Here, I return to a more emancipatory notion of pedagogy, along the lines of Freire. Turkish pragmatists saw education a means to improve their citizens to work for a better future and sovereignty against imperialism. In César’s work (2005) on Freirean pedagogy, Ana Maria Araújo (Freire’s widow) humbly put forth:

We have no choice but to believe in education. However, I must emphasize: not the type of education that makes us bureaucrats and brutalizes our minds, but as Freire taught us, education that carries within itself critical historical practice and situated in a dialogue of love (p. ix).

Freire’s ‘dialog of love’ has dual implications here. It represents Linke’s dialog with those she encountered but also ‘Turkish educators’ efforts at a ‘dialog of love’ for the people. César’s work cites racism as one example that can be overcome by experience. Racism is learned. To emancipate oneself from racism, one must question and work out these attitudes in an internal process found in experience. As César put it:

When one humbly acknowledges and works out these attitudes in oneself, a sense of freedom for new emancipatory and equalizing possibilities becomes evident; one is able to become a positive force for the change of oppressive social, historical, economic and philosophical structures, rather than an instrument of their reproduction (p. 4).

Habituated to the ‘odious idea of racial purity’ in Germany, Linke learned to confront racism and in doing so became a ‘positive force’ for change (*AD* 10). Wolfgang Zorn points out, in relation to student politics in Weimar, there was a racial element in some of their fraternities (corporations). In 1928-1929 over fifty-six percent were members in these corporations (1970: 129). Originating in Austria but spilling over to the Germans was the idea of a nation based on race and a community of ‘German blood’ (p. 131). Despite the existence of Left student movements, the *völkisch* ideology of right-wing students, with its roots in neo-romanticism, even extended to Catholic student fraternities. Weimar wanted students to be loyal to the state. Marxist and pacifist professors were ‘violently attacked by the *völkisch* students’ (p. 139). From 1930 on, over-crowded universities denied admission to Jewish students claiming them ‘academically alien’ (*Schulfremde*) (p. 138). Business seems to have played a part.

Deutsche Studentenwerk e. V., the charitable university organization, which in 1924 broke away from the Deutsche Studentenschaft and whose founder and president, Carl Duisberg, was managing director of I. G. Farben and President of the National Federation of German Industry. As ‘father of the students’ he ensured regular donations from big business. ‘Anti-capitalist sentiments, intensified by the world economic crisis, further strengthened antisemitic tendencies, while the *völkische* denounced both the ‘red’ and the ‘golden’ (bankers) Internationals (p. 139-140).

As a member of the DDP Youth League, it was precisely these youth Linke was trying to organize. Thus Linke was well aware of the term ‘race’. She resisted it wherever she journeyed. Even in Ecuador she recalled the notion of ‘race’ in her thoughts on illiteracy there: ‘Maybe you agree that, just as racial discrimination is not so much the problem of the so-called inferior races as of the discriminator, so illiteracy in the world of today is really the problem of the literates’.⁹⁴ Learning through experience helped her see anew and her authorship guided the reader to do the same. César’s fields of knowledge—social, historical, economic and philosophical structures—also reflect Veblen’s corpus of work and Linke’s as a self-fashioned pre-cultural studies practitioner. In the Deweyan sense, her knowledge was born from ‘interaction’ and ‘continuity’ by building one fortuitous effort on top of another that evolved into emancipatory praxis.

Turning to how ‘idle curiosity’ was imbricated in Turkish pedagogy during the early Republican era, I suggest, educators, sociologists, politicians and philosophers harnessed their idle curiosity to work for utilitarian aims (workmanship) to create new social habits. Rather than the populace learning by rote, drawing from diverse pedagogues, educators came to practice a style of Dewey’s learning by doing not so unlike aims of the German *Neue Pädagogik*. To clarify, Turkish pedagogy was *not* German pedagogy. The Turks had their own approach to educational reforms. Mustafa Kemal and his peers worked to instill self-confidence in the populace to inspire their insubordinate spirit to change their ‘situation’. And we recall of Freire, ‘[h]uman beings are because they are in a situation. And they will be more the more they [...] critically act upon it’ (1996: 90). Turkish ‘idle curiosity’ strove to cultivate moral, responsible, independent thinkers to work for betterment of the whole, actualized as other-regarding over self-regarding.

Turkish ‘Idle Curiosity’

According to educator and folklorist İlhan Başgöz: ‘The great fervour of the war effort and ideals involved, tremendously stimulated the will to read and to learn’ (1968: 43). It was a race for minds. Occupying forces, collaborating with the Sultan in Istanbul,

⁹⁴ Lilo Linke, *Not As Easy As ABC*, 14 June 1948, 09:15 - 09:30 am. BBC Archives, Reading, UK.

went to extremes to persuade people to abandon resistance and accept the *Treaty of Sèvres*.⁹⁵ To circumvent foreign intervention, adult evening classes to improve reading and writing were given in small towns and cities. Even religious leaders supported the effort forming *The Committee of Enlightenment* (p. 44). In 1925, it became the Teacher's Association and held classes in Ankara, Artvin, Antalya, Ayas, Isparta, Urfa, Simar, Trabzon, Konya and Kütahya. '[P]eople's desire for education was so great that they frequently contributed building materials from their own homes for the construction of schools' (p. 55 fn 15). Self-sacrificing individuals worked for common good, as there was an insufficient number of schools, high illiteracy and the Ottoman tradition of theoretical over practice-based knowledge. Başgöz underlines: 'Western powers contributed nothing to the economic development of Turkey until 1935, when Turkey became strategically important to a Europe facing the threat of a second world war' (p. 52). 'Whatever the government sought to do; it had to finance its operation by asking for sacrifices from the people, many of whom were barely above the subsistence level' (p. 97).

Ottoman pedagogy was divided into religious, foreign and Ottoman state schools Gökalp viewed the malaise of the Empire. Critical of intellectuals who 'acquire their education only through their studies' he argued they 'are neither representatives of the culture nor are they the élite of the nation' (Gökalp 1959: 238). Education must embody the 'soul and mind' (p. 239) and not be oriented to 'economic utilitarianism' only to 'gain money' (p. 240). He placed high value on the humanities, appreciative of Schiller, Goethe and the like, in realizing their national literature (p. 241). 'The purpose of education', Gökalp believed 'is the adaptation of the individual to his social and natural environment' (Başgöz p. 25). Children perceive their environment through 'reality judgements' that are 'products of the conscious mind and the capacity to form them may be developed by a scientific process of training' (p. 25). He espoused national education was deeply rooted in culture, citing the differences between French, British and German pedagogy.

Turkish education reformers held diverse views. Some sympathized with 'individualistic' Anglo-Saxon pedagogy that emphasized self-reliance as the best way to 'improve the abilities and faculties of the individual' through 'inventive and creative methods rather than learning through rote memory' (p. 27-28). Others were concerned this pedagogy might incite selfishness over the collective. Some posed Islamic

⁹⁵ British intelligence agencies offered salaries higher than what cabinet ministers earned to encourage enlistment in the Sultan's Army of Holy Law. Resistance was seen as Bolshevik (Başgöz p. 42).

education ‘help[s] children attain careers through which they will find religious salvation, worldly happiness and moral strength’ but this required ‘obeying divine law’ (p. 28). A former superintendent of the schools in Salonika favoured pragmatic education that was financially feasible to meet local needs and ‘emphasized the role of the teacher in the economic and social life of the village’ (p. 29).⁹⁶

Mustafa Necati, a brilliant, young educator headed the first Ministry of Education (1925-1928) and established the Training and Pedagogy Department (*Talim ve Terbiye*). He formed a school construction department, student health services, founded libraries, textbook publication, organized inspectors, raised teacher’s salaries and wrote primary school curricula (p. 91-92). Borrowing ideas from Turkish pedagogues and Dewey’s notion of ‘knowledge of life’ or ‘experiential learning’ (p. 112), Necati made the Ministry of Education a focus of intellectual and cultural life (p. 93). Policy and practice of young educators like Necati, cultivated a revolution in education. Some reactionary religious affiliations resisted the Latin alphabet, co-education and functional education in villages (p. 91) causing a schism between conservative city council members and modern educators (p. 103). Hamdullah Suphi (twice Minister of Education) worried some conservative city council members,

are persons who are afraid that the people will become enlightened, and who, like all parasites, benefit from the ignorance and blindness of the masses in order to fill their stomachs and their purses. [...] How can we possibly imagine that these local notables and landlords, these men of influence who take away all that the peasant produces with the sweat of his brow and his own labor without spending any effort themselves, will sincerely work toward providing education for the people? [...] Can you recall a single year when these two men [from Kastamonu] did not try to use every possible means to scare away new schoolteachers (p. 103-104)?

This schism rested not only in education but addressed a larger issue as to how the Republic should be structured, to which I now briefly remark.

Although Robinson (1951) and Zürcher (1994) accused Atatürk of dictatorship, İrem (2002) suggests there was a plurality of heterogeneous philosophical-political views. Apart from reactionary religious anti-modernists, two differing views on Kemalism existed. One originated in positivist secular ideology of the European Enlightenment—Gökalp and his peers abiding by the evolutionary sociologies of Comte and Durkheim (p. 93)—whose position was reflected in the excerpt above. Another group of self-declared conservatives, distancing themselves from reactionary anti-modernists, comprised five intellectuals: İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978); Peyami Safa (1899-1961); Ahmet Ağaoğlu (1869-1939); Hilmi Ziya Ülken (1901-1974); and Mustafa Sekip Tunç (1886-1958) (p. 88). These Turkish modernists were concerned

⁹⁶ His ideas were used later as the foundation for the Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) in the late 1930s.

how structures of nation-state and capitalism would fit with Muslim society. Aligned to Bergsonian philosophy—popular in the late Ottoman Empire (1910)—they argued positivist ideologues (Gökalp’s circle) implemented ‘mechanical theories of social change’ (p. 93). Bergson contended there was a split in WWI between the *creative* forces of France against the *mechanical* forces of Prussia. Turkish Bergsonian intellectuals equated the *mechanical* imperialist forces (and collaborationist Ottoman government) that occupied Anatolia, opposed the ‘Turkish will to freedom’ (p. 95). For İrem, ‘rival Bergsonian nationalists spelled out the terms of “free action,” “creation,” and “will.” Key Bergsonian terms such as “vital energy,” “intuition,” and “elan vital” were also incorporated into the new voluntarist nationalist vocabulary of these intellectuals’ (p. 95). Thus, overall reform was influenced by heterogeneous groups rather than from positivist ideologues alone.

Writer, politician and educator Baltacıoğlu was a representative of the new pedagogy movement in the Empire and began his career at the *Darülfünun* (antecedent of Istanbul University) in 1908. A pioneer of adult education, he gave conferences in 1914 on *Terbiye-i Avam* (Training of the Public) and lectures on art, sport and education (Başgöz p. 121). The same year he began teaching psychology at the Teachers School for Girls and was appointed the general director for elementary schools and later the director of higher education. In 1920 he became the dean at the Faculty of Letters at *Darülfünun* and the president in 1923. Baltacıoğlu advised Mustafa Kemal on religious reform (İrem p. 90). He taught sociology and ethics until 1933 (p. 89). While his ideas differed from Gökalp, the two united on the pedagogy of ‘experiential learning’ (Başgöz p. 60). In 1933, Baltacıoğlu published *İçtimai Mektep* (The Society School). He stated: ‘It is not the skills or characteristics which exist, but the men who possess and embody them’ whether a scholar, soldier, farmer or gardener (p. 60). Theatre is ideal pedagogy.

The presentation of a play in school was not just an exercise in language or literature, or merely for entertainment and publicity. Pupils should originate, cast, direct, publicize, finance and review the production as a *real experience*, a vehicle for learning language skills, occupations, self-confidence and the *habits of purposeful activity*—and saying something that society needed to hear. Pupils should learn as apprentices until the methods and skills become *habitual* (Emphasis added, p. 61).

Baltacıoğlu’s ideas echo Veblen’s spirit of workmanship in the suggestion ‘habits of purposeful activity’ become ‘habitual’. Moreover, his preference of theatre as a medium for learning is similar to Walter Benjamin’s *Program for a Proletarian Children’s Theater* (1929): ‘It is only in the theater that the whole of life can appear as a defined space, framed in all its plenitude; and this is why proletarian children’s theater is the

dialectical site of education’ (Benjamin 1999: 202). This is an important point because later in Ecuador Linke would make extensive use of puppet theatre to educate the poor. Baltacıoğlu viewed theatre a pragmatic means to encourage self-reliance within a collective where students would benefit from ‘real experience’.

Sociologist, educator and philosopher Ülken had less interest in politics and made his career in academia. Between 1921 and 1933 he taught philosophy, geography and psychology at high schools. In 1927 he founded the *Türk Felsefe ve İctimaiyyat Cemiyete* (Turkish Philosophy and Sociology Association) (İrem p. 91). Mustafa Kemal offered him tenure in 1933 at the newly founded Istanbul University as Associate Professor of Turkish Civilization (p. 91). But Ülken was later sent to the University of Berlin library in 1933. His views on pedagogy reasoned that a philosophical ethic must be taught in both *eğitim* (education) and *öğretim* (instruction). Gestalt psychology, psychotherapy, behaviorism, clinical psychology and the like, only led to ‘narrow thinking’ if scientific knowledge failed to include a philosophy of moral ethics.

Just as narrow-minded scientists cause their own downfall by decreeing the needlessness of philosophy, so do those who deny the philosophy of education, which is essential to establish the true link between specialized knowledge on children and education (Ülken 2013: 25).

In some sense, Ülken already anticipated what concerned Freire in the 1970s, that students not become ‘pasif bir alıcı’ (passive recipients) of knowledge (p. 12).

Philosophy is vital to pedagogy because humans are ‘moral’ beings. ‘For morality to exist humans have to believe in other humans’ (p. 21). Ülken’s view was not far off the mark with Gökalp’s defense of civic morality. ‘The positive goal of civic morality is kindness, which means doing good to others’ (Gökalp p. 304). Ülken’s philosophy drew from pedagogues Piaget and Dewey, western philosophers Bergson, Nietzsche, Spinoza and eastern Sufism and Zoroastrianism. He treated pedagogy as a draft to be amended over time (Ülken p. 26). Ülken’s aim was to bridge a perceived gap that might develop in those individuals who felt severed from religion due to state secularism, likely putting him at odds with Mustafa Kemal’s vision for positivist secular education and religion kept a private affair (*Fig. 11*).

Mustafa Kemal’s insistence that education remain secular was evident when he challenged European schools in Turkey to modernize, adopt co-education and remove religious symbols from their institutions. He told a French reporter in 1924:

Although we may be suspicious of religious propaganda in your schools, we would like to have them remain in the country. However, we cannot allow these schools to have privileges that our own schools in Turkey do not possess. Your institutions can continue their existence only as long as they are subject to the same laws and regulations governing the Turkish institutions of

the same category (Başgöz p. 81).

‘Suspicion’ and ‘privilege’ found in Mustafa Kemal’s above statement is indicative of Ottoman ‘native bias’. He clearly wanted to abolish unfair ‘privileges’ once so rampant in the Empire. His reasoning would not permit foreign intervention, using education as a means, in religious affairs particularly in the contentious interwar period. In 1933, he reiterated this idea in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper: ‘Our views regarding British, American and German schools are also the same. [...] Our new regime believes in secularism as a modern principle, and we cannot tolerate any act that may destroy this principle’ (p. 81). Linke appreciated his logic. ‘The intention behind these regulations was at last to stamp out the religious feuds and to give all children the same kind of education’ (AD 58).

Between 1924 and 1933, the Ministry of Education invited educational advisors to submit reports on pedagogical reform. Linke acknowledged: ‘The Turks are not diffident: they take good things wherever they can find them’ (AD 218). Turkish pedagogues were already familiar with Dewey. Dewey visited in 1924 to study the Turkish educational system (Trask 1964: 71). The Dewey Report (1924) stressed that reform should be gradual and favored the pedagogy of Gökalp and Baltacıoğlu, indicating there was an exchange of ideas here. He suggested community schools and libraries should forge a link with society. The German Kuhne Report (1926) offered the Latin alphabet replace Ottoman script—hardly a new idea as this was considered thirty years prior—and that skilled labor and technicians be trained for railway development in close alliance with German experts. The Belgium Omar Buyse Report (1927) put emphasis on arts and crafts suggesting community foremen become part-time teachers. The United States Kemerrer Group Report (1933), headed by the financial adviser Edwin W. Kemerrer of Princeton University underlined Turkey’s education and economic problems were linked. The report advised the Ministry of Education, train farmers agricultural experts, engineers, technicians, industrial workers and, of course, businessmen, in America (Başgöz p. 71; Trask 1964: 71). These reports reveal each group imposed its own ‘national interests’ for what they thought, best for Turkey.

Dissatisfied with the way higher education was headed, the Grand National Assembly invited Swiss professor Albert Malche to write a report on the *Darülfünun*.⁹⁷ Teachers at the institute were all civil servants and included professors (*müderreis*),

⁹⁷ The institution still suffered from the oppressive regime of Abdulhamid stifling freedom of expression. In 1912 it opened its doors to an unexpected number of female students taking courses in mathematics, cosmography, physics, rights and responsibilities of women and hygiene (Başgöz p. 217-218).

assistant professors (*müderriş muavini*) and instructors (*muallim*) whose promotions were based on merit and seniority (Gedikoğlu 1995: 153). Faculties at the university included law, medicine (dentistry and pharmacy), letters, science and theology (p. 152). Several major criticisms were raised in Malche's report. First, many religious officers (*ulema*) still held posts and harboured anti-modernist conservative religious ideas. Second, the institution was viewed an 'ivory tower' removed from practical needs of the Republic for its reproduction of theory without practice. Third, teachers did not conduct research nor publish original works (p. 154). Malche also noted the method of instruction was a 'barrier to the education of students; it prevented them from becoming *curious*' (Emphasis added, p. 155). While the decision to replace some Turkish academics with German ones, in areas of science that needed development, it might also be viewed unfair, as a 'great majority' of Turkish professors were retired or transferred to other duties (Başgöz p. 166). Baltacıoğlu lost his post. In 1933, the *Darülfünun* was abolished and reopened as Istanbul University. Gedikoğlu argues the measure was to control the university, claiming it lost academic freedom and autonomy after 1933. Conducted under the scientific gaze of a Swiss professor with little knowledge of Turkish culture, it was an unfair measure.

Recent scholarship by Arnold Reisman focuses on the Ministry of Education decision and its long-term consequences, a subject that has 'scarcely been noticed by historians' (p. 253). Mustafa Kemal and his peers were aware that traditional *medrese*-based higher education taught some western sciences based on the French university model, but these institutions lacked when compared with other western universities (p. 256). Atatürk's *Üniversite Reformu* was more than university reform. It was a means to continue the cultural (r)evolution. Many Germans and German-Jews alike did not have a chance to go to Britain or the United States because of their restrictive immigration laws. There was widespread anti-Semitism in America owing to the Depression (p. 258). 'A select group of scholars from Germany with a record of leading-edge contributions to various scientific disciplines and professions found refuge in Turkey, helping to transform its university system' (p. 253). The Turkish ministry of education selected thirty-three candidates who were members of the *Notgemeinschaft* (p. 260).⁹⁸ Mustafa Kemal hosted them at a banquet at Dolmabahçe Palace (p. 262). While emphasis has been placed on Albert Einstein's 'plea', in fact, the Turks took in not only 33 but also over 190 intellectuals from across Europe by 1939 (p. 268). Some were even plucked from concentration camps (Reisman p. 275; Müller 1998: 297). I attribute this

⁹⁸ *Emergency Association of German Science* founded on 30 October 1920.

to the Turkish ‘native bias’ carried over from the Ottoman one, when the Empire welcomed Spanish Jews fleeing persecution. Nobel physics laureate James Franck was sent on a fact finding mission to Istanbul and on 25 October 1933, he found of the situation at Istanbul University ‘a decided wish [among officials] to create a promising scientific center in Istanbul’ (p. 269). Emigré professors took posts in medicine, mathematics and the natural sciences more than law and the arts (p. 270). Philipp Schwarz in the autumn of 1933 found antiquated microscopes and a lack of equipment (p. 270). Determined German professors went to bazaars with Turkish professors to scout for parts and made contact with merchants to get parts (p. 270). However, some Turkish scholars were naturally offended by the German presence in the university halls (p. 270). Some émigré professors settled in Turkey and contributed to her development. Alfred Erich Frank (1884-1957) discovered oral-anti-diabetic drugs. Diabetes is a significant problem in Turkey.¹⁰⁰ Alfred Kantorowicz introduced public health dentistry in Turkey (p. 275). Erich Auerbach wrote his seminal work *Mimesis* when in Turkey (p. 274).

Kader Konuk wrote extensively on the cultural exchange between the Turks and the German émigrés. Turkey was not completely devoid of anti-Semitism but there was far less of it than in Europe (2010: 82). Reşit Galip, the minister of education drew a historical analogy to the German arrival as ‘compensation for the Byzantine scholars who had fled Constantinople after its surrender to the Ottomans in 1453’ (p. 84). Although the German émigrés were to learn Turkish as soon as possible, according to Konuk, they were encouraged by the authorities to preserve their own culture (p. 177). These ‘gestures of hospitality’ toward the émigrés were reasoned as a kind of godsend *tanrı misafiri* in Turkish culture.¹⁰¹ Konuk equates it to transnational ‘reciprocity’. She emphasizes Auerbach’s *Mimesis* opens with a scene of Odysseus returning from Troy in the guise of a stranger. ‘Knowing neither his identity nor his intentions, Euryclea washes the stranger’s feet, and in this generous welcome lies the revelation of Odysseus’s true history’ (p. 179). To my mind, this German-Turkish pedagogical collaboration resembled a ‘vitally interlocking relationship’ perhaps along the vein of what Kropotkin wrote of ‘mutual aid’, rather than vulgar exploitation. Reisman concludes, ‘persecution and inhumanity in one society brought about great developmental leaps in another, more human setting’ (p. 280).

¹⁰⁰ Professor Behçet Tahsin Kamay, one of his students, commented of Frank: ‘He reached the remotest corners of Anatolia and he walked over every inch of the land. He visited the villages and went among the villagers; he knocked on their doors and became their guest’ (Reisman p. 273).

¹⁰¹ The colloquial term is religious and cultural and means to be a ‘guest of god’.

Economist Wilhelm Röpke, Stolper's colleague and friend, arrived in Istanbul in 1933. It is highly probable Linke visited him on her journey to Istanbul, hence, her earlier reference to Professor Fink (CAV 348). In addition, physician Rudolf Nissen, orientalist Helmut Ritter, law professor Ernst E. Hirsch, economists Dankwart Rustow and Fritz Neumark, and public administration professor Ernst Reuter also took posts (Müller 1998: 294). Librarians advanced the library system, organized public lectures in the provinces and established scientific journals (p. 299). Germans did *not* direct educational reforms. Reşit Galip stipulated professors receive five-year contracts and should learn and teach in Turkish. Upon completion of their education Turkish students were to replace émigrés (Başgöz p. 296-97). This decision should not be assumed exploitative, but rather, had its roots in their 'native bias' toward foreign scholars—concerned they might dominate educational institutions—which as we have seen in the Ottoman Empire was problematic.

Common 'Idle Curiosity'

Dewey's ethical notions of morality and sharing echo those of Ülken and Gökalp. In Dewey's words: 'All education which develops power to share effectively in social life is moral'. And it 'forms a character which not only does the particular deed socially necessary but one which is interested in that continuous readjustment which is essential to growth. Interest in learning from all the contacts of life is the essential moral interest' (1916/1980: 370). Dewey's learning from experience is similar to Baltacıoğlu's and interconnects with Veblen's thoughts on the 'formation of habits'. Dewey put it:

Plasticity or the power to learn from experience means the *formation of habits*. *Habits* give control over the environment, power to utilize it for human purposes. Habits take the form both of *habituation*, or a general and persistent balance of organic activities with the surroundings, and of *active capacities* to readjust activity to meet new conditions. The former furnishes the background of growth; the latter constitute growing. Active habits involve thought, invention, and *initiative* in applying capacities to new aims. They are opposed to routine which marks an arrest of growth. Since growth is the characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself. The criterion of the value of school education is the extent in which it creates a desire for continued growth and supplies means for making the desire effective in fact (Emphasis added, p. 57-58).

Routine for Dewey means 'fossilized habits' (1887/1967: 103). We learn from Linke's narrative that Turkish education was progressive and did create an 'initiative' for students to use their 'active capacities' which metamorphosed into new habits and habituation. Habits would take control of the environment to give it a democratic shape and in the Freirean sense 'human hands' work to 'transform the world' (1996: 27). Meeting some Trabzon students Linke wrote:

I asked some of them what they wanted to do after leaving school. Their answers were polite and self-assured. Most of them planned to go to university, and medicine and modern science were the favourite faculties. When I asked them if they were prepared later to work in Anatolia, they said: 'Of course, we'll go wherever we are needed' (AD 149).

Students acknowledge they are 'needed' to develop and rebuild a confident and self-reliant nation. This brings to mind former Empire habituation when bureaucrats, judges and clergy were continuously rotated to different regions. Here then, we do not encounter a completely alien habit in modern Turkey but one rooted in an old habit, now reworked as Dewey acknowledged habits could and would be, as Linke witnessed young students happy to 'go wherever we are needed' for the common good as a moral act of love toward fellow citizens and the Republic. Their new habit of thought was not a result of purely scientific knowledge emanating from German academia but reflected a 'social concept' along the lines of Gökalp, Ülken, Baltacıoğlu and Dewey combined, as an emancipatory praxis through enlightened 'action' and 'work' as a moral of 'sharing' for the common good. The following passage from Dewey clarifies my point above in his work *Education From a Social Perspective* (1913):

The social concept must therefore propose a twofold goal: on the one hand, action, work, must no longer be considered servile and mechanical, but must become liberal and enlightened through their contact with science and history; on the other hand, education must no longer constitute the distinctive mark of a class. It must no longer be seen as a leisure pursuit, an intellectual stimulant, but rather as a necessity for all free and progressive social action (1912-1914/1979: 120).

