

A HISTORY OF THE TURKISH REVOLUTION AND TURKISH REPUBLIC

Prof. Dr. AFETİNAN



Printed by Pars Matbaası Tel: 30 02 13

Ankara – 1981

A HISTORY OF THE TURKISH REVOLUTION AND TURKISH REPUBLIC

BY
PROF. DR. AFETINAN

Translated into English
by
Prof. Dr. Ahmet E. Uysal

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Foreword 3

Introduction 3

CHAPTER I

1. A brief survey of World Affairs in the 19th and early 20th centuries 9

2. The Ottoman State during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries 13

CHAPTER II

The Turkish War of Independence and the Foundation of the Turhish Republic 19

The end of the World War I and the Armistice of Mondros 19

1919

Events of 1919, the revival of the idea of the unity of the country, National Congresses and the emergence of Mustafa Kemal as a National Leader 25

The concept of National unity and its practical outcome 26

The National Congresses which convened in 1919 36

The role of the Turkish Woman in the struggle for national independence 43

The Amasya Meeting and the Commanders' Meeting at Sivas 45

The departure of the Council of Representatives for Ankara 48

Life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881 – 1918) and his career as a soldier and statesman 49

1920 PAGE

a. The meeting of the last Ottoman Parliament 12th January, 1920 – Declaration of the Misak–i Milli (National Pact) 19th Febrauary, 1920) 71

b. The occupation of Istanbul (16th March, 1920) 73

c. The meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (23rd April, 1920) 74

d. The Treaty of Sèvres signed by the Istanbul Government (10th August, 1920) 77

e. Resistance to invasion Battle Fronts 82

f. War in the North–East (20th October, 1920) and the Gümrü Agreement (2–3rd December, 1920) 85

1921

a. The First Battle of İnönü 87

b. The London Conference (27th February – 12th March, 1921) 89

c. The Second Battle of İnönü 91

d. The Battle of Sakarya 92

e. The Treaties of Moscow and Kars 95

f. The Ankara Agreement concluded between Turkey and France 97

1922

a. Treaties and Agreements 99

b. The Major Offensive and the Final Victory (26th August – 9th September, 1922) 100

c. The Armistice of Mudanya (3rd – 11 the October, 1922) 104

d. The Abolition of the Ottoman Sultanate (1st November, 1922) 105

1923

a. The first stage of the Lausanne Peace Treaty (Negotiations) (20th November, 1922 – 4th February, 1923) 111

b. The İzmir Economic Congress (14th February – 4th March, 1923) . . . 113

PAGE

c. The election of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (1st April – 11th August, 1923) 125

d. The conclusion of the Lausanne Peace Treaty (24th July, 1923) The Montreux Agreement on the Straits (1936) the Agreement on the annexation of Antakya (1936 – 1939) 129

e. The declaration of the foundation of the Turkish Republic (29th October, 1923), Ankara chosen as the capital of the new Turkish State 132

f. The major events of the early phase of the Republic of Turkey (1923 – 1939) 136

CHAPTER III

The Turkish Revolution and the principles of Atatürk 141

1. Democratic State and the Constitution 144

2. The State Controlled Economy 164

3. Intellectual and Social Life 168

Woman's Rights 169

Health, Social Assistance and the Sports 176

Dress 177

Education and the change of alphabet 178

The Positive and Social Sciences 191

The basic principles of nationalism 193

Unity of language 193

The importance of Turkish History 194

The revolutionary character of the reforms of Atatürk 203

Sources for the History of Turkish Revolution an Turkish Republic 207

FOREWORD

It is hoped that this book, designed as an outline of the history of Turkey during the period between the two world wars, and an account of the creation of the Turkish Republic and the developments achieved by the Turkish people in political, social, cultural and economic fields will serve as a handbook for readers abroad who wish to familiarize themselves with the creation of modern Turkey.

Among the major topics the book deals with are the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, plans for the destruction of Turkey as an independent country, the Turkish War of Independence, the foundation of the Turkish Republic and the achievements the Turkish people have accomplished in founding a modern and progressive society up to the time of the outbreak of the Second World War.

Professor A.Afetinan, the author of the book, is not only an internationally known historian, but was also a close associate of Kemal Atatürk, our great leader and the founder of the Turkish Republic. She was one of the first women intellectuals to appear under the encouragement of Kemal Atatürk. As such she was able to observe closely the series of profound changes which constitute what is called the Turkish Revolution.

We hope this book, appearing in the centennial anniversary of the birth of Atatürk, will be sought by those who wish to know the early phase of the history of the Turkish Republic.

The New Turkish State which emerged out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire is now 58 years old. Having a long history of statehood, the Turkish nation is taking rapid strides towards a bright future. The Turks have always produced great leaders under difficult conditions and maintained their national existence.

The book will have fulfilled its aim if it informs the reader about Turkey's hard and long struggle in attaining her present status among the community of civilized nations.

NECATİ ÖZKANER
Director General of Press
and Information

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Turkey, which was founded in 1923, has now realized its fifty–eighth year. This constitutes only a brief period in the history of the Turkish nation, which appeared on the scene of history over two thousand years ago. The Turks have been founders of many states in many different parts of the world. The Ottoman Empire, one of the greatest empires ever founded in history, was the last great Turkish State, but it was consumed in the flames of the First World War. Out of its ashes emerged the new Turkish State, which has been flourishing for the last fifty–eight years. The creation of the modern Republic of Turkey was a long and hard struggle for the Turkish nation at a very desperate period of her history. Numerous books and articles have been written on this period of Turkish history, which was so remarkable and full of world–shaking events. In spite of the abundance of publications on this subject both in this country and abroad, there are still some gaps in our knowledge about what really happened in our country during the last sixty years.

Foreign scholars find recent Turkish history to be of immense interest in mainly two respects: firstly, the Treaty of Sèvres (10th August 1920) signed between the vanquished Ottoman State and the Entente Powers, the victors of the First World War, was the only treaty concluded at the end of that war which was to prove to be worth no more than a scrap of paper. A foreign observer has compared this treaty to a cracked wase which was later shattered to pieces by the Turks. According to the terms of this treaty, the Ottoman territories were to be partitioned and the Ottoman State was to be allocated a small territory in the middle of Anatolia. In order to maintain their national existence the Turks had to found a new state (23rd April 1920).

A strong sense of nationalism and determination to resist against foreign invasion are typical attitudes of the countries of the present century, and the Turkish War of Independence sets a good example for such nationalistic reactions. Foreign scholars look upon the Turkish War of Independence as the first one of its kind to break out soon after the First World War, and believe that it is worthwhile to investigate its phases through the historical method. Secondly, foreign scholars called the reforms carried out under Atatürk's leadership "Kemalism", and attached considerable importance to political, social, economic and intellectual changes which were achieved in Turkey as a result of these reforms. Turkey became a model to those countries which were trying to obtain their independence during the period between the First and Second World Wars.

The fall of the Ottoman Empire was hastened not only by political and economic factors, but also by psychological factors as well. Nations show their true character in times of great distress and calamity. This was what happened in Turkey. By creating a new state out of the ruins of a decrepit Ottoman Empire, Turkey proved that she had not been totally exhausted and that she still had the will to live.

Recent Turkish history stimulated deep interest among historians of many countries. Their publications, as far as they reflect facts objectively, deserve attention. Some historians, however, have treated the subject very superficially and reached subjective conclusions. Nevertheless, all these foreign and Turkish publications deal with the history of the Republic of Turkey, and show that their writers have found this period really worthwhile. These works deal with various aspects of the historical events which culminated in the foundation of the modern Turkish Republic, which was a remarkable revolution. The radical changes which took place in Turkey 50 years ago were quite extraordinary to those who lived through them. The recognition of women's rights, the adoption of the new Turkish letters based on the Latin alphabet, and the replacement of the fez by the European hat may seem trivial matters today, but they were almost unthinkable in 1925, when fanatical circles applied much pressure on people's attitudes and thoughts.

The Turkish reform movements must be measured against the mentality of the period in which they were accomplished and evaluated

accordingly. In actual fact, the establishment of the republican regime, which would work along secular lines, was in itself a tremendous revolutionary change.

In the following pages I have first briefly treated the underlying causes of the developments achieved in industry and technology during the 19th century, and tried to explain how they were made possible by discoveries in the field of science. No doubt, each country was influenced by such changes, but the changes which were carried out in Turkey were accomplished in a much shorter period of time than they were in other countries.

I have, then, tried to describe how some reforms attempted during the Ottoman Empire have influenced the social life of the country. The reform movement known as *Tanzimat* and the other reform movements which followed it failed to bring about any radical changes; consequently the country was left backward, while other countries continued to make gigantic strides in every sphere of life. Nevertheless, there were a number of intellectuals who had come into contact with new ideas, but their influence was limited owing to the pressures of various power groups in the country at that time. Intellectual currents found a fertile soil in Macedonia, then an Ottoman territory, and the movement known as the Second Constitution was organized there. Macedonia was where Atatürk was born, educated and brought up. Naturally, his Macedonian background influenced his childhood, political ideas and military career. Therefore, in this book we treated briefly some characteristics of this region in connection with their effects on Atatürk. We also mentioned the various features of the Ottoman administrative system as far as they influenced Atatürk. Of course, as he himself admitted, his family and social environment, his education and his interest in foreign languages affected his character and future. His military duties, which took him to many battlefronts during the First World War, enabled him to know his country and people well and provided him with vast experience as a man of ideas and action. He was, thus, able to see at first hand the self–sacrificing quality of the Turkish people.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk undertook the leadership of the movement for liberation of the Turkish nation after 1919. The liberation and independence of Turkey were followed by the establishment of the republican regime. The Turkish revolution was a series of radical changes and the creation of modern institutions in Turkey.

I believe the title of the book explains its scope. Historical documents, official publications, memoirs and works published in Turkey and abroad were consulted in putting its material together. The events described in the book have been presented in a chronological order. I have not listed all my references as they would have formed too long a list. Occasionally I have included a number of quotations from my unpublished private notes taken down during my conversations with Atatürk. The reader will also find an outline of the history of Turkey during the period between 1918–1939, an era which covers the most important phases of the Turkish revolution.

When Atatürk felt that the public was not quite ready to accept the reforms he had planned, he always set himself to preparing the public opinion before carrying his plans into execution. Only after then, he laid them before the National Assembly for the enactment of the necessary laws. He was in favour of carrying out sweeping changes suddenly rather than leaving them to be accomplished over a period of years. His decision to carry out the alphabet reform can be given as an example. He had first thought it might be better to accomplish the teaching of the new alphabet over a period of years, but later he changed his mind and thought it would be better to introduce it all at once, and brought the issue before the National Assembly.

During the first fifteen years of the Turkish Republic the reform plans of Atatürk were put into execution by laws enacted in the National Assembly. These reforms and the legislation passed for their execution were all interrelated and completed one another. Atatürk's concept of revolution was no other than the idea of progress and consolidation of the country's national unity within its territorial boundaries. He emphasized the fact that Turkey's national goal was to go forward on the path of contemporary civilization without losing her national identity. Each citizen is expected to make his own contribution to the development of the country Expressions of nationalistic sentiments are not worth much unless they are supported by actions. What are said and written may contribute to the literature of our country, but they do not solve our urgent problems. In this respect it would be useful to remember Atatürk's statement engraved on the façade of the Security Monument at the Kızılay Square in Ankara: "Oh Turk, be proud, work hard, and trust!" Atatürk explained the meaning of this motto as follows: "We shall study Turkey's contribution to civilization

during the last two or three thousand years. We must be proud of this, but today each of us must do his duty and work hard. If we can make our own contribution through our work, we would be able to trust and believe in our future." No doubt, this motto can be a guiding principle for everybody.

Atatürk once said the following in connection with Turkish history: "Our ancestors, who established great states in the past, also created great works of civilization. It is our duty to study all these and make them known to the Turkish nation and the world in general." I heard these words straight from Atatürk's mouth and noted them down. On another occasion I heard him say during a discussion: "Any successful act performed by a person becomes a part of history. Satisfaction with one good act alone leads one to indolence and sterility. Ceaseless activity and continuous search for new things should be the life pattern of all of us. It is only then that we can look to the future with confidence." Indeed, Atatürk always said to those around him and to the Turkish nation: "Let us talk about progress and civilization. This will give us strength and speed in our advance forward." Such words of Atatürk have always appealed to our sense of duty, and led us to work harder. We had to keep pace with other countries in the race for progress.

In this book I have written about an important phase of our recent history. The reader will see in these pages through what hardships our country has gone in her recent history. Under the brilliant leadership of a great man, she was able to unite around the ideals of independence and sovereignty and demonstrate her determination for national survival in an exemplary way. If history teaches a lesson at all, this is what we learn from our recent history: the liberation and independence of Turkey have been achieved through the self sacrifice and united action of all her citizens. This is how our democracy was established.

We have to understand the meaning of our history during the last half century very clearly, and be fully aware of our duties and responsibilities to our country.

The speeches of Atatürk delivered during the period of 1918–1927 and published under the title of Büyük Nutuk constitute an important historical source for the study of the period which forms the subject

of this book. In these speeches we see a leader and a great reformer giving an account of his deeds to his people. Every individual should develop the habit of accounting for his actions. The achievements of a nation are the sum total of the results of the actions of all her people.

We should always feel proud of being the inheritors of a vast historical and cultural heritage of which the phase of our history described in the following pages constitutes an important part. We should at the same time do our utmost in preserving this priceless and unique heritage.

CHAPTER I

1. A Brief Survey of World Affairs in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Before we start dealing with the history of the Turkish Republic, it may be useful to summarize some aspects of European history with special reference to Ottoman history in the 19th century.

In the 19th century the world witnessed a series of important political, economic and technical changes. The achievements obtained in the field of the applied sciences and technology in that century surpassed all conservative estimates. Excessive growth of population and mass employment in certain parts of the world forced peoples to move to less populated areas, where new settlements grew around new industrial centers offering new employment opportunities. New political ideas and concepts of government led to extensive transformations in countries ruled by monarchic systems of government. The epoch making changes brought about by the Reformation Movement and the French Revolution had deep repercussions in almost every part of the world. The large scale application of scientific discoveries to technology affected directly the daily lives of millions of people. It was during the 19th century that the inventions and discoveries of the previous ages started yielding concrete results.

The beginnings of the great discoveries can be traced back to various periods of human history: ancient Egypt, Anatolia, Central Asia and China. This claim has been made in the light of written evidence unveiled by recent historical research.

The second important phase of development of human civilization took place during the extraordinary flourishment of the Hellenistic and Roman civilizations which are believed to have been fed by the above-mentioned civilization.

The period known as the Middle Ages, on the other hand, is characterized by developments initiated by two religious systems which dominated the spiritual and temporal affairs of man for at least a thousand years before the dawn of a new era, i.e., the Modern Times. During the Middle Ages, which are sometimes known as the Dark Ages, a dogmatic type of Christianity and a scholastic mentalily exercised strict control over the daily lives of men, curbing all kinds of change and development. While Europe was, thus, thrown in the depths of a profound darkness, Islam shone as a bright star on the horizon of human civilization.

The Reformation, the Renaissance Movement, the French Revolution and the growth of the ideal of humanism were the other significant milestones in the development of modern European civilization which forms the common heritage of all mankind today.

The 20th century civilisation may be considered as the end–product of all the past developments and the cultural and scientific contribution of every nation; thus, the roots of our cultural and scientific heritage have to be searched in previous ages. The history of mankind has been a series of interrelationships through the periods to which we have already referred, but the real fruits of this common heritage were fully realized during the 19th century. The immense developments achieved in the field of the positive sciences in that century exerted a more powerful influence over human societies than had been the case in former times. These developments took place first in Europe, from there they later spread to other continents.

The discovery of the steam power, and the application of electricity in industry, the widespread developments in chemical engineering, the use of coal and electricity as sources of power, and many other discoveries have had far–reaching effects on the life of man. The positive aspects of these developments form the essence of our contemporary civilization. Generally speaking, the history of this age does not consist merely of the political events in which the statesmen of the times were involed, but also of a description of all the discoveries and discoverers. Only in this way we shall have a true insight into the character of this complicated age. History as one of the social sciences is directly concerned with the scientific achievements of nations, and the changes that have been brought about in the life of a country by the application of these in technology. These are, therefore, what historians look for in the life of a nation.

Improvements in the means of transportation, both as far as speed and variety are concerned, have facilitated the carriage of mass–produced industrial goods far and wide. Trains and ships have played a major role in this development. Carrying raw materials from distant countries and continents to industrialized regions and moving finished products to new markets were other problems for which efficient solutions have been found. With less demand for manpower under this mechanized industrial system, the working classes began to assert themselves vigorously in social affairs. It was necessary to look at social problems from a totally different point of view. The combination of manpower with machine power made it necessary to make new arrangements regarding working hours. Significant changes had taken place in social life in comparison with the previous period, and administrators were forced to adopt new measures to solve such problems.

Another development brought about by this industrialization movement was the accumulation of large capital in the hands of a social class which began to emerge with rights and privileges almost similar to those of the old aristocratic classes. But the improvement of living conditions of the working classes, which formed the majority of the population, better wages and the formation of trade unions were among other problems pressing for solution.

Thus, the age of mechanized industry had brought in its wake a series of new problems demanding solution from both the State and the industrialists. At the same time, there was the question of establishing a political hegemony over continents possessing rich resources of raw materials. The new policy of colonization pursued by some major powers was the chief concern of many European statesmen. While many European countries were sending their excess population to other continents and scantily populated regions of the vorld, they were drawing from their colonies the raw materals their industry required at low prices. The colonization policy during the 19th century was the outcome of the imperialism of certain major powers.

A number of philosophical and economical theories, which manifested themselves in such trends as capitalism, liberalism and socialism were mostly inspired by economic conditions of the times. The age was torn by conflicts among the supporters of these theories.

With rapid urbanization and concentrations of peoples in large industrial centers, the rate of production was affected significantly. Some mechanized landowners became very rich, while small landowners were impoverished. Following a similar course, naturalistic, realistic and liberal trends and ideas began to make headway into the arts. As some people wanted to retain the old ways and traditions in the face of these new developments, there were conflicts between them and those who advocated complete break with the past. The unequal distribution of wealth, in particular, separated European communities into two sharply divided camps: the poor and the rich.

The great strides made in the field of science and learning and economic activity, made possible by the technology resulting from the application of new scientific discoveries to industry, boosted production to such levels that new markets had to be found in order to dispose of the surplus output. This provided the industrialists with an abundance of wealth, and created new needs and opened new horizons for man.

This was the general picture of the world at the beginning of the 20th century: a world completely changed with new scientific discoveries, and a society faced with many problems needing solution. Pursuing their colonial policies many European countries had become large economic powers, providing their citizens with wealth and comfort, while other countries lacking similar advantages were far from enjoying the same benefits. Thus, a lack of social and economic equilibrium led to numerous disputes and conflicts among nations. As the countries of Western Europe and the U.S. were among the nations reaping the richest benefits of the technical developments of the 20th century, they assumed political and economic superiority in international relations. The continent of Africa was completely shared among major European powers pursuing their colonial policies. Similarly, Czarist Russia expanded her territories in Siberia and Central Asia.

Countries which had avoided becoming colonies were reduced to semi–independent states from political and economic standpoints. Countries enjoying economic superiority also started gaining an influential position in intellectual and political spheres. Important European centers of culture were looked upon as models to be emulated. Intellectual circles in many countries were trying to establish the democratic organizations based on the principles of the French

Revolution in their own countries. Many examples can be cited for this tendency. Nevertheless, European countries were far from being united, and were in a state of constant rivalry. For example, although Germany enjoyed an unquestionable economic superiority among the industrialist countries of Western Europe, unlike them she lacked colonies. This international rivalry assumed further complexity with the emergence of Japan and the U.S.A., and thus the problem of economic and political balance became a question of worldwide concern.

The introduction of new weapons and measures of defence led nations to rivalry in the field of military superiority. Every country had to find solutions for problems peculiar to herself. Generally, European countries followed similar principles and practices. In parliamentary democracies the principles of individual freedom and unlimited free–enterprise were firmly rooted. The comparative individual prosperity noticeable in this age was also seen in the administrative character of the states. Man's place in society as an individual and citizen became one of the highly controversial subjects of the times, and along with technical progress, numerous sociological theories were being advanced.

Through all these changes affecting man, society and politics emerged a set of new concepts and conditions thoroughly different in character from those of previous centuries.

2. The Ottoman State during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries

Founded as a small principality in Anatolia at the beginning of the 14th century, following the decline of the Seljuk State, the Ottoman State flourished during the 15th century, and eventually became one of the largest empires in the world in the 17th century. Establishing its political and military hegemony in territories scattered over three continents, this Empire created some of the best examples of material and spiritual civilization of its age. The Ottoman State established an efficient administrative and economic organization in the territories in its possession, and the artistic and cultural achievements of this period were of a very high order.

Entering a phase of decline after the 16th century, this vast empire, spreading over immense territories, began to break up, with new states emerging in different regions which were once under its control. The Empire was able to arrest the tendency to decline temporarily and preserve its frontiers during the 17th century. A number of Ottoman statesmen made some efforts towards reform, but they were only superficial attempts and proved to be far from bringing any radical solutions to the country's chronic problems.

During the 17th century, which is sometimes called "The Tulip Period" in Ottoman history, the Ottoman Empire was open to social influences from the West, and friendly relations were being established with countries in a state of hostility with the Empire until then. The Turkish ambassadors sent to some European countries reported of the novelties they had observed there. The influence of foreign ambassadors to İstanbul and the men of learning and writers accompanying them were equally effective. The introduction of the printing press (1727–1729) is an event marking the beginning of very significant developments in technical as well as cultural fields in the country.

These developments were, however, interrupted under the unfavourable effects of internal disturbances over state administration. During the period Called Nizam-ı Cedid (i.e., the New Order) the main question receiving the attention of Ottoman statesmen was the modernization of the Army after European models. It was, at the same time, generally believed that the entire Ottoman administrative system should be reformed, and although some positive results had been achieved in this direction during the reign of Sultan Selim III, conservative ideas still prevailed, and many circles wished to maintain the old way of life. Efforts made to bring the country to the level of contemporary civilization were usually frustrated by revolts and other counter movements.

The Ottoman Empire during the 19th century was ravaged by wars along its frontiers and internal revolts. There were territories being torn from the Empire through the instigations and intrigues of the Great Powers. The Ottoman territories in Africa and the Balkans became either semi–independent or came under the rule of the Great Powers. While these developments were taking place, the Western European powers and Czarist Russia sometimes sided with the Ottoman Empire, and sometimes supported the new states gaining their independence from

the Ottoman Empire. The most significant event of the 19th century Ottoman Empire was the Reform Movement attempted by Sultan Mahmut II. The Movement of Nizam–ı Cedid was an unfulfilled reform attempt, although it served to shake the foundations of Ottoman rule, which was based on absolute state authority. Secondly, with that movement certain signs of the effects of contemporary ideas borrowed from Europe began to be seen in the country, but a radical revolutionary movement never found support from any quarter in the country. The supporters of conservative ideas were always against change and novelty. The country lacked a strong body of intellectuals to welcome the new ideas reaching Turkey from the West, and the majority of the common people tended to preserve the old ideas and traditional ways. Newertheless, the suppression of the Janissary Order by Sultan Mahmut II in 1829, the establishment of a new Army, and the establishment of the new War and Medical Schools for the purpose of training officers for the new Army were important events in the modernization of the country. Introducing a system of coordination among the cabinet ministers , was one of the other significant reforms at the time.

Some changes introduced into the social life of the country gave the Ottoman people a new way of life as well as a new outward appearance. Normally members of a class or profession could be easliy identified by their garments and headgear. With the adoption of the fez as headgear for both soldiers and government officials, a kind of official headgear was introduced, but the common people were not affected by these changes, and they continued to wear their old headgear, which varied considerably from region to region.

It was impossible to take any radical measures concerning economic problems, because the Capitulations, i. e., the commercial and other concessions granted by the Sultan to foreign countries, were in a position to prevent the development of any native industry. One of the most important events in the history of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century was the declaration of the Firman of Tanzimat–ı Hayriye on 3rd March 1839, definitely the most important document in the history of the Ottoman Reform Movements. This Firman, which was proclaimed by Reşit Pasha at the Gülhane Park, guaranteed the personal s. fety and the right of property ownership of all Ottoman citizens re, ardless of religious belief, and promised that taxation and military ser ice would be subject to new rules and laws to be introduced. The

official announcement of these principles by the State and the announcement that new rules and laws would be introduced and that everybody would be held equal before laws regardless of religious differences were hopeful signs of development in the Ottoman Empire.

The period of Tanzimat, having a different character from the other reform movements, was received more favourably by the public, although there were still some defenders of the old regime and opponents of change. On the other hand, some foreign powers, referring to the "Eastern Question" at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, assumed the responsibility of protecting the Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire, and the rivalry among them in the service of this cause started to have international repercussions. No matter whether the Ottoman Empire was weak or strong, this Eastern Question was responsible for variations in the policies of the Western Powers towards Turkey. The political significance of the term can be expressed simply as the question of dividing the Ottoman territories in Europe, particularly as of the second half of the 19th century. The fate of this political objective was dependent upon the balance of powers. Russia and Britain were negotiating for an agreement over the partition of the Ottoman territories. It was during one of these negotiations in St. Petersburg (1853) that the Czar Nicholas referred to the Ottoman Empire as "the Sick Man of Europe." As a trem of political jargon, the expression was unfortunately used to describe the Ottoman State during its periods of weakness. The real issue was the division of the heritage of the Sick Man; therefore, the Western Powers were in a state of rivalry, which manifested itself in their competing with one another in the championship of the rights of the Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire. It was for this reason that these powers were proposing clauses to be included in international agreements so as to create the impression that they were protecting the rights of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire. For example, during negotiations over this question at the Paris Conference (1856), the Ottoman State was forced to issue a new Reform Firman reconfirming the principles of the Gülhane Reform Firman, which had already been proclaimed in 1839. In practice, reforms were carried out in all institutions in a moderate way and avoiding any radical changes in the existing system. Alhough these reform edicts confirmed the recognition of equal rights for all Ottoman citizens regardless of religious differences, they nevertheless led to a variety of reactions in different parts of the country. The interference of the

The responsible members of the Union and Progress Party, which was in power during the war, had fled the country. The Cabinet formed by the Sultan under a Prime Minister appointed by him was not a stable one. The terms of the Treaty were subjected to severe criticism at the Parliament, but it was argued that the terms of the treaties signed by other Allied Powers were even severer and it was also pointed out that although the terms accepted by the Ottoman Government were severe, the victors would act with discretion in their implementation. The optimistic statement given to the Press on behalf of the Government on 2nd October was an expression of relief from the hardships of war. Long years of war had cost almost each family loss af lives and property. The mood of general veariness of war was noticeable everywhere There was not yet any sign of reaction from the intellectuals against the Treaty.

The Ottoman Government was in a state of total incapacity. Sultan Vahdettin declared on 21st December 1918 that he had abolished the Parliament, depending on the authority given him by Article 7 of the Constitution. The Facts that new elections would have to be held within four months and notice be given to that effect, according to the provisions of the same Constitution, were totally ignored. The Constitutional Government was indefinetely suspended in the Ottoman State system, and the country was reduced to a state of complete military and political incapacity.

Under these circumstances some organizations in Istanbul held a meeting and issued a declaration in which they expressed a desire for national unity. This well–meaning movement was short–lived. Separate organizations such as the Mudafaai–Hukuku Osmaniye (i.e., Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Ottoman Peoples) in İzmir and the Trakya Paşaeli (1st December, 1918) began to be formed in different parts of the country towards the end of the year. But the Entente Powers had already started occupying the country according to the terms of the Mondoros Treaty.

The occupation of the Ottoman territories from sea and land began as of 1st November. When Turkish commanders opposed the occupation of such regions as Mousul and Iskenderun, which were under the occupation of the Ottoman Army at the time of the signing of the Treaty, the Entente Powers pointed out to them that they were acting in accordance with the terms of Article 7 of the Treaty. General Ali İhsan Sakib was the Commander of the Ottoman Army along the Iraqian

border, while General Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), commander of the Yıldırım (Lightning) Army Group, was at his head quarters along the Syrian border.

A large fleet of warships of the Entente Powers passed through the Dardanelles and reached Istanbul on 13th November 1918. Although Admiral Calthrope indicated that the troops to be landed in Istanbul were actually bound for Russia, Istanbul was virtually occupied if not officially confirmed. Many government and private buildings were occupied.

Many centers in Anatolia and on the Black Sea and the Mediterra nean coast were also being occupied. The terms of the Treaty were being arbitrarily implemented, without ever resorting to a peace agreement. At the same time, various organizations representing various political aims and ideas were being created in the country. Some of these aimed at the preservation and survival of the Ottoman State under the protection of a foreign power, while the minority groups wished to partition the country according to religious and ethnic principles. These were the clear indications of plans for the total dismemberment of the country.

end to the existence of a nation. Unoccupied territories of the Ottoman Empire were being abandoned to the occupation of the armies of the Entente Powers without even making a peace treaty.

The terms of the Treaty comprised the following basic points: the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles would be open to the ships of the Entende Powers, and the Turkish military fortifications would be occupied. The Turkish torpedo—launching stations on the coasts would be shown and help provided by Turkish authorities for their removal. Information on the location of similar stations on the Black Sea coast would be given to the Entente Powers. Armenians and prisoners of war taken by Turkey would be released unconditionally in Istanbul.

The entire Ottoman Army except the troops required to keep peace and order and to protect the frontiers would be demobilized. Turkish warships would be surrendered to the Entente Powers at Turkish naval bases. These were the provisions of the first six articles.

Article 7 of the Treaty is particularly worth examining. İt stated, "In the event of a situation threatening their security the Entente Powers would have the right of occupying any area of strategic importance." This article led to a variety of interpretations and practices.

Each of the other articles contained provisions more unfavourable to Turkey than the other. For instance, it was demanded that the Ottoman railways and merchant ships be turned over to the use of the Entente Powers. In order to reinforce the provisions of the same article, it was demanded in Article 9 that ships and equipment in Ottoman arsenals also be turned over to the use of the Entente Powers. The railway tunnels passing through the Taurus Mountains would be occupied.

The Ottoman forces in Iran and Caucasia would be withdrawn from these regions. Except for official purposes, wireless, telegraph and telephone communication would be kept under the control of the Entente Powers. Military, naval and commercial goods and equipment would be left intact by Turkish authorities. The surplus coal, diesel oil and naval equipment would be sold to the Entente Powers and never allowed to be transported to other countries.

Article 15 was intended to reinforce Article 8 in that the operations of the railways, including those along the Caucasian border, would be turned over to the Entente Powers. The Ottoman Government would not oppose the occupation of Batum and Baku by the Entente Powers.

The Ottoman troops in Hedjaz, Asir, Yemen, Syria and Iraq would be surrendered to the nearest commander of the Entente Powers.

The Ottoman officers and ports at Tripoli and Benghazi would be surrendered to the Italians. German and Austrian citizens of military or civilian status would leave Ottoman territories within a month. The rest of the articles of the Treaty had provisions designed to reinforce the above–mentioned conditions. The obligations regarding the delivery of the military equipment and the means of transportation to the Entente Powers and the demobilization of the Ottoman Army would have to be carried out immediately. In order to meet the requirements of the occupation forces, the Ottoman Government was held responsible to give an official of the Entente Powers in the Ottoman Ministry of Food the necessary information.

The Ottoman prisoners of war would remain in the hands of the Entente Powers. The Ottoman Government would break all diplomatic relations with the Allied Countries.

According to the provisions of Article 24, the Entente Powers would have the right to suppress any revolt which might break out in the six eastern provinces.

When the Ottoman delegation justly expressed its discontent, the British Admiral Calthrope handed them a letter, which was supposed to be confidential. In this letter the Admiral promised that he would act as an intermediary to see that these extremely severe terms of the Treaty would not be carried out. But time showed that this was a vain hope. The severe conditions of the Treaty were put into effect.

The end of the First World War was also the end of the Ottoman Empire. The terms of the Treaty were such that they would put an end to any state.

The last two months of the year 1918 can be summarized as follows:

CHAPTER II

The Turkish War of Independence and the Foundation of the Turkish Republic

The end of World War I (1918) and the Armistice of Mondoros

Although the foundation of the Turkish Republic was constitutionally endorsed in 1923, it is generally accepted that the establishment of our present democratic regime is the outcome of our War of Independence, which ensured the territorial and geographical unity of our country; We can, therefore, consider the historical events between the years 1918–1923 as events leading to the liberation of the country and the foundation of democracy in Turkey. Earlier in the book I discussed briefly the general world scene in the 20th century and the place of the Ottoman State in it. Undoubtedly, the most important event of the early 20th century was the First World War, which was fought between two great blocs of nations on land, at sea and in the air, on numerous fronts, using the latest weapons.

On one side were Germany, Austria - Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire, forming the bloc called the Allied (Central) Powers, while, on the other hand, were Britain and her dominions, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro. Later Portugal, Rumania, Greece, Japan and the United States of America joined this bloc , which was called the Entente Powers.

Although the Allied Powers gained many victories and were considered generally successful during the early years of the war, the situation changed in favour of the Entente Powers after 1917. The Allied Powers accepted defeat just before the end of 1918 and had to surrender. The Entente Powers had reached secret agreements among themselves before the end of the war about the terms of the treaty to be signed with the Ottoman Empire. Some alterations had, however, been made in these.

With the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia in 1917, a new stage had been reached in territorial demands, and misunderstandings and disagreements arose among the Entente Powers on the subject of the shares of the countries which had joined the Entente later than the others. The United States, which had entered the war on the side of the Entente Powers on 6th April 1917, proposed that the 14 articles of President Wilson be accepted as the basis of the peace to be made (January 1918). Britain and France accepted these provided they were not applied within their own countries. The first article of President Wilson, which directly concerned the Ottoman Empire, stated clearly that international secret agreements would not be approved. President Wilson's article 12 accepted Turkish hegemony in those territories of the Ottoman Empire where the majority of the people were Turkish, but urged that the non–Turkish peoples living in Ottoman territories be allowed to develop themselves in peace and security. A clause added to this article provided free passage to all commercial ships through the Straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which would be kept under international control.

The Allied Powers had to sign peace treaties with the victorious powers towards the end of 1918. Bulgaria on 29th September, the Ottoman Empire on 30th October, Austria–Hungry on 3rd November, and Germany on 11th November. According to international law a treaty is a document of temporary peace agreement until a final peace agreement is signed. It has two forms: cease-fire and armistice, or suspension of fighting for a certain period of time. Certain legal rules, concerning the beginning and duration, the limits of the neutral zone, and the treaty boundary, are usually agreed upon in the case of a treaty. Governments concerned inform their military forces of the details of the treaty. A treaty may not lead to a final termination of hostilities. It is therefore, essential that a treaty include provisions concerning demobilization and disarmament. It is probable that the losing parties are not able to stop fighting. The Treaty of Mondoros (Mudros) is a document signed by an Ottoman delegation of three members and a British admiral representing the Entente Powers. Negotiations on the terms of this document consisting of 25 articles lasted for three days. Article 25 recorded the date of the treaty and the names of the signatories.

The rest of the articles were about the terms of the Treaty, each of which was more intolerable than the other. In fact, they were meant to put an

Western Powers in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire tended to weaken state authority, and the protected groups eventually became the representatives of the chief destructive elements in the Empire. Some new concepts introduced into the country as part of an intellectual reawakening were subjected to some political interpretations. Such words as "country" (memleket), "nation" (millet), "Turkism" (türkçülük) and "Turanism" (Turancılık) assumed new connotations and began to be used for political purposes. While the peoples united and governed under the name of Osmanlı were gradually gaining their political independence, the foundations of the Ottoman Empire started to be shaken. Although the recent reform measures had brought about some changes in the social life of the country, the monarchic administration had failed to find for the Turkish nation either new solutions for her problems or a way of salvation. However, the two attempts at constitutional government should be evaluated in their respective historical backgrounds. The First Constitutional Movement was an attempt to have the Ottoman ruler accept the Constitution drafted by a committee under the leadership of Mithat Pasha. This Constitution was accepted and proclaimed by the Sultan and the first Ottoman Council of Representatives, which was convened with the participation of 120 members in İstanbul on 19th March 1877. When the Russian Army attacked the Ottoman territories in the Balkans in the same year and advanced almost to the suburbs of İstanbul, and the Government was subjected to severe criticism by members of the Ottoman Assembly, Sultan Abdulhamid dissolved it in February 1878. The rule of absolute monarchy thus restored would continue until the declaration of the Second Constitutional Government from Macedonia in 1908.

Macedonia was one of the most dynamic and energetic territories of the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 19th century. The peoples of the Balkan Peninsula were living through a period of turbulence. Salonica, geographically being the capital of Macedonia and serving the country as an important land and sea communication center, was also a city where intellectuals were gathering around new ideas and forming organizations to reach their objectives. The Turkish peoples of Macedonia had come under Ottoman rule very early in the history of the Empire, and Yürük and Türkmen peoples from Anatolia were settled in this territory in later years. Macedonia and the neighbouring territories were important from the point of view of the Ottoman

Government's policy of settlement in the conquered territories. According to historical records the most crowded Türkmen and Yürük tribes were found in Macedonia during the 16th century. Official records confirm the fact that the peoples called "the Yürüks of Salonica" formed the majority of the population of Macedonia and Thessaly in that century.

The Turkish–İslamic culture, customs and traditions of this ethnic group flourished under the peculiar geographic conditions of the region. There are two reasons why we are referring to Macedonia here. First, the Second Constitutional Movement was prepared and proclaimed there on 24th July 1908; secondly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic, was born in Salonica in 1881. He was involved in political movements while carrying out his first military duty in that region.

To summarize the characteristics of this period, we can say that the reform movements started during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries in the Ottoman administration, and the two successive attempts to establish a constitutional government can be considered as positive developments. But each of these attempts was frustrated either by external threats and territorial losses or by the interventions of foreign powers in the affairs of the Ottoman Government to ensure economic advantages for themselves, all contributing to the eventual downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

It must, however, be pointed out that, in spite of these negative aspects, the period was characterized by the emergence of a group of intellectuals nursed with the ideals of contemporary civilization. They influenced the public opinion with their publications. The degree of tolerance with which these intellectuals and their ideas were accepted by the Turkish people was probably the most significant characteristic of the period.

was making statements giving the impression that it favoured the idea of accepting the protection of one of the major powers. Mustafa Kemal was absolutely against such an idea. He, therefore, issued a note of warning to governors and commanders on 3rd June, 1919. He pointed out that it was the Prime Minister's natural duty to protect the Ottoman rights, but the two principles which were valued by the nation should be taken into consideration; they were

1. The independence of the State and the country.
2. The rights of the majority of the people should not be sacrificed in favour of the interests of the minorities.

The significance of these messages and warnings was that by these means Mustafa Kemal was declaring to the nation the principles to be kept in view by the Turkish Delegation going to Paris to sign the Peace Treaty.

What Mustafa Kemal achieved during a period of one month can be summarized as follows: he established contact with military commanders and civilian administrators and encouraged the nation to unite, to oppose foreign aggression and to hold mass demonstrations of protest against the occupation forces. As these attempts of Mustafa Kemal were met with suspicion and discontent by both the Entente Powers and the Ottoman Government, the Minister of War demanded that he return to the Capital immediately on 8th June, 1919. Mustafa Kemal was displeased with this order to return to Istanbul, and sending a telegram direct to the Sultan himself, he pointed out to him that the country was in a critical situation and that he would not return to Istanbul, but try to find a solution to the difficulties of his country and if necessary he would resign from military duty and intiate a National Resistance Movement in Anatolia. Under these circumstances it was no longer possible for him to continue performing his duties as an Army Inspector. Although he knew that there might be efforts to undermine his plans to unite and save the country, he felt that to achieve his objectives he should not act singly but in cooperation with a body representing the whole nation. It was with this end in view that he informed on 18th June, 1919, the Commander of the 1st Army Corps of the necessity of holding a meeting in Sivas where the Anatolian and Thracian Societies should be represented under a single name. It was, however, necessary to give this idea some wider publicity. For this purpose he sent to military and civilian authorities in the country, as well as to certain persons in Istanbul, a circular in which the following points were emphasized:

1. The unity of the country and the independence of he nation are at stake.
2. The Istanbul Government cannot undertake its responsibilities, and lowers the honour of the country.
3. The nation will be saved through her will–power and determination.
4. There is need for a free and independent national body to explain the plight of the nation to mankind and make her voice heard in the world.
5. It was decided to convene immediately a national congress in Sivas, a city regarded as a convenient place in every way.
6. It is, therefore, necessary to send, as soon as possible, three reliable delegates to the Sivas Congress from every province.
7. As a precaution it was recommended that the meeting in Sivas be kept as a national secret, and that the delegates travel to that city under assumed names.
8. Those who attended the Erzurum Congress on 10th July can also attend the Sivas Congress.

This letter was sent round on 22nd June, 1919. It was signed by General Mustafa Kemal, Army Inspector, as well as by three officers in his headquarters, and General Ali Fuad (Cebesoy), Rauf (Orbay) and Refet (Bele). This letter is known as the Amasya Letter (Amasya Tamimi) in our history.

The ideas in these three letters sent successively on 22nd and 28th May, and on 22nd June were spread quickly both in the country and abroad, and set the main objective pursued throughout the War of Independence. These ideas were to be put into application in the months to follow. The official titles of the persons who signed these letters were inspectors of the 3rd Army(*) and honorary A.D.C. of the Sultan.

In some letters written by Mustafa Kemal later to certain persons in Istanbul, the following suggestions were made: "Major objectives cannot be realized merely by public gatherings and demonstrations. They will be of use only if they receive support from the collective conscience of the nation. What, in fact, has even worsened the situation of the country,

---

(*) The Inspector of the 9th Army was called Inspector of the 3rd Army as of 15th June, 1919.

3. That at least two cars were needed for official use.

4. That the Headquarters of Inspectors be given operational status.

He pointed out in his letter that he would leave for his Headquarters as soon as the above–mentioned needs were met.

Mustafa Kemal left Istanbul for Samsun together with the 14 members of his staff on board S/S Bandırma in the evening of 16th May, 1919, i.e., a day after the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks.

Mustafa Kemal was 39 years old when he was destined to save Turkey and create a new Turkish State. The report he sent three days after his arrival in Samsun is a document of the early conceptual and preparatory stage of our National Liberation Movement. Dated 22nd May, 1919, this letter emphasized that the Turkish people could no longer tolerate foreign rule and live under foreign bondage, that Izmir was an important region for Turkey, and that we would never consent to the occupation of our country by a foreign power. After pointing out that the occupation would not last long, the report contained the following statement:

"Being united, the Nation aims at sovereignty and national consciousness."

This was an official statement in which Mustafa Kemal made it clear to the Ottoman Government that the liberation movement would be based on the concepts of unity, national sovereignty and Turkish nationalism.

At a time when regional solutions were being sought and organizations founded to ensure at least some degree of independence and to create a state separate from the Ottoman State, this statement of Mustafa Kemal defined the objectives and laid down the principles of the efforts to be made in the days to come. These can be expressed briefly as follows: 1. Unity of the country; 2. Sovereignty based on democratic principles; 3. Fostering a sense of Turkish nationalism. This seems to have been completely ignored by the Ottoman Government.

Mustafa Kemal's arrival in Havza on 25th May occasioned a new statement. Addressing the people of Havza he said: "We shall never feel hopeless. We shall try and save the country!" In letters he sent from Havza to administrative officers and commanders of military units in regions under his responsibility, he advised that continuous and exciting demonstrations and meetings be held as a protest against the occupation of the country and to ensure the unity of the nation. He pointed out that the occupation of Manisa and Aydın following the occupation of İzmir was a clear sign of approaching danger. He demanded that news of such demonstrations and protests be carried by telegrams to the Istanbul Government, the representatives of the foreign powers and the public opinion. He emphasized in his message that the demonstrations of nationalistic feelings be carried out in a dignified and disciplined manner without ever assuming the character of hostile actions or assaults against the Christian population of the country. This message is important as a document disseminating the idea of national unity and starting a nationalistic protest against foreign occupation. With the issuing of this message, meetings were held in almost every part of the country.

In the orders Mustafa Kemal sent to the Army Corps, he warned the commanders against the possibility of enemy surprise attacks from all directions at the same time, and advised guerilla tactics against such attacks, and pointed out the necessity of keeping regular military forces concentrated in certain areas, as far as possible, in order to meet states of emergency likely to arise in the future.

These documents bearing Mustafa Kemal's signature are of historical value for three reasons: first, they gave the idea of national sovereignty a nation–wide publicity, and thus shook the very foundations of the Ottoman regime; secondly, they caused the nation to hold protest meetings within civilized bounds; thirdly, they ensured the employment of small groups of Turkish forces to halt the enemy by guerilla tactics. But the most important outcome of these messages was to bring the Turkish Armed Forces to a state of defensive readiness.

While these developments were taking place, the Ottoman Government was concerned with the text of the Treaty it was supposed to sign with the victors. It was, as a matter of fact, a treaty which was being imposed on the Ottoman Government. The Government of Damat Ferit Pasha

The main objectives stressed at these meetings were the prevention of the demobilization of the Army, the refusal of the delivery of arms and ammunition, the necessitty of keeping capable officers and commanders in charge of their forces, and the consolidation of national unity through the various societies and organizations being founded in Anatolia.

It was also necessary to prevent the harmful effects of the differences of political parties over national unity. General Mustafa Kemal witnessed the subjection of the Turkish nation to undignified treatment by the occupation forces in Istanbul. Under these circumstances it was impossible to believe in the existence of an Ottoman State. Mustafa Kemal realized that some people were in favour of one of the following forms of solution:

1. To accept the protection of England.
2. To accept U.S. Mandate.
3. To ensure the survival of the country through regional partitioning.

It was obvious that none of these ideas and efforts directed at realizing them was of any value for the future of Turkey and her national existence. Against these Mustafa Kemal declared: "There is only a single solution: to found a completely free and independent Turkish State based solely on national sovereignty. The Sultan and his Government in Istanbul pursued a policy of maintaining friendly relations with the Entente Powers, and believed that it would be impossible to oppose even one of these powers. Although the people and intellectuals were not of this opinion, they were nevertheless attached to the Sultan and Caliph with loyalty and devotion, in spite of all his weakness and ineffectiveness. Mustafa Kemal discussed the general situation of the country with him, but realizing that he was solely concerned with his personal safety, he had completely given up hope of the head of the State. He came to Istanbul and accepted a new position, hoping to be able to prevent the implementation of the Treaty, but he soon realized that his efforts in this direction were doomed to fail. His talks with the leaders of the Trakya Paşaeli Society revealed that their real intention was to unite Eastern and Western Thrace as a political organization independent of the Ottoman Empire because they had seen that the Ottoman Empire was about to collapse and that they were aiming at founding a Republic of Thrace.

At a time when all these diverse ideas and movements were in the process of development, Mustafa Kemal's final decision was to become the final leader of a movement to be initiated and directed in Anatolia, and he had found an opportunity to carry out his plans. He was assigned the duty of suppressing the guerilla operation started by the Turks in and around Samsun.

General Mustafa Kemal, ex–commander of the Yıldırım (Lightning) Army Group, which had been disbanded, was appointed as the Inspector of the 9th Army in Anatolia on 30th April 1919. He was responsible for inspecting two army corps stationed within the Vilayets of Sivas, Van, Trabzon, Erzurum, and the Sandjak of Samsun. These were the 3rd Army Corps with its headquarters at Sivas, which was commanded by General Refet (Bele), who had gone to Samsun with Mustafa Kemal, and the 5th Army Corps with its headquarters at Erzurum, commanded by General Kazım Karabekir. General Mustafa Kemal was given the authority to issue orders to military units in the surrounding areas such as Ankara, Kastamonu, Elazığ, Bitlis and Diyarbakır. What was of greater importance was that his authority was extended to both military and civilian administrative matters. In his Speeches he explains the reason why he had been given these extensive authorities, as follows: *"Those who gave me these powers were not fully aware of the implications of their decision. I was supposed to inspect the Samsun area and take the necessary measures for putting an end to a state of lawlessness which was believed to prevail there. I suggested that I be provided with an office from where I would exercise my authorities, and there was no objection to my request. In the Office of the Chief of Staff I consulted with some important persons who appreciated my aims and suggested that I be commissioned as an Inspector."* Mustafa Kemal added in his Speeches that he drafted himself the instruction pertinent to his duties as an Army Inspector. Referring to this document years later, Mustafa Kemal used to point out that it was outlined after consultations with his friends.

In a letter he despatched to the War Ministry as Inspector of the 9th Army he asked for the following:

1. Fourteen members of the Headquarters of the Inspector be paid their salaries for three months.

2. That an advance payment be made to provide for the emergency expenditures of the Office of the Inspector.

1919

Events of 1919, the Revival of the Idea of the Unity of the Country, and the steps taken in this direction, National Congresses and the emergence of Mustafa Kemal as a National Leader

The events of 1919 are of great interest for various reasons. Generally speaking, the occupation of the country by foreign powers was intensified. Greece landed an army in Izmir on 15th May 1919 under the support of the naval forces of the Entente Powers.

Groups of National Resistance Forces called Kuvayi Milliye started guerilla operations against the occupation forces in various parts of the country. National societies strengthened their organizations, and started holding meetings. The Ottoman Government was losing its control in the country, and it looked as if it existed solely to fulfil the demands of the victors. The peace agreement to be signed at the Paris Congress aimed at a final solution of the Ottoman Question.

The Turkish nation, the backbone of the country, was divided, uncertain and pessimistic; and what was even worse, it lacked a leader. Ideas of national survival and independence were being entertained only within the framework of regional and ethnic differences, whereas, there were numerous historical instances of short–lived regional political organizations.

Although the efforts of the various organizations and groups to save the country were proceeding satisfactorily, there were also efforts aimed at partitioning the country under the patronage of foreign powers. Most of these organizations and societies with conflicting aims and ideas had their main centers in Istanbul, from where they were directed. Under this chaotic condition of the country, and at a time when the national forces were in a state of total disunity, there was a great demand for an organization deriving its power from national sovereignty and aiming at a unity of ideals and power.

The Concept of National unity and its practical outcome

While this was the general picture of the country, General Mustafa Kemal, Army Commander, was in Istanbul as of 13th November, 1918. He had been out of favour with the Istanbul Government because he did not approve of the policy of that Government's attitude towards and the implementation of the terms of the Mondoros Treaty. Being at complete variance with the Government, he refused to carry out its orders as the Commander of the Yıldırım Army and the 7th Army. In his reports to the Government he had certain suggestions and recommendations to the Government. But he was relieved of his command of both armies; following the abolishment of these commands on 7th November, 1918, he had been called to Istanbul and given a position in the Ministry of War. Having received a letter from Izzet Pasha suggesting that he be in Istanbul at that time, he had come to Istanbul. With the changing of the Prime Minister at the time, a new situation had arisen, and with the newly appointed Prime Minister Tevfik Pasha's having the vote of confidence from the Parliament (18th November, 1918), it was assumed that the constitutional form of government was actually in operation. Mustafa Kemal's consultation with the members of the Parliament and Sultan M. Vahideddin over the general condition of the country, and his expression of concern, and suggestions for possible solution of difficulties did not produce any results. At a time when the capital was the scene of intense political activity, there was deep hatred against the members of the Government, who had fallen from power following military defeat and were subjected to attacks in the press. Thus, events undermining national unity followed one another.

General Mustafa Kemal, who stayed in Istanbul until 15th May, 1919, was holding meetings with politicians and close friends at his home in Şişli, and trying to determine what could be done in the future. Among these were İsmet Inönü, Fethi Okyar, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Cevat Çobanlı, Kazım Karabekir Pasha and Rauf Orbay.

which is already bad as it is, are the various plans being made in Istanbul for the dismemberment of the country, efforts which have no national support at all. However, we are being harmed seriously by them."

He then made the following categorical statement in these letters:

"From now on Istanbul should not rule Anatolia, but be subject to it."

The Amasya Letter of Mustafa Kemal contains ideas which should be commented on from political and legal points of view. The very first sentence of this letter brought to the attention of the whole nation the fact that the independence of the nation was being threatened and that the unity of the nation should be maintained against the imminent danger of the partitioning of the country. It declared the irresponsibility and incompetence of the Istanbul Government under those circumstances. Above all, the letter emphasized the fact that the power necessary for the salvation of the nation was to be found in the nation herself. To achieve this end, the nation had to act with determination and in unity.

This was, undoubtedly, the beginning of a revolt against the rule of monarchy in the country. It is an appeal to the nation to act in unison, and also a message heralding the beginning of an organized popular movement aiming at the establishment of a democratic regime in the country. With his Amasya Letter Mustafa Kemal, who had already informed the Istanbul Government of his concept of national sovereignty in a letter he had sent on 22nd May, 1919, aimed at uniting the nation around this idea.

It was natural that this letter should make wide repercussions. Under the pressure of the Entente Powers, the Istanbul Government, started immediately to take a number of decisions concerning Mustafa Kemal.

The efforts of the Istanbul Government to undermine Mustafa Kemal's activities up to the time of the meeting of the Erzurum Congress can be summarized as follows:

Upon the sending of the Amasya Letter and the developments which followed, the Minister of the Interior of the Istanbul Government informed the governors on 23rd June 1919 that they no

longer obey his orders because he (Mustafa Kemal) had been relieved of his duties, as he had acted in a manner to arouse the suspicion of both his Government and the Entente Powers as well. Mustafa Kemal had been informed of this on 27th June 1919, the day he had left for Sivas.

The Peace Treaty to be signed at Paris seemed to be the main concern of the Istanbul Government. While the Entente Powers were preparing the heaviest possible terms which they would try to impose on the Ottoman Government, they had to put an end to the nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal. Letters were being sent and orders issued to Mustafa Kemal, and the Sultan himself was calling him back to Istanbul suggesting to him that he rest for a while at a place of his own choice.

Ignoring all these, Mustafa Kemal continued to advance towards the interior of Anatolia. When he came to Tokat from Amasya on 26th June, he had talks with members of the local nationalist organization there, and urged them to continue their efforts of resistance against enemy occupation. Although reports of a possible attempt by the Istanbul Government to arrest him on the way to Sivas had reached him, his meeting with Reşit Pasha on the road and the warm reception he had been given by people proved them to have been unfounded. Apparently the measures the Istanbul Government wanted to take, under the pressure of the Entente Powers, had been futile. After making the necessary contacts in Bursa for the meeting of the Sivas Congress, he left for Erzurum together with those accompanying him. On the way to Erzurum, he was again called back by the Istanbul Government, which advised him to stay wherever he liked until a peace agreement had been reached. His reply to such suggestions had always been the same: that he would never leave Anatolia.

The arrival of Mustafa Kemal and the members of his group in Erzurum on 3rd July 1919 was celebrated enthusiastically by both people and the military forces stationed around the city. While the orders of the Istanbul Government were being ignored, people were showing deep sympathy to the man who was going to lead the National Resistance Movement.

The series of telegrams of the Ottoman Government to Mustafa Kemal on this subject, which continued to come between 8th June and

8th July, finally stopped with Mustafa Kemal's reply to the effect that he had resigned from his post in the Ottoman Army and that he would continue struggling with undiminished energy for the sacred cause of liberating Turkey.

The Army Commander and members of his headquarters and other officials had all united around this cause. Kazım Karabekir Pasha, Commander of the 15th Army Corps, disregarding the fact that Mustafa Kemal had resigned, expressed his loyalty and promised to lend him material and moral support by saying, "I and my Corps are at your command, my General." Rauf Orbay, the ex–minister of the Navy, declared on 10th July 1919 that he would collaborate with Mustafa Kemal.