Dewey's assertion that 'education must no longer constitute the distinctive mark of a class' was conspicuously similar to Mustafa Kemal's insistence there be no classes in the Republic, perhaps influenced by Durkheim. Youth were curious to learn at new institutions built for them. Remarking on their 'ardour' for work Linke stated:

I went to the local crafts-school, a modestly equipped institute where about sixty boys were trained as mechanics, joiners, basket-makers, and in other simple crafts. You might find the exact replica of this institute in any small provincial town of Great Britain, but probably the boys there are not working with the same ardour and concentration as those in Sivas, to whom any organized training is a comparatively new thing (AD 35).

Recent criticism of education in 1930s Turkey tends to portray it in a negative light for allegedly excluding ethnicities. Başak İnce (2012) admits children's education was meant to instill 'confidence' as they were taught at school '[e]very Turk is born free and lives free' and 'Turks are democratic, free, and responsible citizens' (p. 120). But she is quick to judge Turkish primary education for excluding ethnic minorities arguing they were treated as 'foreigners'. There is little doubt education was skewed to create 'one language, one culture, one ideal' which was the national ideal, but I believe it was

born out of necessity as it played a significant role in constructing citizenship in Turkey.

With an aim to knit diverse ethnicities into one Turkish state, it is instructive to consider parallel situations in other countries at the same time. Canada—a remote fledgling nation on the way to becoming—relied on immigration for its existence. Millions had fled to Canada to escape war and famine before and after WWI. Anderson, an inspector of schools in Yorkton (Saskatchewan) posed, ‘we may well ask whether this insweeping immigration can be Canadianized. The safety and happiness of our nation depend upon their assimilation’ (1918: 88). Curiously, Anderson added: ‘We may *despise* the “foreigner” and all that is *non-English*, but the fact remains that this element is here to stay [...] The paramount factor in *racial fusion* is undoubtedly the education of the children of these non-English races’ (Emphasis added p. 89). Use of the word ‘despise’ is instructive as it points to toleration of immigrants more than a genuine embracing of them. Aware ‘sectarian religious jealousies’ and ‘private schools’ retarded education in the United States (p. 197) he presciently recognized an ‘uninspected and unregulated parochial school is a serious menace to the healthy development of any nation’ (p. 202). To circumvent this problem, educators devised the ‘School Fair’ as a factor for racial assimilation, as a means for ‘foreigners’ to showcase their cultural wares—pie bakes, handicrafts, and the like (p. 203); neutral workmanship, I suggest, to which ‘foreigners’ could be proud. Anderson described the practice.

At one centre children of Bohemian, Hungarian, Swedish, German, Belgian, and Polish parentage took part, and their parents mingled freely as they proudly examined the work of their respective children; at another fair boys and girls of Ruthenian, Scotch, Welsh, Assyrian, and English parents had their work arranged side by side on the long tables; but throughout the entire day the children used no language but English (p. 207).

Anderson’s assurance that children used only English is a curious one. In fact, my father experienced these very educational practices in the 1930s. In a one-room schoolhouse he was beaten when he spoke Ukrainian. Moreover, he clearly recalls indigenous children treated far worse. Apparently Canadian educators believed: ‘Just as the instinct of fear in the child may be modified and removed by education, so, in the case of the illiterate and superstitious among the immigrants to Canada, education in the wider sense will tend to remove these retarding influences’ (p. 212). Anderson equates this to a lack of uniform textbooks in the western provinces and that this ‘chaotic state of affairs’ stemmed from educators who were ‘guilty of neglect’ for not ‘energetically attacking the problem’ (p. 216). The Saskatchewan Public Education League published a pamphlet *Saskatchewan’s Great Campaign for Better Schools*. The 1915-1916 copy is written from the top down with no contribution from the ‘foreigners’ below. It reads

like a directive for how things *will* be. John Charyk (1971) points out in the 1930s many schoolhouses were abandoned or went bankrupt (p. 53). His exemplar three-volume work is dedicated to ‘pioneers’ from below whose self-sacrifices built rural education in Canada. In today’s context, José Macias (1996) points to ethnic exclusion in education in the United States, Australia and in Europe.

Pointed out earlier, in the late Ottoman period cumulative habituation carried over to the Republic and meant language needed reform. Latinization of the alphabet was discussed in the Empire but none attempted the initiative under the autocratic rule of Abdulhamid. Gökalp saw a schism in language use between Anatolians and the élite palace culture what he called ‘Ottoman Esperanto’—a combined language of Arabic, Persian and Turkish (1959: 276). For him, the national language was Istanbul Turkish that was spoken but not written while the Turkish dialect found in Ottoman Turkish (*Osmanlıca*) was written but not spoken (p. 290). This confusion meant the vast majority of Anatolians were illiterate. Ottoman Turkish was artificial. Gökalp aptly viewed language a linguistic science (p. 267). Başgöz points out, Arabic in particular, was problematic as one word had various meanings. كورك could mean, *kürk* (fur), *kürek* (shovel), *gevrek* (crisp), *görek* (let us see), *gürk* (brooder) and *görk* (prettiness) (p. 212).

Yılmaz Çolak (2004) discusses the political use of language in the formative years of the Republic. Language reform, for the pragmatists was to be revolutionary not ‘evolutionary’ (p. 76). ‘Turkish language came to symbolize a conversion from imperial-religious to national-secular culture’. For Çolak it was a ‘revolution’ through the ‘scientification of language’ inspired by Kemalist ‘positivism’ (p. 68). Considering Veblen’s ideas on how industry influences language to make it more ‘matter-of-fact’, in the Turkish case, adopting the Latin alphabet had similar implications or perhaps prepared a road toward industrialization that would require clear everyday language use. ‘Turkish’ produced more matter-of-fact thought to circumvent misunderstanding in the Arabic example above. This process was explained to Linke, on a school visit. ‘One compared the old and new alphabet and showed that formerly sixteen Arabic letters were needed to denote what could now be expressed by a simple Latin z’ (AD 215-216).

People needed to be educated and enlightened through ‘a common language that ordinary people could easily understand’. With this aim, ‘Ottoman Turkish had to be corrected by putting a strong emphasis on everyday language’ (Çolak p. 69).

Newspapers using this ordinary, easy to understand language refers to what Benedict Anderson calls ‘print capitalism’, that sees one common language the essential element of a nation (p. 69). Turkists like Ömer Seyfeddin and Ziya Gökalp led this ‘language

movement'; *Yeni Lisan* (New Language) in the evolution from Empire to Republic (p. 69). The movement did meet opposition like that from Kazım Karabekir because he saw Latin characters as 'harmful for the unity of Islam' (p. 70). In 1924 there was debate in the parliament regarding the subject. Şükrü Saraçoğlu, during a session on the budget for the ministry of national education, voiced a similar opinion to those of Hüseyin Cahit and Kılıçzade Hakkı at the Izmir Economic Conference (February-March 1923) that a new script would lift people out of 'ignorance and illiteracy' (p. 70). Publishing articles on the topic, they took a very different view to Karabekir. Intellectual and political circles followed the debate. Latin script would be a luminary path out of the 'darkness of Arabic script' (p. 71). Despite lively intellectual debate, language reform went ahead.

Aware many adults were uneducated Mustafa Kemal introduced a new law in 1928 to eradicate illiteracy and harness 'knowledge for a better life' (Başgöz p. 119). In May that year, the *Language Committee* Latinized Ottoman script and worked on new grammar (Çolak p. 72). Nation schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) established compulsory adult education (p. 72). All citizens, male and female aged between 15 and 45 attended courses (Başgöz p. 120). By August 1928, five thousand teachers—learning the new alphabet in just four months—taught 220,000 adult students (p. 86-87). In one year *Osmanlıca* was phased out. 'These meetings opened a campaign which quickly became nationwide' according to Başgöz, 'with Atatürk serving somewhat in the role of schoolmaster. He travelled to selected cities and, with the use of the blackboard, explained the new script in the coffee houses, in schools and in open-air meetings' (p. 86). Pro-reformer Mustafa Sekip stated: 'We have no time to listen to such objections insistently point out to us the risk which our culture and tradition may run. The foremost thing in our minds is the present and the future. Let those who are fond of the past, remain in the past' (Çolak p. 72-73). '[S]uperstitious and scholastic' knowledge, as another pro-reformist Celal Nuri wrote is 'inadequate to meet today's cultural needs'. Çolak stresses the 'emancipatory' aspects of the new alphabet by positioning 'Turks in life and science' (p. 73). But more than this, it was an 'act of forgetting' and closing a chapter on the past that would free them from chaotic 'old values' (p. 74). Turkish would be 'intelligently cultivated' as Sadri Maksudi expressed in *Türk Dili İçin* (For the Turkish Language) (p. 75). Thus, Turkish was the vital institution upon which to knit the nation together. It was not a unique practice to Turkey, European nations were constructed through language, and as illustrated above, so was Canada. Veblen believed groups united around language. Language was a means to knit the nation together and

keep it distinct from neighboring Arab polities—exploited by British and French colonialism—and Iran. A once porous frontier in the empire was no more. The gaze was directed west not eastward. The people at that time appear to have embraced the new reform. In fact, language united common man in a kind of Freirean *word=work=praxis* whereby the act of learning became a shared experience of solidarity or even emancipatory praxis. Arriving some eight years after the reform, Linke's narrative clarifies their act of sharing.

Even hard-boiled foreigners, who were living in Turkey at the time, found it difficult to describe adequately the wave of enthusiasm and democratic spirit which swept the country. In mosques, coffee-houses, tram-cars, on the kerb, people were bending over sheets of paper, trying to draw the new letters. [...] Masters and servants, old and young, sat side by side on the school benches (AD 215).

Specifically at the time language reform was underway a French visitor, Eugene Pittard, traveled across the entirety of Anatolia, even to the eastern city of Diyarbakır, and drew a similar conclusion to Linke. 'I went from Ankara to Diyarbakir, from Sivas to Konya. I stopped in every village and town; I witnessed the zeal that the entire population felt, and the enthusiasm of young and old was impressive' (Pittard cited in Başgöz p. 86).

Perhaps what was most impressive is that *everyone* was included without regard of superior or inferior, subordinate or insubordinate. It might have had a great unifying effect. Visiting a government tobacco factory in Samsun, Linke experienced language reform firsthand as both old and young women factory workers could write in Turkish.

She was about eighteen, with raven-black bobbed hair and a comely figure. Not in the least shy, she wrote in large Latin letters: Hadiye Yildiz. [...] And then she asked politely for my name and wrote it letter after letter as I spelt it (AD 162).¹⁰²

At the same tobacco factory, the mayor of Samsun explained educational programs for the workers. Linke was 'deeply surprised'. He told her:

We always organize obligatory courses in reading, writing and general knowledge during the winter months. They have five lessons a week, half an hour during working time and half an hour during their own free time. Two girls who joined us as illiterates are now employed in our offices (AD 162).

When we recall Ottoman Empire problems with education and ethnic privileges, where only non-Muslim women worked at Régie for example, the reasoning of Mustafa Kemal and his peers worked to cultivate a unified education system that built better lives for women in their evolution from illiterates to literates. Canadian educators (government policy) aim to teach English to the immigrants would mean 'safety and

¹⁰² Owing to typesetting limitations Yildiz is spelled Yıldız in Turkish without the 'i' dotted.

happiness' for the nation, so too, it applied in the Turkish context. Linke's experiences corroborate with Başgöz's when he referred to the curiosity and delight of Turkish students embracing the chance to learn in a rural setting.

One of the students has malaria. Salih, the veterinarian, took a sample of his blood and showed the malaria microbe under a microscope to the other students. It was quite an experience to see these students peering through a microscope for the first time. One of them cried: 'If anyone had sworn by God had told me such things as microbes existed, I'd never have believed him. But now I can see them with my own eyes, and wriggling their tails like tadpoles, too' (p. 145-46).

Despite financial obstacles Linke informed her reader: 'Education in Turkey is free of any charge, even in boarding schools only those pay for their keep whose parents can afford it, and they are not known to anyone but the head master' (*AD* 219). Their discretion toward income imbalances was wise so as not to create feelings of inferiority or superiority between students but to treat them all equal. Linke received a textbook as a gift from a female fifteen year-old student Perihan, with a dedication addressed to her.

We shall educate our children in a way which makes them capable of using their brains even in unaccustomed circumstances, of taking necessary decisions without waiting for orders from above, of developing a spirit of enterprise and a desire to overcome all difficulties which may block their way (*AD* 221).

The phrase 'spirit of enterprise' seems to contradict ideals of 'common good' particularly if we read 'enterprise' the way Veblen read it. Again, we must consider the 'third way' Turkey chose to pursue. 'Enterprise' has two implications in this case. First to be an enterprising student, implies being an ambitious and hardworking one. Second to be well educated, implies working as an industrious person for the national economy. Turkish pragmatism realized 'enterprise' would be essential to the nation but at this conjuncture it was not the 'pecuniary gain' of exploitative business but rather 'enterprise' to build the national economy along the principles of a 'mixed economy' and *Étatism* mentioned earlier. Individuals must be confident and independent and unfettered by history and memories of the past. Linke made this point explicitly clear. 'She was already a whole generation ahead of me, a generation not troubled with memories and sufferings of the war or the confusion of Europe on which she had turned her back. [...] She was very clear-headed, independent, optimistic, and had very definite plans for building up a happy future not only for herself, but for the whole of Turkey' (*AD* 222). Dewey's notion of 'interaction' and 'continuity' in learning helped Linke see anew where Europe erred. She was, like Cesar postulated, 'work[ing] out these attitudes in an internal process' located in her Turkish experiences that offered a chance to learn. Hence, rather than an ill-willed search for ethnic division she wrote of collective

pedagogical praxis and ‘experiential learning’ at Gazi primary school (*İlk Mekteb*) in the eastern provincial city of Malatya.

All forty boys and girls between twelve and thirteen crowded the benches, all dressed in grey overalls with little white collars. A girl with a long plait, an exception today even in a Turkish town, stood behind the teacher’s desk. The teacher himself, a middle-aged man, had taken her seat at the back and was listening with the children. They were having an arithmetic lesson. [...] The method of letting the pupils alternately take the place of the teacher had once been employed in the most progressive German schools, but it made me smile to think that my own had never risen to such new-fangled experiments and that Asia Minor was more advanced than East Berlin (*AD* 212-213).

In hindsight, we might better appreciate the aims of Turkish educators to focus on ‘one language, one culture, one ideal’. Having already experienced the ‘odious idea of racial purity’ (*AD* 10) in Weimar, Linke’s narratives present us with a position from which to assess the new pedagogical praxis of education. Turkish pedagogy had little in common with the German pathology of a ‘superior’ race, one *Volk*, treating its others as foreigners. In the Ottoman Empire there was also no notion of race or racist policies. This habituation was carried over into the Republic. Kemal Karpat points out:

Historically, racialism had no roots in Turkey; few countries in the world are less suitable to racialism than Turkey. The country’s population is a mixture of those races which have populated Anatolia since time immemorial, and which have mixed freely with each other for centuries—the Circassians, Albanians, Bosnians, Kurds, Georgians, and, by way of conversion to Islam and marriage, the Greeks, Armenians, and Slavs. Thus there was left very little of the purity of blood that the racialists (themselves of very dubious origins) tried to claim (1959: 268-69).

In a recent article, İlker Aytürk addresses current scholarship that condemns Kemalism and the founding elite for ‘exclusionary strategems which targeted non-Muslims and assimilationist policies against the Muslim minority groups’ (2011: 310). Apparently there were pockets of racist critics, like Nihâl Atsız in the 1930s, who blamed Atatürk and early Republican rulers for doing just the opposite (2011: 310). Atatürk never left a fully worked-out doctrine or ideology for the RPP. The nature of Kemalism still continues to ‘perplex scholars’ (p. 311). After his death, statesmen and scholars alike have reinvented Kemalism manipulating it for their benefit (Heper 1980: 65-82).

Linke’s reading of the aims of the Republican leaders has understood their approach was distinctly different from that of the Nazis.

Militarism and a nationalist education, and one political party led by a deified man—why had I left Nazi Germany if I accepted these things here without protest? Because they had a different meaning and were done in a different spirit. Because Turkey wants to reach unity by education, where Germany upholds it by terrorizing force. Because Turkish nationalism widens the world for millions of people from a primitive village to a self-possessed country, German nationalism narrows it from an important part of the civilized world to a fanatically goose-stepping state. Because the Crescent and Star will never be carried in a hostile spirit beyond Turkey’s frontiers

whilst the Swastika, if no one summons up the spirit to check it, will soon wave over a shell-holed Europe (*AD* 219-220).

Certainly the Malatya middle school differed greatly from Linke's 'War School 1914-1918' in *Restless Days*. Turkish pedagogy 'widens the world' for millions in the nation.

Common 'Going to the People'

The philosophy of 'going to the people' that Gökalp had so passionately argued for was revisited in the 1930s. Gökalp outlined the difference between civilization and culture. 'The élites are the carriers of civilization and the people the holders of culture' (1959: 259). Therefore, 'going to the people' was a means of reciprocal learning, 'to receive a training in culture from the people and to carry civilization to them' (p. 259). Reciprocity would assimilate the elites with the villagers and the villagers with the élites. He thought the elites could learn from Anatolian traditions of 'wit and wisdom' and note their 'mode of thinking and their style of feeling' through poetry, folk-tales, shadow play (*karagöz*), open-air plays (*ortaoyunu*), music and dance (p. 259). In short, 'going to the people' was a method to evolve national culture. Gökalp realized early on this unsolved gap was necessary to bridge, therefore, 'going to the people' was central to his pedagogical philosophy.

In many ways Linke embodied the ideas of pioneering Turkish pedagogues, Gökalp, Baltacıoğlu and Ülken. I suggest Linke's 'tender empiricist' way of seeing ignored such division. She had little inhibition about journeying to remote areas in Anatolia, due to childhood habituation and experiences with peasant Prussians. I suggest her story works to bridge the gap between urban elites (civilization) and rural peasants (culture) for those willing to see anew her following implicit message.

I remembered too well the warnings of some cynical friends at Istanbul and their descriptions of the Turks as lazy, self-seeking, materially minded, uneducated and corrupt. But slowly, under the weight of growing evidence, I began to doubt my friends' impartiality (*AD* 59).

Evidently some elites habitually viewed the rural populace as inferior. Intelligentsia in the early 1930s had grown tired of the word 'revolution' and were disinclined to 'go to the people' (Karaömerlioğlu 1998b: 69). Additionally, the reason for their cynicism stemmed from the horrors of social unrest in Europe, rearmament, deepening Depression and anticipation of another war. Genuine efforts of 'going to the people' had already been attempted after WWI, when fifteen medical doctors—one of whom was Reşit Galip—formed the Peasantist Association (*Köycüler Cemiyeti*) to provide medical assistance and help the peasantry overcome hardships (p. 72).

Linke was not habituated to resentful habits of thought against the Turks. As a

European woman, she herself was a subject of emulation (perceived superior in Turkey), even though she was a pauperized individual (perceived inferior in Germany, France and Britain). She hoped to learn from the Turks. The fact they viewed Linke a figure to emulate and she viewed them figures for emulation, represents an unspoken irony of reciprocal exchange in their encounters, each looking to learn from each other. Linke recounted an instance when this occurred, when she found herself between a group of women and children, looking at her with ‘curious amazement’ and a Major who talked to them in a ‘fatherly voice’ and said: ‘Learn to read and write, keep yourselves clean and tidy, wake up out of your slavery, work for your living, and you will get nice dresses, intelligent husbands, beautiful children and the whole world to roam about in’ (AD 71-72). Linke was used as a role model to emulate, from whom these women were to learn, in this case.

Although Turkey was her own master, the newfound confidence of her pragmatists produced a two-fold habit of needing to prove the nation equal to Europe, on the one hand, and a habit (based out of necessity) to prove the legitimacy of the nation in the eyes of its citizens, on the other. Every practice became an opportunity to teach citizens. Linke subtly touched on the subject when shown around the eastern city of Erzurum, noting a taint of resentment directed at Europe in the remarks of a Major.

‘Just to show people here new methods of construction, and to prove to the foreigners that they are not the only ones who can do such things,’ said the major, pointing at the yellow façade of the new college for teachers, the first concrete building in the Turkish east (AD 68).

Her experience documents the aims and good intentions—born out of necessity—the RPP and Turkish pragmatists put into practice to educate future teachers having erected a teacher’s college institution in the east.

In 1937, Mustafa Kemal would announce that the Republic be divided into three main regions for progressive tertiary education: Istanbul, Ankara and Van (Başgöz p. 169). The vigour and enthusiasm in which Turkish pioneers built new educational institutions is testament to their spirit of workmanship. But inspiring this enthusiasm in common man had to be provoked in some cases. In reference to the building of village schools, based on a real need to encourage citizens to be ‘self-reliant’ individuals, Bay Faruk told her:

No, I think for some time to come we must leave it as it is: the Government build the secondary schools, the *vilayet* the primary schools, and the villages are responsible for the village schools. We need that willingness to do something for the communal benefit. Too long has each peasant only thought of himself. Besides, the Government are now suggesting that, if necessary, several villages should set to work together and build a school, perhaps even a simple boarding-school, between them (AD 210-211).

Old Ottoman habit taught peasants to rely on the state to solve all their problems. It seems plausible some did not understand or appreciate what was expected of them or how they were to contribute to the Republic. Although ‘willingness’ of the people was expected in 1935, Linke caught this contradiction and questioned the reader: ‘Where could they get the money from’ (AD 210)?

Anticipating possible alienation of common man from the RPP and social unrest like in Europe, in 1931 Mustafa Kemal closed the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearth Clubs), claiming that they were out of touch with the people, and opened the *Halkevi* (People’s House) in 1932 to knit the people closer together and raise standards for the youth (Başgöz p. 151). Karpas saw the measure a political goal to persuade the countryside to accept the new political principles of Republicanism in the form of ‘Turkish nationalism’ as a ‘modern political identity’ and ‘new religion’. As an educational goal, the *Halkevi* aimed to teach the masses the six-arrow principles, eradicate illiteracy and raise economic standards. As a cultural goal the *Halkevi* reproduced the authenticity of Turkishness (Karpas 1974: 69). As an economic goal it hoped to teach the people self-reliance through ‘experiential learning’. But Tanrıöver, director of the closed *Turkish Hearths*, accused the RPP of totalitarian tactics as in Germany and Soviet Russia (Karaömerlioğlu 2014: 58).

Fay Kirby argued the elite that frequented *Halkevi* acted like ‘foreign tourists who try to discover the dark corners of Africa’ (Karaömerlioğlu 1998a: 59). Karaömerlioğlu thought the institutions impacted urban intellectuals more than peasants (1998b: 71-72). Despite criticism, through ‘trial and error the Houses gradually began to play the great educational role for which they had been created’ (Karpas 1963: 66), especially in the area of communication (Karpas 1974). Buğra articulates the vision of the RPP a rational means to prevent the ‘dissolution of the village economy’ (2007: 40). Wisely, the ‘meeting place was to be the village and not the city’ (p. 41)

Opening of the *Halkevi* was timely. Across the world, there was a renewed focus on rural and agricultural life in the 1930s, little different in Turkey. Cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Agriculture proved advantageous to further agricultural education. İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, the son of a poor Bulgarian peasant family and former colleague of Necati, initiated new teacher training for the villages in 1932-33. Patriotic and passionate about social justice, Tonguç perceived himself an educator rather than a teacher. He believed rural rehabilitation should integrate teachers into the village economy (Başgöz p. 137). Cooperatives sold local produce at fair prices

and became an incentive for villagers ‘experiential learning’. The Ministry of Agriculture supplied seeds in place of salaries, farm implements and credit for the teacher’s own farm unit (p. 143). ‘The essential aim of these lessons was to develop a practical, responsible individual who was well respected in his own village’ (p. 147). Başgöz recounts a story on the *Mahmudiye State Farm* (Eskişehir) in 1936 from the Director’s weekly report at the Ministry of Education.

This week the students were set to work on baling machines. These machines were said by experts to produce one bale in ten minutes. To the expert’s surprise, the students managed the operation in four minutes. Afterward, a mechanic took the machine apart and asked the students whether they could reassemble it. They did it to perfection. [...] Building classes have been started this week. The students have been divided into four groups, which work every day on the new school building. After the day’s work, the students examine the plans, listen to explanations and are given lessons in arithmetic (p. 146).

In 1935 at the Mardin *Halkevi* Mustafa Kemal’s intention was appreciated, in that, the ‘dignity’ of the peasants had been raised (Karpas 1963: 66). In the Freirean sense, this educational initiative hoped to ‘recover their lost humanity’. Self-reliance in work gave common man a sense of purpose. This early educational experiment led to the opening of the Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) in 1937.