A statement issued by Mustafa Kemal at about this time stressed the fact that it was "the will of the nation which would determine the destiny of the state and the nation, and that the Army was an instrument of the will of the nation."

While the National Resistance Movement was being organized in Erzurum, similar developments were taking place in other parts of the country.

The Society of Reddi İlhak (Rejection of Annexation), created upon the occupation of İzmir, continued to operate in Balıkesir and Alaşehir with the collaboration of the Society of Hareketi Milliye (National Movement) played an important role in the Resistance Movement.

In fact, the year 1919 is characterized both as a year of dismemberment as well as one in which various organizations have tried to ensure the development of the idea of national sovereignty. Mustafa Kemal referred to these developments in his Speeches and explained them under the light of pertinent documents (Büyük Nutuk 1927). Although many studies of the period have been made, there is still much to be done to bring the facts of this period into light with the help of historical documents.

The National Congresses which convened in 1919

With the beginning of the implementation of the severe terms of the Armistice of Mondoros, immediately after it had been signed, a spirit of national resistance emerged, and an aspiration for an independent state grew in Turkey. Among many societies which were being founded for this purpose, those bearing the name of Mudafai Hukuk (Defence of Rights), first founded in Istanbul, with branches in the provinces later, were very effective in influencing the public opinion. These societies aimed at defending the rights of the Turkish peoples against the victors. They tried to prove with the means at their disposal that their regions were ethnically and historically Turkish.

The Erzurum branch of the Society was founded under the following name: the Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Eatern Provinces (Vilayet–i Şarkiye Mudafaa–i Hukuk–u Milliye). The Chairman of the Executive Committee, consisting of 19 members, was Raif Efendi, and its Secretary was Cevat Dursunoğlu. The Albayrak, edited by Necati Bey, was the Society's organ for informing the people about its ideas and activities. The educated members of the region were engaged in an intensive political activity, sharing the same spirit of cooperation. The people of eastern Turkey were determined to fight against the invasion of İzmir on 15th May, and the cruel treatment of the peoples of this region.

The Erzurum branch of the Society of Protection of Rights held its provincial congress on 17th June, 1919. Attended by 21 delegates, this congress lasted for five days; during this time, decisions were taken to reinforce its organization.

The investigations carried out in these regions by a British Committee under Rawlinson and an American Committee under G.J. Harbard, in conformity with the terms of the Armistice of Mondoros, and the talks these committees held with members of the Society of the Protection of Rights proved to be useful in drawing the attention of the world public opinion to the question of the rights of the Turkish peoples. Known as Heyet–i Faale (the Active Body), the administrators of the Society decided to hold in Erzurum a Congress of the eastern provinces on 19th July, 1919. Under the leadership of intellectuals, these activities

ensured a fuller organization of the Society and helped to generate the national power to resist the enemy and to compensate for the weakness of the Istanbul Government

Unfortunately the Congress could not meet on 19th July, 1919, as delegates from the eastern provinces could not come to Erzurum in time because of the critical conditions prevailing in the country in those days. Mustafa Kemal, who had resigned from his military duties, ensured the attendance of delegates by sending telegrams to governors and military commanders. The Congress was held with some delay on 23rd July, 1919.



The building where the Erzurum Congress was held, 23rd July - 7 th August, 1919.

While preparations were being made for the convening of the Erzurum Congress, Cevat Dursunoğlu and Kazım Bey resigned from their membership of the Society's Central Delegation in order to make room for the membership of Mustafa Kemal and Rauf Bey.

The Congress of Erzurum convened in the hall of a school building in Erzurum, with the participation of 54 delegates from the provinces of Bitlis, Erzurum, Sivas, Trabzon and Van. Although delegates had been elected to represent the other provinces of eastern Turkey, such as Elazığ, Mardin and Diyarbakır, they were prevented from attending by the provincial administrators. Mustafa Kemal was elected unanimously Chairman of the Congress, which held meetings for two weeks.

In his opening speech Mustafa Kemal stressed particularly the ideas that Anatolia would be the source of the national will—power to determine the future of the country and that a National Assembly as well as a Government supported by the same will—power should be created. In the meantime, the Prime Minister of the Istanbul Government described this Congress as a revolt and made an official declaration to that effect, and at the same time issued orders for Mustafa Kemal's arrest. In spite of these, the Congress continued to work until 7th August and made public the resolutions it took. The main ideas embodied in the resolutions of this regional Congress were essentially the very principles which Mustafa Kemal was upholding and trying to publicize ever since 22nd May, 1919. They can be outlined as follows:

1. The country is an indivisible whole within its national boundaries.
2. Opposing every kind of foreign occupation and interference, and in the event of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the nation will unite to protect and save the country.
3. In the event of the failure of the Ottoman Government to safeguard the independence of the country, an interim government will be formed to do this, and this executive body will be elected by a National Congress. If the congress is not in session, this will be done by a representative body.
4. To enable the nation's willpower to operate fully and give it a supreme place in the mind of the nation are the ultimate goals.
5. Christians cannot be given political concessions of a nature to disturb social order.
6. The status of a mandate or protectorate cannot be accepted.
7. Efforts will be made for an immediate creation of a National Assembly to exercise its controlling authority on the Government.

The above principles were always to be kept in mind in years to come. The Erzurum Congress completed its work and elected a Temsil Heyeti (Council of Representatives) consisting of 9 members.

In order to unite the peoples of the eastern provinces around nationalistic aims and to ensure the application of the resolutions reached by the Erzurum Congress, Mustafa Kemal, who had come to know these people well during the First World War, when he was commander of military forces there, was making contacts with them and trying to reinforce the feeling that they were united with the rest of the country and that they shared the same ideals.

It would be proper to quote the reminiscences of a person who was present at the closing session of the Erzurum Congress. Early in the morning of 8th August, Mustafa Kemal, Süreyya Yiğit and Mazhar Müfid Kansu were having a talk. Mustafa Kemal asked Mazhar Müfid Kansu to write in his diary the following points:

1. As I already pointed out to you on 20th July, after the victory the form of government in this country will be democracy.
2. The Sultan and the Royal Family will be dealt with as they should be in due course.
3. Women will be unveiled.
4. The fes (male headwear) will be prohibited, and the European hat, the headwear of civilized people, worn instead.

When I heard these my pen fell from my hand quite involuntarily. I looked at him, and he looked at me. When he caught you by his eyes in this way, he used to tell you much. I was not afraid of talking intimately with the Pasha. *"Why did you pause?"* he asked me. *"Don't take any offence, my Pasha; you also have a visionary strain in you."* Smiling, he said: *"You just write down. Time will show."* and I went on writing:

5. Latin Alphabet will be introduced.

I said: *"Oh, Pasha, that's enough, enough!"*

In the manner of a man tired of dreams, I said, *"If we can succeed in bringing Democracy to the country, the rest can wait."*, and closing my book, I stuck it under my arm, and prepared to leave him with an air of disbelief, and said to him: *"My Pasha, it is almost daybreak. If you intend staying, stay and remain in peace."*, and left him.

Years later, when he saw me in front of the Grand National Assembly, on his return from Kastamonu, where he had declared the abolishment of the fes, Mustafa Kemal asked Mazhar Müfid:

"My dear Mazhar, which point have we reached? Are you checking your notes?"

These reminiscences indicate the early seeds of some important political and social changes to be carried out in our country in the years to come.

The Balıkesir (26–30th July, 1919) and Alaşehir (16–25th August 1919) Congresses

The Kuvayi Milliye (National Forces) Organization had begun guerilla fighting in western Anatolia against the Greek Occupation Army, which had landend in İzmir. A National Congress was held in Balıkesir under the leadership of Hacı Muhiddin (Çarıklı) Bey between 6th and 30th July, 1919. A similar meeting was held in Alaşehir between 16th and 15th August 1919. The aim of these meetings was to recruit troops to fight against the enemy occupation forces. It must be pointed out that no decision concerning the creation of a new government was taken at these meetings. In fact, letters of allegiance were sent to the Caliph following these meetings, while at the same time long letters of protest were sent to the political representatives of Britain, the U.S., France and Italy. Newspapers published in these regions were full of appeals for national unity. The following lines appeared in one of these papers:

"If the dead watch this place with open eyes,
Is it proper for the living to close their eyes?
Oh, the youth of the country, march on, march on!"

The newspaper called İzmire Doğru (Towards Izmir) also contained similar appeals. Meetings of national congresses and publication of eight newspapers for short periods under difficult conditions are only some of the manifestations of regional preparations for an organized resistance movement.

The Congress of Sivas (4th – 11th September, 1919)

This Congress was convened on 4th September with the participation of delegates in response to the appeal Mustafa Kemal made in his Amasya Letter.

Leaving Erzurum on 25th August 1919, Mustafa Kemal was given an enthusiastic welcome by the people of Sivas on 2nd September, 1919.

This was a clear indication of the people's interest in and longing for a man to act as the leader of the National Liberation Movement, in spite of the threats of the Istanbul Government. The importance of the Erzurum and Sivas Congresses lies in the fact that they succeeded one another, developing the same ideas and preparing the way for action.



Atatürk with members of the Sivas Congress, 4th - 11 th September, 1919

In fact, the questions discussed in the Sivas Congress were the same as those which had been already discussed at the Erzurum Congress. As the chief organizer of the meeting, Mustafa Kemal delivered an opening speech in which he explained the sad plight of the country and suggested what measures could possibly be taken for salvation. He expressed hope that the Istanbul Government, which ignored the Constitution and failed to convene the Parliament, would, through the decisions taken in these Congresses, be able to see the right way to be followed. Various questions were discussed in these meetings presided over by Mustafa Kemal. The question of accepting the mandate of a foreign power became a subject of long discussions, but was finally rejected as a whole. The main issues, however, were the endorsement of the resolutions adopted at the Erzurum Congress and the unification of the independent

Anatolian and Thracian Societies for the Protection of the Rights under the name of the Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa–i Hukuk Cemiyeti (The Anatolian and Rumelian Society for the Protection of Rights). With this union, the idea of the unity of the country would find an expression in a national organization. The resolutions adopted in conformity with this principle were announced as ten articles on 11th September, 1919.

Article 1 of the announcement declared that the territories, which were under the occupation of our armies on the day of the signing of the Armistice of Mondoros constituted an indivisible whole and that we would defend ourselves against invaders with all our national forces.

Although reference was made to the innocence of the Caliphate and the Sultanate, the anouncement emphasized the fact that the liberation of the country should be realized with the guiding spirit of the nation's willpower and through the operations of the nation's forces. This was an indication of a trend towards democracy. Every occupied corner of the country would be defended. No political concessions likely to disturb social balance would be allowed to the religious minorities.

Article 7 of the announcement declared that our nation upheld modern and humane efforts, realized our industrial and economic situation and needs and insisted on the recognition of the principle of the maintenance of our integrity and the freedom of our people and country.

Article 8 of the announcement pointed out the importance of the principle of self–determination for all nations and demanded that the Ottoman Government recognize the superiority of the will of the nation, realizing that the private and subjective decisions of a government unsupported by the nation would be acceptable neither at home nor abroad.

It was, therefore, necessary for the Istanbul Government to convene the National Assembly immediately and submit its decisions about the future of the people and the country for its approval.

Article 9 declared that all societies united around the same cause would be afiliated with the Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafa–i Hukuk Cemiyeti.

Article 10 of the announcement declared that the Congress had elected a Council of Representatives consisting of 16 members to carry out its

resolutions in every administrative level from provincial centres down to villages, as well as to unite all national organizations.

As president of this Representative Council, Mustafa Kemal administered the affairs of the country until 23rd April, 1920. His correspondence during this period can bring to light the various aspects of the history of the birth of our democracy.

We should note the appearance of a newspaper called İrade–i Milliye (The Will of the Nation) in Sivas on 13th September, 1919, as a significant event.

The Sivas Congress was an important event of nation–wide magnitude and deep significance because it proved the possibility of the nation's making her voice heard in the country. All the efforts of the Ottoman Government to frustrate this Congress proved to be futile. An order issued for Mustafa Kemal's arrest had been completely ignored by local authorities. Because the people had chosen to lend support to the idea of national independence and sovereignty.

To put it briefly, these national congresses laid the path leading to democracy in Turkey.

The Role of the Turkish Woman in the Striuggle for National Independence and The Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa–i Vatan Cemiyeti (The Anatolian Women's Society for the Protection of the Country.)

A brief account of the role which the Turkish woman played through various societies and organizations during this period would now be proper. A nation's power is measured in terms of the united physical and intellectual energy of her male and female population. The contribution of the Turkish woman to the defence of her country at this critical time was very considerable and significant. The statue of a Turkish woman carrying a shell on her shoulder at the Ulus Square in Ankara symbolizes the entire Turkish womanhood during the War of National Independence.

In 1955, during a survey of the Dumlupınar battlegrounds near Afyon for the purpose of finding a suitable site for the erection of a war memorial

and establishing a military museum, a peasant woman from Çalköy, at the foot of the Zafer Tepe, said to me: "Do you know the statue of a woman with a shell on her shoulder by the statue of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Ankara? Well, that's me." Another woman nearby confirmed this. To my question "Did you really carry shells?" they replied in great excitement: Of course we did. I was sure they were telling the truth. The statue of a Turkish woman in the war memorial at the Ulus Square in Ankara symbolizes the nameless heroines of our War of Independence. Besides these personal observations and the information obtained from historical records, we have a number of reports in the newspapers of the time about the societies founded by women for the protection of our country. Some members of these societies are still alive.

When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk demanded on 28th May 1919 that national organizations be established everywhere for the purpose of demonstrating and protesting against the occupation of the country, the social conditions of the country would not permit Turkish women to work in the same society as men. But 1919 was a time when we had to organize a nationwide resistance to the enemy. Turkish women responded to this call by establishing the Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa–i Vatan Cemiyeti (The Anatolian Women's Society for the Protection of the Country). The newspaper İrade–i Milliye(*) reported this on page 3 of its copy No. 15, issued in Sivas on Monday 8th November 1919, as follows: *"Meeting at the Numune Girls School last Friday (5th November, 1919), the women of Sivas decided to establish a society with the aim of uniting entire Anatolia to fight for the country's independence and territorial integrity. They sent telegrams of protest to the representatives of the Entente Powers and to the Istanbul Government condemning the occupation of their country. This patriotic gesture of our women is an indication of their determination to fight side by side with their brothers for the sake of their country, and their courage, seriousness of purpose and unparalleled sense of sacrifice are beyond all praise. This strong and loud cry rising from the heart of Anatolia is clear sign of the fact that the Turkish nation will live forever among the civilized nations of the world."* Article 1 of the Constitution of the Society was *"A society named Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa–i Vatan Cemiyeti, has been founded in Sivas with the privilege of establishing independent branches wherever necessary in the rest of the country."* Soon after the creation of the society in Sivas,

(*) Owned and edited by Selahaddin Bey, the İrade–i Milliye was a biweekly paper of which the first issue came out on 14 September, 1919.

many branches were created all over the country. These societies started corresponding with the Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti. Burdur, Amasya, Erzincan, Kayseri, Kastamonu, Bolu, Pınarhisar, Niğde and Kangal were only some of the towns where such societies had been founded.

A significant event among the activities organized by the Kastamonu Society was a meeting held on 10th December 1919. Speakers addressing a large crowd of women folk from both towns and villages told people about the unjust treatment of Turkish peoples by the occupation forcesin İzmir, Maraş, Antep, and Urfa eversince the signing of the Armistice of Mondoros. They sent telegrams of protest to the Istanbul Government and the Caliph demanding that their message be carried to the civilized nations of the world. In addition they sent telegrams to the rulers of England and Italy through the Italian representative in Antalya, and to the wives of the Presidents of France and the U.S.A., requesting them to do whatever they could for the liberation of Turkey. In these appeals Turkish women expressed their determination to fight alongside their men and to sacrifice everything to save their country.

Such exemplary conduct shown by Turkish women under those difficult conditions symbolized the spirit of national unity which prevailed in Turkey at the time. We shall see later how the laws enacted under our Republican Regime provided the Turkish women with the social and political rights which they had fully deserved.

The Amasya Meeting (20th October, 1919) and the Commanders' Meeting at Sivas (16th November, 1919)

Thus, in 1919 the Turkish nation began to make efforts to save the country from enemy occupation, while Mustafa Kemal's concepts of national unity and territorial integrity were being given nationwide publicity. The resolutions adopted at the Sivas Congress, which were later announced publicly, affected the attitudes of the Entente Powers towards Turkey.

In a telegram he sent to the Sultan as the Chairman of the Council of Representatives on the night of September 13/14, Mustafa Kemal stated that the Council of Representatives was the only legal authority

to represent the nation and that he had informed the governors and military commanders accordingly. As confirmed by a series of events, the Ottoman Government was no longer in control of Anatolia.

On the resignation of the Damat Ferit Pasha Government on 1st October, a new Government was formed by Ali Riza Pasha. The very first act of this new Government was to reach a compromise with the Council of Representatives. It was decided that Salih Pasha, Minister of the Navy, be sent to Anatolia to see Mustafa Kemal and reach an agreement with him.

Negotiations between the Istanbul Government and the Council of Representatives were held in Amasya on 20th October, 1919. Mustafa Kemal, Rauf Bey and Bekir Sami Bey attended these talks on behalf of the Council of Representatives. The resolutions adopted at the Sivas Congress formed the basis of these meetings. The main issue was whether the Istanbul Government was going to approve of the revolt led by the National Assembly or not.

The following agreement, sometimes known as the *Amasya Protocol*, was ultimately reached:

1. Free elections will be held to elect deputies.
2. The resolutions adopted at the Sivas Congress will also be accepted by the new Assembly to be called to meet.
3. The Council of Representatives proposes that the Assembly be called to meet somewhere other than Istanbul, preferably in Anatolia, which is not under enemy occupation.

Although the Istanbul Government approved of the meeting of the Assembly, its meeting in Istanbul was considered to be a Constitutional requirement. Letters were exchanged between Mustafa Kemal and the Istanbul Government concerning the location where the Assembly would meet, but the Istanbul Government's insistence on Istanbul as the site of the meeting prevailed. Preparations for general elections began immediately.

In the meantime, Mustafa Kemal held a meeting with members of the Council of Representatives. The commanders who took part in this meeting in Sivas, which is known as the Meeting of the Commanders, were

General Ali Fuad (Cebesoy), Commander of the 20th Corps, General Kazım Karabekir, Commander of the 15th Corps, and General Şemseddin, Commander of the 3rd Corps.

The following questions were discussed in the Sivas Meetings, which lasted from 19th November till 29th November, 1919:

1. The site of the Assembly.
2. The future of the Council of Representatives and the national organizations following the creation of an Assembly.
3. The policy to be adopted concerning decisions taken about Turkey in the Paris Peace Conference.

The Central Committees in the provinces had been consulted over these matters and their views noted. Some of these approved of Istanbul as the site of the Assembly, while the Edirne Committee proposed that it meet in the vicinity of Istanbul. The decisions reached following these talks were as follows:

Certain conditions should be fulfilled before the Assembly can meet in Istanbul: the opinion of all deputies about the site of the new capital of the country should be assessed. Before the elected deputies proceed to Istanbul, they should first meet at certain places and from groups which should support the decisions reached at the Sivas Congress. To ensure this, all administrative and military authorities should be asked to help in the development of national organizations. The Council of Representatives would watch the general stivation closely following the meeting of the Assembly. The Council of Representatives would continue to function until it became obvious that the deputies can carry out their duties in complete freedom and security. Two deputies would be sent from each province to a place near Eskişehir, where a meeting would be held to determine the policy to be pursued at the Assembly. The Council of Representatives would, from then on, carry out all the national duties of the Parliament as described in its statutes and hold its General Congress when it was assured what it would be safe to do so. The new position of the Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti would be determined in the Congress under the prevaling conditions. In the event of the conclusion of a peace treaty undermining the unity of the nation at the Paris Conference which would be approved by the Government and the Parliament, the opinion of the nation would be assessed and the line of counter-action described in the Society's statutes be pursued.

Considering the conditions of the times, it was, indeed, remarkable that this meeting of commanders held to take such important decisions concerning the solution of such serious problems was conducted in a most democratic manner.

Deparature of the Council of Representatives for Ankara (29th December, 1919)

The Council of Representatives left Sivas for Ankara on 18th December, 1919. Efforts were made to explain the aims of the Sivas Congress to people on the way to Ankara. The reasons for deciding to hold this meeting in Ankara were that the Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti was very active there and that being a railroad terminal it was a convenient place for the meeting of the newly elected deputies.

When Mustafa Kemal arrived in Ankara on 27th December, 1919, he was given a very warm reception by the members of the Society of Müdafaa–i Hukuk. It was clear that the people of Ankara were taking an active part in the dissemination and application of the decisions which had been reached at the Sivas Congress. The contribution of the people of Ankara to the national cause had already been considerable and would continue at an ever increasing rate during the difficult days lying ahead.

Mustafa Kemal had been elected Deputy for Ankara, but had refused to go to Istanbul and preferred to stay in Ankara.

As the Chairman of the Council of Representatives, he was fully aware of his responsibilities in carrying out the decisions reached at the Sivas Congress and was watching the current developments. Ankara was taking on the appearance of a capital, while the public continued lending support to the national cause, which was systematically gathering momentum. While the idea of national liberation was gaining nationwide acceptance, people wondered whether Mustafa Kemal had had a successful military career. What had he done for the country so far? His brilliant military career before 1918 was being talked about all over the country. Photographs showing him in military uniform fully decorated with all the medals of the Ottoman Empire were passing from hand to hand. Before long, everybody had heard what a successful commander he had been and how gallantly he had fought for his country during the First World War.

f. Life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1918). His Career as a Soldier and Statesman

A son was born to a Turkish family living in the Ahmet Subaşı quarter of Salonica in the spring of 1881(*). He was called Mustafa Kemal. His mother was Zübeyde Hanım and his father Ali Rıza Efendi, who had first served as an official of the Evkaf Department and later as an officer in the Ottoman Army in Salonica. But at the time of the birth of his son he was employed in the Customs Department. Later he resigned from the civil service and was engaged in the lumber trade.



Zübeyde Hanım, Atatürk's mother (d. 1918)

(*) In reply to a query about Mustafa Kemal's birthdate, the Presidential Secretariate indicated that he was born on 19th May, 1881.



Ali Rıza Efendi, Atatürk's father. The picture shows him as a volunteer (officer) in the Asakir-i Milliye Taburu, 1876 - 1877 in the Province of Salonica

The important internal and external events at the time of Mustafa Kemal's birth can be summarized as follows:

Mithat Pasha, who had drafted the Constitution during the First Constitutional Government, was sent to court to be tried under the rule of Abdulhamid II. At the end of the same year an agreement called the Muharrem Kararnamesi (October Decree) was signed between the Ottoman Government and representatives of its foreign

creditors. The Government frequently borrowed money from abroad, and consequently the country was in serious financial difficulties. The money borrowed from abroad was being spent in closing the budgetary deficit and in settling a variety of internal debts.

Among the important political developments abroad we can mention the signing of a secret Triple Pact by Germany, Austria and Russia, which shared similar views regarding the question of the Straits. The National Assembly was called to meet in Egypt, while the Egyptian Question took a new turn.

When Mustafa reached school age, his father decided to send him to a school with a modern teaching programme, while Zübeyde Hanım, who was a conservative woman, wished to send her son to an old-fashioned parish school. The early family controversy concerning Mustafa Kemal's schooling, the conflicting views of the parents regarding the old and new systems of education, must have left a deep impression on the mind of young Mustafa Kemal. The mother's wish was fulfilled by putting Mustafa through the traditional school commencement ceremony, while the father had him registered in the modern Şemsi Efendi School. Unfortunately Ali Riza Efendi, who had left his military career and started a lumber business, could never see his son's progress at school, because he died while Mustafa was still a pupil in the primary school. In spite of financial difficulties, he succeeded in completing his primary education, and being successful in the entrance examinations he was admitted to the Salonica Military High School. Mustafa Efendi, his teacher of mathematics, discovered his aptitude and high performance in his studies and gave him his middle name, "Kemal", which means "perfection" in the Turkish language. Leaving his home town in 1895, Mustafa Kemal became a cadet in the Monaster Military Lycée, where he was interested in poetry and rhetoric. Believing in the importance of foreign languages, he attended French courses offered by the French School at Salonica during his vacations. In March 1899 he was an infantry cadet in the War School in Istanbul. While doing his normal school work, he also read extensively about the intellectual developments of his time and had frequent discussions on a variety of subjects with his school friends. He always wanted to be a good orator. He had his early practice in oratory at gatherings of school friends.

Having been selected for special training as a staff officer, he joined the War Academy (Harp Akademisi) in 1902. He was deeply concerned about the future of his country. While pursuing his military studies and receiving his professional training, he was also thinking about political

problems. In Istanbul he felt the pressure of a despotic rule more closely. The young cadets of the War Academy were inspired by new ideas, and they even went as far as editing a handwritten journal in which they criticized the present rule. Mustafa Kemal was the editor of this journal, which circulated among hundreds of cadets of the War School. Although the school authorities knew about this activity, as Mustafa Kemal revealed in his reminiscences, it was treated with tolerance. He had won the admiration of his teachers for his intelligence and industry. In spite of this, he was in a mood of spiritual dissatisfaction, the cause of which he failed to understand. Oppressed by these feelings, he looked sad and dejected, and lived nursing a strong feeling of revolt inside him. He kept writing, and read whatever he could find. His observations in the War School and in the Capital had made profound effects on him. While trying to solve tactical problems assigned to him by his teachers, he looked as if he were on the battlefields of the future years. One day his teacher of tactics said the following in class: *"Gentlemen, you now know everything about wars and battles; but do you know what guerilla warfare is? that's the most difficult type of fighting. Conducting a guerilla operation is a difficult as supressing it."* Listerning carefully to his teacher's remarks, Mustafa Kemal asked him the following question: *"Would you please describe such an operation as if it had actually taken place in a certain port of Turkey and tell us how these methods you are recommending can be applied there?"* After repeating the lesson in greater detail, the teacher set the following problem to his students: *"Istanbul is the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The seat of Government is there. Supposing the inhabitants of an area surrounded by the eastern shores of the Bosphorus and an imaginary line to be drawn from İzmit to the Black Sea have revolted against the capital and started guerilla operations.*

1. *How can the people of this small area carry out such an operation?*
2. *How can the Ottoman Empire, with its Government and Army, suppress this revolt?"*

Years later, as in Samsun and its environs, Mustafa Kemal will be engaged in real guerilla fighting in Anatolia.

He left the War Academy with the rank of Captain on 11th January, 1905. He continued his political activities by holding meetings with a few friends. Although subjected to an interrogation at the Palace, he was, nevertheless, appointed to the 5th Army Headquarters in Damascus on 5th

February, 1905. He travelled extensively in Syria and became thoroughly familiar with the nature of the Ottoman rule in that country. He was displeased with the condition of both civilian and military administrations there. In October 1906 he founded with a few friends a secret society called "Country and Freedom". He made some efforts to start branches of this society in a number of cities in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and particularly in Macedonia.

When visiting Salonica on leave, he was able to establish a branch of this society there. But soon he had to return to his military duty in Syria. He was assigned to a temporary duty at Akaba, on the Egyptian frontier. After completing his artillery practice, he was appointed to the Army Headquarters as a staff officer on 20th June, 1907. He was then promoted to the rank of Senior Captain. In September of the same year, he was appointed to the Headquarters of the 3rd Army in Macedonia. In addition to his work as staff officer, he had to carry out the duty of inspector on the Salonica – Skopje railway line. These duties provided Mustafa Kemal with ample opportunity to meet with leaders of secret organizations and to familiarize himself with what was being done in the cause of freedom in the area before the Second Constitutional Government. As members of the Society of Country and Freedom which he had founded, and of the Society of Union and Progress, it was easy to have ideas accepted and put into operation. With the declaration of liberty in the capital of Macedonia on 23rd July, 1908, a new era of parliamentary democracy had dawned for the Ottoman Government. Abdulhamit II, who had abolished the First Constitutional Government and the Constitution, could not ignore the demand of the nation, and therefore he gave his consent to it.

During this new period, Mustafa Kemal was in favor of carrying out some important reforms in the administrative system. He was, at the same time, against army officer's accepting duties in the Society of Union and Progress, which had by now become a political organization. Although he tried hard to carry out reforms in the army and to point out the importance of the training of officers, the members and supporters of the Society of Union and Progress, which had by now become a political party, were far from grasping the importance of these ideas.

During these years, Mustafa Kemal published a number of books dealing with military subjects.(*)

Constitutional Monarchy was restored in the Ottoman Empire with the 1908 Revolution.

In 1909 he was a senior staff captain, serving in the Headquarters of the Ottoman Army in Salonica. Marshall Von der Goltz, in the service of the Ottoman Empire, was expected to come to Salonica for the purpose of giving garrison training to Turkish troops. Before the arrival of Von der Goltz, Mustafa Kemal, Chief of Training at the Army Headquarters, was busy preparing a practice programme to be applied in the vicinity of Salonica. Mustafa Kemal wished to inform Commander Hadi and General Ali Riza Pasha, Chief of Staff, of his plans. The generals were surprised at his boldness. They reprimanded him, saying: *"Marshall Goltz is not coming here to take a lesson from us, but to teach us a lesson."* Mustafa Kemal gave the following reply: *"Benefitting from Goltz, the great scholar, philosopher and author of The Armed Nation, is an important matter. What is, of course, a matter of even greater importance is the ability of Turkish Chiefs of Staff and Commanding Bodies to show how they should defend their own country. Besides, I am of the opinion that it will not be proper to demand much from the Marshall, who will arrive here in a tired condition."* He was reprimanded more. Those who disliked his behaviour had not yet changed their opinion. He insisted, saying: *"Sir, there is nothing to be ashamed of in*

(*)1. Takımın Muharebe Talimi (Combat Training of the Squad), tr. from Gen. Litzman, Salonica, 1908, 64 pp.

2. Cumalı Ordugahı: Süvari Bölük, Alay Talim ve Manevrası (The Cumalı Headquarter: Cavalry, and Regiment Training and Manoeuvres) Salonica, 1910, 41 pp.

3. Beşinci Kolordu Erkan—ı Harbiyesi Terbiye ve Tatbikat Seyahatı (5th Army Corps, Chief of Staff Training and Practice Trip), Salonica, 1911, 40 pp.

4. Bolüğün Muharebe Talimi (Company Combat Training), tr. from Gen. Litzman, Istanbul, 1912, 74 pp.

5. Zabit ve Kumandan ile Hasbihal, Sofia, 1918, 35 pp.

All these books have been published in one volume by the İş Bankası under the title Atatürk's Works on Military Subjects (1959).

showing the Marshall the programme I am preparing. What is shameful is failure to do so. If the Marshall does not agree with my work, or is not interested in it, he has always the power to have his ideas to be put into operation. But if we leave the impression on him that the commanders and the Chiefs of Staff of the Turkish Army in Macedonia are capable of taking no measures and making no defence arrangements, we would really be damaging the reputation of the Turkish Nation and her military prestige."

Marshall Goltz arrived in Salonica and put in at Hotel Splendid Palace. In the evening of the day of his arrival, the Marshall invited Mustafa Kemal to his hotel. Mustafa Kemal was welcomed by the Chief of Staff in the hotel corridor. His face was radiant with joy. He broke the good news to Mustafa Kemal while he was entering the hall where Marshall Goltz was. Marshall Goltz was greatly pleased with Mustafa Kemal's plan. As he needed some explanation, he wanted to see the officer who had prepared it.

Quieting the excited Commander by saying, *"Don't worry, sir. I'll give the necessary explanation,"* Mustafa Kemal came face to face with the Marshall in the lobby. He followed the Marshall into the hall. On the table was spread a large map. The Commander and the Chief of Staff were standing and listening. The only speakers were the Marshall and Mustafa Kemal. The problem was discussed and the final decision taken: Mustafa Kemal's plan will be applied.

The next day, practice began along the Vardar River. Opposing forces started moving against each other. A combat practice was being tried. During the operation Marshall Von der Goltz asked for Mustafa Kemal. He wished him to be with him and help him. The Marshall was right, because he was not familiar with the terrain. He did not have the opportunity to study the region so well as Mustafa Kemal. Besides, the plans of the practice had been prepared not by himself, but by Mustafa Kemal. After the practice, an evaluation of it had to be made. The Marshall spoke very favourably about the practice, leaving the impression on all who listened to him that *"Commanders, after all, should be greater and more knowledgeable than those below them."*

Let us consider the problem and its result once more. Why had Mustafa Kemal insisted so much on the necessity of the preparation of the problem

to form the basis of the practice plans of the Salonica Garrison by the Commander and Staff Officers of the Macedonian Army?

While talking about his reminiscences of those days, Atatürk made the following suggestion to me: "If you wish to publish these, you ought to read a book I translated and published. This was Takımın Muharebe Talimi (Combat Training of the Squad), originally written by General Litzman."

The book was published by Mustafa Kemal in 1908. Consisting of 64 pages, the book had a preface by Mustafa Kemal. In this 7-page preface one can detect the signs of foresight in the views of this man who was destined to be the Commander-in-Chief of Turkish Armies in the future. In his preface, Mustafa Kemal pointed out the importance of the Commander's role in guiding those below him, a responsibility which the Turkish Commanders should never trust to others. He nevertheless accepted the necessity of benefitting from foreign works in order to follow recent military developments in other countries. For example, on page 5, his preface he wrote as follows:

"Let me make what I mean clear. If through the errors of the Army and Corps Staff Officers, whose foremost responsibility is to ensure constantly the combat preparedness of their officers and troops, the most important units under their command are put out of action, they cannot carry out their mission or achieve victory very late. They will need an extension of their efforts, even though it may be by indirect means. The best means for him is to benefit from works describing the successful manner in which combat practices are directed."

Mustafa Kemal expressed his views on another important question as follows:

"Changing the training regulations of an Army with which that Army, through long use and application, has gained familiarity will have a bewildering effect on the majority of its troops. If the new set of regulations is not a gradually improved version of the former one, this bewilderment will be all the more serious. An Army is not something where each person can try what he has learned through his own work and slow development. There, everyone moves hesitantly, watches in amazement and is in a state of mental confusion. This is the general state of the Ottoman Army. We must stop this confusion immediately; otherwise, it will grow

so much that we shall not be able to stop it, or if we try to stop it under combat situations, it will lead to greater confusion with disastrous effects on our chances of survival."

In these writings of Mustafa Kemal we see his strong critical and analytical faculties and power of expressing the truth no matter how bitter it can be. This early intellectual preparation will be a firm basis for his future work.

Assigned to the task of gathering intelligence about the activities of people opposed to the Ottoman Administration in Tripoli, following the declaration of the Second Constitutional Government, Mustafa Kemal visited Benghazi and Crete on his way back. Observing the conduct of some local Ottoman administrators and the acts of insurgence by some native peoples, he was instrumental in taking certain precautionary measures. He addressed local people in the courtyard of a mosque and received their religious leader. He was able to restore state authority at least temporarily in Benghazi, where there were cases of lawlessness. On this occasion he was able to see the state of the African territories of the Ottoman Empire. There were signs of general instability and regional hostility towards the Ottoman regime from the time of the declaration of the Second Constitutional Government till 17th January, 1908, when the Parliament met. The elections were won by the Union and Progress Party.

The provocations of fanatics, discrimination between officers trained in military schools and those promoted from the ranks, the prolonged period of military service, the tension in international relations, and, finally, the conduct of the Sultan were responsible for certain new incidents. When the news of the reactionary movement to be called "the event of 31st March" (13th April, 1909) reached Salonica, the Chief of Staff of the Reserve Division advised his Commanders that they send troops to Istanbul. Reports coming from Istanbul indicated that an abnormal situation was prevailing there. Forces under the command of Hüseyin Avni Pasha, who was accompanied by Mustafa Kemal as his Chief of Staff, left for Istanbul, with the order of Mahmut Şevket Pasha, Commander of The Army. These forces reached Çatalca on 17th April and Küçük Çekmece on 18th April. A telegraph message was cabled to Istanbul to the Chief of Staff of the Ottoman Army and the problems facing the country were explained from a nationalistic point of view. The word "nation" was repeated in the message, and it was emphasized that all power was embodied in the concept of nation. Paragraph 6 of the message stated: "The lives of the

deputies and the ministers who were found to be reliable and elected by them their rights and authority granted them by the constitution will be protected and assured wholly and perfectly, and public peace and order will be maintained.

This statement tried to point out that the work of the Society of Union and Progress, which had played a very important part in restoring the Constitutional Government, and the efforts of a number of army officers were basically democratic and received popular support. The view that there could be no force above the Constitution was a hint, indirect though it was, at a monarchic and despotic form of Government, by which Turkey was being ruled at the time. This is Mustafa Kemal's first political document, which bears the early traces of some of his major concerns.

On his return to his military duties in Salonica, he concentrated all his time and attention on military problems. His brilliant performance in military manoeuveres had been attracting the attention of his superiors for some time. As Commander of the 38th Infantry Regiment, Mahmut Şevket Pasha, the Minister of War, while passing through Salonica took Mustafa Kemal in his company as his Chief of Staff. Mustafa Kemal was a member of a Turkish Delegation of three officers sent to observe the military manoeuvers in Picardie, France, in 1910. Although appointed to a position in the Headquarters of the Chief of Staff in Istanbul in September 1911, he was posted to Benghazi, where he went by way of Egypt upon the Italian attack on Tripoli (27th September, 1911). He became the Chief of Staff of the Turkish troops in Tobruk under Ethem Pasha. Leading a successful attack on the Italians, he helped the Ottoman Army to gain at least a temporary victory (9th January, 1912). Later, he was posted to Derne, where he conducted defensive operations against the Italians for almost a year. He was promoted to Major when he was serving on this front (27th November, 1911). The defensive operations he conducted on this front were among his earliest professional experiences. As he had previously been in Tripoli in an assignment to investigate the revolts in that territory, he was more or less familiar with the region. His new duty in that country, which was under Ottoman rule at that time, was to defend it. But when the Balkan War broke out in October 1912, he had to return to Istanbul. On the way to Istanbul, he received in Egypt the news of the defeat of the Ottoman Army at Komonova and the fall of Salonica. When he heard that the Bulgarian Army had

advanced as far as Çatalca, he was deeply sorry, and would hardly believe it. But when he reached Istanbul he realized that the situation was even worse than he had expected. He was at this time appointed as Chief of Operations of the forces assigned to safeguard the Gallipoli Peninsula (25 Nowember, 1912). As Chief of Staff of the Bolayır Army Corps, he was responsible for flanning and conducting the operations for the recovery of Edirne from the enemy. The cavalry units of this Army Corps, commanded by Mustafa Kemal, were the first to enter Edirne. This new battlefront provided him an opportunity to study the conditions and problems of the land defences of the Gallipoli Peninsula and the Straits of Dardanelles. This was an experience he would utilize to his advantage in the future. Following the Balkan War, Mustafa Kemal served as Military Attache at Bucarest, Belgrade and Çetine, his Central Office being in Sofia (27th October, 1913–2nd February, 1915). While carrying out his duties as Military Attache he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel (1st March, 1914). During his work as a Military Attache he was able to improve his knowledge of foreign languages, and to study the political and military conditions of the Balkan countries.

The First World War (28th July, 1914–30th October, 1918) affected Mustafa Kemal's life in two respects: firstly, by fighting on various fronts he gained considerable military experience; secondly, he acquired new ideas concerning the social and political life of the country. Both experiences would prove to be useful in time to come.

When the First World War broke out, the Entente Powers had already concluded secret agreements among themselves with the purpose of solving the "Eastern Ouestion" and dividing the territories of "the Sick Man of Europe", i.e., the Ottoman Empire. When the Ottoman Government decided to join the group of powers called the Alies, its aims were not clearly defined. Mustafa Kemal was of the opinion that Turkey could have acted more cautiously, and taken more time to decide. He explained his views to the authorities and pointed out the reasons. But when war was inevitable for the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal resigned from his work as Military Attache and asked for an active position in the Army (29th October, 1914). On 2nd February, 1914, he was appointed commander of a new regiment being organized at Tekirdağ. He had this regiment, which was later called the 19th Regiment, ready for combat within a short time, and moved it into positions at Arıburnu, Anafartalar, Maydos and Bigalı. The



Atatürk as a Colonel

Entente Powers planned to pass through the Dardanelles and maintain the sea route to Russia open through the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. Thus Istanbul would have been occupied, too. The Entente Powers hoped to break through the Turkish defences in the first attempt and lead their battleships through the Straits. But when the Turkish defences stood firm against the naval attack, the Entente Powers tried to land troops along the western shores of the Gallipoli Peninsula in an effort to establish a passage to Istanbul. The 5th Turkish Army was formed to prevent this plan. When the Entente Powers landed troops at Arıburnu and Seddilbahir on 25th April, 1915, Mustafa Kemal moved his forces to meet the enemy at once, and managed to stop its attack. After this, the battle continued in trenches. About these battles Mustafa Kemal wrote as follows in his diary: *"The various intelligence reports I received from the morning till evening of 28th July, and the observations I made from my headquarters on a hill with an altitude of 108 metres, indicated Conkbayırı to be in a critical position, but it was not yet clear whether or not it had been taken by the enemy. A report received after 4 p.m. the same day from Major Ismail Hakkı, Commander of the 3rd Battalion of Engineers, said: "The enemy continues digging trenches at Conkbayırı. Enemy soldiers are walking in the trenches and laying sandbags."*

"A report I received at 5:30 from Kazım Efendi, my A.D.C., indicated that the enemy was only 25 or 30 metres away from our lines, that the attack launched by the 2nd Batallion of the 64th Regiment had not been successful, and that the 3rd Batallion of the 32nd Regiment could not advance.

As the situation was delicate, I asked my commanders to advise me regarding the operations at Conkbayırı. Army Commander Liman von Sanders telephoned and asked me how I saw the situation at the Front. I explained to him how delicate the situation was there. I added that it was not yet too late to take steps to improve our chances there, but unless immediate measures were taken, a catastrophe was imminent. The situation was rapidly deteriorating over the whole front. Taking into consideration the large enemy forces which had landed and were still landing, it was necessary to bring all our forces under a single central command. Therefore, to the question of the Chief of the General Staff 'Isn't there any way out?' I replied that there was no way out other than placing all the forces under my command. To his question 'Wouldn't they be too much?' I said 'They would be too little.'"

Mustafa Kemal was appointed Commander of the Anafartalar Group on 8th August, 1915.

One day, it was rumoured that the enemy was going to use gas. This was definitely the most demoralizing rumour during the First World War. Mustafa Kemal entered this note on this in his diary: "We had absolutely no means of counteracting this; therefore, I made the suggestion that even if the enemy used gas against us, it would have no effect on us because they were on level ground down by the sea, while we were on high terrain. This idea spread quickly among the army units. Although the enemy tried an experiment on a small scale, it ended in failure, as the wind blew from the wrong direction, and we were thus rid of this terrible threat and in consequence both the morale of our troops was heightened and their confidence in their commanders was further reinforced."

Mustafa Kemal described the Conkbayırı attack in minute detail in his diary. He was struck by a piece of shrapnel on his right breast pocket, shattering into pieces a watch left to him from his father. All he suffered from this was only a bruise on his chest.

General Liman von Sanders, Commander of the Forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula, wrote to Enver Pasha, Deputy Commander–in–Chief, about Mustafa Kemal as follows in 1915:

"Colonel Mustafa Kemal fought brilliantly as Commander of the 19th Regiment for five months since the first enemy landings, and upon a major landing operation by the British on Anafartalar, and at a very critical time assumed the command..... and carried out his duty with great skill and courage. I admire his performance." General von Sanders also stated that the Turkish Army was definitely in need of Mustafa Kemal's services in this great war and that he was a brave and exceptionally skilful commander with a very high sense of responsibility.

The Turkish Army and Navy demonstrated a most powerful defensive potential against the Entente Powers' attempts at landing troops along the western shores of the Gallipoli Peninsula and at passing through the Dardanelles during the First World War. The Straits were strategically the most important area throughout the War, and the Dardanelles and the Gallipoli Peninsula were Turkey's locked door. Mustafa Kemal won his first victory in defending this important area by a land operation. It

was after his brilliant defence of the Dardanelles that his name was heard both in the Turkish and Allied military circles. Describing the phases of the battles years later, Mustafa Kemal, the victor of the Anafartalar and Gallipoli campaigns, used to express his deep sorrow over our heavy losses in those battles. He used to praise the heroism of the men and officers of the Turkish Army. The Turkish trenches were so close to those of the British that one could almost hear them breathing. He often confessed with tears in his eyes that seeing Turkish and enemy casualties on the battlefields of Anafartalar in August 1915 was the saddest moment of his life.

One day in April 1919 he issued the following order:

"All men who are fighting here under my command should know once for all that we shall not revert even one step before we undertake our honourable task. It is not time to seek rest. I remind you that by seeking rest and comfort, you may deprive not only ourselves of it but also the entire nation forever. I have no doubt that we are all in agreement on this and that we shall not show any signs of fatigue before we push the enemy to the sea."

Years later, during a cruise in the sea of Marmara, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, President of the Turkish Republic then, sailed through the Dardanelles following the western shores of the Gallipoli Peninsula. The ship was sailing close to the shore line where the enemy had landed troops years ago; soon the ship was in the Suvla Bay. Atatürk was talking about the battles fought on the beaches as if he lived through those exciting days once again. He was pointing at where the enemy positions were, and describing how the battles were fought. For a moment he fixed his eyes over a pass and went on "That place over there was under continuous artillery fire; it was one of our weak spots. In order to maintain communications, we suffered heavy losses there." The cruise along the western coast of the Gallipoli Peninsula lasted until the evening. It was clear from the expression on his face that Atatürk had remembered the heavy casuaties our troops had suffered that day.

When I toured these battlefields in 1935 I saw some exciting scenes. Our guide was General Galip Türker, who had been in the Dardanelles campaign.

The Conkbayırı and Kemalyeri looked as if they had been abandoned

only recently: pieces of shells, empty cartridges, boots and bones.... Only a small war memorial had been erected in memory of our war dead in those days, while the enemy cemeteries covered large areas. When I suggested to Atatürk that we should have a large war memorial erected over the place, he said: *"Yes, we should erect large and very large monuments in memory of our Mehmets. But this is a question of time and money. By keeping this soil within the Turkish boundaries he presented his country the greatest monument."* Today a magnificent war memorial stands over this peninsula.



Col. Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in the trenches with his troops during the Gallipoli Battles

The Battle of Anafartalar is one of the finest examples of Turkish defensive potential. Both sides suffered heavy casualties in this battle. By her successful defense of the Straits, Turkey was able to keep the gates of approach to the Black Sea closed until the Armistice of 1918.

Mustafa Kemal was promoted to Colonel during the Dardanelles campaign, and his name began to be heard in military circles as well as in the country in general. He guessed that the enemy would withdraw from that front in December 1915, and he proposed to his commanders to hasten this by an attack, but this was not approved. The enemy withdrew from the Gallipoli Peninsula on 10th December, 1915. As Mustafa Kemal had

known that the enemy would withdraw. he thought it would, from the military point of view, be better for Turkey to repulse the enemy by an attack rather than let him depart at his own will.

Much has been written about the Gallipoli or the Dardanelles Campaigns. Returning home from the Gallipoli Front, soldiers from Urfa talked so much about Mustafa Kemal that the city's governor named a street and a monumental fountain in the city after him in 1917.

Mustafa Kemal began to attract great attention both at home and abroad, and his qualities as a commander were described in numerous books and articles. In Sir Winston Churchill's diary about the Anafartalar Campaign, he is decribed as a genius likely to control the destiny of the Turks.



Col. Mustafa Kemal on the Dardanelles Front

After spending the last part of 1915 on leave in Istanbul, Mustafa Kemal was appointed to the Army Headquarters in Edirne on 14th January 1916, and he entered the city at the end of the 12th Infantry Division returning from the Gallipoli Front, and was given a warm welcome by the people of the city.

When the Army Corps in Edirne were moved to the Caucasian Front on 27th February, 1916 Mustafa Kemal left Edirne and came to Silvan, where he was promoted to the rank of General and commander of the Eastern Front, which extended from the soulth of the Lake Van to the Çapakçur, Pass. At this time Erzurum was under Russian occupation, and the 3rd Turkish Army had retreated behind the Trabzon, Bayburt and Kop line, while the 2nd Army was trying to launch a flanking attack on the Russians with three army corps. Mustafa Kemal was engaged in defensive operations on the Coucasian Front, and stopped the enmy advance towards Diyarbakır, and recovered Muş and Bitlis from the enemy (6th–7th August, 1916). For this achievement he was awarded the medal of Golden Sword and appointed Deputy Commander of the 2nd Army. Later he was appointed Commander of the Hejaz Expeditionary Force (Hicaz Kuvvet–i Seferiyesi) which was being organized at the time (1917). On receiving an order, Mustafa Kemal went to Damascus, where Deputy Commander–in–Chief Enver Pasha was at the time. He explained to commanders there that the military situation in Syria and Hejaz, particularly on the fronts, was critical and that radical measures had to be taken. The main points of his proposals were as follows: immediate evacuation of Hejaz and reinforcement of the Syrian Front with the forces to be released from Hejaz. As his explanation and proposals were found reasonable and accepted, it was then understood that there was no need for the new command post to be filled by him. Thereupon, Mustafa Kemal Pasha returned to his former duty at the Headquarters of the 2nd Army on the Caucasian Front. While the Syrian Front continued to be critical, the German General Falkenhein was appointed as commander of the Lightning Armies Group (Yıldırım Orduları Gurubu) prepared for the purpose of recovering Baghdad from the enemy and Mustafa Kemal was transfered to the 7th Army, which was attached to that group (5th July, 1917). He did not, however, approve of the plans of the German Commander and opposed his interfering with the internal affairs of the country. He sent reports underlining his complaints and views to the Ottoman Government, the Prime Minister, Deputy Commander–in–Chief, and the Minister of War. He could see no benefit in a military operation to be carried out against Iraq. While the situation was deteriorating seriously

on those fronts, the British Army and Navy on the Sinai Front were in a state of alert and already threatening Palestine and Syria. The military plan prepared by General Falkenhein, Commander of the Lightning Armies Group, could not in Mustafa Kemal's view be expected to achieve any positive results. He submitted to the Government a detailed report on the general weakness of the country, the inefficiency of the civilian administration, the worsening economic crisis, the reasons why the measures being taken to save the country would be ineffectual and his own recommendations (2nd September, 1917), but they were not taken into consideration. He, nevertheless, continued sending new recommendations (24th September, 1917). The following statement forming the last part of his proposals in the first paragraph of his report is interesting: "The greatest danger threatening us while the war is still going on is the possibility of the sudden and total collapse of the structure of the Sultanate, which has been growing more corrupt with every passing day. In paragraph 4 of his report Mustafa Kemal reached the following conclusion: "We cannot conclude from this general picture that there is nothing to be done. Needless to say, such a pessimistic conviction would be our greatest and most dangerous enemy. There is yet hope of survival and salvation, provided proper measures are taken." He went on and explained the necessary measures to be taken as follows: "Our military policy should be a policy of defence, and a policy of sparing every single man to the last. This policy cannot tolerate to let even a single Ottoman soldier outside the country." In his long report, Mustafa Kemal set forth all the measures to be taken. The Commander–in–Chief did not agree with him, but before long, the enemy attacked with superior forces and occupied Palestine.

The rest of Mustafa Kemal's military life can be summarized as follows: "He was transfered from the 7th Army in Syria to the 2nd Army on 9th October 1917. On 11th October 1917 he came to Istanbul on sick leave and on 7th November 1917 he was appointed to a duty in the general headquarters. He accompanied Vahdettin, the last Ottoman Crown Prince, on a state visit to Germany during the last month of 1917. This visit lasted 20 days (15th December, 1917 – 5th January, 1918). In Germany he had talks with Marshal Hindenburg and General Lüdendorf. This visit provided him with an opportunity to observe the internal condition of Germany. He frankly told German military leaders that Germany and her allies would ultimately be defeated.

Becoming ill in Germany, he went to Karlsbad in Austria for treatment on his way back to Turkey. During a month's stay at Karlsbad (July 1918), Mustafa Kemal had ample time to think about the plight of his country, to find solutions for her problems, and to read many books. He mentions in his diary that his political and social ideas were evolved during those days. In the meantime, what he had said about the Syrian front had already happened to the Ottoman Army. On 5th July 1918 Vahdettin succeeded to the Ottoman Throne. Mustafa Kemal was appointed to the 7th Army in Palestine for the second time, on his return from Vienna. It was, however, impossible to halt the enemy attack. The Ottoman Army was too weak to stand before the superior British forces, which started a major offensive against Syria and Palestine on 7th August, 1918. The fact that the native population was collaborating with the enemy made the defense of the region all the more difficult. The Ottoman Army continued to fight here and there, but it was mainly in retreat. However, the commanders tried to reduce casualties to the minimum and aimed at gathering the forces at a certain line. The 7th Army under Mustafa Kemal's command held the line extending from Antakya to a point north of Aleppo. This was successful in halting the British at a line which more or less forms the present Turkish–Syrian border line.

As the German Commander had to leave Syria according to the terms of the Armistice of Mondoros signed by the Ottoman Government on 30th October, 1918, Mustafa Kemal had to assume the command of the Lightning Army Group on 31st October, 1918. Under the new circumstances, Mustafa Kemal sent telegrams warning the Government regarding the new circumstances, and particularly with respect to the implementation of the terms of the Armistice of Mondoros. He notified the Government that he would fire on the units of the British Navy which wanted to land troops in Iskenderun with the pretext of delivering supplies. He believed that when an Armistice is signed the opposing armies are supposed to remain fixed at their respective positions.

Taking over the command of the Lightning Armies Group from General Liman von Sanders, Mustafa Kemal wanted to gather and reorganize what was left of these forces and use them in the protection of the southern borders. Upon the notification of the Armistice to the Army on 2nd November, 1918, he sent telegrams to Prime Minister İzzet Pasha protesting its severe and unfair terms, drawing his attention to the fact that they might be applied to us in a variety of ways if we were

lenient towards them. Regarding the Syrian border, however, he opposed the intentions of the Entente Powers concerning Antakya and the Port of Iskenderun. He was totally displeased with the terms of the Armistice and demanded that the Government act firmly and allow no concessions. The telegrams he sent to his Government on the issues are interesting historical documents. At this time the Istanbul Government was weak and in a state of indecision, but to stop the obstinate criticisms and complaints of Mustafa Kemal, it decided to abolish the Lightning Armies Group and call back its commander to the Ministry of War (7th November, 1918).

When Mustafa Kemal arrived in Istanbul on 13th November, 1918, the naval units of the Entente Powers had passed through the Dardanelles, which they could not by fighting, and anchored in Istanbul harbour, under the terms of the Armistice. Seeing them at the Haydarpasha Station on leaving the train, he remarked to his aide: "They'll go as they have come." The nation's capital would go through some bitter experiences in the days to come.