Linke wrote a chapter entitled ‘Halkevi’, visiting almost a dozen on her journey (AD 175), as they existed across the Republic even in remote eastern regions like Elazığ. Lectures were given twice a month on ‘political and legal reforms, hygiene, land cultivation, education, crop raising and animal breeding, administrative organization and national defense’ (Karpas 1974: 79). Linke, commenting on the democratic ethos of the *Halkevi*, experienced a somewhat different institution than that related by the critics above. ‘No age-limit is fixed, no distinctions are made between men and women, cobblers and pharmacists, factory girls and idle ladies, and the illiterate is as welcome as the head master is as good as obliged to take an active part’ (AD 169). Here, there seems to be no superior-inferior dichotomy, as Linke’s Istanbul friends seemed to harbor. Everyone was welcome. A young orphaned boy Ömer, the first in his school form, had been taken in by the Samsun *Halkevi* (AD 170) and was learning the violin. Volunteers were of all ages: *lycée* student, middle-aged female elementary school teacher, a dentist, and elderly man (AD 172). The president was a lawyer volunteering in the evenings (AD 171). Volunteers informed peasants about new institutions available to them—hospitals, law courts, schools and committees—and encouraged their participation (AD 173). Volunteers travelled around the province and helped peasants settle debts, provide free legal advice and tend to health issues. Seven days a week there were activities and lessons held at *Halkevi*: lessons in drama, reading and

writing for adults, language classes (English, French, German), Turkish history, choir practice, women's dressmaking, gymnasium groups, Turkish language and art classes, book-binding and handicrafts. Also there was a football club, drama group and museum and exhibition committee (AD 171-172).

The Ankara *Halkevi* was responsible for publishing the *Halkevi* journal titled Ideal (*Ülkü*) (Karpas 1974: 71) and Folklore News (*Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*) (p. 75). Publications wrote studies about social groups, craftsmen, religious sects, nomadic tribes and customs, agricultural methods, art and practical solutions for rural problems. The journal was an important 'media of communication' and source of education by encouraging book publishing and founding of libraries and conferences. By 1940 *Ülkü* reported 4,533 lectures were delivered to 1,282,824 listeners (p. 79). The publication stimulated interest in 'writing, journalism and reporting' (p. 70). Villagers wanted to read about themselves. The practice reflected Dewey's philosophy. 'All communication is like art' and is a central praxis of education (1916/1980: 9). 'Communication is the process of creating participation, of making common what had been isolated and singular; and part of the miracle it achieves is that, in being communicated, the conveyance of meaning gives body and definiteness to the experience of the one who utters as well as to that of those who listen' (1934/1989: 248-49). *Ülkü* used simple everyday language and for Karpas was a turning point in Turkish intellectual life as 'it marked the reorientation towards concrete images connected with life and reality' (Karpas 1974: 74). Here, we encounter Veblen's matter-of-fact knowledge that produces clear thought, in this case, a result of language reform. Karpas saw it a necessary break from the formalism of divan literature (p. 74). *Ülkü* was a laboratory for young writers like Yaşar Kemal (1923-2015)—Adana *Halkevi* member and tobacco worker—who blossomed into one of Turkey's most influential writers.

Talat, a young member of the Samsun *Halkevi*, told Linke a story about an elderly peasant man of eighty who didn't understand he could not use his son's identification as his own. The angry man argued: 'What does it matter? There's no difference. Aren't they all given out by the Government?' Rather than ridiculing him for not understanding what was expected of him, Linke subtly remarked about the story:

They all laughed, unable to understand the bewilderment of a poor old man who had found himself suddenly caught by the wheels of a mysterious machine. And yet it was not so long since they themselves had learnt how to handle it (AD 175).

Linke's previous experience and learning from the Weimar Inflation, had too, created a populace not knowing the 'mysterious machine'. Through 'continuity' in learning, her

way of seeing (*Anschauungen*) and intuition (*Anschauungen*) allowed Linke to form a rational (*Vernunft*) synthesis, such that, the Turks needn't laugh at the old man because, they too, had just learned the 'mysterious machine' (although Turkish inflation was no comparison to that of Weimar). She abstained from taking sides either with the peasant or Talat. I read this nuance as Linke's articulation of creating a bridge rather than a gap between the urban elite and rural peasant that undermines the superior-inferior dichotomy.

In sum, a 'bricolage' of foreign and local pedagogies became a blueprint for Turkish education. Gökalp's idealism envisioned Turkish culture a science; Baltacıoğlu's pragmatism trusted in art and theatre; Ülken's moral philosophy called for ethics as one needed to sow good seeds to harvest a knowledgeable and purposeful future generation. They largely agreed on Dewey's 'experiential learning'. 'Man's life is activity; and as he acts, so he thinks and feels' (Veblen 1934/1964: 85). Turkish common man were not 'lazy and self-seeking' but dynamic. If their dynamism had waned it was the result of war and poverty cumulated across the nineteenth century that robbed them of their dignity. The pragmatists intensified (Goethe's *Steigerung*) their aims such that the whole (nation) flourish, despite the obstacles. Educational reform, even if only partially successful at revolutionizing the countryside, was a great learning for Linke that surely influenced her later work in Ecuador. She took Turkish praxis with her to underdeveloped regions of the Andes to work *with* and *for* the Quechua and Ecuador's common man. Linke had learned from the people of Turkey and as a means of reciprocal exchange, wrote her story as a gift for them.¹⁰³ In Linke, we see an actualization of Dewey's 'knowledge of life', in her praxis of 'learning from all the contacts of life' as an 'essential moral interest' in her aim Turkey succeed. Both the people of Turkey and Linke shared a common spirit of insubordination in that they both worked for the betterment of the whole under exceedingly trying circumstances.

¹⁰³ I do not know who or how many read *Allah Dethroned* at the time other than findings in book reviews.

‘Instinct of Workmanship’

The Turkish Case

Home truth three: Remember you can neither change your roots nor transplant them. So be proud of them. Relish them.
—Moris Farhi (2007: 436)

In a country where poverty is everyone’s lot, money cannot be made the condition of success.
—Lilo Linke (SCT 551)

Biz çalışacağız (We will work). —Mustafa Kemal

Linke was a witness to ‘instinct of workmanship’ that resurfaced within Turkey just as the Great Depression (1929-1939) engulfed the globe. This chapter examines workmanship as a facilitator of cultural evolution. Under exceedingly challenging circumstances, Mustafa Kemal and his peers knit the nation together with work for betterment of the whole. But how could a nation with 81 percent agricultural production (Makal 1999: 38) evolve into a self-sufficient industrialized nation? Where would they find a skilled workforce? From whom would they borrow ideas? How does working toward a common goal change cultural habits? Turkey’s economic recovery under *Étatism* (state-owned industry) was unmatched elsewhere in the east Mediterranean (Pamuk 2000: 18). I suggest strong parallels existed between Linke’s ‘experiential learning’ and ‘instinct of workmanship’ within Turkey. Experiencing this workmanship, as ‘spirit of insubordination’, her narratives juxtapose progressive yet contradictory ways in which goals were realized. Resembling Goethe’s scientific method ‘tender empiricism’, Linke’s way of seeing written as ‘matter-of-fact knowledge’ appreciated their efforts and, what appeared to her as success at reclaiming their dignity.

In the 1920s as European nations squabbled over WWI war reparations and carving up the spoils there was little interest in helping Turkey because under the auspices of former Ottoman customs tariffs, no imports *from* or exports *to* Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia were allowed until 24 August 1928 (Tuna 2009: 19). The measure crippled Turkey’s early start at industrialization. At the *Izmir Economic Congress* (17 February to 4 March 1923), Mustafa Kemal outlined

Turkey's 'national economy' program. Minister of Finance Mahmut Esat stressed:

We do not resemble any school in the history of economics. We are neither from the laissez faire school nor socialist, communist, étatist or any other protectionist schools... Although we are not bound to any of these schools mentioned above, we will not fail to make use of them, when necessary for the country. New Turkey should maintain a mixed economy system (p. 21).

Relations would be structured on alliances between tradesmen and industrialists, workers and civil servants, and traders and the self-employed. A comprehensive plan was put in place to realize these goals, that would,

distribute print literature to the villagers; teach primary and secondary schools industrial and agricultural courses; primary level education institutions were to have boarding schools adjacent to a large plot of land to teach theoretical and applied agricultural instruction; secondary schools were to establish model farms; establish a national agricultural college in Ankara with bee hives, vegetable gardens, orchards, dairy, brewery production which students were to manage; teachers were to supervise and sell produce which would pay teacher salaries; teachers were encouraged to live in the village; all male and female graduates from foreign and Turkish high schools were to serve one year on farms; military training was to include agricultural instruction; form mobile schools for adult education (Başgöz 1968: 56-57).

Many of these ambitious plans were not implemented until the 1930s but represent an early aim to work for betterment of the whole. With the Depression, the focus shifted to national unity against possible antagonist struggle between groups. In Tuna's words:

'By ensuring social solidarity over class struggle, this premise is aimed to create harmony in alliances, and will help equalize occupational alliances in accordance with the degree of ones talent and efforts' (p. 99). Mustafa Kemal stated: 'The party [RPP] will represent the nation as a whole, not just one social class' (Atatürk cited in Başgöz 1968: 47).

Mustafa Kemal and his peers created a 'third way' (*üçüncü yol*)—neither capitalist nor communist—as the national aspiration for economic independence and sovereignty (Adivar 1928; Birttek 1985; Heper and Keyman 1998; Tuna 2009). In some ways, I equate their 'third way' to that of Linke. Although she recognized that social justice lay somewhere on the Left, she was cautious not to give herself blindly to one ideology, but instead rested in-between, rejecting communism and capitalism outright. In this manner she created her own *Weltanschauung* of what 'ought to be', as was the aim of the leadership and its supporters within Turkey.

The Great Depression incited widespread civil unrest in Europe. In 1932, Germany had six million unemployed (Stolper 1940); in 1934 riots broke out in Paris (Dell 2007); and by 1936 Spain was in civil war (Bates 1936). Even rural enclaves in Canada were not immune. When six hundred open pit coalminers went on strike in Bienfait, Saskatchewan in 1931, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) opened

fire on men, women and children, wounding over fifty and killing three coalminers (Endicott 2002). The Turkish government watched events unfold in Europe with great concern. Economic hardship in Turkey worsened further and the populace was getting restless. Mustafa Kemal and his peers journeyed three months across Anatolia (1931) to meet common man and learn about the experiences and problems they faced firsthand (Başar 1945).

In 1932, the RPP announced the Six Arrow (*Altı Ok*) program and the first of two five-year plans for industrial development. Linke published the Six Arrow poster in her book (*AD* 329, Plate XLIII). I briefly review the six terms: republicanism, nationalism, populism, revolutionism, secularism and étatism that became the pillars of what later came to be known as Kemalist ideology. Paul Dumont (1984) writing on the origins of Kemalism unpacked each term. Republicanism (*Cumhuriyetçilik*) or *République* was inspired from the French Revolution and equated with democracy (p. 26). Nationalism (*Milliyetçilik*)—previously religious community (*millet*)—defined nation as ‘a social and political formation comprising citizens linked together by the community of language, culture and ideal’ (p. 29). Populism (*Halkçılık*) borrowed from the Russian *narodniki* or ‘going to the people’—a term coined by Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) and later popularized by Ziya Gökalp—was the ‘Turkish version of the solidarist ideas [cooperative solidarism] outlined by the French radical politician Léon Bourgeois and the sociologist Emile Durkheim’ (p. 31). Revolutionism (*İnkılapçılık*) from the Ottoman *inkilab* or *ihtilal*, meaning a sudden change in political or social order or *islahat* social metamorphosis, denoted continuous revolution to rapidly advance the nation (p. 35). Secularism (*Layiklik*) from the French *laïcité*—separation of church and state—in the Turkish case meant religion be kept a private affair separate from government (p. 36). Religion was not banned outright. Étatism (*Devletçilik*) ensured the government control the process of industrialization in the interest of national development (p. 39). While a far-reaching program imposed from above cannot be completely democratic, within the historical context, putting people to work was definitely more progressive and peaceable—even a radical political act—over predatory exploits in Europe toward a race for rearmament and cancerous fascism. Linke’s workmanship through authorship cultivated empathy with the Turks as a peaceable and industrious nation and, was equally, a radical political act.

Veblen’s ‘Instinct of Workmanship’

The ‘instinct of workmanship’ is part of the ‘spirit of insubordination’ where

common man work within their means for common good of the community and not under undue pressure, surveillance or intervention from above. They are self-conscious agents that set ‘teleological’ activities for themselves. ‘He is an agent seeking in every act the accomplishment of some concrete, objective, impersonal end. By force of his being such an agent he is possessed of a taste for effective work, and distaste for futile effort’ (1899/2009: 16). Habituation to the community is a quasi-anarchistic form of ‘Live and Let Live’. Based on this definition, how then, could top down *Étatism* possibly be considered ‘Live and Let Live’ of common man? My argument seems porous even implausible. In the Turkish case, *Étatism* was the state-led attempt to motivate common man to work for the good of the community—community which embodies the entire Republic—without foreign intervention for the betterment of the whole (nation). The spirit of volunteerism to flourish against obstacles became the national ethos. When we recall Jameson’s philosophy that people must take an active role in their community to bring about social progress (Golubov 2002: 9), Turkey’s concrete praxis of work interwoven with the new abstract concept of citizen and nation makes complete rational sense. In this respect, *Étatism* was praxis to help restore the people’s confidence whose industriousness and human dignity was robbed by the ‘strong hand’ of imperialism and it was a means of protecting the state in the Depression years (Okyar 1965; Birttek 1985). State-lead industry marked a clear intent for long-term betterment of the whole over parasitic profit for profits sake of business.

Pertinently aware of the practices of rather unscrupulous individuals within Turkey, Yakup Kadri a diplomat, journalist and novelist, read the economic crisis as a means for business-like individuals to found factories to their advantage, who tend to,

travel in committees to either Austria, Germany or to Czechoslovakia, where they spent weeks or months, acting as if they were there to explore new gold mines and ended up with the factories they sent back home like financial trophies; god knows under what onerous circumstances or with what high commissions they gained them in the first place. Immediately following this, national companies were established and the same businessmen turned up as shareholders in them, sometimes members or even the chairman of the board, seemingly finding the secret to get the gold mine home, which they explored abroad. We heard of some messed up with even more entangled business, like, selling second hand machinery from textile factories to other countries, which only recently, were transported to Turkish ports, to be used at home (p. 291).

Kadri writes with certain disgust about this opportunism. Linke will visit both private and state-run industry later in the chapter. *Étatism* differed from economic schemes employed abroad (Okyar 1965; Birttek 1985). ‘In Turkey, government interventionism was not designed, in the Keynesian sense, to increase aggregate demand through the use of devaluations and expansionary fiscal and monetary policies. Instead, the emphasis

was on creating a more closed, more autarkic [self-sufficient] economy and increasing central control through the expansion of the public sector' (Pamuk 2000: 18).

Announced prior to the United States *New Deal* (1933-1938) Turkey took the lead.

Mustafa Kemal and his peers were not career politicians. Perhaps pioneers, they might have envisioned how the nation evolve. To explore this subject further, I borrow Faruk Birttek's model of *Étatism* (1985). In the *Étatist* period beginning in 1932, the core (state bureaucrats) had to efficiently manage two existing modes of production. Agricultural production (periphery) some of which was run by feudal landlords holding large tracts of land, particularly in the south east of Turkey, on the one hand, and already existent private enterprises carried over from the liberal economy (1923 to 1930), on the other. Adding to this mix, with efforts to industrialize the nation they worked to insert new industries that were state-run and state-owned industrial enterprises, manufacturing textiles, paper, metal, glass and chemicals, to name a few. Regulating all these modes of production meant that the bureaucrats in the core had to ensure capital accumulation not be skimmed off directly into private pockets but rather channeled toward developing and building the nation; i.e. schools, hospitals, railways, roads, bridges, infrastructure and the like. It required breaking old habits established in the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire. Certainly, it was not an easy task. They would face conflicts of interest between these various modes of production and the actors involved. Yet, the goal was to work for the future by envisioning the possible.

Birttek explains their vision and governance. 'Here the rationality that determined behavior competence was the functional rationality of 'cost accounting' (p. 408). Their aims were to rationally manage the populace, economically. Thus, the 'Étatist economic program was a 'prudent financial policy' that 'hinged on keeping a balanced budget' (p. 412) such that national development would flourish. From a multi-perspectival angle, these bureaucrats' goals might be seen as determined benevolent fathers ensuring all the children of the nation are working and fed rather than belligerent politicians that pocket the money for self-interest. They were not masters of 'financial intrigue' like in the U.S. Instead, they 'controlled the direction of growth of the economic surplus', both through cultivating better wheat production as a 'national-market-oriented activity' (p. 409) and constructing industrial manufacture. This explains the importance of railway construction as it ensured the transportation of wheat across the nation to feed people. Of Veblen's cumulative 'native bias', peculiar to each culture, it seems rather futile to argue Turkey was equal in mindset to Germany or Russia. Raised in German 'native bias', who better than Linke to appreciate this difference.

Turkey's Masterless Women

Habit of thought might harbor the prejudice that Turkish women are somehow 'behind' European women. Production in Turkey was tied to agriculture thus an organized and industrial workforce—inclusive of women—was on the way to becoming. Anatolian women always worked although not in fully industrial work in the western sense of a proletariat. They worked on *çift-hane* farms and in small units of artisanal production for centuries and millennia. Women were not subjects of the harem, a misconception reproduced under the Western Oriental gaze (Ahmed 1982; Yeğenoğlu 1998; Mabro 1998). Women had yet to reach economic independence although some had made great strides in this area.

American culture swept across the last vestiges of the Ottoman Empire. Women wore the latest flapper fashions just like their European contemporaries, were seduced as new consumers and learned the new habit of consumption. Skirts were raised and hats were donned. Bobbed haircuts became the rage known as *Rus başı* (literally Russian head for their short bobbed hair worn with a thin band around the head) following the influx of Russian émigrés into the Ottoman Empire following WWI and the Bolshevik Revolution. Advertising for every kind of new fancy adorned the pages of Turkish fashion magazines. Women attended sporting events alongside men. While some became avid consumers, countless women worked for betterment of the whole, which in the *Étatist* period, was the aim to develop local industries producing goods common man needed as there was widespread poverty following the war. Imports undermined the national economy because it hampered buying local state-owned industry goods. A wing at *Darülfünun* later named Istanbul University, welcomed women to study in fields like law, medicine and science in 1912. The university directive read: 'Women can enter any profession. No difference between women and men is acceptable, in this context' (Toprak 2014: 246).

Appearing on the BBC radio program *Young Ideas* in December 1935 Linke reported her first impressions of a country she knew little.

I didn't know any more about Turkey than you, and you needn't feel ashamed either. I had it all mixed up with Arabian nights and Christmas pantomime, and my English friends were looking forward to organising an expedition in order to free me from the enslavement of the harem. They were sure I would be taken into one, and I was rather flattered at their belief in my attraction. Well, I felt never sillier in all my life than when I landed in Istanbul—you will know it better under the name of Constantinople—when I saw the huge blocks of apartment houses sticking out from the hills against the blue sky. The customs-official addressed me in English, the Turkish girl in French, and she wore a Parisian hat tipped over her right eye. I felt as clumsy at her side as an elephant conversing with a peacock. It took about a fortnight to re-adjust myself to regain my self-assurance (1935b, p. 2).

Admitting herself ‘never sillier’ Linke hoped to influence the BBC audience to question their habits. Reference to ‘Arabian nights’ and ‘enslavement in harems’ discredited the doctored fairytales of yesteryear by European authors.

In light of Veblen’s assertion that women have stronger proclivities for an instinct of workmanship and parental bent, who better to take on the task than women? ‘The impulse is perhaps stronger upon the woman than upon the man to live her own life in her own way’ (1899/2009: 232). Since women fought in the national struggle, the idea to form a political party originated out of this solidarity. On 15 June 1923 Nezihe Muhiddin, Nimet Remide and Lâtife Bekir among others—prior to declaration of the Turkish Republic on 29 October—founded the Women’s People’s Party (*Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*), KHF hereafter, as the first women’s political party in the Republic (Toprak 2014: 463). Educator, novelist, political leader and women’s rights advocate Halidé Edip Adivar (1884-1964) wrote, ‘a country belongs to its women more than to its men. It was they who recognized instinctively a danger to their homes, although they were not in a position to know the politically complicated reasons which lead the men of every country to war’ (1928: 6). Ten years at war had frayed the social fabric in the transition from Empire to Republic. Of the Turkish soldiers mobilized for WWI over 26.8 percent were killed, approximately 1,454,000 (Ferguson 1998: 295, 299). This figure does not include casualties from the Balkan Wars (1912) and *War of Independence* (1919-1922). As women were left to pick up the pieces after men’s predatory exploit, with few prospects for work, prostitution exploded across the country, especially in Istanbul. Famine, disease and poverty were widespread. Born out of societal denigration the KHF prioritized family and education as their party agenda. In 1924, Muhiddin and her peers founded the Turkish Women’s Union (*Türk Kadınlar Birliği*), TKB hereafter (Toprak 2014: 473). After 1927 the TKB took on a political tone emphasizing women’s suffrage and entrance into politics and entrepreneurship.

Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel (1895-1968) was an early progenitor of women’s rights and social justice. Considered the first woman journalist of the modern Republic, Sertel was a writer, social worker and leading feminist who recognized three categories of women: *ev kadını* (housewife), *meslek kadının* (professional woman) and *dünya kadını* (global woman) (p. 181). She wrote, edited and published weekly and monthly periodicals *Resimli Ay*, *Resimli Perşembe*, *Resimli Hafta*, *Sevimli Ay* and wrote for the daily newspaper *Tan* (Shissler 2008: 13). A high school graduate from the Ottoman city of Salonika, trained at the New York School of Social Work (1919–23), one of her hallmark projects was gathering empirical evidence about social issues, including those

of women's rights and education, women at work, child employment and prostitution. Sertel argued women must work alongside men in factories, in government and as entrepreneurs.

Go love whatever man you want, go live with whatever man you want—that is a right accorded to your heart, desire, and will. We are giving you the same personal freedom that we give to men. But, mind you, you are a person in society like a man, and like [any] person you are obliged to be productive in society... so, go to whichever you want of our factories, commercial establishments, and workplaces, and work (Sertel cited in Shissler p. 20).

In *Sevimli Ay*, a journal focusing on social issues, Sertel published articles on women working in tobacco factories, as waitresses and as teachers (Zekeriya 1930: 22). Shissler suggests Sertel's worldview was particularly Marxist. This put her out of favor with the RPP. Rather than bucking them as 'Republican opposition', Sertel's instinct of workmanship guided her to work for the common good in 'loyal opposition' to the RPP (p. 14). As a masterless woman of 'lively intellect' Sertel worked to advance the Turkish 'situation' that strove for modernization, secularization and industrialization. Critical of women's understanding of feminism, in an essay she counseled future sisters: 'Turkish feminism does not expect intellectuals to discuss women in books or reflection, but study them in life itself. Only these studies would bring a scientific trend in Turkish feminism' (Toprak 2014: 511). One must touch all strata of society, observe and embrace life, not be imprisoned by book knowledge alone. And we recall of Freire, '[h]uman beings are because they are in a situation. And they will be more the more they [...] critically act upon it' (1970/1996: 90).

Across the world women's rights were now interconnected with politics. By 1932 over eighteen million women had signed a declaration calling for disarmament (Toprak 2014: 490). In 1933 Clara Zetkin's 'The Toilers Against War' called for international solidarity of the workers against imperialism (p. 487). In 1934 the World Congress of Women Against War and Fascism was held in Paris. In 1935 from April 18 to 25 the twelfth International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship (IAW) took place in Istanbul at Yıldız Palace. Hosted by Lâtife Bekir and the TKB, delegates from thirty-nine countries, including women from Iran, Palestine, Egypt and India, together with a plethora of diplomats and journalists flocked to Istanbul. Women from Italy and Germany did not attend while those from Britain, America and France came with an agenda (p. 496). To my knowledge Linke did not attend the congress. She was in Anatolia encountering common man with whom probably few of the European delegates were familiar or in whom they were probably not interested. Swiss delegate Emilie Gourd confessed: 'I am jealous of Turkish women' (p. 492). Katherine Bompas

general secretary to the International Women's Union confided: 'As European women, we honestly envy Turkish women' (p. 492). President of the IAW, Britain's Corbett Ashley, opened the congress stating: 'freedom for women, peace for humanity' (p. 489). As Turkish women were equal to their men the TKB hadn't anticipated Ashley's distinct stress on pacifism. This political stance was new thinking for the TKB according to Toprak (p. 491).

Despite overwhelming success, on 10 May Bekir announced the closure of the TKB. Declaring women had achieved their rights it was no longer necessary to work for these ends. Those who wished to do so could choose from a variety of other societies (p. 495). The TKB was not the only society shut down. In 1928 the Worker's Society and Skilled Labour Society were closed. Toprak equates Bekir's announcement to close the TKB a result of Turkey's foreign policy during the interwar period that chose not to show its hand (p. 496). The official RPP stand was: 'Peace at home. Peace in the world'. Libal (2008) frames the congress merely a platform for 'staging women's emancipation' in Turkey. To my mind, Libal sorrowfully undermines the legitimate headway Turkish women made and has scant intuition or understanding about why the move was taken. The TKB decision to close might have been contradictory but war was now largely anticipated.

The *Geist* or spirit of the 1930s saw women take the lead in shaping their society and doing their part for common good across the world. Annie Buller (1896-1973)—a Canadian of Ukrainian descent—fought for fair wages and decent work places for textile and mining workers across Canada. The main organizer at the open pit coalmine in Bienfait, Buller was jailed two years for her insubordinate spirit (Watson 1976). Thus the global mood was increasingly authoritarian. Mustafa Kemal was concerned that the strength of Turkish women's insubordination might unduly pacify the masses or divide society. His reasoned conventional wisdom was to take precautionary measures to protect the nation. If Turkey was threatened by imperialist powers, yet again, her men and women should be ready to fight. Thus Mustafa Kemal and the RPP presciently had betterment of the whole in mind. Closure of the TKB should not be singled out as a unique case to Turkey.