Mustafa Kemal's life between 1911 and 1918 can be summed up as follows: His life story is interesting from the point of view of the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Kemal was brought up in the traditions of a Turkish family of modest means. One of his earliest memories is a family argument regarding his education, over which modern and traditional ideas clashed. This was an event which would affect even his future life. In spite of being orphaned and handicapped by financial difficulties, he completed his education, and carried it on through the Military Academy (School for Staff Officers), which is the highest level of training in the military profession in Turkey. When he was a cadet in Istanbul he learned French and followed the political and and literary movements of his times. His first assignment was in Syria. Later he was posted to Macedonia. His first combat assignment was in Tripoli. He took part in the liberation of Edirne at the end of the Balkan War. During the First World War he took part in the defence of the Dardanelles. On the eastern front he recaptured Van, Diyarbakır, Bitlis and Muş from the enemy. He fought on the Syrian Front. Following the Armistice of Mondoros he was in Istanbul as Army Commander. Outwardly he looked passive, but in fact he was preparing for the future. The active life he led during the war years enabled him to know the country, in the defence of which he stood many hardships. We understand from his diaries that his reading was varied and extensive during the war years. He was familiar with the great books as

well as the economic and political theories of his times. He knew which of these were suitable to the conditions of his country. He believed that a country like Turkey could reach the level of contemporary civilization not by slow progress but by rapid change.

Mustafa Kemal's life story during the period between 1881 and 1918 was underlined in the preceding pages. In 1919 he was engaged in political and military activities with the object of liberating Turkey from foreign invasion. Following the liberation, he worked for the establishment of democracy in Turkey. His reforms marked a new epoch in the history of Turkey.



Atatürk at the time of his resignation from his post in the Ottoman Army. Following his resignation he worked as a civilian to organize the resistance movement which eventually developed into the Turkish War of Liberation.

a. The meeting of the last Ottoman Parliament (12th January, 1920)

Declaration of Misak–ı Milli (National Pact) (17 February, 1920)

The Ottoman Parliament met in Istanbul on 12th January, 1920, as decided in the Sivas Congress and in conformity with the principles accepted at the Amasya meeting. As Sultan Vahdettin was indisposed, the opening speech was read by the Prime Minister, Ali Rıza Pasha.

The occupation forces began to interfere in government affairs more than before, demanding replacement of the Ministers of War and Navy. Their demands were carried out.

With the murder of Yahya Kaptan, the leader of the national forces in the Kocaeli Peninsula, by the State Gendarmerle came an indication of the Istanbul Government's disapproval of the liberation movement developing in Anatolia. The attitude of the Parliament was naturally affected by the capital's being under enemy occupation.



Atatürk, Commander in Chief of the Turkish Armed Forces, chatting with camel drivers behind the lines in the War of Liberation

The principles adopted at the Sivas Congress could not be submitted to the approval of the Parliament because the Anatolian and Rumelian Protection of the Rights Group was not represented in the Parliament. The Felahi Vatan (Salvation of the Country) group was created as a substitute for the Anatolian and Rumelian Protection of Rights Society with representation in the Parliament. The reason why Mustafa Kemal was not elected as the Chairman of the Parliament was attributed to the fact that he was absent from the meeting. Mustafa Kemal believed that the meeting of the Parliament in Istanbul, which was under enemy occupation, was likely to be disrupted. Its meeting elsewhere was possible either at the invitation of the Sultan or the Chairman or at the demand of a two–third majority of the members of the Parliament.

The only significant act of the last Ottoman Parliament was the publication of the decisions reached at the Sivas Congress (17th February, 1920). Known as Misak–ı Milli in our history, this document was based on the decisions of the national congresses held in Anatolia in 1919 and the ideas behind the movement for national independence. In fact, the meeting of the Parliament in Istanbul, and the principles adopted by the national organizations formed the subject matter of the Amasya Talks between Mustafa Kemal, Chairman of the Council of Representatives and the Istanbul Government's delegation.

In order to ensure the fulfilment of the aims of the Pact of National Unity (Misak–ı Milli), Mustafa Kemal came to Ankara as Chairman of the Council of Representatives on 27th December, 1979, to meet the deputies, who would be coming to Istanbul and explain to them what the nation wanted.

The principles of the Pact of National Unity can be summarized as follows:

"The Ottoman territories inhabited by an Arab majority at the time the Ottoman Empire entered the war, to which reference was made in article 1 of the Pact of National Unity, were under enemy occupation at the time of the signing of the Armistice of Mondoros. The future of these territories will be determined by the votes of their own inhabitants.

On the other hand, the territories under the occupation of the Ottoman Army at the time of the signing of the Armistice, are the homeland of the Turkish nation."

The status of the eastern provinces of Kars, Ardahan, Artvin and

Western Thrace would be determined by referendum. The rights of Moslem minorities in the neighbouring countries would be guaranteed by the inclusion of special terms. The last article was concerned with the national and economic development, the removal of all restrictions on social change and financial growth, and the payment of debts. Although the Ottoman Government accepted these principles, the Government did not make any attempt at putting them into operation, because neither the Sultan nor the cabinet ministers fully approved of them.

The Entente Powers demanded that the Ottoman Government use its authority to secure the withdrawal of the Organization of National Forces from the Greek Front. When the Ottoman Government failed to do this, they resorted to military operations on 3rd March, 1920. Upon the resignation of the Ali Riza Pasha Cabinet, Mustafa Kemal sent a telegram directly to the Sultan to prevent Damat Ferit Pasha's forming the Cabinet, and the attempt succeeded with the support of the provinces. Finally, Salih Pasha formed the Cabinet.

b. The Occupation of İstanbul (16th March, 1920)

The month of March was in many ways a critical period for both the Parliament and the Istanbul Government, because while the Entente Powers were preparing in Paris the Treaty of Sèvres to seal the doom of the Ottoman Empire, some native guerilla forces against the national forces were beginning to constitute a new threat, particularly in regions where the Greek occupation forces had made advances. (Ahmet Aznavur, for example, tried to hinder the efforts of the National Forces to stop the advances of the Greek Forces in Biga and Bandırma regions.) The people of Turkey were divided into two: those supporting the Sultan, and the National Forces fighting against the Greeks. The clashes between these two factions only facilitated the enemy's making further advances towards the interior.

By arresting a number of intellectuals and members of the Parliament in Istanbul on 16th March, 1920, the Entente Powers were officially confirming their occupation of the city. Manastırlı Hamdi Efendi, a telegraph operator, reported regularly the events taking place in the city to Ankara. When the telegraph messages stopped coming, it was understood that the city had been occupied.

13th November 1918. Mustafa Kemal watched them from the Haydarpaşa Railway terminal on the same day and remarked to his aide: *"They will go some day as they have come."* This prophecy came true on 2nd October, 1923. The parading of the French occupation forces from Sirkeci to Beyoğlu under their commander - in - Chief Franchet d'Esperey, who was riding on a

white horse, on 8th February, 1919, and the demonstrations of the minorities had created a very sad impression on the people of Istanbul. Süleyman Nazif, a well-known writer, expressed the feelings of the people in an article titled "A Black Day" in the newspaper Hadisat on 9th February, 1919. The commander of the occupying forces ordered the execution of the writer of the article, but the order could not be carried out. He was, however, exiled to Malta for delivering an exciting speech to students against the occupation forces during a meeting in Istanbul University on 23rd January, 1920. These minor incidents were significant, because they stirred nationalistic sentiments. In 1926 this great Turkish poet would write:

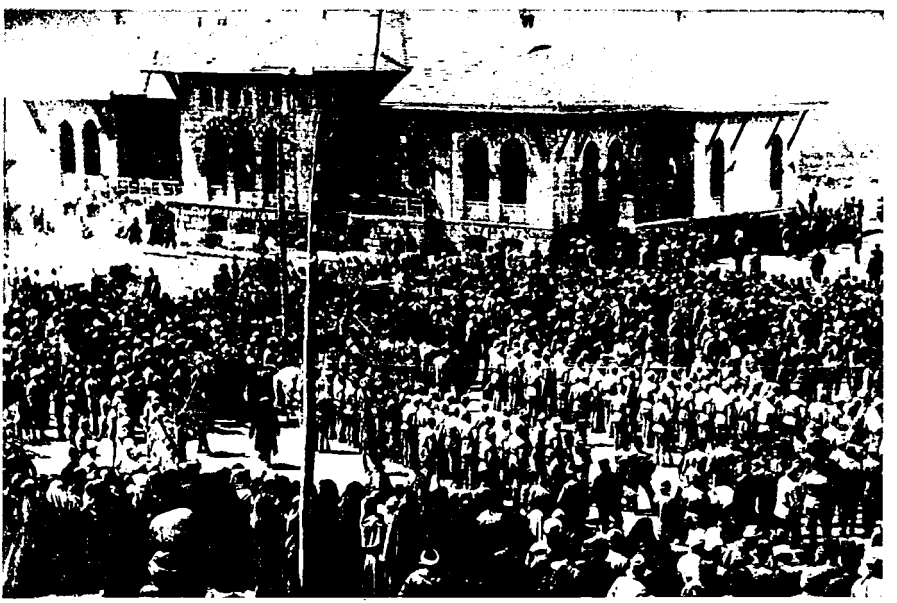
"As long as my grandfather lies in your bosom, You are mine, O beautiful land!
Ask recent history to see what this nation has achieved.
You are my land, my sky, my world, my paradise.
You saw how a robust nation has emerged out of your sick bosom."

c. The Meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Creation of a new Government (23rd April 1920)

Following the events of 16th March, 1920 in Istanbul, which was already under the occupation of the forces of the Entente Powers and the dissolution of the Parliament the sèvres peace terms would be imposed on the Ottoman Government. The people of Anatolia were thus able to see the magnitude of the threat they had to face. Under these conditions the Council of Representatives pursued the following policy:

Steps were taken to convene the Parliament in Ankara, and in order that the Chairman of the Parliament could call it to meet, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, telegrams were exchanged between Mustafa Kemal, Chairman of the Council of Representatives, and Celaleddin Arif Bey, but as he hesitated, Mustafa Kemal took the initiative as Chairman of the Council of Representatives and called the Parliament to meet - an authority he had been vested with at the Sivas Congress. Thus a new situation emerged: the Turkish nation defied the authority of the Ottoman Government, which had almost ceased, and started openly taking her destiny in her own hands. But some legal propositions were being put forward regarding the parliament to be convened in Ankara. Under the Ottoman Constitution the Parliament consisted of two houses: the Chamber of Deputies (Meclisi Mebusan), and the Upper House (Ayan). It was impossible for all members

of the Parliament to come to Ankara, and the normal procedures could not be applied under unusual conditions; therefore, a new set of rules more suitable to the conditions of the times would have to be applied. Invitations were sent to those deputies who were able to come to Ankara. New deputies had to be elected instead of those who were unable to come. At a time when public opinion was in a state of confusion and under various influences, Mustafa Kemal's determined stand prepared the way for a new Assembly which would, as a Constituent Assembly, draft a new constitution and exercise extraordinary legislative and executive powers.



The opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, 23rd April, 1920

The new assembly consisting of 120 deputies met in Ankara under its new name "The Büyük Millet Meclisi" (Grand National Assembly) on 23rd April, 1923, and decided that a government be formed immediately. It was at this meeting of the Grand National Assembly that Turkey was officially called "Türkiye" for the first time in her history. This assembly was to function as a constituent assembly and remain in office until the War of Independence ended in victory. In a meeting on 24th April, 1920 the Grand National Assembly took the following resolutions proposed by Mustafa Kemal:

1) A government will be formed.

2) A head of government on a temporary basis or an authority replacing the Sultan cannot be accepted.
3) The will of the nation represented by the Grand National Assembly will be the sole authority to determine the future of the country. There is no power above the Grand National Assembly.
4) The Grand National Assembly is vested with legislative and executive powers. A body to be created by the Grand National Assembly from within itself will exercise the executive power of the Grand National Assembly. The Chairman of the Assembly will preside over this body.

The following statement added to these articles deserves attention: *"When the Sultan and Caliph are relieved of the present pressure, their status will be determined by the Grand National Assembly."*

In fact this decision was carried out and the Sultanate abolished after the victory, on 1st November 1922.

With the convening of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, a new government consisting of eleven cabinet ministers was formed on 2nd May 1920. While the national forces were fighting with the enemy, they had also to deal with a number of internal revolts, which seriously endangered national unity. 1920 was, therefore, one of the most difficult years for the Grand National Assembly. There were 390 seats in the Assembly, where a broad variety of professions – soldiers, civil servants and men of religion – and social classes – farmers, businessmen and tribal chiefs – were represented. Although the primary objective shared by all was the liberation of the country, there were, nevertheless, divergences of opinion among the members regarding various problems. The members of the dissolved Union and Progress Party tried unsuccessfully to form a group in the Grand National Assembly. There were no political parties, but the members were divided into a number of groups such as the Popular Group, United Group, Independend Group and the Progressive Group. Those members with socialistic tendencies desired to from a group under the name of "Green Army". Mustafa Kemal Pasha formed the Müdafaa–i Hukuk Group, which was later known as the "Primary Group", against which was formed a "Secondary Group" representing the opposition. This was a phase of the evolution of the parliamentary system in Turkey. The Istanbul Government, following the instructions of the Entente Powers, tried to prevent the meeting and undermine the work of the Grand National Assembly by enlisting the opposition of the people. The occupation forces helped and encouraged the Istanbul Government's efforts to suppress the new government being formed in Anatolia.



Atatürk delivering a speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly

d. The Treaty of Sèvres signed by the Istanbul Government (10th August, 1920)

The Entente Powers were impatient in having the Sultan sign a peace treaty as soon possible, and to this end they had prepared an outline at San Remo on 24th April, 1920 and proposed to the representatives of the Ottoman Government in Paris that it be accepted unconditionally. In a letter to the Prime Minister on 17th May 1920, on the subject of the terms of the treaty, Tevfik Pasha wrote:

"As the peace terms proposed aimed at nothing but the overthrowing of the Ottoman State and putting an end to the divine right of the Sultan, the survival of the State depends on the alteration of the provisions of the Treaty as a whole."

"In view of the fact that the proposed Peace Treaty would reduce the Ottoman State into a dominion under the joint hegemony of the Entente Powers, no peace could be established unless this treaty is changed so as to guarantee the freedom of the country and the sovereignty of the State. Turkish

people are not free even in Istanbul, their own home. The Sea of Marmara and Çanakkale will be under the control of the Straits Commision."

This letter was completely ignored by the Istanbul Government. The Entente Powers helped the Greek Army in its advance from Bursa and the peace treaties signed betveen the Entente Powers and the Allies at the end of the First World War were as follows: the Treaty of Versaille with Germany, 28th June, 1919; the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, 10th September, 1919; the Treaty of Nöyi with Bulgaria, 27th November, 1919; the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, 4th June, 1920. The last peace treaty to be signed was the Treaty of Sèvres with the Ottoman Empire, 10th August, 1920. The Treaty of Sèvres was the last official Ottoman document. It was in accordance with the terms of this treaty that the Turkish Empire, the once "Sick Man of Europe" and a cause of deep concern for European Powers as the "Eastern Question" was being wiped out of history as a state at the end of the First World War.

The terms of the Treaty consisting of 433 articles imposing very severe conditions on Turkey were prepared entirely by the Entente Powers without any negotiations wth the delegates of the Ottoman Government. The articles in its introductory section embodied the principles of the League of Nations, which was an early form of the United Nations Organization. Such territories as Iraq, Syria and Arabia, which the Ottoman Empire had lost during the War, were being completely abandoned. The frontiers protected by the Ottoman Armies at the time were not accepted. In fact the Treaty was aimed at Turkey's dismemberment and occupation by the Entente Powers.

The territory left to Turkey was geographically too small for her to maintain her existence as a sovereign country. In fact, the Ottoman State had no control over this territory in Anatolia at the time, and would never come to possess it in the future, because a new government created in Anatolia was determined to liberate Turkey as a whole and would not allow the implementation of the Treaty of Sèvres.

There were provisions concernig the future of Istanbul and the Dardanelles in the Treaty of Sèvres. In accordance with the provisions of Article 36 and subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, the Ottoman Dynasty was being

allowed to remain in Istanbul. In return for this, the Ottoman Government promised to accept fully and sincerely the concessions recognized to the minorities, take measures against the liberation movement emerging in Anatolia, and crush it by sending troops there. In case of failure to carry out these promises, Istanbul was going to be taken back from the Ottoman Government.

According to the provisions of Articles 37 -61 the Straits were going to be put under the administration of an international commission, which would have its own flag and budget, and the Ottoman delegate would take part in its meetings only as an observer. The Straits would be kept open to the ships of all countries even in time of war.

New states would be founded in eastern Anatolia if foreign powers so wished.

In Izmir the Ottoman flag would be hoisted symbolically on the Fortress, but administrative authority would be turned over to Greece (Articles 58–60). The future of these territories would be determined by public referendum subject to the permission of the League of Nations five years later (Article 83).

A commission composed of British, French, Italian and Japanese delegates would revive the old system of legal concessions, which would be imposed on the Ottoman Government (Article 136)

The Treaty had special provisions concerning the rights and concessions to be granted to the minorities and foreign schools. The Entente Powers would be free to take any measures they deemed necessary for safeguarding these rights and concessions.

According to Article 5 of the Treaty of Sèvres, Entente Powers would be free to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Government and occupy any part of its territories at any time they wished. In section V of the Treaty (Articles 152–207) there were provisions for the reduction and control of the Army, Navy and Air Force of the Ottoman Empire. In other words, the military forces of the Ottoman Empire were being reduced and placed under the command of the Entente Powers. According to Article 206, provisions of the Treaty of Mondoros relative to the right of occupation (Article 7), the occupation of the tunnels in the Taurus Mountains (Article 10), the control and inspection of

the telegraph and wireless communication systems (Article 12), and the right of occupation of the eastern provinces in the event of revolt (Article 24, would remain in force. There were also provisions relating to prisoners of war and the turning over and trial of those responsible for war. There were numerous provisions concerning financial matters (Articles 231–260). A finance committee would be set up, and an Ottoman delegation would take part in it in a consultative capacity. A Public Debts Office would be established and all the income and wealth of the Ottoman State would be placed at its disposal in payment of the expenses of the Committee and the occupying forces (Article 236), and the budget of the Ottoman Government would be prepared with what was left. The Committee would also have the power of granting commissions and fixing the customs tariffs.

Thus, the Ottoman Government was deprived of all its powers relating to financial matters. In Section IX of the Treaty there were provisions regarding economic matters (Articles 261–317). Article 261 entitled the Entente Powers to benefit from the economic concessions in the broadest terms possible, giving them all kinds of tax exemptions. The Ottoman subjects, on the other hand, would be required to pay tax; they were, therefore, at a disadvantage for competition with foreign business men. Under these conditions, those Ottoman citizens who wished to avail themselves of the rights provided by concessions would be able to relinquish their Ottoman citizenship and accept the citizenship of another country under the provisions of article 128 of the Treaty of Sèvres. Thus, the Treaty did not recognize any economic rights for Ottoman citizens, while the Ottoman State was being turned into a country where all Entente Powers would enjoy all kinds of commercial and economic privileges. Under these circumstances it was impossible to believe in the existence of a sovereign Ottoman State.

The Treaty of Sèvres was commented on extensively by the press of the time. The following question put in an editorial of Le Temps published in Paris on 17th June 1920 is interesting: "A Turkish Peace Treaty has been prepared, but who is going to sign it? What is the use of having it signed by Damat Ferit, who bears the title of Prime Minister, but lacks an army and executive authority. Are we going to sign a treaty impossible to implement with a government which does not exist?"

The Liberation Movement was proceeding steadily in spite of all difficulties in 1920. Although the Peace Treaty being prepared was entirely against the Ottoman Government, it was trying to take measures against the Liberation Movement being organized in Anatolia. Sultan Vahdettin's dissolution of the Parliament (11th April, 1920), which had already been disrupted by the occupation forces, and Prime Minister Damat Ferit Pasha's attempts to undermine the liberation movement in Anatolia on the grounds that it was leading to "severing the nation's head from her body" served no purpose other than splitting the country into two and thus furthering the cause of the enemy.

Mustafa Kemal's official announcement on 19th March 1920 as Chairman of the Council of Representatives that the General National Assembly meeting would be held in Ankara constituted a new move. The Istanbul Government tried to stop this meeting, which it regarded as an act of revolt, and declared Mustafa Kemal as a rebel. Some societies in Anatolia supported the Sultan's allegations against Mustafa Kemal (11th April, 1920). In the declarations and pamphlets of the Society of Teali–i Islam, which were distributed in the country by planes, the Greek Army was described as the Army of the Caliph and as such not harmful, and demanded that the rebels in Ankara should be destroyed.

Such irregular forces called Hilafet Ordusu (the Army of the Caliphate) and Kuvveti İnzibatiye (Forces of Security) supported internal opposition to the liberation movement being organized by Mustafa Kemal and his followers. It looked as if the Grand National Assembly, which was preparing to meet under these unfavorable conditions, would be faced with serious difficulties.

Rifat (Börekçi) Efendi, the Mufti of Ankara, declared that appeals of men of religion contrary to facts were unacceptable according to the Islamic Law (16th April, 1920). When the Grand National Assembly finally met on 23rd April, 1920, one of the first laws to be passed was the Law of National Treason (29th April, 1920). The Courts of Independence (İstiklâl Mahkemeleri) were established in order to try cases of treason.

Fortunately, the majority of Turkish people saw what was happening in the country and supported the new government, which had been formed in Ankara. Many individuals and organizations helped the national forces by carrying arms and military supplies to the battle fronts from ammunition depots and territories under enemy occupation.

e. Resistance to Invasion – Battle Fronts.

Sporadic guerilla operations against enemy occupation had already started under the name of National Forces in 1919. Some of the remaining army units after the Treaty of Mondoros had surrendered their arms, but there were some which had not yet surrendered their arms at the time of the organization of the national liberation movement.

The Ottoman military forces were divided into three armies of which the 3rd Army Inspectorate with its headquarters in Erzurum was put under the command of Mustafa Kemal. The Commander of the 3rd Army Corps, with its headquarters in Sivas, was Refet (Bele), while the commander of the 15th Army Corps, with its headquarters in Erzurum, was Kâzım Karabekir Pasha. The headquarters of the 1st Army, which had 4 army corps, was in Istanbul. The 2nd Army had two army corps, the 12th Army Corps with its headquarters in Konya under the command of Fahreddin (Altay), and the 20th Army Corps with its headquarters in Ankara under the command of Ali Fuad (Cebesoy). There was also a 13th Army Corps attached to Istanbul with its headquarters in Diyarbakır. Siirt and Mardin were under this force.



Atatürk chatting with peasants behind the lines in the War of Liberation

When Mustafa Kemal landed in Samsun, he sent letters to the army corps not only directly under his inspectorate, but to all the others and the governors of provinces asking them to help with all the forces in their hands in liberating the country. As he wished to have a legal basis for this act he went as far as arranging the meetings of the societies and the Grand National Assembly.

In his first speech at the Grand National Assembly Mustafa Kemal stated: Success is only possible by struggle, which can be sustained by spiritual and physical energy. "Referring to the necessity of pursuing a national policy, he said: "We can safeguard our existence within our national frontiers only by relying on our own power, which is the best way of making our country happy and prosperous. We must not waste the time, energy and resources of the nation on futile plans. We must try to establish international friendship based on mutual respect for human rights."

The assimilation of these ideas by civilian and military leaders following the opening of the Grand National Assembly, and the foundation of the Government, made 1920 a year marked by a series of important events in the country.

At a time when the Entente Powers had just started implementing the terms of the treaty of Sèvres which had been imposed on the Ottoman Government, the Turkish nation was threatened by two kinds of war: 1) against the foreign occupation forces 2) against the Ottoman Government, which was trying to organize internal revolts for the purpose of frustrating the national resistance movement.

The position of the national frontiers to be protected under the National Pact was as follows:

In spite of the efforts of the 1st Army Corps, Greeks had occupied both Eastern and Western Thrace, which had been cut off from Anatolia and was no longer in a position to be defended.

The southern borders of the country were as follows: the Iraqian border area and Mousul, which was occupied immediately after the conclusion of the Armistice, were held by the British. As this area was not of any strategic importance, it was quiet, but along the Syrian

front the situation was different. As the French continued their advances towards the interior and were met by the armed resistance particularly in the cities they wished to capture, there were serious clashes. Collaboration between the national forces in this area was planned even at the time of the Sivas Congress, and the Government of the Grand National Assembly always supported the local popular resistance organization in that area. The local militia in this area fought brilliantly against the enemy forces and recovered Kozan, Elbistan, Antep, Urfa and Maraş. The passes of the Taurus and Amanos mountains were controlled by them. Although there were no regular troops in this front, the guerilla operations conducted by the Government of the Grand National Assembly were very effective.

The enemy forces moving north following the occupation of İzmir were met by units of the 61st Division under the command of General Kazım Özalp on the Ayvalık line held by Ali Çetinkaya Bey on 28th May, 1919. There was also a concentration of national forces in the Bursa region, but as they were not properly organized as part of the regular army, it became clear that the efforts and bravery of a few leaders would not be enough to oppose superior enemy forces. The irregulars had to be incorporated into a regular disciplined and organized army to maintain a tough line of resistance. Besides the national militia, there were in this region forces loyal to the Sultan and against the National Resistance Movement. The Aznavur Movement was one of the most important of these. The Greek Army, finding the situation favourable, started advancing from Izmir towards the north and inner Anatolia, and were crossing the Milne line, which had been fixed for the Greeks by the Entente Powers. They had reached Bursa and the Dumlupınar Hills by 22nd June, 1920, creating a situation, which had given rise to much despair in the country and expression of angry feelings in the Grand National Assembly. People were justified in being pessimistic about the future of the National Liberation Movement. Measures had to be taken promptly to unify the undisciplined irregulars in a well - organized regular army before they could fight effectively with the occupation forces, which were supperior to Turkish forces both in discipline and armament. Mustafa Kemal stated clearly in the Grand National Assembly that the national militia and volunteers alone would not be able to defend the country, and pointed out the necessity of organizing a regular army as soon as possible. His proposals were accepted by the Assembly.

Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) was appointed Commander of the Western Front on 24th June, 1920, when Çerkez Ethem (Ethem the Circassian), leader of certain national militia organizations, had started affiliating with another organization called Yeşil Ordu (Green Army) and defying the political and military authority of the Assembly and its Government.

Efforts to from a disciplined regular army were intensified during the last month of 1920, while the enemy was preparing to launch new attacks in many directions.

It was about this time that political negotiations had started between Turkey and the Soviet Union. General Ali Fuat (Cebesoy), Commander of the Western Front, was appointed ambassador to Moscow on 8th November 1920 and was replaced by Colonel İsmet İnönü, a member of the General Staff at the time. Colonel Refet (Bele) was sent to the Konya region to maintain peace and order.

f. War in the North - East (30th October, 1920) and the Gümrü Agreement (2-3rd December, 1920)

Turkey's north-eastern border was being threatened by the Armenian Tashnak Government, which desired to expand over the territories lost by Turkey at the end of the Turco - Russian War of 1878. This expansion was in a westerly direction aiming at the occupation of lands allocated to Armenians by the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. The Armenian Government received help from the Entente Powers to fulfil its political aims. Caucasia was divided into a number of independent territories.

Negotiations were being held between Turkish and Soviet delegations in Moscow, and bilateral diplomatic relations had already been established between the two countries. It was, however, necessary to stop the attacks of the Armenians on the eastern front. General Kazım Karabekir, Commander of the 15th Army Corps, was assigned the task of conducting the operations in this area on behalf of the Grand National Assembly. A regional mobilization was declared in June, while the Tashnak Government occupied Oltu, where a local Turkish Government had been formed. An ultimatum was sent to the Tashnak Government of 7th July 1920, but it was ignored, and the Armenian occupation of the region continued. Thereupon the Commander of the 15th Army Corps moved forward and remained on the Sarıkamış line for some time. Later, Kars (30th October, 1920) and Gümrü (7th November, 1920) were recovered. With the Gümrü Agreement, which was the first political document to be signed by the new Turkish Government, the territories lost by the Ottoman Government in 1817 were recovered. While these developments were taking place, there emerged the Batum dispute with the Georgian Government in the Caucasus. The British had evacuated Batum in July 1920, and it was ceded to Turkey together with Ardahan and Artvin at the end of negotiations with the Georgian

ambassador in Ankara. But as the governments in Caucasia had joined the Soviet Union, new treaties had to be signed in Moscow (16th March, 1921) and Kars (13 October, 1921).