This did not silence insubordinate women outright. Much like Linke, Meliha Avni Sözen (1905-1993) poet, writer and journalist worked ceaselessly to reshape her society. Across the 1930s she spoke on radio programs, at open-air meetings in parks and squares, at theatres, conference halls, middle schools, universities and People's House (*Halkevi*). She addressed women: 'Rather than others, you will be the example

for others, you will work, work endlessly continuously, through frugality, and knowing the value that comes from the soil, water and nature' (Sözen 1936: 99). To artisans, workers and farmers she offered: 'We will be the capital' (p. 100). She encouraged solidarity between urban and rural women. 'Stretch out your delicate hand, adorned with manicured fingernails, to the peasant woman's precious hands, calloused with soil and manure' (p. 101). Sözen's thinking reflected the spirit of the times (threat of another war) and women's role in supporting collective work, solidarity and national stability.

Selma Ekrem (1902-1986)—granddaughter of the Turkish poet and playwright Namık Kemal—travelled to the United States in 1923 and lived part of her life there. She worked at the Turkish Consulate in New York City and was a university lecturer until she returned to Turkey in the 1930s. *Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* (1931) is Ekrem's account of experiences both in Turkey and the United States. *Turkey Old and New* (1947) is a comprehensive study of modern Turkey. There was forever a need to educate the English-speaking reader about the Turkish Republic. In *Unveiled*, she wrote her first impressions of the United States. 'To me New York was the modern fairy city. [...] the American mind, fairy lore to an Eastern eye' (p. 254) 'an American Thousand and One Nights Tales' (p. 255). 'I saw people running as if their coat tails were on fire [...] where were these people running to' (p. 255)? Ekrem's account challenged the Oriental gaze of the west on the east, by purposely emulating their terminology. Confronted by habitual racism, when a passport agent at the airport learned she was from Turkey, he asked her: 'Where did you get those clothes?' She sarcastically responded: 'We do not go around in my country wrapped in Turkish towels' (p. 253). Dressed in the latest fashions, oddly enough: 'No one believed that I was a Turk' (p. 260). Ekrem concluded: 'The Terrible Turk ruled the minds of the Americans' (p. 261). Seeing the United States with fresh eyes, Ekrem captured keen observations. 'Happiness here had to be bought' (p. 264). Writing on American women and their relationship to men, she aptly noted a 'boy friend' was nothing but an American 'commodity' (p. 268).

Another spirit of insubordination İffet Halim Oruz (1904-1993) joined the TKB opening the Diyarbakır branch in 1927 (Köse 2006). Born in Diyarbakır, although a published poet and playwright, Oruz wrote *Women in New Turkey (Yeni Türkiye'de Kadın 1933)*, *Price Inspection in Turkey: Legislation and Application (Türkiye'de Fiyat Murakabesi: Mevzuat ve Tatbikat 1944)* coauthored with Sıtkı Yırcalı and *The Women's Revolution in Turkey During Atatürk's Era (Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye'de Kadın Devrimi 1986)*. In a collection of speeches published *Friends! (Arkadaşlar!*

1936), she counseled fellow citizens about the Great Depression:

It is absurd to call this depression an economic depression. Since the time of human consciousness, although people consider the act of getting on well with each other as part of humanity, unfortunately they weren't able to get rid of some personal issues that caused them to act in the opposite way. This is comparable to the situation between nations (p. 13).

Under 1930s *Étatism* protectionist measures encouraged people to purchase Turkish-made goods to support industrialization and ensure internal stability through work. She too called on the populace to buy local and save their money. Oruz thought it the only way to avoid heading into another war (WWII). Simply she used her common sense.

Post 1980 Turkish feminists and gender scholars re-explored the Republican era and posed questions as to whether women were 'actors or pawns' of largely male elites spearheading Turkey's modernization effort (Kandiyoti 1989). Recognizing Tekili's argument Kandiyoti (1987) states 'singling out women as the group most visibly oppressed by religion, through practices such as veiling, seclusion, and polygamy, was absolutely central to Atatürk's onslaught on the theological state which culminated in the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924' (p. 321). Placing these feminist ideas in their historical context their scholarly work came on the heels of three harsh military coup d'état (1960, 1971, 1980) that undoubtedly provoked criticality of male-dominated power structures. Kandiyoti claims state reforms were 'class-biased' using the middle and upper socio-economic strata of women as role models to lead the lower ones (p. 323). Although some might disagree, I posit Mustafa Kemal's strategy was born out of necessity, in this regard. Recall Veblen's astute argument human psychology seeks forms of emulation, which for him denotes leisure class 'invidious comparison' of possessions and common man's emulation of the leisure class. However in the Turkish case, these role-model women were not the 'leisure class' outright. They were not idle. On the contrary, they worked actively as progenitors for social evolution, taking the lead to better the whole.

Some Turkish feminists and gender scholars read the early Republican era as 'state feminism' (Tekeli 1988 cited in Durakbaşı 2001). Furthermore, as Turkish scholars tend to borrow heavily from Marxist class-analysis, the real efforts of women each with their own capabilities—be they of elite, middle or lower socio-economic strata—results in a division of common work for betterment of the whole strictly along class lines. Thus it is argued only elite women were emancipated. Kandiyoti (1987) questions, 'what is the relationship, if any, between 'emancipation' and 'liberation'? The latter means to 'set (someone) free from a situation, especially imprisonment or

slavery, in which their liberty is severely restricted’ while the former implies to ‘set free, especially from legal, social, or political restrictions’. Here then, we arrive at a conundrum. Women were freed from one form of male dominance (old order religious-empire values) to be delivered, if willing to adapt to new habits, into another form of male dominance (new order secular-state values). This stance blocks any solution and obfuscates other questions. Where does the reality of women working for common good enter in the discussion? Why is this subject lost, when failure to industrialize and maintain Turkey’s ‘national economy’ in the interwar period might have ended in a failed state throwing the lot back into war?

To my mind, Turkish feminists and gender scholars—as granddaughters of modernization—still tend to favor study of the middle and elite socio-economic strata, neglecting lower-strata women, who too, were brave enough to change their habits, to work in factories, learn the new language and discard the veil. The post 1980 feminist trajectory, as elsewhere, is largely entangled in the web of corporate control over female sexuality (p. 325). Recent scholarship on the Republican era focuses on culture and dress (Yılmaz 2013) and nostalgia for the modern (Özyürek 2006). What interests me is the lack of any cohesive study grounded in the work of common man. Here, I refer to both the alleged ‘elite’ women and men, together with the ordinary working class women and men (common man). I am referring to those who put these class differences aside to work for the betterment of the whole (Republic). Ayşe Buğra mentions this willingness. The Association of Philanthropists (*Yardım Sevenler Derneği*) and The Society for the Protection of Children, were run mostly by women. There was a general sentiment in the public of ‘cooperation and solidarity’ whereby ‘well-to-do citizens who were expected to take responsibility in the realm of social assistance’ in a ‘spirit of the times when profits and profitmaking activities were regarded with a deep-set suspicion’ (2007: 38).

Durakbaşı’s (2001) work on the novelist Adalet Ağaoğlu continues to reproduce an uneven discourse between elite and working women for her emphasis on narratives of the elite. In an essay on Mevhibe İnönü (wife of İsmet Pasha, commander of the national struggle) Ağaoğlu wrote of the ‘forgotten women’ or the ‘real persons’ as ‘real carriers of modernization’. In her words:

Why have those women been the ones whose inner worlds have been the least of interest? Why haven’t they been written about with a deep interest of seeing and knowing? The wife of a statesman, head of an association, volunteer nurse, corporal, teacher, the first lawyer, loyal wife, perfect mother... “Those women” were women who could overcome all those “ill eyes” over them, without losing their balance (Ağaoğlu cited in Durakbaşı p. 196).

Ağaoğlu's point about the 'forgotten women' in the modernization project and the need for 'deep interest of seeing and knowing' is a fertile idea. While I am grateful to Durakbaşa for pursuing Ağaoğlu's suggestion, albeit 'elite' examples, I question why Turkish scholars (men and women) have largely overlooked the working women in factories—teachers alike—as spearheads to reshape their provincial communities? Here Linke might provide some fruitful information in her narratives on the relationship between these agents of social evolution. Women were very much encouraged to raise themselves to equal place with men as evident in Mustafa Kemal's following statement:

If it is found to be sufficient to have only one of the two sexes that compose a society equipped with the contemporary needs, more than half of that society would remain weak... Therefore, if knowledge and technology are necessary for our society, both our men and women have to acquire them equally (31 January, 1923 cited in Arat, 2000: 160).

Although acquiring knowledge and technology was the ideal, and it was as much up to the women as the men, practice was often more difficult. Again, centuries of uneven and combined development that reconstituted further uneven relationships between men and women could not be wiped away with a magic wand overnight.

Common 'Instinct of Workmanship'

From Linke's experiences and writing of them, I discern an instinct of workmanship, which may contribute to new knowledge on the era. She included the diverse voices of *all* socio-economic strata of common man in her narratives, respecting their work and aims despite the fact that the outcomes that resulted were sometimes contradictory. Perhaps it is paradoxical that Linke's contacts were primarily with men. Men mostly showed her around factories, hospitals, schools and construction sites. This illustrates a division of labor did exist along gender lines, in some cases, yet this need not obfuscate the fact that women too 'had a taste for effective work'. Linke's insubordinate spirit posed difficult questions to both those she encountered and to her readers. 'Emancipatory praxis' what I explained in Part I as Freire's *word=work=praxis* was a dialogue cultivated through 'reflection and action' (1970/1996: 68). 'If I do not love the world—if I do not love life—if I do not love people—I cannot enter into dialogue', stated Freire (p. 71). Her narratives were not the fanciful construction of a travel writer, what Lisle (2006) argued reproduces 'remnants of Orientalism, colonialism and Empire' (p. 5). Linke did not leave the reader's mind to trail off and imagine scenarios about the 'terrible Turk' in the way some Europeans represented them (Çırakmak 2005). Rather when experiences are placed in a broader framework of 'continuity' and 'interaction' (along the lines of Dewey's experiential learning), Linke

encouraged the reader to interpret workmanship as a shared goal between alleged ‘elites’ and common man alike. Her approach resembles Goethean scientific method (tender empiricism) that intuited and reasoned, based on experience, what obstacles they faced. She worked hard to give the reader a multi-perspectival view such that they draw their own conclusions. She hoped to alter the reader’s habit of thought about Turkey and to force readers to question the self and habitual thought. To this end, Linke used juxtaposition devices that at first glance appear as contradictory streams of thought. Done on purpose, with a purpose, her juxtapositions worked to make the reader think just as Eisenstein’s montage worked to make the audience ‘help itself’ not ‘entertain it’ (1963: 84). In this manner, her narratives take the reader, and Linke herself, on a continuous pedagogical emancipatory journey.

Linke’s encounters form a ‘conscious-process-participation epistemology’ in Wahl’s (2005: 70) reading of Goethean science that employs experience, empathy, intuition and imagination (p. 60). This is apparent in the following example. In a chapter ‘Some Happy Women’ Linke met a group of veiled women in Sivas. ‘I smiled at them, they smiled at me’ (*AD* 31).

It is impossible to imagine a greater well-being. A gentle friendliness streamed out of these women, each resting in herself, but also closely linked to the others. [...] It did not matter that we spoke strange languages—words were of no avail. It did not matter that our lives were so different—did we not share the most important experience, that of being a woman (*AD* 32)?

Confronting English-readers habitual biases that women in countries like Turkey (the Muslim Near and Middle East) must somehow be eternally unhappy because they live under despotism, Linke pushed the point. ‘They had certainly spent all their lives in simple harems and adhered strictly to the ancient traditions. But having thus been enslaved, they seemed none the worse for it’ (*AD* 32). Using her juxtaposition device and multi-perspectival view, Linke’s next sentence questioned: ‘Or did I make the mistake of most travellers of judging things by their outward appearance’ (*AD* 32)? Befriending a young woman from the group Lütfiye, she asked several questions to the reader and also the self.

Did she for the first time see the rising of a new time? Did she envy me the life of which I had given them a faint outline or any of my belongings, did she want to become a “modern girl” herself? Nothing is stranger than the reactions of a young heart, no change swifter or caused by smaller incidents (*AD* 35).

As if in conversation with herself and the reader, Linke answered her questions. ‘Yet it might just as well be that she merely wanted to be kind and disliked refusing a wish of her “dear sister”’ (*AD* 35). Tender empiricist praxis refuted the ‘us’ and ‘them’ couched

in an inferior-superior binary taught at imbecile institutions. Linke subtly hinted their shared encounter was a reciprocal exchange. Both would undergo change after the experience of experiencing each other.

Later that afternoon, Linke visited the local crafts-school in Sivas where boys and girls were trained. A woman of about forty Hattice Hanim—herself a carpet-weaver since the age of five—was now the principal of the department training two-dozen young girls in carpet weaving, craftsmanship still alive in modern Turkey. Having taken off the veil Hattice's relation with her whole family was severed (*AD* 36). 'She was not yet a modern woman who can rely on herself, but out of her own free will she had taken the first step in that direction' (*AD* 36). She invited Linke to watch one girl tie twelve knots per inch. Linke posed another question. 'How can we enjoy the fruits of such labour which hardly suffices to sustain the patient worker? But if I protest against these carpets, must I not also refuse to buy the cheap Japanese goods and who knows how many others' (*AD* 36)?

These excerpts offer several subtle points. First, she underlined the 'free will' and willingness of Hattice—a common woman (non-elite)—to embrace new cultural habit even when it meant family rejection. Second, she emphasized the low-paid salaries of young girls working at carpet weaving. Incidentally young girls are chosen for this work because their slim fingers allow for tighter weaving of knots per inch. Desire for hand-made carpets forces the reader to think s/he may be equally responsible in supporting child labor. Third, advancement in the Industrial Arts brings further exploitation whether in Japan or elsewhere. In 1932, when Linke visited French women silk-weavers, the *canut*, in Lyon, France, she had posed similar questions (*TWE* 144). Again, Linke's 'continuity' in learning afforded her a new way of seeing (*Anschauungen*) across geographies that employed intuition (*Anschauungen*) to knit experiences together and arrive at a rational synthesis (*Vernunft*). She articulated what Jameson suggested the writer discover and relate, namely a 'shared humanity', often facing similar obstacles. Turkey had to industrialize and modernize to survive. Witness to these contradictions, Linke concluded of Sivas: 'Modern times had intruded even into this old-fashioned place, and as often they had brought no improvement' (*AD* 37).

Linke viewed herself a 'sincere friend of the Turks' (*AD* 41) (*Fig. 12*), although concerned she might be seen with suspicion. Determined to learn how the independence of women was viewed (*AD* 41), she realized some men and women fully embraced it, while others were skeptical. Her insubordinate spirit wanted to confront the ideas of her 'cynical friends at Istanbul' (*AD* 59). In the eastern town of Malatya, Bay Nebi (director

of the Banque Ottomane) informed her: ‘There have been tremendous changes in the past few years, not only outwardly, but in the minds and hearts of the people. It was only ten years ago that people threw stones through the windows of a house in which a woman was playing a lute because only loose women played worldly instruments. And they attacked others who dared to walk through the streets unveiled’ (AD 198). Skeptics might accuse this ‘elite’ man of fabrication. Ekrem wrote similar experiences when she was threatened for wearing a hat. ‘It is a sin, hanoum, a sin,’ he shouted at Selma’s mother. ‘Your children are wearing hats as Christians do. Are you not a Moslem?’ (1931: 168). This man’s protestations should be placed in historical context. English and Senegalese soldiers (brought in by the French) occupied the streets of Istanbul. Selma recalled: ‘We were waiting for our tram, which did not come. Then we saw a group of English sailors, arm in arm. Not one leg was straight, not one face was sober. They passed near us and one of them came to us and almost fell upon us [...] Get out of here, you drunk’ Berat shouted, and we pushed him away with all our might’ [...] These scenes of drunkenness revolted us, and Stamboul turned pale with shame and anger’ (p. 245). Naturally social tensions were high under foreign occupation after WWI.

In Kayseri, Linke visited a textile *Kombinat* covering eight square miles of land—the first of its kind—a result of Turkish-Russian collaboration (AD 307) after the *Moscow Treaty of Friendship* signed in March 1921 (AD 85). Borrowing ideas from the Soviets, Turkish engineers traveled to Moscow and returned with fresh ideas to advance the nation’s betterment without subordinating to communism. State-owned Sümerbank (1933) built the cloth factory (*Bez Fabrikası*) while the Soviets designed factory plans, supplied the machinery, issued twenty-year interest free credit and sent two hundred engineers to supervise construction (AD 308). When Linke arrived, it was still under construction but the director Bay Fazıl, was happy to show her around the ambitious project of the Five-Year-Plan (1934-1938). She noticed bright red streamers that read ‘Long live the Turkish-Russian friendship!’ There were pictures of Atatürk and Lenin on the walls (AD 308). Bay Fazıl was choosing and educating future workers. Linke asked: ‘Where will you find them?’ He replied: ‘Among the Turkish youth’ (AD 303)!

A store-room was transformed into a temporary class-room and Linke watched thirty boys aged fourteen to sixteen and a girl of fifteen undergo an examination for a six-month apprenticeship. Two Russian engineers and two Turkish foremen sat before them. When it came time for the girl to be examined, Linke noticed she completed her tasks in the exam even quicker than the boys.

It was amazing what these children had learnt in so short a time. They understood a great many complicated technical processes knew the meaning of every single screw, could tie knots and mend broken threads—they had learnt that in a single day—and were able to describe the *kombinat* down to the last corner and all it stood for. Their eagerness to learn seemed inexhaustible (AD 311).

Linke met Nimet after the exam. She was an orphan who had worked in an Istanbul tobacco factory. Linke questioned: “‘And you think you’ll like working here?’” Her eyes lit up, her face lost its expression of grown-up self-composure. “‘Oh, yes,’” she said with a little blush, “‘and the director told me I can live in one of the new boarding-houses’” (AD 311). We could interpret Nimet as oppressed by the elite but doesn’t a chance to learn by doing improve her lot through effective work? Buğra points out, it was deliberate and rational policy to keep the peasants in the countryside to reduce population displacement to urban settings during the Depression (p. 36). Instead of leaving Nimet and other youth like her destitute, the RPP made it a policy to offer the chance for work in the ‘mixed economy’ of state-run industries. Linke made a point to mention Nimet was from Istanbul, thus it seems probable the RPP tried to balance urban and rural poverty rather than in Europe where there was mass unemployment in urban centers and great instability. Thus, there was rationality and efficiency in the government placing Nimet in a safe, clean abode offering security and a future. Sertel’s July 1930 article in *Resimli Ay* illustrates conditions in tobacco and leather factories were atrocious. Women and children as young as nine years old, worked in unhealthy, damp, unlit spaces. They looked up at visitors like frightened cats. An insubordinate Sertel counseled her reader about factory work: ‘They do not work to live, they live to work. This is the sole mission of women and children in industrial life’ (Zekeriya 1930: 18). Customs tariffs were only lifted in August 1928, thus the state was not yet in a financial position to reverse deplorable work conditions. In 1935, Linke’s narratives wrote positively of tobacco factory production while in 1928 Sertel witnessed systemic poverty from the remains of imperialism still using its ‘strong hand’.

Bay Fazıl planned the construction of two boarding houses, one male, one female, with a canteen and housekeeper. Linke was skeptical whether all would come to fruition in the way he envisioned. Fazıl stressed, ‘they could not afford to waste time by trying to do things slowly. It was best to go the whole way in one stride and hope for the best’ (AD 311-12). Linke’s 1946 experiences with the Mexican engineer José had insisted on slow development. In Turkey it was the exact opposite where reforms were swiftly carried out. Fazıl noted Kayseri was a conservative town where villagers live in ‘dirty hovels’. ‘Here they’ll be properly looked after. I’ll get two forewomen from Russia to train and mother them. They’ll have decent meals, the sports grounds as a

playing-field, clean dresses and a doctor to watch over their health' (*AD* 312). The factory would employ 4,500 men, women and girls in three shifts producing thirty million yards of cloth annually (*AD* 312-13). A mosquito-infested swamp was drained two years earlier to make room for seven hundred family homes. Parks would be built. Trees planted. Thus through work, the government sought to evolve habituation by providing a community, equipped with social facilities, to bring men and women together in a new cultural environment. Sound and legitimate governance, work was accomplished in concrete deeds that provided for common man as they worked for the state. In short it was reciprocity. *Étatism* secured local (community) consumption from local production, reinstating pride in common man that helped to rationally 'balance the books' (Birtek 1985). Sümerbank had dressed its citizens and secured their dignity, self-confidence and instinct of workmanship. On 11 May 1939, the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper confidently wrote: 'Affordable Clothes for Turkish Villagers' (Tuna p. 249). Instinct of workmanship facilitated a cultural (r)evolution through 'cultural action' which for Freire is liberation of men and women. But more than this, as Buğra points out, the RPP worked to maintain a "respectable" standard of living' for the civil servants such that 'the dignity of the state's servants' would 'prevent their misery to reflect upon the state itself' (2007: 38). This implies a kind of reciprocity between the citizen and the state and the state and the citizen, such that each actualizes this dignity. The 'standard of living' is an interesting point in light of Veblen, who purported common man need a 'standard of living' to ensure self-esteem. In this manner, the state worked for its citizen's self-esteem, where it could.

In the southeastern city of Adana, Linke visited the cotton factory (*Mensucat Fabrikası*) under the state-controlled Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*) (*AD* 261). Bay Ceylan came from one of the leading families of Adana and his son Hüsrev worked as a civil servant for the state-run operation. Linke observed out of five hundred workers no younger than fifteen, only a third or so were women (*AD* 264). According to statistics, Linke was not far off the mark.^{107 108} Workers were fed in the canteen. Linke questioned why prices were rather high. Ceylan explained canteen profits contributed to an accident fund (*AD* 265). This triggered Linke to ask if work accidents were frequent. Ceylan replied: 'No. The workers are on the whole quite cautious. But if anything happens, all expenses for treatment and so on are paid out of the accident funds, and the wages run on as if the man were working. And by the way—we have one up on you. Our men and

¹⁰⁷ In 1934 factory workers were 49,748 men and 16,499 women (Makal 1999: 221).

¹⁰⁸ In 1935 agriculture comprised 35.5 percent and industry 18.1 percent (p. 245).

women get equal pay for equal work' (*AD* 265)!¹⁰⁹ Although the factory was not ideal, plans were in the pipeline for a new one four times the size, part of the industrial Five-Year-Plan (*AD* 265). Should we assume the family lived in luxury while workers in abject poverty Linke visited Ceylan's home. 'The house itself was simply furnished in European manner with sideboard, piano, and family photographs—any better-off English clerk in suburbia might live like this. There was nowhere any sign of luxury'. Linke concluded Ceylan 'certainly had no money to waste. The country is poor and pays its officials accordingly' (*AD* 262).

While in Adana, Linke also visited a privately owned oil and soap factory. The owner, a 'naturalized Greek or Russian' was away but his nephew took her around. Linke sarcastically referred to the young man as a 'Hollywood beau' based on his looks, smile and 'swinging gait' (*AD* 266). The factory was ten years old (1925) indicating it was a remainder of private ownership welcomed in the Republic after 1923. Although the factory had modern machinery and 150 workers with daily wages that had risen from 80 to 125 *piastres*, Linke remarked work at the oil-press was 'much harder and more unhealthy than at the *Mensucat Fabrikası*' (*AD* 266).

When Hollywood and I entered this workroom, a skeleton of a man was just pushing a large yellow oil-cake under the press. His face was nothing but skin and bones, long and incredibly lean limbs were sticking out of a ragged pair of shorts and a sleeveless shirt, all soaked in yellow oil. His movements were completely automatic, and one was led to believe that his soul had left his body and fled in despair. Three other men were turning round a huge grindstone standing up on edge, and the whole scene in its brown and yellow colours resembled one of those mediæval pictures of hell in which tortured bodies cringe in eternal agony (*AD* 266).

While this description clearly demarcates the oil and soap factory from the cotton factory, prior to this statement, Linke noted a committee was drafting a new Labour Code. She was told a 'German expert had been called upon to assist'. It might well turn out to be the 'most modern in the world' (*AD* 265). Linke's narratives about work in Adana indicate; first, men more than women worked in the factory as women still worked the land. Pamuk points to a shortage of labor in Anatolia due to the strength of family farms (2000: 17). Industrialization while adhering to 'revolutionism' worked at cross-purposes with agricultural production, a point Okyar mentions (1965: 103-104). Second, provision for work-related accidents proves government commitment to give back in exchange for labor. Third, emphasizing Ceylan's statement 'we have one up on you' as 'men and women get equal pay for equal work' Linke underscored wage equality was achieved in some cases in Turkey. Fourth, she showed the director did not

¹⁰⁹ Men aged nineteen and up were paid 8 kuruş/hour. Women nineteen and up were paid 7 kuruş/hour, a slight imbalance (Makal p. 311). These rates are commensurate with Linke's findings.

flaunt leisure wealth before common man but chose to live pragmatically within his means. Fifth, privately owned factories were allowed under *Étatisme* under a ‘mixed’ economic program. Linke didn’t anticipate exploitative policies would be condoned. It was, however, the intention to keep this limited by setting a good example in state-run industries as an invitation to emulate progressive ideas. Uneven development made itself visible and rather exposes some unregulated areas—the further east Linke journeyed—that were in fact to be regulated. This would show up the workings of private industry in the east of Turkey which, if we take Linke’s account, was in a sorrowful state of affairs when compared to state-run and owned industries. This begs the question, why this was so, but exploring this subject is beyond the scope of this research. Sixth, Linke’s choice to use ‘Hollywood’ as a pseudonym for a private owner, upon seeing ‘a skeleton of man’ working for him, might indicate a criticism of the United States, as she experienced pauperization during WWI, the hyperinflation and 1929 stock market crash. Linking her emotions to this experience would be speculative.