It must be pointed out that the successful operations of the 15 th Army Corps on this front at the end of 1920 were important in maintaining peace and stability in the region, and paved the way to political negotiations with the Soviet Union.

1921

The Important events of 1921 were the Grand National Assembly's acceptance of the new Constitution instead of the Ottoman Constitution, the İnönü Battles, the London Conference, the Sakarya Battle, the Ankara Pact and the Kars Agreement.

a. The First Battle of İnönü

While the Government of the Grand National Assembly was trying to maintain peace and order by laws, on one hand, it was, on the other, planning to drive out the occupation forces from the country. The following were some of the important decisions forming the basis of the new Turkish State:

1. Conscription will be carried in accordance with laws passed by the Grand National Assembly and through certain officials acting on behalf of the Grand National Assembly.

2. Taxes will be collected subject to the laws and regulations on behalf of the Grand National Assembly.

3. Legal cases will be tried by judges authorized by the Grand National Assembly and in accordance with laws.

It was of prime importance for the future of the new Turkish Government that these principles were respected by all. A number of important organizations serving the cause of the liberation of the Turkish homeland from enemy occupation and internal revolts observed these principles and joined forces with the army. Çerkez Ethem, who was the leader of militia forces of considerable strength, opposed these principles and gave rise to a serious internal crisis. Having gained nationwide fame for the services he once rendered the Grand National Assembly, he refused to put himself and his forces under the military commanders and continued to pursue lawless acts. He and his brothers had revolted against the authority of the Grand National Assembly, and moved their forces to the Kütahya an Gediz regions. İsmet İnönü, Commander of the

new regular army being formed on the Western Front, was determined to deal with these rebels first. He moved his forces against the rebels. Çerkez Ethem defected into the Greek Army, and his revolt was suppressed. But, encouraged by the moving of some forces from the northern parts of the western front towards the east, the Greeks started an offensive operation against İnönü's forces with two of their three army corps. The Turkish forces in the Kütahya region left the rebel forces of Çerkez Ethem and advanced in the direction of Eskişehir. İsmet İnönü reached this region on 10th January, 1921. The Turkish Army had to fight with superior enemy forces at İnönü, which marked the first successful operation of the forces of the Grand National Assembly. The Turkish Army was not, however, in a position to pursue the retreating enemy forces. The forces of the rebel leader Çerkez Ethem had to be dealt with in the Gediz region. In other words, the country was faced with two critical problems on the Western Front: the suppression of the internal front led by Çerkez Ethem, and the task of arresting the enemy advance. The First İnönü Battle is, therefore, a turning point in our War of National Independence.



Atatürk taking a nap on the snow during the War of Liberation, 1921

b. The London Conference (27th February - 12th March, 1921)

The Turkish Army's repulsion of the enemy attacks at İnönü caused the Entente Powers to make new adjustments in their policies. They now wished to stop the war in Anatolia and make a number of changes in the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres.

At a meeting of the delegates of the Entente Powers in Paris on 25th January, 1921, it was decided to hold a conference in London, where Ottoman and Greek delegates would also be invited. Mustafa Kemal Pasha and other members of the Turkish Government would be included in the Ottoman delegation. This decision was officially conveyed to the Istanbul Government. It was only a few months ago when Millerand, French Foreign Minister, had declared that the Entente Powers would not agree to make any changes in the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. Now they were talking of making certain changes. But while they were inviting Turkey to a conference, on one hand, they were, on the other hand, sending a Greek Army Corps to İzmir.

The Ottoman Prime Minister informed Mustafa Kemal of the official invitation, but as the Government of the Grand National Assembly did not recognize the Istanbul Government, it refused to participate in the conference in the company of their delegation. Negotiations on the draft of the text of the Treaty of Sèvres were out of the question, because the Government of the Grand National Assembly had rejected them as a matter of pirinciple. If the Government of the Grand National Assembly had been invited independently of the Istanbul Government, it might have sent a delegation with the purpose of informing the European public opinion of the determination of the people of Turkey to drive out the foreign invaders and to create a free new state. Through the mediation of the Italian Government, the new Turkish Government did agree to send a delegation headed by Bekir Sami Bey, the foreign Minister, to the London Conference. The instructions Mustafa Kemal issued to the Turkish delegation on behalf of the Government were very clear: no negotiations should be entered into on the text of the Treaty of Sèvres.

The European press and especially London newspapers commented on the two Turkish delegations, describing one as the Ottoman delegation, which represented a government, which was already known, and the other as the representative of a rebel government founded in Anatolia. Although the former had accepted and signed the Treaty of Sèvres, it would probably approve of some changes which might be proposed, while the latter would be coming to London as rebels with their bags on their shoulders.

The two delegations, which entered the Conference Room in London on 27th February, 1921, were described in contrasting terms: 'The head of the delegation of the Ottoman Sultan was a respectable gentleman in outward appearance, but he represented the 'Sick Man'."In fact, Prime Minister Tevfik Pasha was both old and sick. The representatives of the new Turkish Government, on the other hand, were all young, tall, well - dressed and dynamic who symbolized the new vitality of the Turkish nation.

At the opening of the meeting, Tevfik Pasha, the head of the Ottoman delegation, said: *"I leave the word to the head of the delegation of the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the true representative of the Turkish people"* and left the meeting room. This noble gesture of Tevfik Pasha was seconded by Mustafa Reşit Pasha, a member of the Ottoman delegation, who confirmed that the Ottoman delegation was speaking for Turkey as a whole.

At this conference, which lasted 13 days and continued until 12th March, 1921, the Entente Powers tried unsuccessfully to have the Treaty of Sèvres endorsed with a few changes by the Turkish delegation. In spite of the Government's clear instructions, however, Bekir Sami Pasha committed the error of signing a number of agreements with the English, Italians and the Frenceh.

The subject of the release of prisoners of war was discussed with the British, and according to the agreement reached, the Anatolian Government would return all prisoners of war, while the British would release Turkish prisoners of war with the exception of those who had maltreated prisoners of war. This was, of course, unfair, because it implied that the British had the right to try Turkish citizens. British prisoners of war were being held in camps in Anatolia as a guarantee against possible maltreatment of Turkish prisoners in Malta. According to the terms of the agreement reached with France, the war on the southern front would stop, the arms of the Turkish national forces would be surrendered, the French troops would assume police duty, the civil servants appointed by the French would remain in their positions, and in the event that native sources of capital could not be provided for business operations, such operations would be turned over to the French. The concessions of the Ergani Copper Works would be granted to the French, and in return they would make a frontier adjustment, leaving Gaziantep and Urfa to Turkey (11 th March, 1921).

In the agreement signed with Italy, it was stipulated that Italians would be given priority in economic enterprises in Antalya, Burdur, Muğla, Isparta, Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya, Aydın and Konya in return for Italy's support of Turkey's claims for İzmir and Thrace. It was also accepted that the Ereğli

Mines be operated by a joint Italian - Turkish company. As Bekir Sami Bey had signed these agreements without obtaining the approval of the Goverment, none of them was ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Angry letters had been exchanged between Bekir Sami Bey and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, following the return of the Turkish delegation to Ankara, and Bekir Sami Bey was forced to resign from his position as Foreign Minister. The Turkish Grand National Assembly was in souch a critical state at the time that there was need for finding ways of compromise. However, if compromise had been sought, the ceration of a sovereign Turkey, within her national frontiers, would have been impssible.

None of these agreements were ratified. It became clear to the world public opinion and to the Entente Powers that the Turkish Grand National Assembly was the only dominant force in Turkey.

When the Entente Powers failed to conclude an acceptable peace treaty with Turkey, they aimed at crushing her by force of arms again, and prepared the Greeks for an attack on her.

c. The Second Battle of İnönü (23rd March-1st April, 1921)

While the London Conference was in progress, the Greek Army had reinforced her troops in Bursa and the areas to the east. There was an important concentration of Greek troops in Uşak and its surroundings. There was a Greek Army Corps in İzmit, against which Turkish troops were deployed in Kocaeli. In order to prevent the Turkish Army from reinforcing itself and force Turkey to accept the terms of the London Conference, they started an offensive operation 23rd March, 1921. They advanced with superior forces from the direction of Bursa and Uşak towards Eskişehir and Afyon. On 27th March they attacked again the defense lines of the Western Front under the command of Ismet Pasha. While the Turkish Army was defending itself, the Greek Army received new reinforcements and launched a new attack on 13 th March. The Turkish Army's right flank forced the enemy to retreat. The Turkish Army, whose left flank was reinforced by a new battalion sent from Ankara, started an offensive operation.

Unable to stand these attacks enemy froces began to retreat during the night of 31st March/1 st April, and were chased by the Turkish Army to a line east of Bursa. The pursuit of the enemy extended as far as the Uşak - Afyon line, but was halted when the enemy received new reinforcements. The enemy attacks were halted by the Turkish Army during the Second İnönü Battle, but as the enemy received new reinforcements, it was not possible to drive it out of the country. The fact that the enemy attacks were halted by regular troops had been a relief for the Turkish public in general.



Atatürk and his commanders taking a roadside rest during the War of Liberation

Two important events took place at this time: 1) A treaty of friendship was signed with Afghanistan, which had recently become a sovereign state (1st March 1921). 2) A poem written by Mehmet Akif Ersoy was accepted as Turkey's national anthem by the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Composed by Zeki Bey, this song was filled with nationalistic sentiments peculiar to the times.

d. The Battle of Sakarya (23rd August-13th September, 1921)

Military operations had been intensified towards the end of August. When Greece, whose forces had retreated in the İnönü Battle, failed to secure any political gains at the London Conference, it began a series of new attacks with British support.

Afyon, Kütahya and Eskişehir were captured by the advancing Greek Armies in July 1921. The main objective of these operations was to capture Ankara, the seat of the new Turkish Government.

Certain administrative changes had taken place in Greece following the death of King Alexander, and Constantine, who had been deposed on 12th

April, 1917, succeeded to the throne following a plebiscite. Upon this, Venizelos, who was Prime Minister under King Alexander, left the country because he was being held responsible for the military failures in Anatolia. But, megalo idea, the age-old Greek dream of reviving the Byzantine Empire under the Kingdom of Greece, the real cause of the disasters, was also being shared by the new Greek administration. As a matter of fact, the new Greek king, claiming to be the successor of Constantine XII, the last Byzantine Emperor, had already assumed the title of the Emperor Alexander XIII. On the other hand, the Greek minorities were actively engaged in setting up a Pontus Republic in Trabzon. Thus, the Turkish Army was faced with two problems: 1) Fighting with the Greek Armies on the Western Front; 2) Dealing with the scattered guerilla operations along the eastern Black Sea coast. While the Turkish Army was trying to deal with these problems, the Greek Army, reinforced considerably after the Second İnönü Battle, launched a major attack, aiming to bring entire Central Anatolia under its control. Mustafa Kemal Pasha went to the front and issued the following order to İsmet Pasha: "Gather the Army along the north and south of Eskişehir, and move behind the River Sakarya, leaving a wide space between our forces and the enemy." Upon receiving this order, İsmet Pasha, Commander of the Western Front, succeeded in arresting the enemy forces while the main part of his armies withdrew behind the Sakarya River. Mustafa Kemal Pasha had given this order on the basis of his tactical experience in the Syrian Front during the First World War. This was a kind of delaying action designed to pull the army out of the main field under the attack of superior enemy forces and assemble it at a new line while dragging the enemy's center away from its supply lines. Withdrawing the army without giving battle in the face of superior enemy forces had first created disappointment in the country. Giving up extensive territories to the enemy was very discouraging at first glance. There were bitter discussions on the general conduct of the battles on the Western Front. Mustafa Kemal proposed that he be appointed Commander-in-Chief by the Turkish Grand National Assembly with extraordinary powers for a period of three months. His proposals were accepted by the Assembly on 5th August, 1921.

Following his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Mustafa Kemal Pasha made the following declaration to the nation: "I declare to the National Assembly, to the Turkish nation and the entire world that we shall defeat the enemies trying to enslave us. Our firm belief in the final victory has not been shaken at all."



Atatürk in his Marshal's uniform

Mustafa Kemal Pasha made a nationwide appeal to strengthen the Army assembled on the east bank of the River Sakarya, and issued his order of national obligation, i.e., an order putting every citizen under the responsibility of aiding the army in every possible way. He then went to the headquarters of the Turkish Western Front at Polatlı and assumed the command of the Army. Fevzi (Çakmak) Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, accompanied him. Constantine XIII, who had become the Commander - in - Chief of the Greek Army, had come to İzmir and shown Ankara as the main target of the Greek Army, had come eastwards from the Eskişehir and Seyitgazi lines, the Greek Army met the Turkish Army along the banks of the River Sakarya. Lloyd George, the British

Prime Minister, had made the following promise to the Greeks in a speech at the British Parliament: *"After the victory Greece is going to win, she cannot be content with what she has been promised in the Treaty of Sevres; she will have to be satisfied more generously."*

The Greek forces engaged in battle with the Turkish forces enjoyed numerical and material superiority over the Turkish forces and, besides, relied on marine communications and British help.

The entire Turkish nation, men and women, demonstrated a heroic defence of the homeland against the enemy, and fought one of the fiercest battles in history for 22 days on a front extending for about 100 kms. along the River Sakarya. The unparalleled heroism of all ranks of men of the Turkish Army had, of course, been a decisive factor in this battle, which went through some critical phases. The conduct of every Turkish citizen, male or female, in this battle had been exemplary in the annals of national unity and patriotism. The memories and feelings of those who lived through those days will supplement the official records.

In spite of the fact that he had broken a rib accidentally while conducting the battle, Mustafa Kemal Pasha returned to his headquarters after receiving treatment in Ankara for two days, and directed the operations personally from his command post. The order he issued to his army on 27th August, 1921, contained the following observations of this great tactical genius: *"There is no linear defence. There is surface defence, and the surface is the entire territory of the nation."*

In consequence of the tactical plans carried out by the Turkish Army and its great military leader, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the Greek offensive was stopped, and the Greek Army was forced to withdraw (25th August-13th September, 1921).

The Battle of Sakarya is a turning point in the history of the Turkish struggle for national liberation. It marked the end of the Greek offensive in Anatolia. Upon this great victory, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was awarded the title of "Gazi" (Moslem Hero) and promoted to Marshal on 19th September, 1921.

e. The Treaties of Moscow (16th March, 1921) and Kars (13th October, 1921)

Diplomatic relations between the new Turkish Government and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were established as of 1920. Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) Pasha had been appointed as the first Turkish ambassador to Moscow, while

M. Medivani came to Ankara as the first Soviet ambassador. Negotiations on the Treaty of Moscow lasted a month, and the following principles were finally accepted by the two countries on 16th March:

1. The signatories will not recognize any international agreements rejected by the other party, i.e., the Soviet Union will not accept the Treaty of Sèvres.

2. The new frontiers of Turkey as drawn by the Turkish Grand National Assembly were accepted by the Soviet Union. The north-eastern frontier as fixed by the Treaty of Gümrü was accepted after minor adjustments.

3. The Soviet Union has promised to ensure the acceptance of the articles included in this treaty on behalf of the southern Caucasian republics by these republics.

4. Agreements signed between the Ottoman Empire and Czarist Russia would not be recognized by either party.

5. The Soviet Union has approved the abolition of the capitulations, i.e., economic and legal concessions extended by the Ottoman Government to European powers.

6. Both Governments would not allow the operation of organizations hostile to them in their own territory.

7. Agreements would be concluded to regulate and promote mutual financial, economic and friendly relations between them.

The Treaty of Moscow was a diplomatic achievement for the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. With this treaty not only did the Soviet Union recognize the new Turkish frontiers, but the territories Turkey had lost in 1878 were also returned to her.

Although the Treaty of Moscow was concluded two weeks before the Second Battle of İnönü, the Treaty of Kars, incorporating the text of the Treaty of Moscow, was signed after the Victory of Sakarya on 13th October, 1921, between the Turkish Government and the Government of the Southern Caucasian Republic. The treaties of Gümrü, Moscow and Kars not only fixed Turkey's north-eastern frontier, but also ensured the first diplomatic agreements with her Soviet neighbour.

f. The Ankara Agreement conluded between Turkey and France (20th October, 1921)

As a member of the Entente Powers, France had its relations with Turkey regulated in accordance with the general agreements among the Entente Powers, but there had emerged a special situation on account of the problems relating to the Syrian Front.

Although an interim regional agreement had been concluded in May, 1920, diplomatic relations could not have been established with France following the London Conference. But with the escalation of military operations, particularly with the emergence of a new Turkish military existence in Anatolia, France was in favour of making peace with Turkey, particularly after the signing of the Treaty of Moscow. She therefore sent an ex-cabinet minister to Ankara privately on 9th June, 1921. In talks held among Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and Commander -in-Chief of the Turkish Army, Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşek), Turkish Foreign Minister, and Fevzi Pasha (Çakmak), Chief of the Turkish General Staff, it was agreed that for the conclusion of a peace conference between France and Turkey no reference to the Treaty of Sevres should be made and that France should take a favourable attitude towards the problem of new Turkish frontiers. The abolition of the capitulations and the full sovereignty of Turkey were also among the topics of discussion. The main issue, however, was to reach a cease-fire agreement on the Syrian front. The Goverments of the two countries accepted these principles. The question of Antakya and Iskenderun was also discussed, and it was agreed that a special administrative solution would be found for the people of that region.

With the conclusion of a peace treaty with France, fighting in southern Turkey would come to an end, and the two countries would withdraw their forces to lines to be determined by themselves. It was also agreed that the Tomb of Süleyman Shah, grandfather of Sultan Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire, now left within the borders of Syria, would be considered Turkish territory under the Turkish flag and protection. This treaty was of both military and diplomatic importance because France had signed it acting independently of the Entente Powers. The war in southern Turkey had thus ended, with Turkey's new southern frontier fixed. The treaty with France would later by endorsed by the Lausanne Treaty, and a solution would be found for the Hatay question in 1939.

It was thanks only to the Turkish Army's victories against major enemy offensives, and particularly to the victory at Sakarya, that such treaties with diplomatic significance could have been concluded and a path paved towards the recognition of the new Turkish State.

1922

a. Treaties and Agreements.

Realizing that the failure of the Greek Army in Anatolia would weaken the chances of the Treaty of Sèvre's being implemented, the Entente Powers desired to make peace with Turkey through diplomatic talks. They made the following peace proposals to Greece and Turkey: there would be a no man's land between the armies of the two countries; the armies of both countries would not receive any reinforcements; both countries would allow military commissions of Entente Powers to inspect their armies; fighting would cease for three months.

The Greek Government accepted these terms immediately. The position of Turkey, however, was quite different; she was not an aggressor like Greece, but she was concerned with defending herself. She would not, therefore, accept all these conditions. She rejected the inspection of her army by the Entente Powers and the restrictions regarding reinforcements. Furthermore, she pointed out that by the end of the cease-fire period, all foreign troops would leave her territories. When the Turkish reply, prepared jointly by the Commander-in-Chief, the Commander of the Western Front, and the Turkish Cabinet, was about to be sent to the Entente Powers, a note outlining the principles of a peace treaty was received (26th March, 1922) from Paris, where the foreign ministers of the Entente Powers had met. The contents of the peace proposal were almost the same as those in the Treaty of Sèvres. Although there were some minor changes, they were totally contrary to the principles accepted by the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. It was obvious from the peace proposals put foward by the Entente Powers that this time they were trying to break the national resistance movement in Turkey, a country they had helped to crush by sending an army of invasion. Mustafa Kemal, who had seen through the designs of the Entente Powers, warned the country and asked everybody to prepare for a major conflict. The Turkish Grand National Assembly,however, intimated that it could start peace negotiations provided Turkey's essential interests and rights were protected. A conference was proposed to be held in İzmit, where such matters would be discussed. Upon the

Entente Powers' refusal of this proposal and insistence on a revised peace treaty of Sèvres on 15th April, 1922, Turkey saw that nothing positive would come out of these efforts. Thus the belief that Turkish rights could be asserted only by defeating the enemy armies invading the country gained weight once more.

b. The Major Offensive and the Final Victory (26th August-9th September, 1922)

Substantial military preparations were necessary for a final victory over the enemy. While work was proceeding in this direction the question of extending Mustafa Kemal Pasha's duties as Commander-in-Chief was again being discussed at the National Assembly, It was, in fact, essential that a Commander-in-Chief responsible for preparing the army for the victory remain at the head of the Army. At a secret meeting of the Assembly on 6th May, 1922, Mustafa Kemal assumed the responsibility once again. He spoke as follows on this occasion: "Our Army could not have been allowed to be without a commander at a critical time. It was for this reason that I have not allowed it, I cannot allow it, and I shall not allow it." When the question was again debated in the Assembly on 20th July, 1922, Mustafa Kemal's duty as the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army was extended for an indefinite period.



Atatürk as Commander—in—Chief of the Turkish Armed Forces in the War of Liberation

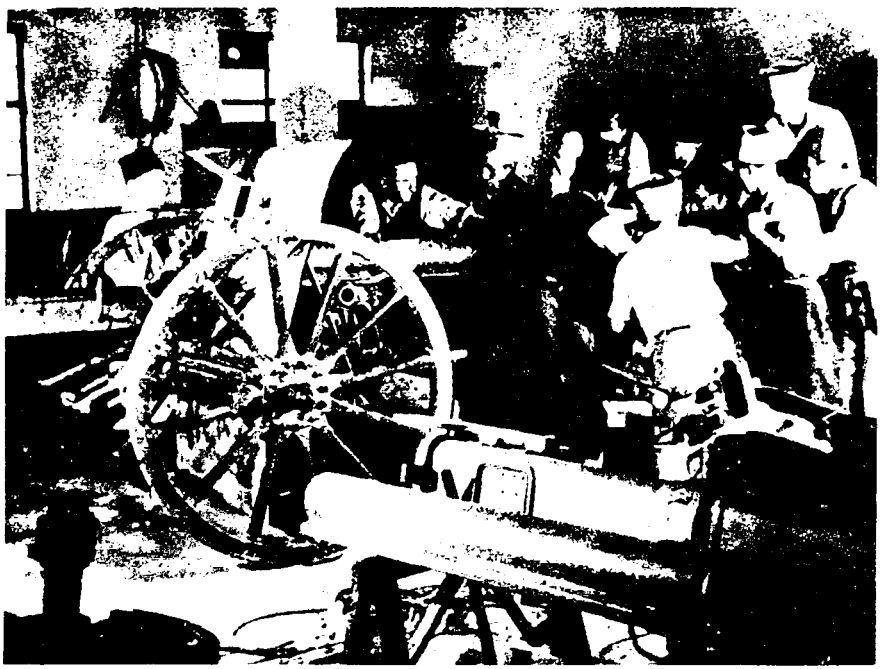
What remained to be done for Turkey after the Battle of Sakarya was to drive the enemy out of the country, But for this there was need for time and military strength. The possibility of finding a diplomatic solution had been tried by making counter-proposals to those made by the Entente Powers. Mustafa Kemal, however, was firmly convinced that before Turkey drove the enemy out of her country by force of arms and proved that she was capable of demonstrating her national existence, she should not be too hopeful of gaining anything merely by way of diplomacy. As far as he was concerned, history was a testing ground of nations; the Turkish nation had been put to the test for centuries, but the last she would have would be the hardest .



Turkish women filling rifle cartridges for the Turkish Army during the War of Liberation

Turkey was preparing for the big offensive. Careful planning was essential for absolute victory. After the Sakarya defeat, the enemy had withdrawn to a line to the east of Eskişehir, Afyon and Kütahya, and was busy fortifying. Enemy naval units had sailed through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and bombarded Samsun on 7th June, 1922. In spite of many difficulties, the Turkish Army was preparing for the big offensive. The roads were bad, and means of transportation insufficient. Therefore, troops and equipment could be moved to the front very slowly from various parts of the country. Doubts were often raised about the National Assembly's strategy in the public opinion, and

some people did not believe that the country was quite ready to drive the enemy out of the country, whereas the Commander-in-Chief, Mustafa Kemal, and his staff officers were working on military plans. Although the enemy had the advantage of having better communications and supply services, its main concern was to preserve its territorial gains. When the preparations of the Turkish Army were complete, Mustafa Kemal, Fevzi (Çakmak), Chief of the Western Front, and other military leaders reviewed the situation at Akşehir on 20th August, 1922. The main Turkish offensive was launched from Kocatepe in the Afyon region on 30th August, 1922. The Greek Army, which had been preparing for defence for months, was encircled from the south and completely routed.



Making guns for the Army

The offensive operation, which started at Kocatepe on 20th August, is known as the Battle of the Commander-in-Chief because Mustafa Kemal personally conducted it and carried out his own plan of encirclement. The historic order he issued from his Headquarters on Kocatepe that day was "Ordular ilk hedefiniz Akdenizdir, ileri!" (Armies, your immediate target is the Aegean. Forward!).



Atatürk taking the salute at a parade at Ilgın, before the major offensive in the War of Liberation

Uşak was taken on 2nd September, 1922, and the same day, General Trikopis, the Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army, and many other Greek commanders were taken prisoners and brought to the presence of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief. The victorious Turkish army advanced westward, reaching and liberating İzmir on 9th September, 1922. Although some Greek forces whose contact with their commander had been cut off continued to fight, it was a matter of a few days before they were completely put out of action. They, however, committed many atrocities and achieved serious damage to towns and villages on their line of retreat.

With General Mustafa Kemal's entry into İzmir on 10th September, the Western Front was completely cleared of the enemy. The remnants of the Greek Army were saved by the warships of the Entente Powers in the Bay of İzmir. When the scattered enemy troops were trying to leave İzmir, they started fires along the Kordon Boyu in revenge for their defeat.



A team of hand grenade makers during the War of Liberation

With the capture of İzmir and Bursa (9th September, 1922), the War of Turkish Liberation had been carried to a successful termination. Some units of the Turkish Army had also moved into the Dardanelles area, which was under the control of the British troops. France and Italy had already moved their forces out of Turkey and were not willing to be involved in new fighting in Turkey. Britain, on the other hand, failed to receive the aid and support she expected from her dominions. In fact, with the defeat and expulsion of the Greek Army out of Anatolia, the Entente Powers realized once for all that they would not be able to thwart the lawful and just aims of the Turkish people.

C. The Armistice of Mudanya (2rd - 11th October, 1922)

Before long, the Entente Powers resorted to a series of diplomatic overtures and sent a number of peace proposals to Mustafa Kemal, the National Assembly and the Turkish Foreign Ministry. They thought that peaceful negotiations with the Turks were more in their interest than fighting with them. General Pelle, the French representative in Istanbul, and Franklin Bouillon, a former Cabinet Minister who had signed the Ankara Agreement on behalf of his Government, went to İzmir to have talks with Mustafa Kemal (28th September, 1922).