In Tarsus, a town in the province of Mersin in the south, an elderly man who knew some French took Linke around. The owner of the factory was one of the ‘richest men in the country, very likely a multi-millionaire’ she was told (*AD* 268). He had spent half a million liras to rebuild the factory and equip it with modern machinery. Taken through the old part of the factory first, she witnessed depressing conditions: ‘children working, little creatures whom no one could believe to be twelve years or even older’ (*AD* 268). They threw bunches of cotton into ‘large teeth of iron combs’ as they worked around the spinning machines. ‘One woman, examining the finished cloth, was holding a living bundle on her lap though she herself was hardly eighteen yet’ (*AD* 268). For a twelve hour workday children earned forty piasters but a woman outside told Linke it was more like twenty-five (*AD* 268). When rumor had it better wages were available elsewhere, workers were inclined to move on, a habit still prevalent from seasonal labor. Linke did not fail to mention the economic factors involved. ‘In good years the men had earned on the cotton fields up to two liras a day, but this year [1935] they would hardly get more than seventy piasters and, of course, free food and housing in the huts on the estate’ (*AD* 270).

These scenes upset Linke, as they destroyed her conception of fairness and progress experienced in other locations.

Aimlessly I wandered through the hot streets, feeling depressed and infuriated. It was clear that the *vali* had not done his duty and not too difficult to guess the reason why. Not everyone is made of the stuff to attack the rich and powerful. But something ought to be done. I must tell them in Ankara. Impossible to imagine that they knew and condoned (*AD* 269-70).

In fact, Ankara would have been well aware of the problem as they allowed private enterprise. What Linke does show the reader is the difference between state-run industry and private industry, which is, in fact, instructive. Later that day Linke was summoned to the police station. ‘Was it forbidden in this country to speak to honest citizens?’ (*AD* 271). She surmised, ‘It was quite obvious that the only cause I had given for suspicion was my conversation with the cotton-workers. Did he think me an agitator or spy’ (*AD* 272)? From here she was sent to the mayor who told her: ‘You see, we are quite close to the Syrian frontier’ (*AD* 272)! Keeping Turkey’s borders secure was vital. Considering their ‘native bias’ toward protecting the state from external threats with French colonizers in neighboring Arab countries, in hindsight, the mayor needn’t be discredited for actions taken. Linke either misread this specific experience or tried to discreetly illustrate to readers the complexity of sharing a contentious, porous border with Syria.

If we notice Linke’s route, the further east she journeys, the more oppressive work conditions become. Ownership is greater and exploitation more widespread and less controlled. This is the ‘native-bias’ of the east. Habit is couched in landlords (*ağas*) exploiting the peasantry. Thus when eastern Turkey attempted to make the transition to capitalism it retained these old habits. In western Turkey sharecropping was dissolved, opting for family farms instead (Keyder 1983a: 70).

Notwithstanding the local issues, there was also the international dimension. To help the reader better understand their obstacles she factored in the global Depression, fluctuating stock prices and Turkey’s trade relations. In ‘Notes to Chapter X’ Linke stated ‘cotton export via Mersin had been very badly hit by the world crisis’. She underlined how trade relations could be problematic. ‘Turkey has made it a rule since the beginning of the economic crisis to buy from those countries which buy from her’ (*AD* 275). ‘In 1934, Germany—making use of the agreement—bought a good deal of the cotton crop at prices well above those of the world market since she lacked the foreign exchange to buy from Egypt and the U.S.A.’ Germany clearly took advantage of Turkey and other nations. Critical of their policies she wrote:

Germany could not in some and would not in many instances offer suitable goods at reasonable terms in exchange. Having sold to Germany at what she considered good prices, Turkey like so many other nations—found herself in possession of marks with which she could buy nothing but what the German government offered her. Hence the German machinery, hence the German armaments there and in the Balkan countries (*AD* 275).

In 1935 ‘large quantities of rails for the new lines [railways] under construction arrived from Germany’ (*AD* 275) indicating a renewed interest in railroad expansion eastward. Such activity did *not* please the Anglo-American alliance either pre-WWI or thereafter

(Earle 1924; Staley 1935; Stolper 1942). Thus the mayor of Tarsus did exercise common sense in warning, 'we are quite close to the Syrian frontier'.

In Samsun, another town that worked out a Five-Year-Plan themselves, Linke visited a state-run tobacco factory. Requesting from the mayor a formal invitation to visit, he replied to Linke: 'We're not so grand here. You just go and ask him' (*AD* 161). The director of the factory took her around.

He had given his life's work to this factory and cherished its four hundred workers with a truly paternal love. Most of them were women and girls from fourteen years onward, wearing grey linen overalls and dust-caps. They looked neat and business-like, not so very different from the girls I had once watched at Wills' tobacco factory in Bristol (*AD* 161).

Here Linke has used 'perceptive imagination' to illustrate to the reader that the Turkish factory was on par, quality wise, with a Bristol tobacco factory. The director informed:

My girls are good and steady workers, and I can trust every single one of them. Every year two million kilos of tobacco pass through their hands. What do they earn? Well, most of them are on piecework and make seventy-five to eighty piasters a day. The Americans at Gary's pay them approximately the same. It's not much, but enough to keep them—you must allow twenty-five piasters for a proper meal in a restaurant (*AD* 161).

Gary's Tobacco Company arrived in Turkey eleven years ago, Linke noted. This would place their entry into Turkey some time in 1924. Curious about the effects of the 'world-crisis' Linke asked if they had been adversely affected. '[O]f course we have' he replied but remained stubbornly optimistic. 'Our income from the port is rapidly rising again, and our pockets are not quite so empty. We can continue with improving the town.' Opening a map of the plans for Linke he offered: 'We are going to build a covered market, a modern slaughterhouse with cold storage, and a new sewage system. Our present one is fifty years old and merely leads the refuse into the sea' (*AD* 160). Despite all these plans, he had not neglected the tobacco factory. 'I had the garden laid out here so that the girls should have something nice to look at when they come and go' (*AD* 162). Linke was 'deeply surprised'. In her 'Notes to Chapter II' she added:

Almost a third of the whole Turkish export trade consists in tobacco. There are three tobacco-producing regions in Turkey: Samsun and the Black Sea coast, Izmir (Smyrna) and the Aegean region, and the Marmara-Basin. [...] The monopoly owns four factories and four workshops for the manufacture of cigarettes and of smoking tobacco in which 3,000 workers are employed. At the Samsun factory they have an eight-hour day. The week-end begins on Saturday at 11.30 a.m. [...] The factory organized a special sick benefit fund to which the workers contribute two per cent of their wages and the factory one per cent. During the first month of illness the fund pays half the wages, and during the second and fourth a quarter. A woman who gives birth to a child is entitled to a month's rest with full pay and can take three more months off with half her wages. There is no crèche attached to the factory. The women prefer leaving their children at home (*AD* 167-68).

I interpret the following from these excerpts. First, 'we're not so grand here' indicates

the ease with which Linke met those of alleged 'elite' superior status. They were not obscure or honorary 'posts' that render common man subordinate as with the institution of the British 'gentlemen' (Veblen 1921/1964: 162) or German officer. On the contrary, relations were less hierarchic and informal, an insubordinate pragmatism that was fluid and accessible. The 'open door' policy originated from Ottoman 'native-bias'. Linke referred to it as a 'capitalism of the civil servants' (*SCT* 551). Second, undeterred by the Great Depression, Turkey kept working at an insubordinate pace to achieve her *Étatist* goals. Third, at the French Régie Company, work once allocated to non-Muslim Ottoman women only—a kind of caste system based on ethnicity—instead, under the Turkish state-run monopoly, a trustworthy and skilled female workforce successfully rejuvenated Turkey's vital tobacco production. French *kolcus* 'state within a state' was now a thing of the past. Fourth, early forms of workers compensation and maternity leave for women were progressive in establishing the habit of workers rights. Moreover, the discipline of learning 'matter-of-fact knowledge' and 'trained to handle modern machinery' (*SCT* 552) under industrial production, meant a more cultivated sober-mind less afflicted with ritual, superstition and religion, a change of habit Veblen viewed progressive.

In Malatya, Linke met İkbāl, a teacher of twenty-five, who taught school children, gave evening classes for adults and did administration work for the local municipality. '[A]s soon as she talked to her pupils her face grew animated, her eyes assumed an eager and happy expression [...] Even the young men were afraid of her...' (*AD* 211). Linke concluded: 'The women are among the most active and progressive members of the community, so much so that in certain quarters the men are already beginning to grumble, and, to my mind, jealousy of this kind is the sincerest compliment' (*SCT* 547). 'In some parts of the country I travelled for a week without seeing a single veil' (*SCT* 546). Some women's outlook on marriage began to change. Rather than Turkish and foreign scholars and feminists who assumed Turkish women were 'pawns', Linke's experiences demonstrate for the reader a different conclusion.

They [women] are excited about the great possibilities of a career of their own, and they feel a little contempt for men. After all, what would they gain by marrying? Salaries are very low, especially, of course, for the young men; they would have to follow their husbands wherever the Government sent them; they would have themselves to take on all kinds of obligations; and through all this they would lose the new freedom of which they are as yet so proud (*SCT* 549).

Women's change in attitude altered male-female relationships. As many young women had travelled abroad for higher education upon their return they tended to view local men with skepticism. 'The modern Turkish girl, on her part, finds little attraction in a

man who has only breathed the air of his native town' (*SCT* 549).

I do not know how English-speaking readers perceived her Turkish story. Several individuals reviewed *Allah Dethroned*. Her Turkish autobiography is not part of a series and was published by Constable & Co., a London publisher. Bostandjis found it a 'welcome contribution to the literature on the development of Modern Turkey' sarcastically adding: 'Being young and fair, she excites attention' (p. 816). F. M. M. wrote, 'the author tells us much that is useful about education, social life, the development of industry' but limits the work by adding: 'She is too fond of recording trivial incidents' (p. 271). I disagree. Precisely because Linke did record 'trivial incidents', the work is much richer. She has given the reader the nuances of a culture that cannot be captured by statistics and reified academic discourse bound to tedious explications of theories. Her reader is invited into the narrative and to experience the story that can no way be accomplished in 'Ye-Olde-Textbook' style. A progressive review by R. M. F. asserted: 'The author has a vivid descriptive style especially when bringing to life the persons with whom she met or travelled' (p. 228). This positive review points to the authenticity of her narratives and is support for my claim Linke was skilled with an ability to capture what she saw and experienced accurately. A newspaper article titled 'Lilo Linke's Vivid Panorama of Turkey in Transition' appeared in the *New York Times Book Review* on 8 August 1937. Katherine Woods attempted to emulate Linke's writing style, praising the changes in Turkey but only concluded Turkey was a 'dictatorship' of sorts. Expected of one who takes their habitual thought for granted, Woods cannot fully intuit Linke's work. She ended: 'This is the picture of a simple, unlearned people, through centuries autocratically governed and custom bound, now being led—or willy-nilly driven—into ways of modern progress, even paradoxically into ways of democratic opportunity and new freedom'. *The Scotsman* on 18 March 1937 wrote: 'Miss Linke has the eager curiosity and zest for experience of the traveller who is at heart an explorer'. Linke was described as a 'traveller', which limits the potential of her work to be read as sociology or pre-cultural studies scholarship. Linke was fully aware of the limitation but nevertheless made a case for 'experiential learning' from lived experiences over 'book-learning'. Delivering a presentation titled 'Social Changes in Turkey' on 4 March 1937 at the *Royal Institute of International Affairs* in London, Linke openly addressed this point, testament to her spirit of insubordination.

The other day I attended a lecture of a learned professor on Modern China. The professor was so anxious to give the necessary "perspective" to his description of present conditions that at the

end of his allotted time he was still dealing with Marco Polo. I am not a scientist, and shall therefore take you straight into 1935, the year of my Turkish journey. But I have to ask forgiveness for the absence of all book-learning, which forces me to limit my lecture to a description of the things I saw and heard myself (*SCT* 540).

In sum, there is a common ‘instinct of workmanship’ in both Linke’s authorship and Turkish common man who worked for the betterment of the whole. Linke’s accomplishment left an excellent in depth account that is not only an autobiographical journey across Turkey but also a pre-cultural studies reading of social and cultural evolution realized through concrete workmanship in 1935. Not merely one person’s account, it is an account that includes diverse voices from *all* socio-economic strata. As we recall of Goethean scientific method (tender empiricism), ‘lively intellects’ practice an infinite two-fold process. First, they welcome diverse voices and explore vitality amongst them. Second, they allow these voices to influence them with new ideas that gradually facilitate their metamorphosis or evolution. A ‘lively intellect’ learning by experience, Linke was able to see anew and encouraged her reader to do the same.

‘Parental Bent’

The Turkish Case

Home truth four: Be a Loving Man. Always. And to Everybody. —Moris Farhi (2007: 436)

Somehow everyone at Ankara was working and planning for the future, envisaging the time when Turkey would be completely modernized and proudly add her share to European civilization. What irony to think that whilst Turkey was striving for this end, Europe was to an ever increasing extent abandoning the great ideals of humanity.
—Lilo Linke (*AD* 323)

In the early Republican era Turkey’s leaders were largely but not exclusively educated in military academies and took civil leadership posts as engineers, doctors, educators, directors and mayors following the *War of Independence*. Altınay (2004) defines the Turkish military as a ‘cultural institution, rather than a modern state institution’ (p. 25). Due to military interconnectedness with society—Ottoman cultural inheritance—were they militaristic and authoritarian? Efforts sought to culturally evolve common man largely comprised of the peasantry. These Turkish pragmatists collaborated with the Soviets to advance Turkey’s industrialization. Linke journeyed across Anatolia as far as the Russian border. I unpack her experiences between the engineers and civil servants and the peasantry. I suggest her experiences echo Veblen’s notion of ‘parental bent’ that work is done with ‘efficiency for the common good’ and disapproves ‘wasteful and useless living’ (1914/1964: 27). Veblen’s idea on the role of engineers as emancipatory figures is important. Şükrü Er views the engineer a ‘leader’ and ‘educator’ (cited in Öncü 2003: 107-08). How do engineers and technicians evolve culture? What did Linke witness and reveal about these leaders and the peasantry?

Linke was curious to learn two things on her Turkish journey. First, how did common man perceive their leader? She never met Atatürk. Seeing herself unworthy in tattered clothes and with no status as an accomplished journalist, Linke resigned to the fact an interview would never be granted. Instead, she assessed Mustafa Kemal and his peers from what purported to be their earnest, efficient work for the betterment of the

whole. Mustafa Kemal's picture was adorned in every public and private space 'a man beloved by millions. Beloved—or feared? I had yet to find out (AD 19). '[T]he picture of the Gazi was meant to strengthen the heart which no longer believed in Allah' (AD 213). Linke's observation provided a secularist context from which the reader could perceive the Turkish idealists success or failure. Second, she wanted to understand the engineers and civil servants way of doing and how it aimed to evolve everyday work, social and cultural habits in the peasantry. Did industrialization during the *Étatist* period in Turkey work to improve the lives of common man or merely line private pockets? The best way to achieve these self-imposed goals was to journey deep into the Anatolian heartland and meet the people to experience and live how they lived. Pauperized in Prussia as a girl, then the Weimar Republic as an adolescent and young woman, it was not exceedingly difficult for Linke to understand what it was like to be poor. She had learned to shirk luxury—'swindle' of the Inflation—and consumerism. She traveled third class by train, slept in cheap hotels, train stations and people's homes.

Veblen's 'Parental Bent'

Veblen believed women more than men harbor a 'parental bent' instinct (1914/1964: 94) because men tend to be predatory from cumulative 'traits' of fight and hunt. It seems somewhat contradictory, then, I should make a case for the male within Turkey as peaceable especially when they defined themselves as 'soldiers and warriors' (cited in Altınay, *Milli Savunma* I, 1952: 6).¹¹⁰ Veblen's parental bent rests on the rational thinking it is a,

despicably inhuman thing for the current generation willfully to make the way of life harder for the next generation, whether through *neglect of due provision* for their *subsistence* and *proper training* or through wasting their heritage of resources and opportunity by *improvident greed* and indolence. [...] Doubtless this parental bent in its wider bearing greatly reënforces that sentimental *approval of economy and efficiency for the common good* and *disapproval of wasteful and useless living* that prevails so generally throughout both the highest and the lowest cultures (Emphasis added, 1914/1964: 27).

He held that 'parental bent' was 'consistent, ubiquitous and resilient' human behavior and one of the 'integral hereditary traits of mankind' (p. 28). Of teleological aims humans set for themselves Veblen proposed: 'Efficient use of the means at hand and adequate management of the resources available for the purposes of life is itself an end of endeavor, and accomplishment of this kind is a source of gratification' (p. 31-32). To be clear Veblen's 'efficiency' does not imply *quantity* of industrial output alone. 'Efficiency' as outlaid in the above excerpt of Veblen implies a moral work of *quality* to

¹¹⁰ The Turkish military entered the Korean War as part of the Western Bloc to stop Soviet expansion.

benefit common man and community without ‘neglect of due provision’. Linke, as a witness to their industrialization put into practice, remarks on these endeavors in her narrative, such that, both she and the reader come to understand if they worked with moral ‘efficiency’. Linke’s point of view might alight certain aspects of this process to cultivate a self-sufficient nation that would, as she put it, ‘add her share to European civilization’. The military, engineers and civil servants were not men of ‘improvident greed’. Motivated by reason and parental bent instinct these civic leaders had a moral vision for the common good of Turkey’s present and future generations.

Thus, I weave parental bent with efficiency of workmanship (industrialization), which also includes efficiency in human relationships both with the peasantry in Turkey and collaboration with the Soviets who supported their industrial development by providing credit-free loans, technicians and engineers. I also use ‘parental’ in its literal sense as related to family—citizens of the nation—but also in the sense Veblen used the term; ‘parental solicitude in mankind has a much wider bearing than simply the welfare of one’s own children’ (p. 26).

Fortunate Encounters With Peasants

After a ferryboat journey from Istanbul to Samsun on the Black Sea, Linke took a train into the interior arriving in Sivas, a conservative provincial city in central Anatolia. She questioned what she saw, guiding the reader to do the same.

I felt confused. The modern station, the broad avenue, the post-war façade of the hotel, and these ragged men and women with their primitive means of transport and certainly an equally primitive life—were they merely two different stages in a natural development, or two worlds following two parallel roads that would never meet, or were the up-to-date things I had seen, strewn about at random by an inconsiderate government beyond the means of the country (*AD* 17)?

The use of ‘primitive’ was unflattering, indicating at first glance, not much was improving in their lives. Suggesting things were ‘strewn about’ by ‘an inconsiderate government’ provoked the reader to question if this was senseless waste and an inefficient use of resources. In fact, Linke’s question is a germane cultural studies enquiry. Making pedagogic use of narrative form, juxtapositions hoped to awaken the reader to accept and appreciate their capability to initiate cultural evolution on their own terms. Writing of the Turks, Linke called them ‘Orientals’—for the Occidental mind a term loaded with crude connotations of backwardness, irrationality, inefficiency—then correcting herself, undid the construct, guiding the reader to do the same. ‘These simple Turks are not given to vague emotions or prolonged mediations on the hereafter. Their

minds are sober, and their thoughts directed toward the problems of their everyday life' (AD 24).

An insubordinate Linke was determined to head further east by lorry to test her hypothesis despite concerns for her safety from the mayor of Sivas. He kindly counseled: 'If you were travelling in your own car or if you had a husband to protect you—' (AD 41). Her reply was assured: 'But, Monsieur, I don't understand you. Turkey has given her women complete equality, and the Government has proved master of the country. I am a sincere friend of the Turks. What should I be afraid of' (AD 41)? His concern for Linke's safety indicates a certain distrust or underestimation of the peasants, particularly the men. Determined to prove him wrong she boarded the *kamion*¹¹¹ destined for Malatya and established relations with travellers, men and women alike.

No words were necessary to make myself understood. By a kind of *intuition*, they knew soon enough what sort of a person I was, and once they had made up their minds, and approved of me, I was free of all further worry—they saw to it that all the circumstances permitted was done for me. Not spoilt by life in the town, not jealous in their poverty, they had preserved their independence which allowed them to treat an unobtrusive foreigner in a *dignified* and *matter-of-fact* way, and they asked nothing in exchange but that I should accept the little they had to offer without turning up my nose. A smile, a pleasing word in the Turkish language, a laugh at my own *awkwardness and ignorance*, and the excitement my presence meant for them, were reward enough for their generosity (Emphasis added, AD 43-44).

The above excerpt is a keen insight into how Linke perceived the self in an unfamiliar culture and of her 'conscious-process-participation epistemology' in practice. Speaking little Turkish at this stage, she relied on her intuition and keen sense of observation. In fact, to my mind, she *was* an obtrusive foreigner but her thought of being 'unobtrusive' lies in the fact, she differed from foreigners who tended to travel first class only as far as Ankara and gawk at the people as would tourists. Certainly her fellow travellers in the *kamion* would have been curious, probably made jokes about her between them and likely concluded the government sent her. Based on my own experiences, I see Linke's 'intuition' as astute. The people of Turkey are gifted at reading and observing people, intuitively able to sense when someone is bellicose or benevolent based on millennia of cultures traipsing across and inhabiting the geography but also with their engagement with vastly different cultures in the Ottoman Empire. Simply put, conventional wisdom. But as they were poor their 'situation' (Freire) of poverty might prejudice thinking otherwise, as the poor are generally classed inferior. Hinting the reader negate any hierarchy between herself and her fellow travellers, Linke admitted her own ignorance and awkwardness. Sharing sleeping quarters with fellow women travellers in a

¹¹¹ Chevrolet or Ford lorry used for transporting goods and passengers.

*caravansary*¹¹² in the small village of Zara and eating communally with men and women, ‘perceptive imagination’ likened the experience to her ‘Youth Movement’ days in Weimar, when they too, slept in primitive conditions (*AD* 48). Instead of being treated an outsider, she was welcomed into the circle. I suggest it was their instinctive parental bent to look after another’s wellbeing and need not be interpreted, as peasants fearing reprisal should harm come to Linke. I liken it to the Turkish expression ‘*sahip çıkmak*’ (take responsibility) for another that I read, vis-à-vis Veblen, as a human instinct over ‘*çikar ilişkileri*’ (exploitive relations) that is the learned habit of ‘exploit’ where one uses another for their own ends. The latter term is used more frequently today than in the past in Turkey.

Due to the growing anticipation of another war, when Linke journeyed further east from Erzurum to the military zone near the Soviet border, she faced stringent control and surveillance, a precautionary measure to secure Turkey’s national borders. Visiting provincial towns of Kars and Ardahan as well as Sarıkamış—former battleground between the Russians and Ottomans in 1915—Linke immediately met an authoritarian tone. She admitted: ‘Kars was a fortress, and they were not going to let any silly adventurer do anything foolish in it’ (*AD* 79). President İsmet İnönü made a journey to the region and bluntly concluded: ‘Nothing but hunger and misery’ (*AD* 79)! In fact, following a government probe on conditions in the east, twelve mayors were sacked. Linke recalled: ‘I was told something about new factories in those regions, and the intention of helping the eastern provinces by allotting them a greater share in the second five-year plan’ (*AD* 80-81). But why were factories not built in certain regions? Tuna provides several logical answers, beginning with geographical factors. ‘After researching locations for the factory around Iğdır, Van and Erzurum, the latter was chosen for its diverse water resources considered more advantageous for logistical reasons’ (p. 152). Not only in the east but also in the west consideration was given to where factories should be situated. After debate with the Soviets, İnönü decided:

We didn’t want it [factory] to be on the coastline. Considering the military build-up of the period, we objected to constructing factories directly within firing range from the sea. I clearly stated to Professor Orlof that we thought the factory should be located in the interior regions of the country. He agreed we were right, but the distance from the coastline should only be as far as Karabük to ensure its efficiency. If we built it further into the interior, it wouldn’t be economically efficient and we would have too many problems, whereas, the opinion of our soldier friends was the opposite. They insisted the factory be built, not in Karabük but farther inland than that (p. 221).

¹¹² A caravansary is an inn where former Silk Route travellers stopped for replenishment on journeys.

Decisions were rational and pragmatic to efficiently safeguard industrial production from foreign attack in war. The fate of a nation is largely determined by geographical location and borders shared with neighboring nations.

In the military zone of the northeast, an insubordinate Linke—possibly risking her life to meet the people—was soon confronted by a young Turkish man she called the ‘American’. He reminded her of an American she once met in Berlin (*AD* 82). Fighting against the Arabs and taken prisoner by the British in 1917, the American’s favorite word was ‘permission’ (*AD* 83). He shadowed Linke everywhere. No different in Ardahan, she was greeted by an officer Tewfik (Tevfik). When Tevfik departed for another town, Linke was soon chaperoned by Tevfik’s friend Lieutenant Mahmut. Yet Linke stubbornly walked around the town alone and even entered a peasant hut. Mahmut entered after her. With patchy French he questioned: ‘Why are you here? [...] Do you speak Russian’ (*AD* 107)? Infuriated, she retorted: ‘Damn your soldiers. To walk along the road, forbidden! Visit peasants—forbidden! Mountains forbidden! Is there anything I can do without your protest’ (*AD* 109)? Determined to leave Ardahan but having to wait six more days for a *kamion* she returned to the small hotel she stayed and rudely demanded of the man at the desk (*otelci*) he bring her a donkey for transportation. The next day the man placed a foal on her lap and joked: ‘It’s a present. Didn’t you want a donkey’ (*AD* 111)? They all burst out laughing together.