The Entente Powers requested that delegates be nominated for peace talks and that hostilities be brought to an end in the Straits. Turkey replied, pointing out that military operations could be stopped at the Straits pending talks, but insisted that the Greek forces vacate Eastern Thrace up to the River Maritza, giving up Edirne. Provided these conditions were fulfilled, peace talks could start at Mudanya. General Ismet İnönü, Commander of the Turkish Western Front, was appointed as head of the Turkish Delegation. The peace talks were held in Mudanya between 3rd and 11th October, 1922. While these talks were going on between the Turkish and Entente delegations, the Greek representative was waiting on board a ship in the Mudanya harbour. The reply given to the Entente Delegation, which demanded that the evacuation of Thrace be postponed until the end of the peace talks, was the advance of the Turkish Army over Istanbul and the Straits. Negotiations were resumed on the return of the Entente Delegation from Istanbul. According to the Armistice of Mudanya, signed on 11th October 1922, Eastern Thrace and the regions on the left bank of the River Maritza would be vacated by the Greek Army and turned over to the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly within a month. Istanbul and the Straits would also be delivered to the civilian administration of the Government of the Grand National Assembly. But the military forces of the Entente Powers would be allowed to stay in these regions until the final restoration of peace, provided they did not increase their strength. The Greek Government, which had not participated in these negotiations notified Turkey on 14th October, 1922 that it was ready to accept the Armistice, which brought the Turco-Greek War to an end. The Turkish forces under the command of General Refet (Bele) entered Istanbul on 19th October, 1922, and were given and enthusiastic welcome by the people of the city. Eastern Thrace was also turned over to Turkish rule.

d. The Abolition of the Ottoman Sultanate (1st November, 1922)

During the Mudanya talks İzmir was proposed as a possible site for the holding of the peace conference, but the Entente Powers wished to meet at Lausanne, and this was accepted by all the parties concerned. It soon became obvious that the Entente Powers were seeking new diplomatic ways of weakening the position of Turkey at the Conference by inviting the Ottoman Government to send a delegation of its own besides the delegation of the new Turkish Government created in Anatolia (28th October, 1922). In fact, the new Turkish Government had the sole right to participate in a conference where peace terms were to be discussed, as it was this Government which had organized the resistance against the country's occupation and finally liberated the country. It was upon the victory won by the armies of this Government that the powers which signed the Armistice of Mudanya had recognized this Government.

With the signing of this protocol, the terms of the Armistice of Mondoros and the Treaty of Sèvres had been completely cancelled. The Ottoman Government, which had accepted defeat in the First World War and signed the Treaty of Sèvres, was virtually extinct, because it could not even demonstrate the sagacity of possessing the small territory left to it by that Treaty. The Turkish Empire, which had ruled over vast territories for many centuries, had unfortunately collapsed. This was most clearly shown by her recent conduct. She tried to undermine Turkish people's resistance to the enemy and their efforts to liberate their country. The Ottoman Government had no share in the huge sacrifices made by the nation, and the negative attitude taken, the foolish religious appeals, and declarations made by it are among the historical documents of most exemplary nature. The Government of the Grand National Assembly had rejected the Treaty of Sèvres accepted by the Ottoman Government. It had also declared that it did not approve of the hostile attitude of the Ottoman Government, which indicated clearly that that political organization, which had made contributions to the Turkish civilization in the past, was no longer in a position to defend the interest of the nation. As is well known, the Turks had founded numerous states in different parts of the world. Many of these were not national states, and were known by tribal names or by the names of their founders. The State founded by Sultan Osman in the 13th century virtually came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres on 10th August, 1920. The Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly could not have sat down at the conference table to negotiate peace with the delegation of the Ottoman Government, which had accepted defeat and signed the Treaty of Sèvres.

The victory of the Turkish nation had been confirmed in the War of Liberation. It was only fair that the terms of peace should be negotiated between the Entente Powers and the new Turkish State, which had fought for and saved its country. It will be remembered that Tevfik Pasha, the Ottoman Prime, Minister, had confirmed in the London Conference in 1921 that the new Turkish Government was the true representative of the Turkish Nation. Tevfik Pasha wanted to find out whether the two Turkish Governments could possibly cooperate at Lausanne. Tevfik Pasha sent his son to Mustafa Kemal with the following message, which he requested to be treated confidentially.

"His Excellency Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha,
The victory won with the aid of Almighty Allah has henceforth removed the differences, which had emerged between Istanbul and Ankara, and created an atmosphere of unity between us. As no peace has yet been made between us and the European Powers, it is certain that both sides will be invited to a peace conference to be held at a European city soon. I have full confidence that you

will approve of joining our efforts in trying to defend the rights of the nation at this conference, where we should go after first reaching an agreement among ourselves on vital issues related to the future of the new Turkish Government. I request that you send here urgently someone you trust with your confidential terms in order that we may reach an agreement."

In his reply to this message, Mustafa Kemal pointed out that sending a delegation representing two Turkish Governments was out of the question and that the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which had won the victory, could be the sole representative of the Turkish State. Upon receiving this reply, the Ottoman Prime Minister sent the following telegram to the Grand National Assembly:

"Urgent. To the Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Ottoman Government were both invited to the Conference. The exclusion of the Ottoman Government from this conference would mean the destruction of the historical heritage of the six hundred years old Turkish State, the fate of which concerns the entire world of Islam, while the exclusion of the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly would undermine the peace expected by the whole world. Naturally, neither the Ottoman nor the new Turkish Governments would accept these responsibilities. There are, in fact, no serious differences between the Ottoman State and the new Turkish State. The Ottoman Government also maintains that, in spite of all kinds of pressure, the Treaty of Sèvres should not be accepted, and every effort should be made to lessen the hardships of the occupation and to maintain peace and order. The Ottoman Government would not like to leave the Turkish nation alone in turning her military victories into achievements in political and diplomatic fields. The Ottoman Government would not allow the high interests of the nation undermined by remaining aloof and uncooperative. It has deep respect for those who, in the name of Allah, have risked their lives in the cause of the liberation of their country. I therefore request that, in order to avert a great national disaster and to please the world of Islam, which support us morally and materially, a distinguished person be nominated and sent with special instructions to participate in peace negotiations. In the event of this proposal being rejected, I would like to inform you that Ziya Pasha would be sent there as the representative of our Government."

After a reading of these two telegrams at the assembly presided over by Mustafa Kemal, there was a series of discussions which ultimately led to a resolution on the abolition of the Sultanate. İsmet İnönü, who had been elected the Foreign Minister, delivered the following speech during these discussions at the Assembly.

'Gentlemen! This telegram sent to the Grand National Assembly, in which the unconditional future of Turkey is vested, cannot have any official

significance. The problem in question gains importance as it is related with foreign policy at a time when peace talks are being held. I regret that the Western Powers, as has always been the case, are trying to dominate the eastern nations by using a government under their thumb. Before a peace can be made in the name of the Turkish people, the real and legitimate delegates of the Turkish people will have to be invited to a conference. The friends of the sender of this telegram have formerly tried to impose a peace treaty on us on the grounds that there was no alternative left, thus raising the hopes of foreign powers. It is a pity that they are in a state of perfect confusion. The concern of the Islamic world is being mentioned. We believe that the World of Islam is civilized enough to appreciate that the Turkish Grand National Assembly is waging the War of Islam. While we insist on the delegation of the Grand National Assembly as being the sole lawful representative of the Turkish people at the peace conference, they hold the contrary view that we would be delaying the conclusion of a peace treaty. The senders of this telegram oppose the peaceful aspirations of the Turkish people and threaten us with extending and multiplying the sorrows of the nation by delaying the peace. They are the only people who oppose the conclusion of a peace treaty. We, therefore, declare to the whole world that if other delegations are sought to represent Turkey and peace is delayed for that reason, the responsibility for this will not belong to us, but to those who invite such delegations, as well as those who accept such invitations. I have already explained to the Grand National Assembly the attitude we have taken towards this peace conference. We indicated in our verbal note that the only Turkish delegation to be sent to the peace conference would be the one to be sent by the Grand National Assembly, and that the participation of another Turkish Delegation sent from elsewhere would be a violation of the Armistice of Mudanya. In regions under enemy occupation, some regional administrative bodies can be formed. It is, in fact, appropriate that these bodies be formed through elections."

"None of these delegations of the occupied zones had until then taken a stand regarding the destiny of Turkey. No such delegations were able to emerge from İzmir, Edirne, Bursa, Eskişehir and even from Çatalca today. Although during the recent autonomous rule of the Greeks there were certain individuals of doubtful reputation who could speak on behalf of Turkey, no patriotic person had the courage to raise his voice as the representative of Turkey. No such person ever emerged from among them. Persons who are now attempting to present themselves as representatives of the occupied zones are assuming a grave responsibility in the face of the nation. We shall declare to the nation that these attempts to undermine the establishment of peace are the designs of a number of new trouble makers. The entire nation and everybody who is aware of the facts will be on our side."

During talks which continued on 1st November 1922, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk presented a brief history of the Caliphate. He stressed the fact that "The only body representing the sovereignty of the nation is the Turkish Grand National Assembly" and that the Turkish nation has created a state directly under its own name.

During debates in the National Assembly the telegrams of the Istanbul Government were condemned and offers of cooperation flatly rejected. The treacherous behavior of the Istanbul Government in alliance with the enemy was particularly reviled. According to Article 1 of the Constitution, sovereignty was no longer vested in the hands of the Sultan. Article 2 of the Constitution delegated the legislative and executive powers, and the power of declaring war and making peace to the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Certain principles were laid down regarding the nature of the new Turkish State:

1. The Ottoman Empire and its autocratic system have ceased to exist.

2. The new Turkish Govrenment has replaced the extinct Ottoman Empire as its sole heir within the national boundaries.

4. As the Constitution granted the sovereignty to the nation, the Sultanate in Istanbul has been abolished.

5. No legitimate government exists in Istanbul; that city and its environs also belong to the Grand National Assembly.

A decision concerning the position of the Sultan taken by the Grand National Assembly in response to a proposal by Mustafa Kemal on 24th April, 1920, could now be implemented. The text of the decision was as follows: "When the Sultan and the Caliph were relieved of the present pressure, they would assume their positions in accordance with the legal principles to be laid down by the Turkish Grand National Assembly. "Sultan Vahdettin, who was also the Caliph, had done all he could to break down the national resistance for two years. Therefore, the Government of the Grand National Assembly abolished the Sultanate by a law and left the Caliphate to the Ottoman Dynasty, now represented by Vahdettin. Vahdettin wrote the following letter to General Harrington; Commander-in-Chief of the occupation powers in Istanbul:

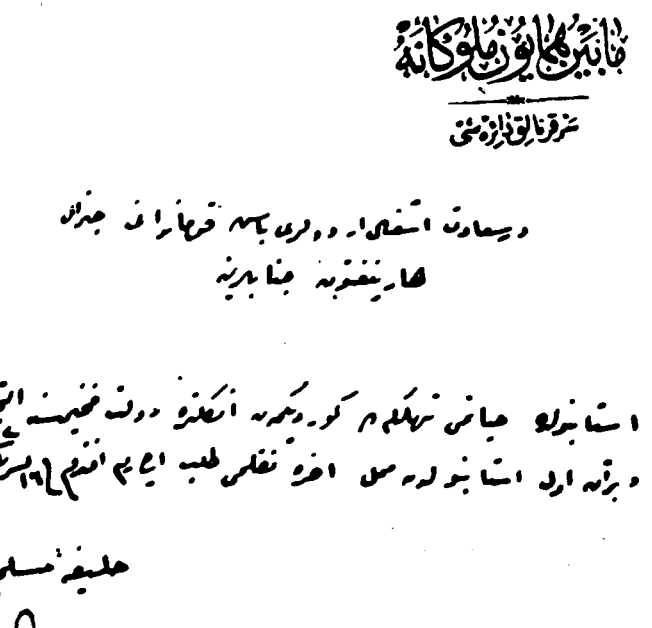
To:— His excellency, General Harrington. C-in-C. of the Forces of Occupation, in Constantinople.

Sir,

Considering my life in danger in Constantinople, I take refuge with the British Government, and request my transfer as soon as possible from Constantinople to another place. November 16th, 1922.

Mehmet Vahideddin,
Caliph of the Mussulmans.

Thus, the last Ottoman Sultan fled from Istanbul on board a British ship in the evening of 17th November. Upon this, the Grand National Assembly deposed the Caliph and appointed Abdülmecit Efendi as the Caliph of the Moslems of the world. It was not, however, clear how the new Caliph would be able to exercise his powers over the Moslem nations, none of which had, in fact, recognized him as its leader.



To:—His Excellency, General Harington,
C-in-C. of the Forces of Occupation,
in Constantinople.

Sir,

Considering my life in danger in Constantinople, I take refuge with the British Government, and request my transfer as soon as possible from Constantinople to another place. November 16th, 1922.

Mehmed Vehideddin,
Caliph of the Mussulmans.

Sultan Vahidettin's letter to General Harrington, Commander—in—Chief of the Britis Forces of Occupation in Istanbul.

a. The first stage of the Lausanne Peace Treaty (Negotiations)

(20th November, 1922–4th February, 1923)

For the peace negotiations with the Entente Powers, the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly decided to send a delegation. There was no longer an Ottoman Empire to have a say in the matter. Following his election as Foreign Minister by the Grand National Assembly, İsmet Pasha (26th October 1922), Commander of the Western Front and the Head of the Turkish Delegation which concluded the Armistice of Mudanya, was appointed as the head of the Turkish Delegation on the Lausanne Peace Conference. The Turkish Delegation consisted of members, advisors, secretaries, interpreters and press correspondents. At the conference table, Turkey was confronted with the delegates of seven opponents: Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece. As victors of the First World War, these powers treated Turkey as a vanquished adversary which resisted the occupation of its territories and defeated Greece. They repeated their former demands on the basis of this main idea.

On the other hand, the new Turkish State sought unconditional independence. During the talks, İsmet İnönü, the Head of the Turkish Delegation, reminded the members of the other participating delegations of the fact that Turkey came to the conference table not from Mondros but from Mudanya. Turkey demanded that the Soviet Union be invited to take part in discussions over the question of the Straits. It was also thought that it would be desirable for Bulgaria to send a delegation when the question of an Aegean outlet for her would be considered by the Conference. The U.S.A. sent an observer to the Conference.

The Lausanne Conference was held on 29th November, 1923, with an opening speech by the President of Switzerland. The next speaker was Lord Curzon, who explained the agenda. The Turkish Delegation was completely

ignored at the openning session. Reacting to this strongly, İsmet İnönü took the floor and expessed in clearest terms the importance Turkey attached to the cause of freedom and independence, and that she would do everything necessary for the recognition of her rights. This speech made a deep impact on all delegations on the very first day of the Conference. Three commissions were elected at the General Session, which met on 21st November, 1923:

1. Commission on frontiers and the Straits.
2. Commission on minorities and the rights of aliens.
3. Commission on economic and financial problems.

At the meetings of these commissions, the delegates of the Entente Powers made a number of proposals which were totally unacceptable to Turkey.

The proceedings of this Conference were published in large volumes (*), which show how stiff was the bargaining between Turkey and her opponents. The talks lasted long, because Turkey was determined to defend her rights to the last. Before the Delegation left Ankara it was detailed carefully on every issue and instructed to break up the negotiations if necessary. The chief issues debated at the Lausanne Peace Conference were the following:

1. Some problems left by the Ottoman Empire needed solution, while some others had already been solved. Legally the new Turkish State had to accept them.

2. The recognition of the borders of the new Turkish State according to the principles of international law and the solution of the question of the Straits in conformity with the sovereignty of Turkey.

3. Removal of the judicial and economic concessions.

4. Solution of the question of National Debts and War Reparations.

5. Solution of certain problems between Greece and Turkey.

During the first stage of the Conference, Turkey's opponents made a number of excessive demands leading to prolonged discussions. They expessed

(*) The proceedings were published in French and in old Turkish Script. An edition in modern Turkish script was prepared by Seha L. Meray under the title of Lozan Barış Konferansı: Tutanaklar, Belgeler Part (4 vols.), Part II (2 vols.), Publications of the Faculty of Political Sciences, 1969—1973.

such demands over certain questions which were totally unacceptable to the Turkish Delegation. Over the question of War Reparations, France, Great Britain, and Italy demanded that Turkey pay to them the entire expenditures of their armies for the period of their occupation of Turkish territories after 1918. The expenditures of these occupation armies exceeded 50 million gold liras, but the claimants would be satisfied with 30 million gold liras.

This demand was sharply rejected by Turkey. A similar demand of the Entente Powers was that the damages suffered by their citizens in Turkey be paid by Turkey. Turkey explained that she would agree to pay such compensations if her own citizens were also paid similarly. Naturally, none of these demands was accepted in the end. The talks were broken up on account of failure to reach an agreement on judicial and economic concessions.

War Reparations, the division of Ottoman debts and the form of their payment, the recognition of old concessions, the number of troops to be maintained in Thrace and Istanbul, the British cemeteries on the Gallipoli Peninsula and the question of the settlement of the Iraqian frontier led to a deadlock and the Conference was suspended. The Turkish Delegation returned to Ankara. İsmet İnönü explained to his Government what had happened at the Lausanne Conference and why it had been suspended. He was asked a number of questions on the Conference at the Grand National Assembly, and discussions were held on some prombems connected with the Conference. There were a number of closed sessions of the Assembly where harsh criticisms were voiced. The sacrifices made by the nation could not be frustrated at the conference table, it was, therefore, impossible to accept the demands of the Entente Powers. Turkey had to have complete independence in regulating her financial and economic problems.

On 8th March, 1922, Turkey sent her peace terms to the Entente Powers. The Lausanne Peace Conference resumed its meetings, and the Turkish Delegation left for Lausanne on 18th Apris 1923.

b. The İzmir Economic Congress (17th February-4th March, 1923)

When Law No. 3, concerning the creation of a Government consisting of eleven ministers, was passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 2nd May, 1920, one of these ministries was the Ministry of Economy, to be created for the first time in Turkey.

It was pointed out in the Government Programme that due attention would be given to financial and economic matters. But as the country was at war through 1920-1922, the sole aim of the Turkish Grand National Assembly during this period, was to save the country from occupation. Because of the war, the Government was not in a position to make investments in the fields of industry and production. Consumption was, therefore, higher than production. The Government, however, had accepted the principle of political and economic independence following the victory. The toughest bargaining at the Lausanne Conference was, in fact, over these issues.

The Lausanne Conference was suspended for various reasons, one of which was the rejection by the Entente Powers of Turkey's demand for economic independence. An economic Congress was arranged to be held in İzmir. Mustafa Kemal said the following on this occasion:

"No matter kow brilliant military victories and diplomatic achievements may have been, if they are not reinforced by economic achievements, they cannot be expect ed to last long."

Mehmet Esat Bozkurt, the Minister of Economy, explained the aim of this Congress as follows:

"At this Congress, which will bring together farmers, industrialists and businessmen, discussions will be held on the urgent measures to be taken by the Government for the economic development of our country. The recommendations of the Congress will be sent to the Government. The Congress will also discuss what measures should be adopted by the Government for the economic reorganization of the country." He added that agricultural and industrial workers would have their trade unions.

Four groups were represented in this Congress, attended by 1135 members. These were farmers, merchants, industrialists and workers.The proposals brought to the Congress General Session by each of these groups formed the basis of discussions which lasted 16 days. The outcome of these discussions was the 12-point Economic Pact, which was published and distributed nationwide.

An interesting point about this Congress was that it was also attended by women representatives. The participation of Turkish women workers in this Congress, at a time when the Turkish woman had not yet gained her legal rights, was very significant.

The importance of this Congress can be summed up as follows:

The Turkish Army had crushed the power of the enemy, and consequently the unity of the country had been achieved. During the period of peace which was to follow, the country had to develop economically by utilizing her natural resources.

For the establishment of peace, Turkey had to conclude an international agreement, which she could sign only if she were treated on an equal footing with other powers and given economic and political independence.

The 12 points of the Economic Pact unanimously accepted at the İzmir Economic Congress attended by 1135 delegates elected from agricultural, industrial, commercial and labour sectors were as follows:

Article 1. Free within her national boundaries, Turkey will strive for peace and progress.

Article 2. As Turkey has gained her national independence at a very high cost, she can never relinquish it, and she will always help her National Assembly and its Government, which owe their existence to freedom and independence.

Article 3. Turkish people are not destructive but constructive, and they aim at higher economic development.

Article 4. As far as possible, Turkish people produce the consumer goods they require. They are hard - working and thrifty. They work day and night for the purpose of increasing production.

Article 5. Turkish people are aware of the immense natural resources of their country, and they strive to utilize and develop them with keen interest. They tend their forests and hold special tree-planting celebrations. They work their mines and put them in the service of their own industry. They try to learn the capacity of their natural resources.

Article 6. Theft, lying, fraud and laziness are our greatest enemies. We are religious without being superstitious. We always accept new things which are useful. Turkish people hate their enemies' malicious acts and propaganda directed against their sacred institutions, homeland, persons and property, and know to fight against them.

Article 7. Turks are great admirers of learning and have immense creative energy. A Turk can always earn his living, but he is above all devoted to his country. He appreciates the value of education.

Article 8. Many wars we have had to fight and deprivations our people have suffered have led to a considerable loss of population in our country. Now, with the gradual increase of our population, we should pay more attention to the health problems of our country. Turkish people hate germs, filth, polluted air and epidemics. They like clean air, abundant sunshine and bodily cleanliness. They enjoy horseriding, which has been an ancestral sport, archery, hunting and water sports. Turks are also good animal breeders. They always strive to increase the number and improve the quality of their animals.

Article 9. The Turkish nation is always friendly towards other nations which respect her religious feelings and national sentiments and do not manifest any hostility to her. Turks are not against foreign investments in their country. They follow artistic and scientitic developments elsewhere with keen interest and borrow them without hesitation. They dislike too many intermediaries in their commercial relations.

Article 10. Turks like independence in their business life and dislike monopolies.

Article 11. Turks belonging to different professions maintain friendly relations among themselves; they enjoy cooperation and participation in activities designed to know one another and their country better. For this purpose they organize gatherings and tours.

Article 12 Turkish mothers and teachers train Turkish children in keeping with the standards of economy as defined in the Economy Pact.

The İzmir Economic Congress played an important role in preparing the public opinion for new ideas, which would soon be put into practice in the country.

The Economic Congress was opened with a long speech by Atatürk. Speaking next, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, Minister of Economy, summed up the economic principles and objectives of the new Turkish State and pointed out that national sovereignty could ensure Turkey's existence only on the basis of her economic sovereignty. He emphasized the following measures for the development of the Turkish economy:

1. Professional organizations; 2. Credit organizations; 3. Mechanization; 4. Mass economic mobilization: 5. Self-sufficiency; 6. Revision and improvement of Turkey's production capacity and balancing of imports and exports.

Mahmut Esat Bozkurt also pointed out that our national education and cultural policies would be highly effective on the development of our economic life.

Kazım Karabekir Pasha, representing the manufacturing industries in Manisa and also the President of the Congress, delivered a short speech in which he pointed out: *"The word, economy, brings to mind three important facts about the economy of our country: first, we must take good care of our people, animals and crops; secondly, we must increase our output, build our roads and transport our produce to markets; thirdly, we must realize the importance of our women in the economy of the family as well as of the nation, and we must teach them to be thrifty."*

He ended his speech by saying *"Joined together in a spirit of unity and solidarity, the nation will, before long, add economic victories to those gained on battlefields."*

A Speech delivered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on the occasion of the opening of the İzmir Economic Congress, 17th February, 1923

Gentlemen!

It gives me special pleasure to be here in the presence of you distinguished representatives of the people, who are gathered here for the noble, vital national cause of finding out the means of developing our country economically. I wish that your efforts to seek ways of welfare and prosperity for our nation, and to compensate for opportunities lost and time wasted through centuries of neglect, will bear fruit.

Friends!

As elected representatives of vorious trades and occupations, you come directly out of the ranks of common people, and, as such, you are fully aware of the needs, hopes and aspirations, as well as the sufferings of our people. Your views and recommendations will be those of the people. They will show us the true way, because the voice of the people is the voice of truth. History gives

many social, military and political reasons for the decline and collapse of the Turkish Empire. No doubt all these causes have had their impact on the Turkish society.

The economic state of a nation is directly related to its life. This historical truth has clearly demonstrated its validity in the history of our nation. As a matter of fact, any study of Turkish history will reveal the true causes of decline and collapse to have been no other than economic.

All the achievements and failures in our history have been closely linked to our economy. We have to pay utmost attention to our economy in order to raise our new Turkey to the high level of progress she deserves.

We live in an age of economy. A nation's living standard and welfare are totally dependent on her economy. It must also be pointed out that we have not so far attached sufficient importance to this problem. The causes of this negligence are to be found in our history. For one thing, we have not so far had a national life, and consequently a national history.

In order to clarify this point a little further, let us take a glance at Ottoman history. Ottoman history is not a history of events and efforts carried out in fulfilment of the desires and requirements of the nation, but it is a history of events carried out in order to satisfy the personal whims and ambitions of a few despots. For example, following the conques of Constantinople, Mehmet II, heir of the Seljuk Empire as well as the Eastern Roman Empire, wanted to incorporate the Western Roman Empire into his territories, and directed the entire efforts of the country to that cause.

Selim, while holding the Western Front opened by Mehmet II, turned towards Asia, and wished to create a vast union of Islam. Sultan Soliman the Magnificent extended both fronts, turned the Mediterranean into an Ottoman lake, and pursued a superb policy by applying pressure on India. In carrying out this policy he used his people.

A study of the acts of the great formidable rulers will show that their foreign policies were pursued in order to satisfy their own ambitious aims and desires. Their internal policies were similarly motivated. They neglected the peoples of the conquered territories, and left them to their own fate. Besides, being their protectors, they also granted them special privileges. On the other hand, they exhausted their own people, the Turkish people, forming the backbone of the country, by sending them from front to front. Thus, the Turkish nation was so impoverished that it could hardly produce enough to meet its own requirements.

The Sultan not only wasted the energy of the nation in futile military expeditions on foreign territories, but also squandered away the country's wealth by providing foreign countries with various economic concessions. The concessions granted to the Genoese by Mehmet II can be mentioned in this

connection. Later Sultans were even more generous in this respect. They were given in the form of royal gifts at a time when the Ottoman Empire was at the height of its power.

An offer of a trade agreement with Venice was refused by Sultan Soliman the Magnificent on the grounds that it was incompatible with his honour. In his vievw, an agreement should be concluded between two equal powers. At the time, Venice was a petty state. Nevertheless, the Sultan granted Venice certain trade privileges, which were later turned into capitulations. The word 'capitulation' means turning over to the enemy all the possessions of a besieged city or army.

While the Turkish people were being led from front to front, the peoples of the conquered lands enjoyed many privileges, and continued to reap all the benefits of the land and grow prosperous. Conquerors by the sword are in the end bound to be defeated by conquerors by the plough. This can be seen throughout history. While Frenchmen were fighting in Canada, the English farmer was busy settling there. The sword and the plough clashed for a while, but the plough prevailed over the sword in the end. This is how the English came to conquer Canada. The swordsman's arm is tired quickly; but the ploughman's arm gains strength every day, and acquires new lands all the time.

The Ottomans were faced with real disaster when the Turkish people, constituting the backbone of the Ottoman Empire, were defeated before the plough. Foreigners and non - Moslem minorities within the Empire accepted the privileges granted to them by the Ottoman Sultans. But they were not content with them. They demanded more and more, and found ways of enlarging them. Relying on the privileges they had gained, and the protection of foreign powers, the minorities in Turkey made every effort to acquire political power. Trying to incite the minorities, foreigners were at the same time exerting pressure on the Turkish State to gain further concessions. Impoverished under continuous pressures, the Turkish people could hardly pay their taxes. But, the rulers, palaces, and statesmen needed money to carry on with their pomp and majesty. In order to find the money they needed, they borrowed it from foreign powers. But the terms of the financial agreements they signed were so unfavourable to Turkey that some debts could not be paid. Finally these powers declared the Ottoman State bankrupt and imposed on us what came to be known as "the Foreign Debt". If we search for the causes and consequences of this regrettable situation, we would see that it was a direct outcome of our concept of state at that time.

The Ottoman State was, for many centuries, an absolute monarchy. It was turned into a constitutional monarchy only a few years before its collapse. The will of the nation could never be heard. The Sultans considered themselves as Allah's representatives on the earth. Self-seeking men in royal circles imposed the Sultan's whims as heavenly commands descended from above. In time, people started accepting these whims as sacred commands without ever

questioning them. A nation which has allowed itself to be robbed of its thoughts and identity heads for disaster in the end.

The Ottoman State had finally ben reduced to the position of a puppet state completely deprived of its sovereignty. It was a state which could not apply its tax laws on foreigners living in its territories, a state, which could not collect customs duty and regulate its tax laws; a state, which could not exercise its right to try foreigners committing crimes within its territories. Such a state cannot be regarded as an independent state.