What does Linke teach her reader about this odd series of events? First, there was a real and immense fear Linke was a spy. Blond and blue-eyed her appearance would have attracted suspicion unsure whether she was of Russian, German or British origin. Second, the authorities although monitoring Linke’s every move, did not do so in an oppressive manner but rather with an odd kind of parental bent that worked to ensure her safety. Third, local townsmen, despite the bleak ‘situation’ in which they lived, cultivated a sense of humor Linke noticed and appreciated. In Turkish the expression ‘*eşol eşek*’ literally means ‘son of a donkey’, a derogatory term. With this joke, they made their point clear about Linke’s inconsiderate behaviour but did not do so in an offensive manner. I doubt Linke was completely aware of the compromised position she put both herself and others in, yet, she had insubordinately worked hard to illustrate obstacles Turkey faced sharing a contentious border with the Soviets as war approached. Fourth, Linke’s use of ‘American’—consciously or unconsciously—alluded to something American about the circumstances that might indicate a criticism based on German experiences of the inflation and American-style cultural intervention.

Leaving Ardahan, Linke traveled in another *kamion* with a driver named Nuri. ‘Of all the simple men in Anatolia, he was the one I like best’ (AD 117). Their destination was Hopa, a small town on the Black Sea. The *kamion* continuously broke down as a result of near non-existent roads in the region. This gave her the chance to witness fellow travellers good humor when they laughed at an old religious man (*hoca*) whose hat had blown off in the wind. ‘The *hoca* has lost his hat—the *hoca* has lost his hat! The air trembled with their laughter’ (AD 135). “‘Hah, *Babacığım*,” said Nuri, slapping him on the shoulder, “there you see at last what your Allah does for you. Well, don’t worry, he who has been drenched, need no longer be afraid of the rain” (AD 136). Linke laughed along with them. Turkish culture couches a keen sense of humor stretching millenniums and more recently, from the tales of Nasrettin Hoca—thirteenth century Sufi wise man and philosopher—to shadow puppetry of *Karagöz* and *Ortaoyun* plays. The issue of losing ones hat was dire in this case, as the hat law (1925) required men wear the fedora. The reason for this was to make all citizens equal and not judged or divided by certain religious headgear (AD 30). Nuri’s joke was proof of the younger generation’s disdain for religion.

Arriving in Borçka—a town midway between Artvin and Hopa—they met the ministry of public works building a bridge across the Çoruh River, supervised by several Czech engineers for the Skoda-works. The European engineers invited Linke to stay overnight and continue on the next day. She declined the offer. ‘I knew that I had to go on with the men on the *kamion* until we had reached the end of the journey’ she admitted, whereas the engineers had not ‘demanded this loyalty and would not miss me if I stayed behind’ (AD 138-39). Her choice was intuitive. Fellow passengers would have read her decision to stay with the Europeans as abandonment of not seeing the journey through together. Linke went on: ‘And yet I belonged to them [*kamion* travellers], though I would never be able to explain why, least of all to the engineers. They were much too sober-headed and European to understand’ (AD 138). The engineers stared in amazement as Linke drove off with the peasants. Unable to explain her actions, the following excerpt has much to say about a sense of emancipation in her decision. ‘It was one of those rare moments when you believe that it is in your power to fly merely by spreading out your arms’ (AD 138). This excerpt holds particular weight and deserves further investigation.

On the surface it may be read not wanting to abandon those with whom she cultivated an alliance of shared experience of hardship, however brief. Seeing it from another angle, it might be a feminine gesture to which Slavoj Žižek provides insight.

The traumatic deadlock of Hitler's Germany constituted symptomatic *false* acts of paranoia, violence and hysteria, expressed in hatred of socialists, communists and Jews. In false acts Hitler attempted to restore the function of Germany, what Linke called 'abandoning the great ideals of humanity'. But if there are false Acts there are also authentic Acts to break the symptom and the superego. For Žižek an *authentic* Act is not neutral but radical, most often performed in feminine gesture (1999). Here, I equate Linke's Act of rejecting the Europeans an authentic one. I suggest she symbolically killed the German and European in her authentic act to embrace the Turkish people. In so doing, she took from Germany and Europe what was most precious, the German and European notion of being a superior race and civilization. Her Act was a genuine attempt to redefine herself and her identity by subverting her German one. In so doing, Linke preserved the dignity of her life. Oddly, it might be espoused a kind of Christian rebirth but this act carries more heritage. Socrates logic of 'I must return to my roots, it's already deep in me the truth of my unconscious desire, I just must realize my inner self' is a kind of symbolic suicide when you become another person (Žižek 1999).

Linke, employing her multi-perspectival view by using narrative juxtapositions, offered another thought. Upon reaching Hopa she parted with fellow travellers only to contradict her earlier statement. 'These men had only been companions for a short journey. In the long run, my place was not at their side, but at that of the engineers. I belonged to Europe, Nuri and the *hocas* to Eastern Anatolia. There was no pride or consolation in the thought' (AD 139). Puzzled, the reader is left to ponder why she chose to side with the 'engineer' in the end. Moreover what did she mean by 'too sober-headed and European to understand'? Of this obvious contradiction, I suggest she directed a message to both. Europeans must change their habit of assuming themselves superior and Eastern Anatolians must continue their road of evolution for Turkey's sake, such that the two might equally contribute to civilization. Her key use of the word 'loyalty' is important because in eastern Anatolia, in particular, one of the most crucial problems is loyalty to clan and the *ağa* (landlord). Thus, Turkish leaders and Linke seem placed in-between as progenitors of this cultural evolution away from the loyalty of clan to the maturity of being a citizen in a nation proper. I now turn to Veblen's ideas on engineers and their emancipatory role.

Veblen's 'Soviet of Technicians'

The industrial system was a progressive development for Veblen because it was a system of production that could supply much-needed goods and meet human

necessities. He did not share the concerns about alienation and the coarseness of production as did William Morris nor did he think a revival of cottage industries could meet the scale of human necessity for the twentieth century. What troubled Veblen was that industry was not managed efficiently. Industrial output was managed inefficiently at the hands of the Vested Interests who had no knowledge about industry or interest in community good. They sabotaged industry by slowing production—keeping workers idle—to maintain high prices and low output of goods necessary for the community. Thus, those who produced the industrial output (common man) for the benefit of the whole had no control over the process. In the making since the Industrial Revolution, under the hands of the British gentlemen, they evolved into Absentee Landlords completely divorced from industry. The Americans followed suit. ‘This captain of industry, typified by the corporation financier, and latterly by the investment banker, is one of the institutions that go to make up the new order of things’ (Veblen 1921/2001: 21). Price fixers or ‘experts in prices and profits and financial manoeuvres [...] the final discretion in all questions of industrial policy continues to rest in their hands’ (p. 26). Adding to the misery, corporate finance also trafficked in credit under a ‘quasi-syndicate of banking interests’ (p. 32) resulting in exponential waste in industry—waste of human labor, resources and equipment (p. 28). With extraordinary prescience Veblen underlined how alleged civilized cultures reverted to barbarism—in the ‘Era of the Investment Banker’ (p. 29). Unavoidably the industrial system was forced to work at cross-purposes, especially when special advantage was given to one nation that upset the industrial output of the rest. Since industrialization was the driving force of the twentieth century, we arrive at a conundrum.

In search of solutions, Veblen analyzed what role the new species of experts had in the industrial process. He put his faith in the experts and technicians because he trusted them as ‘efficiency engineers’. Here, ‘efficiency’ refers to the earlier ‘moral’ efficiency at the outset of the chapter that seeks to work for betterment of the whole. It refers neither to ‘technocratic elitism’ nor ‘technological determinism’ from critics who misread Veblen. In Veblen’s words: ‘Industrial experts, engineers, chemists, mineralogists, technicians of all kinds, have been drifting into more responsible positions in the industrial system and have been growing up and multiplying within the system, because the system will no longer work at all without them’ (p. 29). Experts trained at the hands of the community, responsible to ensure an efficient industrial system, employed their instinct that abhors waste. But engineers and technicians worked for Vested Interests as a kept class. Senior engineers were already complacent to serve

‘commercial profit’ (p. 46) but younger engineers, Veblen predicted, would become class conscious to question if community needs were met and ask: ‘What about it’ (p. 45)? In-between facilitators, if you will, young engineers were best placed to recognize ‘corporation finance is a tissue of make-believe’ (p. 47) and instead assert themselves as ‘efficiency engineers’ (p. 45) to oust financiers. They could bring ‘friction’ to the industrial system (p. 46). Veblen advised the following action:

a general strike of the technological specialists in industry need involve no more than a minute fraction of one per cent, of the population; yet it would swiftly bring a collapse of the old order and sweep the timeworn fabric of finance and absentee sabotage into the discard for good and all. Such a catastrophe would doubtless be deplorable. It would look something like the end of the world to all those persons who take their stand with the kept classes (p. 51).

Veblen had little hope any of this would come to fruition in America or Britain. ‘The long history of British gentlemanly compromise, collusion, conciliation, and popular defeat, is highly instructive on that head’ thus ‘Bolshevism is not a present menace to the Vested Interests in America’ (p. 55). Business managed to take ‘syndicates, trusts, pools, combinations, interlocking directorates, gentlemen’s agreements, employers’ unions’ into the fold (p. 77). ‘By settled habit, the American population are quite unable to see their way to entrust any appreciable responsibility to any other than business men’ (p. 93). Only ‘irresponsible wayfaring men’ of the I.W.W. posed a genuine threat to capitalism for Veblen (p. 57) because if common man united on an international scale they might wield substantial clout against the vested interests.

For Veblen the Russian ‘situation’ was different. Not yet fully industrialized, Russia had not been corrupted by the Industrial system run by business civilization in America and Britain. The Russian empire, did briefly dabble in this folly. Rieber (1990) points out Catherine the Great placed industry in private hands but her son and successor Paul I (1754-1801) reversed the policy, placing it back in state hands to serve the people (p. 540). A small colony of French engineers in St. Petersburg, led by Henri Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), advanced the ideology of industrialism in the Russian empire (p. 551). Saint-Simon’s ‘engineer as the liberator of mankind’ excited Russian engineers. Like Veblen, Rieber recognized the difference between the Anglo-American industrial system and that of continental Europe.

The rise of the Russian engineering profession, like the French, diverges sharply from the Anglo-American tradition of free and independent, technically trained specialists operating in the economic milieu of market capitalism. Rather, it takes its ethical and organizational inspiration from another source: the belief that the professions offer a way of life morally superior to the marketplace (p. 539).

By 1840 the engineering profession was established in the Russian empire (p. 563). Military schools were the first to teach engineering (p. 549). Despite high regard for European technology, Russian engineers did not want foreigners laying her railways and rejected an ‘emerging alliance of bankers and engineers among the French St. Simonians’ (p. 560). Pavel Petrovich Melnikov (1804-1880), an astute Russian engineer-administrator, laid railways across Imperial Russia (p. 539). Both Imperial Russia and the Soviet regime fought to stave off parasitic infiltration of their industrial system that echoes Veblen’s argument for the primacy of engineers. Rieber stated: ‘The [Russian] engineers felt a deep obligation to put their special knowledge at the service of the society, guided by their professional conscience. Their education and their careers mutually reinforced their collective belief that technology was the solution to social problems’ (p. 563). Rieber held the Russian opinion was that railroads would compress time and space to unite the ‘brotherhood of man’ (p. 552). Industry and technology would bring peace over war. Railways would connect eastern and western civilization (p. 555). Skeptical the French might exploit technology to infiltrate the Russian empire—following the bitter experience of Napoleon—they agreed without industry they would be mere ‘onlookers’ and find themselves ‘at the tail end of Europe’ (p. 556).

Veblen proposed the Soviet advantage relied on its ‘earlier, simpler, less close-knit plan of productive industry’ (1921/2001: 60)—perhaps an idea similar to Chayanov. He argued Russian ‘home production does not involve an “industrial system”’ and was protected from outside interference (p. 60). Although Anglo-America tried to subdue the Bolsheviks using reactionary forces from the Ukraine, Finland and Poland (p. 61), instead of Anglo-American ‘commercial imbecility’ (p. 63), Soviet moral superiority worked for a ‘modern civilized community’ (p. 62), what Veblen called a ‘Soviet of Technicians’ (p. 83). Action and practice to better future generations was Veblen’s premise, perhaps modeled after Bellamy’s 1888 socialist utopian novel *Looking Backwards* that favored ‘industrial evolution’ (Bellamy 2009: 29). Setting the novel in the year 2000, Bellamy postulated evolution had changed societies old habits to embrace the reasoning, as he put it, that ‘no business is so essentially the public business as the industry and commerce on which the people’s livelihood depends, and that to entrust it to private persons to be managed for private profit is a folly’ (p. 33).

Regarding the role of the engineer from a Turkish perspective, I return briefly to the Ottoman Empire where a similar development occurred as with the Russians. Öncü (2015) explains the role of the engineer in the Empire.

The first mühendis [engineer] schools, *Bahr-i Hümayun* (1773) and *Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun* (1795) were founded as military schools to generate a new group of officers who were supposed to know modern science and technologies developed in the west, and apply these in the organizations and activities of the state and the military. The underlying aim was to catch up swiftly with the technologically superior western states, and thereby reverse the decline of the Ottoman Empire. [...] In this sense, the engineer was intentionally created as a 'savior' by the state with an unambiguous political mission (p. 269-79).

Engineers' cultural inheritance as saviors of the state carried over to the early Republican era, had the same resilient 'political mission' for a rational industrial order. Eighty-five engineers—scant few left in the Republic—largely graduates from the *Mühendis Mekteb-i Alisi* later renamed *İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi* (Istanbul Technical University) founded the *Union of Turkish Master Engineers* (UTME) on 26 April 1926; the first organization for Turkish engineers (Öncü 2003: 93). Şükrü Er, an aeronautics engineer graduated from the faculty of mechanical engineering at Istanbul Technical University (1948), was a pioneer of the engineering movement in the 1950s (p. 103). In his essay 'The Role of The Engineer in Civilized Life' (1993), Er proposed to understand the engineer one must understand civilization. Civilization is complex because, 'factors such as affluence, wealth, independence, or technical superiority do not suffice to define civilization (p. 105). Citing Kuwait as an example, such oil rich countries cannot be civilized because they pay no tax and get funds from sheikhs (p. 105) whose industrial production is run by foreign 'experts'. Like the British Absentee landlords, Arabs have no knowledge of industry, if we look at it from Veblen's point of view. Er sees the engineer as a researcher, leader and educator (p. 106-08). Engineers provide society with 'wisdom and an ability to judge and appreciate values clearly' (p. 108). Moreover, engineers work collaboratively with others in multi-faceted tasks to create a 'project' and are better placed for 'self-realization' (p. 108). I equate engineers with film directors, who too, juggle and manage sets, actors, equipment, budgets and temporal factors. As film directors, engineers too, have the potential for self-realization. Self-realization takes on a new form of 'life skills' (p. 108). Skills learned and shared cultivate others self-realization that expands the cultural evolution of the Republic. From the mid-1950s onward, Er was concerned about the infiltration of 'profit-making' entrepreneurs and commercialism into the industrial process. Presciently he put it: 'The fate of the country is the fate of the engineers' (p. 109). Familiarized with the emancipatory role of engineers from a Turkish perspective, I turn to Linke's narratives for insight into how the Soviet way of doing was reshaped by Turkish engineer praxis to advance Turkey's cultural evolution. The exploration will not be a technical reading of engineer praxis but one of cultural nuances directed at betterment of the whole.

Fortunate Encounters With Engineers

The first person Linke met on her journey from Istanbul to Samsun by ferry was a Turkish engineer Nejat. This was fortunate because Linke met many more engineers who, in particular, taught her their emancipatory role in laying the groundwork for national efficiency. Like the Soviets, Turkish industry—on the way to becoming—had a moral vision to solve social problems and ensure national sovereignty. Turkish engineers built roads, bridges, railways, schools, hospitals, power stations and forged innovative agricultural methods to improve efficiency for their present and future generations. The Samsun mayor told Linke: ‘The people’s interests come first [...] Their comfort is more important than the profit of some unscrupulous individual’ (*AD* 159). While some Turkish engineers studied abroad (*AD* 309), they had not yet been habituated to the institution of ‘pecuniary gain’. They still had ‘common sense’. Linke thought they might ambitiously ‘climb’. ‘They knew their knowledge and services were needed at home, and seeing comparatively young men in responsible positions, they were now impatient and could not climb quickly enough’ (*AD* 309). The director of the Kayseri *Kombinat* told Linke an overly ambitious engineer could ‘spoil the atmosphere of the whole factory’ (*AD* 309). Might a divergence in engineers, see some work for common good and others for ‘pecuniary gain’?

The textile *Kombinat* in Kayseri was the first project of its scale in the industrial Five-Year-Plan with the Soviets. Turkish Sümerbank provided the equivalent of over one million pounds while the Russians crafted factory plans and supplied machinery on twenty-year interest free credit (*AD* 308). Over seventy young mechanics were trained in Russia as foremen for the *Kombinat* (*AD* 307). Bay Ziya a young engineer, showed Linke the ‘spinning department, the power-station, the future entrance-gate, the offices, the weaving shed, the sports grounds’ and introduced her to the director Bay Fazıl¹¹³ who greeted her with ‘*Güten Abend!*’ (*AD* 301). Formerly from the military, Fazıl was trained as an engineer in Switzerland (*AD* 302). Linke quickly noticed ‘everybody connected with the factory seemed to be young’ (*AD* 304). Another engineer discussed with Linke the two thousand building workers—peasant and casual—who proved difficult to discipline. He suggested, ‘there was no better chance for social studies than watching these men arriving for their working day’ (*AD* 303). Linke witnessed their deplorable conditions, sleeping in hovels and under soiled quilts and the disarray in which they gathered for work; unaccustomed to new schemes of ‘check-clocks’ and worker identification numbers. Karaömerlioğlu drew a parallel between Soviet and

¹¹³ The correct typesetting is Fazıl.

Turkish style ‘Stakhanovism’ (1998a: 59).¹¹⁴ Stakhanovism—taken from the name of a Russian miner Stakhanov from the Donbass region who continuously surpassed production records—became an ideological campaign for the Soviets. ‘Faith in the power of human will, voluntarism, and work with enthusiasm, devotion, diligence, and passion were perceived as the panacea to solve the problems of rural Turkey, particularly the problem of low productivity’ (p. 60). Linke emphasized the difficulty of disciplining workers, as did Karaömerlioğlu. ‘[W]hat the Turkish rural economy lacked was not hard work and enthusiasm itself but a hard work supported by a notion of time, discipline and consistent productivity’ (p. 60-61). Linke noted the engineers were facilitators to this end, but was this all?

As if in conversation with the reader Linke asked: ‘Would the experiment succeed’ (*AD* 303-04)? Pressing the engineer about future plans, he stated:

The sports grounds will take up all that area from those fences to the hut over there on the right. They’ll be ready soon after the factory is completed. Our workers will then be able to swim, and play football, and tennis, and we’ll have horses and a proper riding-school, and also an up-to-date ground for light athletics. And the swimming-pool will be close to the exit-gates so that they may feel tempted to have a dip before they go home (*AD* 306).

When Linke and the engineer looked out across the expanse of the future factory they saw Bay Fazıl leading over two hundred workers in morning exercise drills (*AD* 306). Perhaps stupefied, Linke remained silent. The engineer added: ‘It’s an exact replica of the stadium at Cologne’ (*AD* 306).

Here we encounter a collaborative goal of the Soviets, who drew up the plans, and the Turks, who implemented them in their own way, to emulate whom they both reasoned the most industrially advanced in Europe: Germany. But as Turkey was not Germany, nor was her leader like Hitler, was monetary expenditure on amenities an inefficient use of funds on ‘wasteful and useless living’? What does this have to do with ‘parental bent’? Linke captured Bay Fazıl’s end goal. In German he told her:

Perhaps you think it foolish to play football in this hot town. You are right. But I don’t want it really for the sake of sport. They’ll be forced to wear shorts and show their naked knees, and that’s what matters to me. Once they dare to appear in public like that, they’ve broken away from tradition and are free (*AD* 307).

Veblen’s assertion that industry swept away religious superstitions and rituals to replace them with matter-of-fact knowledge comes to mind. In the following excerpt Linke worked to persuade her reader of the director’s long-term goal. Bay Fazıl explained:

What I want more than anything else [...] is real comradeship, the feeling that we are all one

¹¹⁴ He used *Village Institutes* (1937-1945) as a reference, not yet established in 1935.

family from the director down to the last apprentice. It ought to be possible since here in Turkey the State is the most important entrepreneur. The few existing capitalists don't really matter, and in any case, they, too, are controlled by the State. If we take care from the outset not to create an exploited proletariat, if we make our workers feel that this factory belongs to the state and, therefore, to themselves, and if we really keep all doors open to them to advance—why shouldn't we succeed? [...] We are prepared to learn from anyone, but we haven't the least intention of selling our souls either to Fascists or Communists. None of the seventy boys who went to Russia has become a Bolshie. We just brought back a sackful of experience (Emphasis added, *AD* 308-09).

Here an alternative conclusion can be drawn to Karaömerlioğlu, in that, engineer aims were not only about discipline and high productivity, but rather collective activity and fraternization, however not of 'Bolshie' color. In their collaboration with the Soviets, one is left astounded how the youth—rapidly losing sense of religious tradition under secularism—did not turn Bolshevik but maintained a good friendship with Russia.

Writing on English state formation as a cultural revolution, Corrigan and Sayer (1985: 197) assert that 'social integration within the nation state *is* a project; and one in constant jeopardy from the very facts of material difference... whose recognition official discourse seeks to repress'. In the Turkish case, the concrete project of a new cultural habituation through social integration of work (within the abstract notion of state) was in the process of evolving to overcome 'material difference' that could not yet be fully solved due to the global economic crisis of the interwar period, and with a Turkish industrial system still in its infancy. Despite these contradictions, the engineers' parental bent, I argue, represents a stark difference—moral and ethical supremacy—to vulgar exploitation of the vested interests, under the abstract of national interest that does little for common man. But Turkey's 'third way' should not imply it was void of Marxist thought or a Left either in the Ottoman Empire or after 1923.¹¹⁵ By subverting the Left with a modified 'third way'—Étatism in the 1930s—progenitors of the early Turkish industrial system cultivated their own style of a 'Soviet of Technicians' evident in the narrative of Fazıl. The 'third way' liberated the Turkish state from the machinations of fascism, communism and capitalism. In short, they borrowed knowledge without letting it rule them. Engineers worked toward a cultural (r)evolution by cultivating these mixed modes of production to shape new habits and bring about gradual social change without force or violence. In state-run industry, amenities and facilities were to persuade and invite workers to join in sports and group activities to build a more open society. This would cultivate solidarity to overcome religious and superstitious rituals that otherwise

¹¹⁵ Turkish Communist leader Mustafa Suphi (1883-1921) attended the *First Congress of the Communist Party in Turkey*, in Baku on the 10 September 1920. When their delegation of 15 tried to return, they were met with hostility in Erzurum. Sourcing another means of return they set sail from Trabzon but their boat capsized killing all on board on 28 January 1921.

hindered fraternity, a remainder of ethnic hatred propagated between 1876 and WWI after Ottoman bankruptcy. State-run industries might also set a good example to private enterprises that tended to be more exploitative of their workers. Linke added: 'They had also to be taught to educate and lead their fellow-workers without thinking themselves their bosses' but in a way that would not lead to mass revolt to derail, the then, fragile industrial system. Linke was well aware of the contradiction. 'I knew better than to ask him [Bay Fazıl] why strikes and lock-outs were forbidden' (*AD* 308). Akkaya (2002) confirms labor laws in the 1930s and 40s prohibited the 'constitution of associations on a class basis'—labor unions—under provisions of the Law of Associations (p. 131). Linke informed the reader plans were in place for 'educational experiments'.

They planned, for instance, to have a special factory newspaper, edited by a group of workers, open to free criticism of anything and anybody so long as the critics would stand up for their views. A drama, cinema, photography group would be formed. In the canteen an honours list would be hung up, naming those workers who had distinguished themselves in the factory or on the sports ground. And, most ambitious enterprise of all, the workers would be encouraged to run a co-operative society where they could get their food and clothing at cheap prices (*AD* 309).

But Fazıl expressed the engineers concern it might 'undermine their authority over the foreman and workers if this kind of fraternizing went on' (*AD* 309). Considering their still fragile industrial system and peasants who were undisciplined and without a long-term vision, it was wise and necessary to take these precautions. Presciently Linke concluded: 'It was a question to be discussed in ten or fifteen years' time' (*AD* 308).

Countless young engineers dedicated themselves to the state, often working for long periods in distant places without a break. Bilal, an engineer working on the Simeryol (Sivas-Malatya-Erzurum) railroad line explained: 'We work every blasted day, Sundays included, from morning till night. [...] I haven't had a day off for thirteen months' (*AD* 182-83). Turkey wanted to replace, as soon as possible, foreign engineers with Turkish ones. 'This tunnel was one of the few places where a foreigner, an Austrian engineer, was still in charge of the work' (*AD* 187). Linke met Herr Gugler. In this mountainous region under blazing heat, she learned men and even women worked at backbreaking railroad construction (*AD* 187). She questioned Gugler: 'What do you think of them—as workers?' He responded: 'They are alright, industrious, obedient, careful with the dynamite. [...] We keep men from different regions as much as possible in separate tents. They come from nearly all over Turkey—heaven knows how they find their way here' (*AD* 188-89). Linke pressed him whether workers wages were fair. 'Certainly—at least eighty piasters per day [...] and the dynamite workers earn up to a hundred and thirty' (*AD* 189). Gugler accused Bilal of putting on 'superior airs' in front

of the workers adding ‘they can’t stand that’ (*AD* 191). He insisted Bilal viewed peasants ‘wicked’. Opening out a map of Anatolia Bilal made a larger point.

The great aim of our Government is to open up those parts of Anatolia which were completely neglected under the Sultans. We want to give an equal chance to all parts of the country. The Black Sea and the Mediterranean have already been linked. The work in the Western provinces is nearly completed. Now the great drive is directed eastward. Our line forms part of this work and will be an important link between the two main lines. [...] It will bring about a complete economic and cultural revolution. You need only think of one fact to have an illustration: until quite recently the lack of communication with the interior forced us to import foreign grain to feed the population of our ports. Now we are not only able to supply them from the granaries of Central Anatolia, but we can even export wheat and other cereals ourselves (*AD* 191).

Linke concluded of Bilal, ‘he sincerely believed in the future of his country and that he was happy to take part in the work of construction in spite of the sacrifices it demanded of him’ (*AD* 192). I suggest his emancipatory ideals as an engineer envisioned an industrial future with moral and ethical values of ‘common good’, over the vulgar dictatorship of ‘pecuniary gain’. Linke’s narrative is a pedagogical truth of their moral vision and the confidence with which they worked on their own terms with minimum foreign intervention. Peasants and engineers formed the ‘human hands which work and working, transform the world’, in the Freirian sense.

In her ‘Notes to Chapter IV’ Linke documented how the Simeryol was the first private Turkish company laying tracks on the north-south line for the government and the only private line of its kind. Exclusively foreign companies—also granted resource ownership rights on minerals and oil, within a specified distance from each line—had once built railways in the Ottoman Empire (Birdal p. 97). After 1923 all lines were nationalized except for the Fevzipaşa-Nuseybin five hundred kilometer line on the Syrian frontier (*AD* 192). In 1924, Turkey had built no lines herself but by 1935 over 1,643 kilometers of railway had been built.

Linke appreciated their ‘experiment’ with communes in some regions of Turkey. During her stay in Malatya in the southeast, she visited the Gündüzbey commune, a village with four hundred houses that connected a larger swath of twenty-five villages and hamlets (*AD* 202). In 1928, German engineers had fitted the village electric works with Siemens turbines (*AD* 202). The village head (*muhtar*) had been re-elected with over fifty percent of the vote indicative common man was pleased with his performance in the community. Funding provided by the Bank Ottomane at very low interest rates allowed the commune to prosper. The mayor explained, ‘the commune was building up on its own initiative and with no financial or other help from outside’ (*AD* 203). Of her experiences there Linke wrote:

The revenue of the communal property—fields, a large orchard, and a grocery-shop—were nearly enough to provide all the necessary funds. They had just spent a thousand liras on a field a little out of the village where they wanted to lay out a model nursery of especially chosen fruit-trees which later on would be distributed free of charge. The *muhtar* would be responsible for it, and the *vali* [mayor] promised that the *vilayet* [provincial] director of agriculture would keep in close touch with him and give him careful advice (*AD* 203).

Linke was not content to accept all as credible. Upon visiting a second commune İsmet Paşa—named after the president born there—scenes contradicted her earlier jubilation. Had an ‘inconsiderate’ government made itself visible? Disappointed Linke wrote:

When I entered they turned their colourless faces up to me without speaking. The scene was a strange contrast to the exuberant life outside and as sad and depressing as if the men were weaving their own shrouds. It took them twelve hours to produce a piece of cloth ten or eleven yards in length and to earn a net sum of sixty piasters—something like two shillings. Three hundred of these weaving looms were still in existence at İsmet Paşa (*AD* 204).¹¹⁶

To dissuade the reader from drawing immediate negative conclusions, she added: ‘During the course of 1936 the foundation stone will be laid at Malatya for a huge state-owned cotton-factory, large enough to produce about a quarter of the total Turkish consumption’ (*AD* 204). Careful to ask how peasant craftsmen might react to the new industry in their shift to factory workers, the mayor responded: ‘*Atılan ok geri dönmez*—the arrow set flying cannot return’ (*AD* 204). Had an ill-willed Orientalist written the narrative, habit would have portrayed Turkey lagging behind, mistreating workers under a dictator and so on. As a ‘lively intellect’ Linke’s narrative showed the reader a new way of seeing, in that, the government worked with concrete aims to make the lives of common man easier in the future. Production was not sabotaged by the Vested Interests of corporation financiers.

Turkey’s most advanced men were educated in the military, where they received the best education available making them well positioned to theorize and practice efficient methods of organization and industry. At first glance, this form of governance might appear to undermine individual agency, however, as Linke’s narratives reveal, it also opened up possibilities for individual agency to partake in the process of working for the betterment of the whole. For instance, while the military might be considered a repressive apparatus to discipline the populace, there may also exist possibilities to work for common good in the institution. Hasan, a twenty-two year old common soldier had just completed his military service. Sharing his stories with Linke led her to conclude ‘the army had taught him other things—discipline, cleanliness, a sense of time, improved methods for cultivating the land, reading and writing and—perhaps the most important of all—a feeling of responsibility for his fellow-men’ (*AD* 123). This

¹¹⁶ The correct typesetting is İsmet Paşa.

would indicate, rather than a killing machine for Vested Interests of business civilization, the army in early Republican Turkey had a progressive function. Linke wrote of a major in Erzurum who took her to see a new road being built from Trabzon to Tabriz (Iran). ‘He was one of those who believe that with technique, organization, and discipline everything can be done’, she noted (*AD* 70). When they spotted an animal carcass on the ‘first class road’ and the peasants had neglected to remove it, he said in a ‘fatherly voice’: ‘Haven’t you noticed the carcass out there on the road?’ (*AD* 71). Linke wrote the following of the relation between the major and the peasants:

His methods were simple and direct—he appealed to what he thought the men’s best instincts by speaking to them like this: “Here you are wasting your days in idle gossip, letting your wives slave for you and your children, instead of acting as responsible men. Aren’t you strong and healthy? Haven’t you heard that we are living in a Republic now? The Sultan is gone. This land, this country are your own today, and you let it be covered with carcasses and infested with flies. I took this young lady out to show her the new road which the Republic has given you. [...] Shame on you that you let Turkey down like this” (*AD* 71).

On their return, the peasants had cleared the road. He applauded them, ‘Brava, my sons’. Linke’s choice of the words ‘fatherly’ and ‘best instincts’ offers much insight on parental bent when coupled with ‘responsibility’. Fazıl’s intention to cultivate the value ‘we are all one family’ is commensurate with the major’s praxis. The idea a modern nation be structured on the institution of ‘family’ might seem odd when European nations were founded on the abstract idea of equal citizens under the law. In the case of Turkey, where habituation to living together for millennia was the cultural norm, it seems a pragmatic decision to employ the metaphor of ‘family’ to ‘instinctively’ make the abstract notion of nation more viable to knit citizens together. I liken it to a responsible, benevolent ‘father’ who wants his children to succeed and to do so he gently guides them to make their own way, albeit responsibly. Describing these military men as ‘patriotic liberals’, Linke confided to the reader their practice wasn’t a ‘military dictatorship ruling over the country’ but the ‘outcome of this earlier politisation of the army which brought about a passionate belief in reform. [...] As a German Republican, I cannot help admiring the Turkish generals’ (*AD* 72). Rather than ‘honorary office’ or glorification of pomp and circumstance rituals and traditions as in Britain or Europe, Linke’s experience captured the Turkish ‘parental bent’ and their sense of responsibility toward the peasants; ‘sahip çıkmak’ (take responsibility). Thus every reform undertaken was a means to cultivate the habit of living in a Republic as a family but as a member, to which one was responsible to concretely contribute. This praxis staved off Bolshevik aims of internationalism and later prevented Stalinism from incorporating Turkey into the USSR (Olson and İnce 1977: 228). Osman Okyar concluded of *Étatism*:

My own belief is that, on balance during the twenty-five years of its existence, the advantages and benefits, visible as well as invisible (external economies, training of man-power, etc.) have far outweighed the disadvantages, in the sense that Turkey would be generally well behind where she is to-day if *Étatism* had never been introduced (1965: 103).

Okyar allows for the question of whether the experiment in the 1930s could work as a future economic system, which to my mind, would be a more fair and rational economic system than that of repetitive neo-liberalism and imperialism that relies on ‘masters of financial intrigue’, the enterprise of ‘land-grabbing’ and trade in armaments. But more than this, I am interested in the philosophical and sociological motives that underpin *Étatism* that might be evocable today. In other words, it would require us to imagine becoming morally or ethically better to create a better world, as a kind of ‘anticipatory illumination’ Bloch proposed and Veblen saw possible in the ‘Soviet of Technicians’.

Looking at it from this angle, it is obvious that *Étatism* created a mixed economy, the two sectors of which it will always be difficult to integrate fully and harmoniously, in the sense of subjecting them both to a common standard and common rules of the game. The problem is to make them into partners, rivals perhaps, but contented rivals, without constant complaints as to the fairness of the game, instead of two enemies, constantly critical of each other and constantly trying to destroy each other. With all the good will in the world, we cannot say that *Étatism* and the mixed economy have achieved this in Turkey, whatever else they may have achieved (Okyar p. 103).

Nevertheless, as Linke witnessed *Étatism* in practice, she drew a positive conclusion.

Linke visited the port city of Izmir (Aegean coast). Bedriye, a woman she might have met at the Eskişehir *Halkevi* (People’s House), gave Linke the name of a relative in Izmir; Bay Salih Şükrü (*AD* 284). ‘Bay Şükrü was a quiet sober-headed man with a deep interest in European politics, thereby differing from most of the men I had met during the past weeks who were chiefly concerned with Turkish affairs. Not without reason had the Ottomans spoke of Izmir as the ‘eye of Asia Minor’ (*AD* 285). That evening Bay Şükrü and his wife took Linke to a concert performance by Soviet artists touring the Republic (*AD* 285). Such concerts were common. Turkish President İsmet İnönü collaborated with the Soviets to showcase Soviet and Turkish art and culture.

In 1932-33 Soviet film directors Sergei Iutkevich and Esfir Shub visited Istanbul (Hirst 2013: 47). Shub travelled to Ankara and marveled of the new city: ‘Nothing reminds us that we are in Asia’ (p. 48). B. S. Arkanov, assistant director for the Bolshoi Theatre, along with Dmitrii Shostakovich, David Oistrakh and Maria Maksakova performed twenty-three concerts in April 1935. Lev Shteinberg collaborated with the Turkish national symphony and performed classical concerts (p. 49). Lenfilm released *Serdtsse Turtsii – Ankara* (The Heart of Turkey – Ankara) a joint-collaboration Soviet-Turkish documentary film on the new capital of Turkey (p. 49). Natan Zarkhi and Sergei Iutkevich’s ‘*Chelovek, kotoryi ne ubil*’ (The Man Who Did Not Kill) was a

screenplay dramatizing Soviet-Turkish solidarity against the threat of imperialist Europe in the early 1920s (p. 50). Reciprocally—like Kropotkin’s ‘mutual aid’—Moscow hosted and exhibited Turkish culture; painters and the work of Abidin Dino (p. 51).

Linke observed Turkish and Russian flags hung side by side at the concert. Silhouettes of Lenin and Atatürk faced each other on opposite sides of the room. She questioned Bay Şükrü about the Soviet-Turkish alliance. With a confident air he stated: ‘Oh, the Russians are our best friends—so long as they keep their hands off our internal politics. We are learning a lot from them, but we don’t want to follow in their footsteps’ (AD 286). Recent scholarship on Soviet-Turkish collaboration by Hirst (2013) plays up an anti-imperialist dimension in their cultural politics. Historians describe the ‘intense interaction’ of two ‘ostentatious state visits’ a ‘pragmatic response to geopolitical necessity’ (p. 33). Hirst adds: ‘Anti-western motifs permeated Soviet-Turkish interactions in realms well beyond those defined by strategic and economic interests’ (p. 46). He claims Atatürk did ‘not trust western academics, who are infected by a condescension and dismissiveness toward Turkey’ (p. 48). The scientific gaze of Hirst sharply contrasts Linke’s ‘tender empiricism’. Turkey was ‘prepared to learn from anyone’ in the words of Fazıl but must ‘keep their hands off our internal politics’ in the words of Şükrü. While Hirst’s article centers mostly on film and art, he had nothing to add about industry, other than one sentence listing two projects (p. 52). Hirst’s study is devoid of concrete insight into how the Turks and Soviets collaborated. Thanks to Linke, we can understand that Mustafa Kemal and his peers did not bear hatred toward any culture. Pragmatists, they were happy to borrow ideas from everyone. We might view their practice in the vein of Kropotkin’s ‘mutual aid’. But due to the belligerent clash between Anglo-American and German ‘national interests’, one cannot blame Mustafa Kemal and his peers for taking early precautions after 1929. Hence, their wise decision to welcome an exiled Trotsky from 1929 to 1933 on Büyükada; one of the Princess Islands near Istanbul. They shared an anti-imperialist view but were not ‘anti-Western’, as Hirst imagines.

On Bay Şükrü’s suggestion, Linke met the mayor (*vali*) of Izmir, Kâzım Dirik (AD 289). He made an immediate impression on her. ‘His genial flow of language, his temperament and demeanour were more those of a Southern Frenchman than of a Turkish general, and he seemed almost anxious to make me forget his military past’ (AD 290). Recent scholarship (Dirik 2008) summarizes his military and civic life a success with special regard for his talents in sorting out arduous, delicate internal affairs requiring tender negotiation and common sense. Dirik (1881-1941) was born in the

Ottoman city of Manastır (Macedonia). He trained in the military academy (1897-1900) fought in the Balkan War, WWI and in the *War of Independence*, leaving the army in 1928 (p. 227). Dirik was assigned key posts across Anatolia in Konya (1921-22), Bitlis (1924-26), Izmir (1926-1935) and Thrace (1935-1941). Of these posts, Konya and Bitlis were the most sensitive. Konya was a stronghold of religious Dervish leaders of whom some were not keen on relinquishing authority to the Republic. Rather than using force, Dirik spoke to their dignity to win them over with respect. He regularly visited senior Mevlana Dervish, Mehmet Ruhi Dede, a well-respected poet and preacher figure in the Konya religious community (p. 156). Despite the closure of Dervish Lodges by the government in 1925, Dirik cultivated a respectful and responsible relationship with their leaders. Dirik strongly supported education. Due to widespread poverty, an effect of the war, many school children had no proper clothes. Hilmi Erdim, a schoolteacher from Konya, explained Dirik's actions to help the children attend school with dignity.

With a modest budget, uniforms were ordered for about fifty boarding students at the high school. Fabric for the uniforms was paid with this budget. But there were no tailors. Knowing Kazım Dirik's devotion to the schools, the training committee decided to ask for his help. In his headquarters at the gendarmerie school, upon listening to my request, and before humbly escorting this 25-year-old teacher to the door, he said: "The people are evaluated by their minds but accepted by their garments. So, it is our binding duty to obtain proper uniforms for these children." And in fifteen days the uniforms for our fifty children were sewn, with utmost care, in the military workshop (p. 157).

Such action built trust in local religious leaders to the good will of Turkey's leaders.

Dirik's post in Bitlis coincided with the Sheikh Said Rebellion (*Şeyh Said İsyanı*) that occurred between August 1924 and March 1926. The Law of Maintenance of Order (1925) was put in place to quell the rebellion. Dirik's correspondence offers a counter-narrative to Robinson (1951) and Zürcher (1994: 187), as good intentions of the state.

The rioting was not shaped by being a Turk or Kurd, but was seemingly driven by the Sharia, Caliphate and Sultanate movements, that eroded the Republic from within in the attempt to play one off against the other as two opponents. (The propaganda that Sheikh Said's son-in-law Sheikh Abdullah, who conquered Varto two nights ago, spread across the Muş plains in the last week declared: 'There's no Islam without a Caliph or Caliphate') (2008: 164).

For instance, in the south east of Turkey it was noted: 'In Bitlis province and its vicinity, there's no such lack of commitment to the supreme Republic and the noble Ghazi, this is proven by the unrivalled levels of peace, calm and safety there' (p. 165). They worked to ensure attention (*şefkat*) was given to the predominately Kurdish region of Bitlis to dissuade them from becoming enemies of the Turks. 'Despite, propaganda attempts for a rebellion in provinces like Bitlis, where the majority of the people are Kurds, the Turkish State's affection to the local people dissuaded Kurds from enmity

toward the Turks' (p. 165).

One of Dirik's initiatives during his post in Izmir included the 9 September Exhibition (*9 Eylül Sergi*) titled Rebirth of a City out of Ashes (*Küllerinden Doğan Şehir*) that promoted small local businesses (p. 217). Success of the exhibition led to the Izmir International Fair (*İzmir Enternasyonal Fuarı*) that opened in September 1933 in time to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Republic. Linke's accurate use of dates verifies she met Dirik before he left Izmir. In Thrace, Dirik was responsible for sorting out the mix-up of populations from WWI and redistributing land. Due to the break-up of the Balkan states, Bulgarian, Greek and Romanian Turks sought repatriation to the motherland. Dirik formed cooperatives. A newspaper article headlined: 'Village Teachers are our General Staff: Three Hundred Sharp Youth Working in Edirne Agricultural Garden' (Dirik p. 251) is evidence of his project. Dirik had worked for the same efficient ends in Izmir province, evident in his explanation to Linke. 'They are good hard working peasants, but rather quiet on the whole. However since we attach them to already existing villages, they'll soon mix with the native population and feel at home with us' (*AD* 292). He took her to the villages where these changes were administered. Linke appeared skeptical. Sensing this Dirik added: 'I know this *vilayet* as I know my own house. I know every tree, every hut, every single peasant' (*AD* 293). Accustomed to scepticism, he confessed the challenges involved with changing old habits.

Until the Great War it was the Sultan and the Khalif who united them. The State—pah, they thought of it only as an institution set up to rob them. We have to teach them now that the State is their friend, in fact that they are the State, and that the State, at the same time, is something more—a unity of millions, a power, a strength (*AD* 296).

On 9 September 1935, a program was scheduled to commemorate Dirik's service to Izmir. Students were preparing to partake in the event. Upon seeing Dirik, a young girl jubilantly recited a poem. Linke noticed 'tears were slowly welling up in his eyes', when she read the final line: 'He lives in the people, and the people live in him'. Linke confessed: 'I knew no answer, but I envied him his certainty of calling in a new day' (*AD* 298). The latter excerpt from the poem strikes me particularly reciprocal, in that, what Mustafa Kemal and his peers gave to the people—an independent nation with a populace who had the confidence and responsibility to make their own way within it—resulted in equal effort of the people giving back to the nation, whatever their abilities.

The Turkish military as a 'cultural' rather than 'modern institution', as Altınay proposes seems plausible, taking into account Linke's experience of interconnectedness

between the engineers (civic leaders) and the military. Resembling Goethe's scientific method Linke's way of seeing captured this reciprocity, whereas Altınay only saw the military as a dominant culture of militarization and missed its progressive dimension as an emancipatory force that worked for the betterment of the whole. The military has forever been misunderstood in Turkey, as if her civilians are all militaristic. Lerner and Robinson (1960) claimed: 'Civilian supremacy had been maintained in Turkey because the governing code of the Turkish Republic was founded upon the *mystique* of civilian supremacy' (p. 22). Rather than mystification her emancipatory praxis demystified relations, clarifying them for her readers, as I articulated from Linke's above narratives.

In sum, Linke endorsed what I see as a Turkish-style 'Soviet of Technicians'. The Turks coveted a spirit of insubordination, as did the Russians. Yet Linke's emancipatory praxis exposed ambiguousness. First, while west Turkey enjoyed formal public discourse with the Soviets (Lenin's bust alongside Atatürk), on the Russian border Bolshevism was forbidden. In hindsight, this caused an unforeseen schism between Communism proper and Turkey's 'third way' in the populace. Second, while the first Five-Year-Plan brought common good, lack of finances and WWII, forfeited the promised second Five-Year-Plan in other regions desperate for development. Turkey was unable to fully solve uneven and combined development. Third, those unable to envision goals of the engineers or who still clung to superstition and ritual, differed from the young like Nuri who embraced new habits and shirked off religion with humor despite hardships. Fourth, the family metaphor for State may have inspired some but hindered others to become independent thinkers, instead relying on *Devlet Baba* (State Father). This was *not* the aim of Mustafa Kemal. Linke faced conservative views in the peasantry. Not all embraced or understood the new habituation. Habits take time to become habitual. Emboldened by the Turkish 'spirit of insubordination' she concluded: 'Congratulations, my friends!' (*AD* 324). Speaking at the *Royal Academy* (London) Linke stated: 'If left to work in peace, it is not impossible that they might succeed in building up a modern State in which European civilisation is enlivened by bold experiments and East and West are welded into a new whole' (*SCT* 557).

In lieu of a Conclusion

Learning from Lilo

I still feel too much that the past never offered me the right way, and that my life is still before me. Should a woman of 42 talk less foolishly? Perhaps, but it's the only honest thing I can say. —Lilo Linke, 1948¹¹⁸

The last thing to die is hope. —Yurii Shpilchak, 2015

Lilo lives on in common man merely looking for a ‘chance to live’. Today, Lilo would be a Syrian, Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian, Libyan, Moroccan, Nigerian, Egyptian, Somali, Serbian, Ukrainian and countless unfortunate souls about to join the ranks fleeing war. War, this repetitious habit—repeated by those of alleged ‘exceptionalism’ and impunity in their enterprise of ‘land-grabbing’ and armaments trade—seeks to destroy cultures and human dignity across the globe. ‘Life is constituted in replication and evolution’ says Esther Leslie (2010). This may be so, but the question arises, how do we evolve? Do we evolve for the better or the worse, and at whose expense?

Arriving in London in 2011 to begin my research work, few understood what was special about Lilo; just an unsuccessful, little-known interwar writer. Pascal, on the other hand, a former school teacher I met in 2013 living on the streets of Paris, sensed who Lilo was. When I asked in London: ‘But, how are we going to live?’ they couldn’t intuit why I was interested in this odd philosophical question. Fortunately, Esther Leslie introduced Goethe’s scientific method that helped me frame this thesis in a fresh and unexpected manner. Like Toni, who drew ideas for her thesis in 1915 by reading the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Stolper 1989: 61), I turned to corporate newscasts and events unfolding in our world today. The word ‘predator’ no longer seemed a heavy-handed term from Veblen. Researching the first half of the twentieth century combined with what unfolded before my eyes daily, in newsprint and on screens, merged. My reading of Veblen that man may be peaceable and industrious or predatory and war-like is evident. This odd and little-known theoretician I fought dearly for, as my main frame,

¹¹⁸ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 25 November 1948 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

was indeed a wise choice. The infamous ‘phrase-makers’ from Barres’ ‘nationalisme’, to Bismarck’s *Kulturkampf*, to Huntington’s ‘clash of civilizations’, are the repetition, repeating. Once again their crude understanding of culture and civilization is used to camouflage the clash of vested interests. Once again, common man has no chance in the ‘mad game’. Fred Magdoff (2006) proposed there is no ‘big idea’ as a catalyst for twenty-first century capitalism like the automobile a century ago with its sub-categories; oil industry, freeways, car parks, suburbs and so on. The ‘big idea’ today is the business of war. Borrowing from business ideology—workers like wars—are outsourced.

Drawing near the close of this four-year project, I discovered it was likely Gustav Stolper, and not Margaret Storm Jameson, who told Lilo to write down her emotions. I understood this from Toni when Gustav began his love affair with Lilo. Hurt and jealous but not innocent, Toni too, once had a love affair with Gustav when he was married to his very bourgeois, Viennese wife Paula. In her memoir Toni wrote that Gustav request she ‘begin then and there writing a full diary of events, of my thoughts, emotions’ (1989: 90). Gustav was always open about his actions. ‘Lying, cheating, hiding, was once again, as in 1915, quite beyond Gustav’s capabilities’, wrote Toni (p. 90). Thus, I intuit Gustav directed Lilo to do the same. This is of vital importance because it shaped how Lilo would develop a writing style that included her thoughts and emotions on small and substantial events experienced in dark days. Gustav found this self-reflexive practice helpful for a person to solve their problems. But more than this, it allows me today, to have a clearer understanding of what Lilo felt and how she reacted to the tumultuous times she lived through. It confirms authenticity in the text, rather than constructed fiction. Reading Lilo’s emotions can teach an earnest psycho-social, cultural studies, humanities or sociology scholar much. For instance, her truthful stories can teach how individuals are drawn to extremist movements; how individuals cope in dark times of poverty and war; how to mobilize the Left or rather, understand why the Left fails. Lilo’s narratives offer a science for life over manufactured, collected knowledge used for domination. Lilo’s oeuvre may be considered a philosophy for seeing anew peoples, cultures, nations, religions, as a ‘tender empiricist’—this woman’s earnest travel toward her instinct for purposeful work. Rather than a ‘standard of living’ we might work for a ‘standard of loving’.

Human instinct for good intent is forever manipulated. Toni made this clear when she wrote of the tactics that brought Hitler to power. He exploited and poisoned democracy (1989: 90). Toni wrote:

These techniques again cannot be spelled out, but the main idea was infiltration. Every house, every block, every region, had to have a centre of sworn Nazis. Every house. When at an early stage of his upswing, he invented the Winterhilfe, a help for poor people in winter, this meant a Nazi cell collecting gifts in every apartment and every house. Soon, nobody would know who was watching him and who was collecting material which would force him to, go a certain way or else. [...] Hitler, in this way, built up a state within the state, complete with a financial system of enforced contributions (p. 92-93).

Beyond the grand narrative of Hitler and Hitlerism, terms abused by Anglo-American power to disguise their own tendencies for this propensity by blaming others of yesteryear, Toni expressed not all Germans took a wrong turn. She attributes this to the

enormous mistake of talking of Nazi Germany as if it were the expression of one determined majority, determined state. It as always the revolt of the worst, not of the average. 'The Majority of the German People?', with a big question mark? 'Why all these smart people lost, needs to be described by a gifted historian: it was a technique of terror and of propaganda' (p. 104).

Rather than consulting historians, I have consulted an evolutionary scientist (Veblen) to respond to Toni's request. Not in cultural history but in cultural evolution we find some more concrete answers. Veblen knew 'institutional selection' differentiates between the predatory and the peaceable, weeding out the latter, to hone and shape leaner, meaner institutions. For Veblen the ideal is 'a character which makes for peace, good-will and economic efficiency, rather than for a life of self-seeking, force, fraud and mastery' (1899/2009: 234). In capitalism, one embraces capitalist values—the spirit of money.

Who is Lilo Linke?

Lilo, in reality, was what I call a pre-refugee. I intuit this because of her closeness to those who anticipated danger (Toni and Gustav), and managed to leave Weimar before others were caught at borders, imprisoned or killed. If we insist on categorizing her, in today's context, she was both a refugee and economic migrant. She would have never admitted this, because like Arendt, she rejected the term 'refugee'. Lilo wanted to live with dignity. If this meant travelling to do so, then travel was what she had to do as a means of self-preservation. In France, for instance, she was forever hounded, like others in her shoes, for their identity card.

The French are planning to increase the price of the *Carte d'Identité* to 220 francs. Foreign refugees who return without permission after having been expelled from France, will be liable to imprisonment from six months to two years—and expelled again after serving their sentence. Damn it all, the English are more intelligent—they don't let a poor refugee in from the very beginning. If you have money—ah, that's different. In that case they don't bother whether you are a Polish Jew or a nigger. [...] I wonder what the Geneva committee will do about it. Probably pass a resolution of sympathy, expect us to be grateful for it, and set up a further sub-committee to deal with the problem (CAV 262).¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Lilo uses 'nigger' sarcastically.

Terms like ‘traveler’ and ‘wayfarer’ used by literary critics don’t tell their readers much about exactly *how* Lilo came to be a ‘wanderer’. Lilo already intuited nothing would come out of the Left-Right polarization in Germany, except war. Marxists might view her fleeing, a selling-out of the Left, a bourgeois Left liberal. Perhaps. Lilo cherished and practiced a ‘somewhere on the Left’ *Weltanschauung* wherever the journey, for a chance to live, took her. Lilo was not an idle traveller, paid by somebody. A generous Gustav funded Lilo’s frugal journeys across France, Britain and later Turkey. And, following Gustav’s death, when Lilo often ran out of money in Ecuador, Toni sent her money. Linke notified Toni: ‘Your cheque arrived just wenn die Not am grossten’ (the need was greatest).¹²¹ In Latin America, Lilo did travel the Andean nations and so here we might call her a traveller. Yet, she was not a tourist, she travelled to learn and to write. In this sense, it does make her a travel writer of sorts. But as she did social work on her travels and wrote of these experiences, a more appropriate description for her is an author of emancipatory pedagogy—autobiography as emancipatory pedagogy—the title of this thesis. Lilo’s ‘spirit of insubordination’ instinct, explored in chapter four, seems to have recovered or ‘saved’ her, such that restlessness was directed to work with a purpose for good over the learned habits of pecuniary emulation and invidious comparison of ‘imbecile institutions’.

I have concluded Lilo was a multi-perspectival person. She was the duck-rabbit figure Bortoft used to depict Goethe’s way of seeing. A duck sometimes, a rabbit another, but always both wrapped up in one. ‘I am a sincere friend of the Turks’, she wrote in 1937 (*AD* 41). Lilo’s experiences, as a witness to *Étatisme* were explored in the three chapters of the Turkish case study, which I intuit as a genuinely, truthful story. Wherever she went her workmanship was done with earnestness and love. It was not for nothing Lilo spoke bravely in London, telling an audience, ‘if left to work in peace’ Turkey might ‘succeed in building up a modern State’ (*SCT* 557). I have witnessed Turkey flourish as a successful modern Republic that lives in peace when not aroused by foreign intervention.

In a letter to Toni in 1953, Lilo told of her ‘love’ for ‘investigating social problems and writing about them in the paper’.¹²² Lilo also gave herself to the children. Her creativity was endless for common good.

I have also started public performances of the puppet theatre, and am sending you a picture of four of my 18 stars as a Christmas greeting (most of the puppets I modeled and dressed myself!):

¹²¹ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 26 December 1948 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

¹²² Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 13 December 1953 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

Sr. Tralala Sabelotodo (Mr. Know-All), Dona Suciedad (Lady Filth) who dies a most horrible death, Mr. Jabon (Soap), and Juan, the Indian. As you will gather, it's a play about the need for Hygiene. [...] On Saturday's, I have a children's hour at the House of Culture here, to teach some 200 poor boys and girls from the primary schools "artistic appreciation": music, art, literature, dance. It's coming on very nicely.¹²³

'Man's life is activity; and as he acts, so he thinks and feels'. I have tried to make the point that a multi-perspectival position, afforded her a chance to evolve into a self-fashioned, pre-cultural studies social scientist, prior to the emergence of cultural studies as a discipline. Lilo is a pedagogue and an autobiographer, in that her stories try to make sense of the world and the self in it. Veblen admitted such stories are seldom told.

History records more frequent and more spectacular instances of the triumph of imbecile institutions over life and culture than of peoples who have by force of instinctive insight saved themselves alive out of a desperately precarious institutional situation (1971: 312).

Perhaps in the way that Kazin fashioned Veblen both an artist and an analyst of his time, Lilo seems to mirror Veblen's approach to sorting out and solving the riddle of how one should live. Saved out of a 'desperately precarious institutional situation', her quest was to preserve the self as a 'masterless man'.

What Did She Write?

I have given example after example how Linke's authorship was not fiction. In 1932, Lilo traveled across France, but also stayed on the tiny island of Isle-de-Batz, off the coast of Roscoff. Using her autobiography *Tale Without End* (1934) as a guide, in 2013, I traveled across France in search of Lilo's trace. My findings prove her stories are authentic. I met the Bellec family in Kerabandu, a region on the east side of Isle-de-Batz whose inhabitants, were and still are, potato and cabbage farmers, fisherman and small pension owners. Lilo wrote of a wedding she attended in the summer of 1932. When I inquired about this wedding, the Bellec family (*TWE* 114), did indeed, confirm their grandfather married that summer. I saw the family pension that Madame Joseph Bellec, once generously opened to Lilo, despite their poverty. Lilo worked for the Bellec's on the field to earn her keep. Of her French journey she concluded:

IN ALL THESE MONTHS I HAD NEVER FELT ALONE; ALL people had been kind, all had interested me. I had loved them all, although I had only caressed some children's heads, only kissed some women's cheeks. Their simplicity, their joy of life, their sense of humour, their courage and comradeship and loyalty had filled my heart with happiness. Every day had made me rich. I had been quiet and peaceful and content and yet longing forward and farther. There was no end to the journey (*TWE* 220).

¹²³ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 17 December 1950 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

Regarding the authenticity of her social work, I turned to *El Comercio*. Despite collecting newspaper clippings with the generous help of those working at the *Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit* in Quito in 2012, I abstained from reading them until near completion of the thesis. I chose this strategy as a method to confirm whether her life and work stood up to my hypothesis. Here are my findings.

The headline on Monday 29 April 1963 declared Lilo died ‘yesterday’ on a flight from Paris to London that would place her death on the 28 not 27 April, as inscribed on her tombstone (*Fig. 10*). The newspaper article writes: ‘Always restless, Lilo Linke took care of farmers, industry and problems of all kinds. [...] While on a campaign of progress for Ecuador, we are surprised by her death’.¹²⁵ On Tuesday 30 April a full-page published on Lilo had much to say. One headline read: ‘Lilo Linke was an indefatigable traveler to report on the reality of our country’ and explained:

She was endowed with sharp human insight. But not only her descriptions, but with earnest facts and figures explaining the reality, especially her human contact based on courteous discussion with all kinds of people in the most varied cultures and conditions. These dialogues are irreplaceable and abound in her articles as a kind of vital plot, that without which, would be a little dehumanized.

The writer praised Lilo generously, pointing out ‘hundreds of articles’ she had written about the provinces with ‘unbiased observation of events’.

We have had and have great columnists, tough and brilliant journalists accurately interpret national and international problems, but a prodigious writer of the national reality and its social activities connected with their basic problems, no one has been more effective than Lilo Linke among us.¹²⁶

Another article wrote: ‘Lilo Linke was a writer appreciated throughout [Latin] America’.¹²⁷ Lilo was well-known for her social work as the following makes evident:

A campaign involving all agencies in the country and thousands of citizens who contributed financially or with their own work, planted millions of trees. The engine driving the national mass movement was Lilo Linke, who unfortunately died prematurely.¹²⁸

Her extensive social work is more than adequately mentioned and highly regarded. It shows her creativity and breadth of knowledge across many fields.

Another of her notable campaigns was sanitation. Before a smallpox epidemic, in order to finally eradicate this evil, as evil yaws, malaria and other endemic diseases, Lilo Linke started an advertising campaign which reinforced its own action, accompanying the vaccinators through jungles and mountains, leading the inhabitants of the city and the provinces to the conclusion

¹²⁵ Monday, 29 April 1963, *El Comercio* (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit).

¹²⁶ Tuesday, 30 April 1963, *El Comercio* (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit).

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

that they should work with the Health organization and be vaccinated. Most of this fulfilled an extensive, informative work about public health, dietetics and home economics.¹²⁹

Obituaries and messages of condolence were printed by many including cooperatives and the National Union of Journalists (*La Unión Nacional de Periodistas*). On Thursday 2 May, a small photograph with indigenous peasants holding a placard with Lilo Linke's name written on it was published. Camilo Miguel Sisa, a thirty-five year old student at the 'Lilo Linke' school appeared in the photo. The article stated:

The school has forty-one male and female students. All are indigenous. The oldest student is Leonidas Socaj who is forty-three and the youngest a six-year old Santiaguito Paca. The "Lilo Linke" School is in the group of schools that leads for its organization and performance. Miss Lilo Linke was very interested in "their" Radio School, sending constant financial support and reading material. At Christmas 1962, I was worried to send Christmas gifts to their students. Students are treated with respect, dignity and loving affection.¹³⁰

Thousands of peasants mourned Lilo,¹³¹ particularly students of The Popular Radio School (*Escuelas Las Radiofónicas Populares*)¹³² for whom Lilo worked endlessly despite her countless social projects. The small article concludes with these words as a kind of philosophy about the Radio School: 'Why we meet | Why we understand | Why we love'.¹³³ Here, then is evidence of Paulo Freire's 'dialog of love'. This stands, in my regard, for what should define a genuine traveller—richness born from the fortunate encounter and the consequent reciprocal exchange between them.

There is no way of knowing who Anne was, Lilo's first fortunate encounter as a young adolescent, but she must have made a substantial impression on her. Chapter three discussed her fortunate encounters. The times she lived in also directed her, living amidst jobless, angry common man taking to the streets to change the situation which had caused empty stomachs. The Trade Union for Shop and Office Employees, followed by Gustav, whom I believe was a pivotal figure in shaping her life as he did Toni's, then Margaret in London, followed by countless others, were her guides. Souls searching for a way to live in the darkness attracted Lilo. In Paris she met a Madam Compan, probably a wealthy woman judging by the title 'Madam'. Compan took Lilo to some of the poorest neighborhoods including the 'Zone' in central Paris near the city's defensive walls where slums had begun to spring up, home to the most destitute immigrants Armenians, negroes, Poles, Italians and Chinese. Compan set up a welfare-center to help their children. Lilo wrote of Madam Compan and her actions: 'Her own

¹²⁹ Tuesday, 30 April 1963, *El Comercio* (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit).

¹³⁰ Thursday, 2 May 1963, *El Comercio* (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit).

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² The school *Escuela Fiscal Mixta Lilo Linke* in Calerdon, north Quito replaced the Radio School.

¹³³ Thursday, 2 May 1963, *El Comercio* (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit).

misery melted away if she held it near to the hell of all the suffering she saw' (*TWE* 90). This is telling, for it is by helping others one helps the self, mutual aid in the Kropotkin sense, to maintain a sense of human dignity in times of darkness. Or, in the way Freire thought one cannot be free when another is not. This 'knowing' of the reality brings a larger knowledge of how to live. In an unorthodox Deweyian sense, it is continuity of knowledge that brings 'emancipation and enlargement of experience' (1910/2007: 156). Thus Lilo's fortunate encounters add, one after the other, to her 'infinite development' in the Goethean sense. Fortunate encounters in Turkey expanded into more encounters in Latin America.

The questions laid out at the beginning of the thesis, seem to test true based on my findings of Lilo's rich social work and corpus of authorship. Lilo did evolve from a 'self-regarding' individual to 'other-regarding' person on a journey out of darkness to embrace hope, as articulated in chapter two. Lilo might well have been self-centric. Judging from Toni's first impressions on meeting her, it seems so.

She was all a Berlin poster picture could hope to show in her early twenties, slim, long-legged, with bold, expressive features, the bluest eyes, an ample bob of golden blond hair. And she was ready to dare anything for the sake of LIFE spelled large, including intelligence, imagination, plus a strong trait of narcissism (1989: 89-90).

Erich Fromm taught narcissism originates in the economic and political structures of authoritarian regimes and is not an inherent pathological trait, as Freud would have it. Christopher Lasch (1932-1994) articulated North American society was also of this type because other than mass consumerism there were few fruitful possibilities to live and create, in a culture with 'diminishing expectations' (1979). Knowing my social culture from a distance (Canada), I see the validity of his premise, in that, I now understand why it was, I too fled from and found, solace and contentment in another culture (Turkey), that had not yet reached the saturation point of narcissism in 1990.

Here, I intuit and conclude, based on Lilo's praxis in Ecuador and across the Andean nations, as she had a 'genuine' interest in Ecuador's development, so too, she had a genuine interest in Turkey's development. She thought, in the vein Veblen did, that industry helps a culture and nation evolve. But the difference lies in who controls industry and for what purposes. The so-called Turkish 'elites' at the inception of the Republic, up until WWII, had made the experiment of *Étatist* industrialization in a mixed economy, their benchmark to maintain national sovereignty, such that future generations would flourish. Lilo was a helping hand in this, in her support for their efforts. Where Turkey succeeded Weimar failed. A progenitor of social justice, Lilo's efforts were endless. 'We had failed, probably because we had asked and given too

much at the same time too little. Not everyone knows what to do with liberty' (*AD* 72).

The Close of her Journey

In 1952, she wrote Toni that 'President Galo Plaza, [is] a faithful reader of my newspaper articles'.¹³⁷ Plaza was president of Ecuador from 1948 to 1952. Lilo affected people and events. She wrote to Toni full of excitement: 'I decided to go to Bolivia after the people I wrote about in *Andean Adventure* got back into power. They gave me a front seat to watch the revolution now in progress. It was fascinating, especially since I was not obliged to identify myself with anyone or anything'. This clarifies Lilo's writing brought action and social change in the region but also points to her impartiality in not taking a side and her determination to remain a 'masterless man'. Her satisfaction is great but admits: 'No money in writing!'¹³⁸ No matter how gifted and persistent Lilo was in creating a *Weltanschauung* of 'what ought to be', gradually across the 1950s the situation in Ecuador began to change.

Lilo wrote Toni at the end of December 1953 that her chances to continue her work were 'snatched from me from one moment to the next'.¹³⁹

[T]he Ecuadorian government closed the biggest Quito daily, *EL Comercio*, a respectable bourgeois paper if ever there was one. We are moving more and more towards a Fascist regime, and the government's hostility towards this and other papers and institutions is just one of the many things that thicken, or rather darken, the atmosphere. For someone like you and me who remember so vividly even after twenty years what happened in 1932 and 1933, history repeats itself with frightening precision.

In her letters it becomes evident that the vested interests of the United States were slowly impinging on Ecuador, thus limiting and curbing possibilities for building democracy in the nation. In 1955, she wrote 'the government signed a contract with an American firm to run a tourist and industrial propaganda campaign for this country in the States, and I have been doing some well-paid journalistic work for them'.¹⁴⁰ For the first time Lilo had a bit of money. I can only speculate the reason for her decision lies in the fact choices were narrowing for those with good intentions to help Ecuador develop. Institutions caught up with her. Lilo grew increasingly apprehensive about planning a future, but attempted to do so nevertheless. She continued in the same letter to Toni:

I hope to get a mortgage loan from the Social Insurance and start building a house. The funny thing is that a Socialist friend was the one who tried hardest to persuade me—I never aimed at such "capitalist" things as becoming a house-owner. Still, it is probably wise. What worries me a

¹³⁷ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 11 November 1952 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

¹³⁸ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 6 October 1952 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

¹³⁹ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 13 December 1953 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

¹⁴⁰ Letter to Toni Stolper from Lilo Linke, 6 May 1955 (NY: Leo Baeck Institute).

little is that we have a Falangist-inspired group here which is rapidly gaining more influence thanks to the absurd fondness of our crazy President for this group, and we have had some rather hectic times again of late, with illegal imprisonments, beatings-up of a well-known journalist...

Lilo's thinking on ownership is a telling one because it leads me to conclude she did not have a 'capitalist' mindset toward ownership. Her statement is an interesting find, because it was Veblen who saw unfettered 'pecuniary gain' the malaise of humanity. In her case, a home was a form of security with the anticipation of old age; ownership Veblen condoned because common man needs the basic necessities of life to flourish.

Lilo travelled to Europe and Israel in 1963 (Holl 1987: 84). Apparently on this journey Lilo died of heart failure (p. 89 fn 113) on a flight from Athens to London (p. 84). Toni and Margaret were just as perplexed as Franziska (Rolly) Becker, '... no one knows why she flew back, she was on her way to Germany, was not expected until much later, in London, there is no one called...' (p. 89 fn 113). Holl notes Lilo's body was not returned for six months from London to Ecuador until 22 November 1963, the day her friends remember Kennedy was assassinated (p. 84). In Quito, I met J who told me about 1963. Anticipating a coup d'état, many intellectuals had to suddenly flee, as far off as China and India. When I mentioned visiting Lilo's grave, J responded: 'Is that where she is?'¹⁴¹ A distant relative told me Lilo's belongings were confiscated except for two newspaper articles and a set of encyclopedias left in her home.¹⁴² Lilo's journey ended as it began, in violence.

The first of May 1963 in Ecuador was active, with revolution in the air. Headlines the following day in *El Comercio* show common man marched with banners that read 'Viva el 1 mayo y la unidad de trabajador' (Long Live May 1, workers unite) and 'Tierra o muerte' (land or death). Over fifty-two unions marched.¹⁴³ A professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan wrote a report on Ecuador titled *Anatomy of a Coup d'Etat: Ecuador 1963*. 'On July 11, 1963, a battalion of the Azuay mechanized regiment surrounded and occupied the Palacio del Gobierno, the residence and place of work of Ecuador's Presidents, situated in the heart of Quito. Another in the long series of changes by violence which has marked the history of Ecuador had begun', wrote Needler (p. 1). According to this expert, there were four 'discrete motives' for the coup: 'to remove a drunkard from office, to conduct structural reforms, to act more strongly in repressing Communism, and to prevent the return to office of Velasco Ibarra' (p. 2). '[O]ne of the most acute interpreters of Ecuadorean reality to the English-

¹⁴¹ Interview in J's Quito home, 28 May 2012.

¹⁴² One reports a small plane crash in the Amazon. The other reports a corpse in the Amazon River.

¹⁴³ Thursday, 2 May 1963, *El Comercio* (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit).

speaking world, the late Lilo Linke', Needler wrote, continued his analysis with a quote of her opinion on the Ecuadorean army:

For all these reasons, it is now assumed in Ecuador that the army will continue to abstain from politics and limit itself to the defense of the Constitution and, of course, of the country should Ecuador be attacked (Linke cited in Needler, p. 3).

Such resistance was not what the vested interests in the United States calculated for Ecuador. Needler draws attention to 'individual self-interest' on behalf of certain participants involved, like Ecuadorean politicians, but exposes the affair when he concludes: 'Foreign influences on *all* of the military services emanate now predominantly from the United States' (p. 36).

How did Turkey evolve? Following Atatürk's death 10 November 1938, and owing to the fear of WWII and its possible outcomes, *Étatism* became more rigid. Bureaucrats discouraged private enterprise and forced state monopolies (Özay p. 52). Okyar articulates that during WWII large-scale inflation and hoarding of gold enabled a few private enterprises and businessmen to accumulate great wealth, almost overnight (1965: 107). For instance, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü was quoted as saying: "We are creating 15-20 millionaires in every district." This made a very bad impression and left the suspicion that the whole object of the Government was to enrich a small minority' (p. 108). Following WWII, by the 1950s a bourgeoisie had been formed. This pitted the *Étatists* (*Devletçi*) against the free enterprisers (*hususî teşebbüsçü*) now divided into new classes; 'businessmen class, a middle class of tradesmen and artisans and finally a class of labourer' (p. 106). A severely impoverished Anatolia awaited Marshall Plan financial aid. Multi-party elections were held in 1950. While an era of work for common good appears to have closed, it would take three military coup d'état (1960, 1971, 1980) to undermine the peoples' spirit of insubordination. Turkey has grown exponentially as a capitalist power. Not until post-2001 were all state-run industries either shut down or privatized. Moris Farhi in his recent novel *Young Turk* sincerely wrote: 'Atatürk must rage in his grave every time he hears his name so misused and debased' (2007: 430).

Home truth five: You went like water. Now come back like water.¹⁴⁴

Çiğdem Esin remarks of her research project: 'I have experienced my own political and ethical tensions in doing this research' (2008: 85). This led me to consider mine. Living at the receiving end of imperialism offers quite a different experience than

¹⁴⁴ Farhi 2007: 436

living at the sending end. Lilo's workmanship and my interpretation of her work, from a privileged position as both an insider and outsider to Turkish culture, humbly offers *Erfahren*, a 'knowing'. One must 'go and live' in a new society (Jameson cited in McLoughlin 2007: 110). Turkey has provided me an alternative habituation from which to understand my former one. The people of Turkey are my best teachers, as is Lilo.

Near the close of this thesis, I listened to words of wisdom from Jerome Bruner at New York University in an on-line interview titled: 'How does teaching influence learning' (2014)? I draw from his wisdom. Teaching 'opens the world'. He counsels: 'If it's only about the past, like old-fashioned historians used to think it, it gets you nowhere except back to the past'. 'It's the business of going beyond'. Perhaps this is one of the main reasons I chose to write cultural evolution, not cultural history. 'Culture is a way of knowing. It's a way of knowing that relates to the constraints imposed by a certain way of life'. Culture *is* education. And it *is* about reciprocity. 'It's impossible for somebody to interview someone without them interviewing them back'. I considered Lilo in relation to Bruner's wisdom: 'To use your being to its fullest extent'.

Lilo is a pedagogue for me and hopefully for others. Rather than coldness and melancholy, she taught me empathy and ethics. She taught about responsibility toward others and the self. In 2014, I directed my priorities to a distant relative from the Ukraine, over writing-up this dissertation because, instinctively, it was right thing to do. Margaret embraced Lilo and countless others fleeing war in the same manner looking for nothing but a 'chance to live'. Yurii, little different from Lilo, was full of hope. I learned living in fear is counterproductive. It leaves one open to coercion. Lilo taught me hope in dark times. She taught me a multi-perspectival way of seeing. And most importantly, Lilo taught me that concrete action, together with reflection through writing is the true way to know the self. Following her trace and writing up this thesis has done that. She reignited my curiosity about what it means to 'be' rather than just 'exist'. Two words adequately sum up the totality of my experiences: 'Yaşamadan bilemezsin'—(You don't know until you live it).

Appendix She Who Laughed



*Fig 1. Lilo Linke, *Tale Without End* (1934) New York: Alfred A. Knopf*



Fig. 2 Heinz and Lilo Linke, east Berlin (approximate date 1910)
With permission, Marc Linke



Fig. 3 Paul Linke
With permission, Marc Linke



Fig. 4 Lucie Linke,
With permission, Marc Linke



Fig. 5 Lilo Linke in Quito, Ecuador (1952) Photograph Rolf Blomberg
With permission, Felipe Fried



Fig. 6 Lilo Linke, Quito, Ecuador (1957)
With permission, Marc Linke

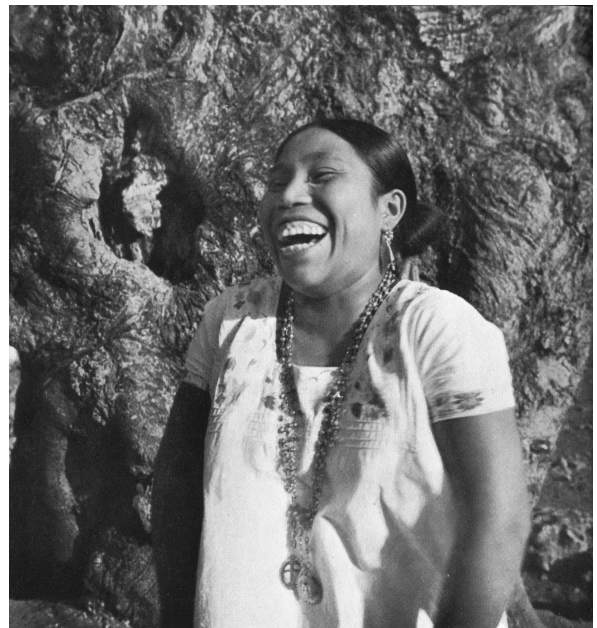


Fig. 7 She Who Laughed, *Magic Yucatan* (1950)
London: Hutchinson & Co.



Fig. 8 Escuela Fiscal Mixta Lilo Linke, Calderón, Quito, Ecuador (2012) Photograph Anita Oğurlu



Fig. 9 Student, Photograph Anita Oğurlu



Fig. 10 El Batán Cemetery, Quito, Ecuador (2012) Photograph Anita Oğurlu



Fig. 11 High School Girls, Allah Dethroned (1937) London: Constable & Co.



*Fig. 12 My Friends and I at Erzincan
Allah Dethroned (1937)*

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