The restrictions imposed on the economic life of the nation were even more serious. For example, the Ottoman State was not free to build railways and factories in its own territories. Whenever such an attempt was made the foreign powers with interests in Turkey intervened and frustrated it.

Can a state unable to regulate its own affairs and meet the demands of its own citizens be called a free state? With these characteristics the Ottoman Empire was no other than a colony exploited by foreign powers.

The Ottoman people and the Turkish nation were being treated as slaves. This was the outcome of the Turkish nation's having been deprived of its freedom of thought and sovereignty and turned into the puppet of other countries.

So we can say that we did not then live as a free nation. The Ottoman history was in the nature of an epic in which the performers were the Sultans, Khans, and a handful of people. This was what our past had been.

The disastrous defeats our armies suffered in Galicia, Romania, Macedonia, the Caucasus and the Sinai Desert during the World War, which we entered because we did not have our sovereignty, and the great numbers of fine young men we lost in that war are fresh in our memory. And we all know what has been the ominous end of this war for our nation. The phase ushered in with the Armistice of Mondoros presents a spectacle of sheer devastation.

In complete defiance of human rights, the most fertile regions of our country have been trampled under the heels of the enemy. İzmir, Bursa, Eskişehir, Sakarya, Adana, Thrace, Istanbul and many other important regions of our country have been occupied by the Enemy. Terrible though these have been, what has even been more terrible, is the treacherous behaviour of the ruler of the State. As you know, he joined the enemy ranks.

Friends!

You all know that our internal enemies have not hesitated to commit more dreadful crimes than our external enemies have ever been capable of. When the country was under enemy occupation, the Ottoman ruler issued declarations to

mislead the nation, and raised an army to crush the National Resistance Movement, and thus divided the nation in its most critical period. In the end, as we all know, the Ottoman Empire collapsed completely.

Our enemies believed that with the extinction of the Ottoman Empire the Turkish nation had also ceased to exist. They were totally mistaken. The Turkish nation, which had founded many states, like the Ottoman State, could not have vanished so easily. On the contrary, under the blows of its external and internal enemies it awakened fully, raised its head, and in a spirit of unity and solidarity started to do what was necessary to save its life and honour. From that moment on, our nation entered a national period in its history. This marked the beginning of the Turkish people's participation in the government of their country. We all remember how and with what difficulties the nation's path had been obstructed in those days. But the nation did not sink into a state of pessimism; instead, it started marching towards its goal with determination.

In order to achieve its full liberation, our nation has realized the necessity of relying on two principles: 1) The National Pact **(Misak-ı Milli)**, *its meaning and spirit; 2) The unalterable rights provided us by our Constitution.*

The National Pact has removed, once for all, all the obstacles preventing the country's economic development and ensuring its sovereignty. The Constitution, on the other hand, is a law with which the Ottoman Empire was buried in the pages of history and the new Turkish State declared to the world.

The Constitution is a law which guarantees that sovereignty will remain unconditionally in the possession of the nation. It is a law which provides self-rule for the people, in order to ensure that unconditional sovereigntly remains in the hands of the nation. From now on, the sole representative of the Turkish nation is the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which exercises the legislative and executive power. With this law the Ottoman Government has been replaced by the new Turkish Government. The task of the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly is to reconstruct the country and make it prosperous, following the will of the nation, and relying on the principles of independence and full sovereignty. The whole world should know that Turkey will not relinquish her sovereignty to any individual or authority. Sovereignity means self-respect and honour, without which a nation cannot exist. The existence of our nation rests on these two principles. Our State is yet very young; it is about three and a half or four years old, at the most. But the achievements and victories von by our nation are so many that they cannot be measured in terms of years.

The internal revolts and the operations of the Army of the Caliphate have been suppressed. At a time when our nation was deprived of arms it demonstrated its ability to raise one of the largest and most powerful armies in the world. Even at the beginning of its formation, this Army fought

successfully at the First and Second Battles of İnönü and Sakarya and won a brilliant final victory against the enemy's invasion armies, stunning the whole world.

For full independence, national sovereignty should be reinforced by economic independence. Great goals, important and noble national objectives, cannot be accomplished by general written rules and desires. The only effective force to ensure all these is the country's economic power. No matter how brilliant military victories and diplomatic achievements may have been, if they are not reinforced by economic achievements, they cannot be expected to last long. We have, therefore, to crown our brilliant victories with economic victories.

It would not be correct to imagine that our new strong state is without any enemies. There will be many who will try to undermine its successes. Our most effective weapon against these will be a sound economy.

The history of this period of nationalism and self-government will be written not by the pen but by the plough. In my opinion, the rule of the people gains meaning by the concept of economy. We visualize a period of economic prosperity for our nation. In this connection let us remember an old saying: "Contentment is an endless treasure."

Much harm has been done by misinterpreting the philosophy embodied in this saying. Allah has created the good and beautiful things for the benefit of man. He gave man intelligence for the same purpose.

If a country consisted only of mountains and rocks, ruined villages and towns, it would be like a dungeon. That is what the past rulers of this country turned the country into. This country deserves to be turned into a paradise for our children and future generations, and this can be achieved through economic efforts. We have to enter a period of economy in which our people will take the necessary measures to ensure the civilized conditions of a civilized way of life. We would like to see our people go forward in agriculture, commerce and industry..... The new Turkey will be properous; it will be a land of hard-working people. Your Congress will mark the beginning of such a period in our history. Working peoples will have a very distinguished place in the economic history of our country. The Turkish Economic Congress will be recorded as an epoch-making event in the history of our country. You will find out the economic needs of the country, assess the productive capacity of our people, taking the best economic organizations as a model, and regulate the economic life of the country by taking the best decisions. As these decisions are applied, our country will gradually move towards economic prosperity.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly, and your Government, is naturally

in favour of all novelties and reforms for developing the country and meeting its requirements. Therefore, it will be glad to consider the decisions you will take in the interest of the nation.

Gentlemen! In considering the economic problems of our country, you must not be under the impression that we are opposed to foreign copital. No, our country is large end extensive. We need considerable amounts of effort and capital. We are always ready to give the necessary guarantee to foreign capital, provided freign investors conform to our laws. Let foreign capital be added to our investments with profitable results to both.

In the past, particularly following the Tanzimat *(Reform Movement), foreign investors were granted a number of excessive concessions. The Government of the time did nothing other than protecting the interests of foreign investors in Turkey. We cannot allow this any more. This country is not a colony.....I would like to draw your attention to what I have just pointed out, i.e., we are not a colony and a community of slaves. The suspension of the Lausanne Conference is related to this very problem. Our Armies have gained a major victory, and there is no obstacle to stop them. The Entente Powers have declared that they would discuss with us the conditions of peace before recognizing our rights. As our nation and its National Assembly were genuinely willing for peace, we stopped the movement of our victorious armies and sent our peace delegation to Lausanne. Talks dragged on in Lausanne, and our rights have not been accepted.*

Our opponents at the conference table are going through the accounts of not only the last three or four years, but of three or four hundred years, and completely ignore the fact that the Ottoman Empire was buried in the pages of history and that a new Turkish State has been founded by the Turkish people, who are determined to defend this state without sacrificing anything of its independence and sovereignty.

The Entente Powers are still hesitant, but the Turkish nation is firm in its decision. The period of indecision is long past for Turkey.

The latest peace terms presented to our delegation have naturally been disapproved by us, and our delegation is returning home for consulting with the Government, and if necessary with the Grand National Assembly. There will soon be a public announcement on this question.

Let the whole world know that this country will not revert from the path it has embarked on until its independence is fully ensured.

We do not demand anything excessive from anyone. What we demand are our natural rights, which are possessed by any civilized country. These are our national and legitimate rights, and they are essential for us. We have the necessary power and capacity for defending them.

You see that the factors which undermine our peace plans are essentially economic. If this State achieves its economic independence, it will be based on

such firm foundations that none will be able to destroy it. This is why our real enemies oppose our peace terms. This is a fact, because otherwise it is impossible to find a logical explanation for the rejection of Turkey's peace terms. We hope that, before long, they will realize the truth and stop preventing the conclusion of a peace treaty with Turkey, a treaty which the whole world has been awaiting eagerly for a long time. We have already started taking the necessary measures to meet the requirements of our nation. Naturally, once peace is established, the rate of development will be speeded up. But we must all know that we must work very hard in order to succeed in developing our country.

Economy is a very comprehensive subject. It covers every kind of human activity. Agriculture and commerce are essential parts of it. In fact everything necessary for the life of man falls within the sphere of economy. You all know very well where our country stands in regard to these matters. I will, therefore, say nothing in this respect. But I would like to point out to you the fact that there is a lack of proportion between the size of our country and its population. We need machinery to cultivate these vast lands and utilize our immense resources. We have to build a network of highways and railways. We cannot compete with the Western World using donkeys and oxcarts as means of transportation. We are an agricultural country, and therefore most of our people are farmers and shepherds. It is in these fields of economic activity that we can demonstrate our best achievements. It is in these fields that we can compete successfully with other countries. We have to develop our industry, too; otherwise we cannot free ourselves from the industrial hegemony of other countries. We have to develop our commerce in order to be able to market our agricultural and industrial products. Leaving our commerce in the hands of foreigners would be detrimental to our economic growth. But all these are not as easy as they look. In order to achieve these objectives, the entire country should concentrate its efforts and energy towards the realization af a programme suitable to the conditions of the country. Your distinguished body will, inshallah, find out what the priorities are in Turkey now.

Friends! All the principles and programmes of the new Turkish Government should be based on the country's economic needs because, as I have just pointed out everything depends on economy. We must educate our children in such fields as commerce, agriculture and industry, so that they contribute to our national economy creatively. The curricula in primary and secondary schools should be revised in order to answer these needs. If the Ministry of Education prepares its programmes to serve this end, the other ministries will follow its example, and the economic life of the country will, thus, begin to flourish. The entire nation should be educated and trained according to a suitable and balanced programme.

Our society is formed of various professional groups, which are interdependent. Among my listeners now there are members of many professions. There are farmers, artisans, merchants and workers. Which one

of these groups can be opposed to the others? Who can deny the fact that the farmer needs the services of craftsmen, and the craftsmen need the services of the farmer? Each is in need of the other.

Our workers should work in our factories, which I hope will grow from day to day. They must work happily and joyfully, and enjoy their life, so that they find strength to work more. Speaking of a programme, I would say that it should be in the form of a national labour pledge, uniting everybody as if in a party organization with a political character. I firmly believe that such a political organization, based on the will and desire of the nation, will be successful in a spirit of unity and solidarity, following the conclusion of a peace treaty,

Gentlemen! The Turkish Economic Congress, which has held its first meeting today, marks an important event in our history. In the same way that the Erzurum Congress set the path leading to the National Pact (Misak-ı Milli) *and laid the corner stone of our Constitution, thus becoming a memorable event, this Congress will also be remembered as an event leading to the making of laws to regulate the economic life of our country and contributing to the real salvation of our nation.*

I am very proud to have been asked to speak at the opening session of this historical Congress. I am very grateful to you for asking me to speak here. I extend my congratulations to you all. I declare the Congress opened."

The above speech by Mustafa Kemal has been given here in full, because it reveals some of the basic problems occupying the public opinion at the time. It also indicates what was being contemplated for the administration of the new Turkey.

The Election of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (1st April - 11th August 1923)

The Turkish Grand National Assembly met on 23rd April, 1920, with extraordinary powers, including legislative and executive authority until the liberation of the country. A Government was at last formed and the country liberated from enemy occupation. The Armistice of Mudanya was signed on behalf of the Turkish Government, and the Turkish Grand National Assembly had sent a delegation to the peace conference in Lausanne. The Ottoman rule had been abolished by law.

In 1923 Turkey was represented by the new Government founded by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara. The peace treaty to be concluded with the Entente Powers had to be ratified by a new assembly to be elected. After this decision had been made, the Assembly began to debate the amendments to be made in the election law. The election system at the time

was a two–stage system. First the electors elected their delegates, who elected the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Women did not have the right to vote.

During debates on the new election law, it was proposed that one member be elected to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for every 20,000 male citizens. Every, 18 year old male citizen was eligible to vote. According to the provisions of Article 5 of the election bill, for every 200 male citizens a voter's delegate would be elected. In 1935 this article was amended, and the number of citizens electing a voter's delegate was raised to 400, including women citizens.

On 3rd April 1923 when the Turkish Grand National Assembly held its 17th session in its 4th year, Tunalı Hilmi Bey, deputy for Bolu, proposed that the number of women also be considered in determining the number of electors eligible to elected a deputy. There were angry debates on tle proposal, which was finally rejected. The Turkish women was not only denied the right to vote, but also refused to be counted in a census for election purposes. But this mentality was to change and the Turkish woman would gain all her election rights after 1930.

Mustafa Kemal issued an election declaration on 8th April, 1923 as President of the Anatolian and Rumelian Protection of Rights Society. In the introductory part of this declaration he said:

"The Turkish Grand National Assembly has founded a people's State and Government on the principle of national sovereignty in order to save the country from the disaster of annihilation. Having completed most of the national tasks it pledged itself to undertake during the past three years, on 1st April, 1923, it decided unanimously to renew the elections. As we hope the next period will be one of peace, we shall try to complete our organization, develop our economy and make our people prosperous. A people's party will be created. The Anatolian and Rumelian Protection of Rights Group, which is now represented in the Assembly, will be turned into the Halk Partisi, i.e., the People's Party. This party will prepare a comprehensive plan on the basis of national sovereignty renovation, material and moral development, and submit it to the approval of its members.

"Our group has decided to run in the new elections on the following principles, which reflect the most urgent needs of the country, the views of many specialists and the conclusions reached at the İzmir Economic Congress, which was attended by representatives from all over the country:

1. *Sovereignty belongs to the nation unconditionally. The form of government will be based directly on the rule of the people by the people. The real and only representative of the nation is the Turkish Grand National Assembly.*

Nobody, no power and no authority other than the Turkish Grand National Assembly can control the destiny of the nation.

Therefore, the principle of national sovereignty must guide us in making our laws, in setting up our administrative organization, in planning our education and economic policies. Laws concerning the responsibilities of the cabinet members, laws to provide autonomy and economic problems of the provinces will be made as soon as possible.

2. The decision taken unanimously by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 1st October 1922 concerning the abolition of the sultanate and the embodiment of the inalienable and inseparable condition of sovereignty in the Grand National Assembly is an unalterable principle.

The Office of the Caliphate is guaranteed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly as a sacred Moslem institution.

3. The strict maintenance of law and order in the country will receive utmost attention. The needs and wishes of the nation will be taken into consideration in reaching this objective.

4. Measures will be taken for the prompt administration of justice by law courts. Furthermore, our laws will be thoroughly revised in the light of legal concepts and our national requirements.

5. a) The system of tithes will be improved and practices giving rise to complaints will be discontinued.

b) Measures will be taken to improve the country's tobacco production and sales.

c) The number of financial organizations extending credits to farmers, businessmen and industrialists will be increased, and the credit arrangements will be facilitated.

d) Agricultural machinery will be imported to meet the requirements of our farmers.

e) Every measure will be taken to encourage the production of goods utilizing raw materials available in our country. These products will be protected and their manufacturers will be rewarded.

f) Necessary measures will be taken urgently for the building of the railroads our country needs.

g) Primary education will be standardised, the needs of our schools met, the methods of education improved, and our teachers and professors will be helped to advance in their fields and to give better service to their community

i) Institutions of public health and social assistance will be improved in number and quality, and legislation introduced in order to provide health services to working people.

j) Laws will be introduced for the better utilization of our forests and mineral resources and for the improvement of our livestock.

6. Military service will be shortened. Those who are able to read and write, and learned how to read and write during their military service, will serve in the army less than the normal length of military service.

Members of armed forces will be provided better living conditions.

7. Improving the living conditions of reserve officers and enabling them to serve the country better are among our main objectives.

All the necessary measures will be taken to ensure the welfare of the members of armed forces and citizens who have been disabled in the war as well as those who have retired, are widowed or are orphaned.

8. As an efficient civil service system is essential in ensuring the welfare of the public, necessary measures will be taken to increase the number of government officials to an adequate level, and the government departments will be subjected to constant inspection and control. The appointment, dismisall, prerogatives, responsibilities, retirement, reward and payment of government officials will be regulated by special laws.

Every effort will be made to use the services of intellectuals and professional men in the service of the state.

9. In addition to measures to be taken by the state, laws will be introduced to protect and encourage private entrepreneurs and companies in the reconstruction of our country which has suffered so much damage during the war.

In respect to the conclusion of a peace treaty, we are ready to do all we can for the restoration of the peace, provided that our economic and administrative independence is firmly ensured. We cannot accept any peace treaty which does not guarantee these.

While the country was preparing for an election with this declaration, efforts were being made to resume negotiations for a peace treaty at Lausanne.

As seen in the last statement of the above declaration, the nation was being told that Turkey would accept peace only on the condition that she be granted full economic financial and administrative independence.

During the first phase of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, various political groups had been formed around certain ideas. Serious problems were always discussed in secret sessions of the Assembly.

Minutes of the open sessions of the Assembly were published, but those of the secret sessions were not published. There was a total of 190 secret sessions held during the period between 1920 and 1923.

Candidates were required to be citizens living within the present borders of Turkey or residing in their electoral districts. Persons moving to a new region would not be eligible for nomination for a period of five years after taking up residence in their constituency. This rule had been proposed directly by deputies opposed to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, whose nomination they hoped would thus be made impossible.

In a speech Mustafa Kemal Pasha delivered, he stated that his birthplace (Salonica) was then left outside the present boundaries of Turkey and that he had not resided continuously in any constituency for 5 years, as he was engaged in fighting for the salvation of his country on many different fronts. The proposal was rejected by the Grand National Assembly and disapproved by the general public, who reacted strongly by sending numerous telegrams to M. Kemal Pasha and the Assembly.

d. The Conclusion of the Lausanne Peace Treaty 24th July, 1923–The Montreux Agreement on the Straits, 1936– The Agreement on the Annexation of Antakya (Antioch) 1936-1939

The peace treaty was finally concluded on 24th July 1923 at the Lausanne Conference which had reconvened. The Lausanne Peace Treaty consisted of 143 articles and 17 appendices.

The cancellation of the extensive financial, judicial and economic privileges and concessions granted to European countries by the Ottoman Empire during the last part of its history had always been demanded persistently by the new Turkish State. There were, furthermore, privileges granted to foreign firms in return for the Ottoman Government's failure to pay its foreign debts. Among the issues to be resolved, there were the questions of the extensive powers of the Straits Commission and the status of the Ottoman territories relinquished during the First World War. These issues were to be negotiated again.

The borders of the new Turkish State were fixed as follows by the Lausanne Peace Treaty:

The Iranian - Turkish border was left as it had been determined by the Kars Agreement. The Iraqi - Turkish border was arranged with the provision that the

status of Mousul, which had been occupied by the British following the Armistice of Mondros would be decided within 9 months of the signing of the peace treaty. But this matter has never been resolved. The Syrian - Turkish border was as it was agreed upon in the Ankara Agreement signed in 1921, but it was made a subject of negotiations (1936 - 1939) on account of the rights recognized to the Turkish community in Antakya, which was ceded to Turkey in 1939.

The western border was fixed in accordance with the principles of the National Pact *(Misak-ı Milli)*, while Karaağaç and ist environs were left to Turkey in payment of Greek war reparations. The Aegean islands of Bozcaada and Imbroz were also ceded to Turkey.

The rest of the Aegean islands were considered to have been lost during the reign of the Ottoman Empire to Italy and Greece in 1913 and 1914,respectively, but Greece was not allowed to set up any military installations on the islands left to her in the Aegean (Article 13). The Dodecanese were ceded to Greece by the Peace Agreement signed in Paris in 1947 with the provision that they would retain their demilitarized status (Article 14). Agreements concerning such territories as Egypt, Sudan, Libya, and Cyprus, which were lost during the Ottoman rule, were accepted without any modification (Articles 14, 18, 21 and 22) because Turkey was not involved in any military operation overseas during her war of liberation. The main objective of the Turkish War of Liberation was to set up a free Turkish State within the national frontiers as described in the National Pact *(Misak-ı Milli)*

The problems to which we have referred in the preceding paragraph were those left to us from the Ottoman State. There were some other issues to be settled between the new Turkish State and the Entente Powers. These issues, which were directly related with Turkey's foreign debts, were important because the loans extended to the Ottoman Empire and their interest since 1854 had reached considerable levels. These debts had been divided among the countries which broke away from the Ottoman Empire after 1854. Turkey had to pay her share of these debts either in Turkish liras or francs in equal installments Foreign supervision of Turkey's payments was discontinued. In other words, Duyunu Umumiye (Foreign Debts Administration) was abolished. Capitulations, i.e., the trade concessions granted by the Ottoman State to European countries, were an important question solved in favour of Turkey after long and bitter bargaining. All judicial, financial and economic capitulations were abolished under the provisions of Article 28. Foreign companies were to be subject to Turkish laws following a short period of transition. Turkey rejected totally the responsibility of war reparations the Entente Powers demanded from her in return for their expenses

during their occupation of Turkey in the First World War. These were significant achievements of the new Turkish State. Turkey also rejected the demands of the foreign states to enjoy navigational privileges in Turkish ports. The right of salvage was granted only to Turkish citizens. The foreign companies which formerly enjoyed such privileges in Turkey were allowed two years to liquidate their business in Turkey.

The questions to be settled between Turkey and Greece at the Lausanne Peace Conference can be summed up as follows:

As already mentioned, the frontier question had been solved. Karaağaç had been ceded to Turkey in return for the Greek War reparations. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch was to be a Turkish citizen and reside in İstanbul. With the exception of the Greek population of Istanbul and the Turkish population of Western Thrace in Greece, the Greek peoples of Turkey were to be exchanged with the Turkish peoples living in Greece. A special commission was formed to carry out this exchange.

A solution had been agreed upon concerning the question of the Straits, the administration of which had formerly been put in charge of an international organization having its own flag and administrative authority according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres, which had been accepted by the Ottoman Government.

The following arrangements were made at the Lausanne Peace Conference concerning the question of the Straits: access from the Sea of Marmara, which belonged to Turkey, to İstanbul and the Black Sea, as well as to the Aegean was to be rearranged in keeping with Turkish sovereignty over these areas. The Sea of Marmara, lying between the Black Sea and the Aegean, possessed unique geographical features and certain navigational restrictions had to be imposed over this important waterway. A special treaty consisting of 20 articles was signed for the Straits. Provisions were included in this treaty regarding the passage of commercial and war ships during peacetime or wartime depending on whether Turkey was at war or neutral. It was agreed not to build any military fortifications for a stretch of 15-20 kms on both sides of the Straits (Article 4). An international commission formed by Turkey, France, Great Britain and Italy would supervise the implementation of this agreement. The Turkish representative would preside at the meetings of this commissions (Article 12), which would be financed jointly by the countries concerned. Furthermore, in the event of a foreign threat, these regions of Turkey would be defended by the signatories subject to the resolution of the League of Nations (Article 17). Although the Soviet Union participated in the meetings of this conference, she did not sign the treaty, as she believed the countries with territories along the Black Sea coast should be entitled to decide over matters relating to this sea.

Thus the question of the Straits was solved for the time being, but it was to be amended in favour of Turkey at the Montreux Conference held in 1936. Attended by Bulgaria, France, Great Britain, Greece, Japan, Romania, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Turkey, this conference accepted a new Treaty of the Straits consisting of 20 articles amending the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne concerning the status of the Turkish Straits.

The most important amendments in this treaty were the cancellation of the provisions concerning the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Straits, and the transfer of the powers of the International Commission to Turkey (Article 24). The rest of the amendments were related to the navigation of naval and commercial vessels through the Straits in peace and wartime.

This new agreement was an indication of the fact that Turkey's problems were being watched closely by a competent government which demonstrated diplomatic skill in solving the country's problems in a favourable manner.

Referring to the Treaty of Lausanne a foreign observer* writes as follows:

The Laussane Peace Treaty is one of the most important treaties signed at the end of the First World War. It turned back the wheel of history and cancelled in one stroke many concessions enjoyed by foreign states for many centuries. Every line of this treaty bears a characteristic of its own which marks it as a treaty signed with a victor, i.e, Turkey. Among the central powers Turkey was the only country to prove her strength at Lausanne and to dictate a brilliant peace treaty.

e. The Declaration of the Foundation of the Turkish Republic, 29th October, 1923. Ankara chosen as the capital of the new Turkish State.

Following the elections the second Turkish Grand National Assembly convened on 11th August 1923 and re-elected Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its president. Ali Fethi Okyar was elected as prime minister.

The Grand National Assembly also elected the members of the Cabinet.

The first problem to be dealt with by the new Assembly was the ratification of the Lausanne Peace Treaty (23rd August 1923).

---

* A.F. Frangulis, Dictionnaire diplomatique, p. 1212.

When the Lausanne Peace Treaty came into force, the forces of the Entente Powers occupying Turkey and their commander saluted the Turkish troops and the Turkish flag and departed from Turkey (13th November 1923). What had been predicted by Mustafa Kemal Pasha on 13th November 1918 had at last come true: *"As they came so they will leave"*.

Istanbul was now liberated, and it would develop as the most important city of the new state and link Europe with Asia.

In the meantime, the question of establishing a new capital received the attention of the new government. Various suggestions and proposals were put forward, but Ankara, where the first Turkish Grand National Assembly met and from where the war of Liberation was conducted, was found to be the most appropriate capital of the new state.

Ankara was one of the most ancient cities in Anatolia. Its ancient fortress, which bore the signs of every major period in history, had been the scene of numerous historical events. Ankara was also one of the most important centers of Ahilik (Trades-men's Brotherhood) in Anatolia. Its name was heard everywhere as the meeting place of the Council of Representatives and the First Grand National Assembly during the War of Liberation. Moreover, the people of Ankara had given outstanding material and moral support to the cause of the War of Liberation and had virtually been the seat of the new government. In fact, its central position in Anatolia provided it with a clear advantage over other cities as the capital of the new Turkish State. A bill proposed by Ismet Inönü, then foreign minister of the Turkish Government, was accepted, and Ankara became the capital of the new Turkish State on 13th October 1923.

The most important event of 1923 was the acceptance of the republican regime as the form of government in the new Turkish State. This was stated in the first article of the Turkish Constitution.

When studied in the light of historical documents, the transition from a constitutional monarchy to democracy in Turkey was obviously made possible through the Turkish Liberation Movement and the eventual creation of the new Turkish State.

The liberation of the country paved the way for the foundation of the republican system. Development would be the final stage in the history of the young republic.

The period of liberation in our history was a time of national reawakening,

when many new ideas swept through the country. The democratic system of government requires full participation and support by the people. Let us take a quick glance at the evolution of democracy in Turkey.

The Turkish nation has founded many states and created many cultural values and civilizations in different parts of the world. The Ottoman Empire, which lasted six hundred years, established its political, economic and cultural hegemony over vast territories extending from Vienna in Europe to the shores of north Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Iraq and Palestine in the south, and the plains of Russia in the north.

Going through a period of decline,the Ottoman Empire gradually lost many of its European territories, where new states flourished under various new regimes. When the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War, Iraq, Syria and Palestine were still parts of the Empire, but these territories were completely lost in 1918.

The last Turkish State, i.e., the Ottoman Empire, was dismembered so much that, according to the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, it was being completely erased from history.

Having being ruled under a monarchic and theocratic system for many centuries the Turkish nation had not been able to see the virtues of the democratic system of government. The narrow and heavily restricted palace circles were not suitable for the emergence of new ideas and movements in state administration. In time a number of intellectuals began to question the authority of the absolute monarchy and think of some new forms of government, But a republican regime was believed to be a remote possibility for Turkey.

When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk started his National Liberation Movement in Samsun in 1919, he stated in his first report (22nd May 1919) that his guideline was the principle of national sovereignty. He had full confidence in the sense of unity and solidarity of the Turkish people. During the night of 7/8th August 1919, when the Erzurum Congress held its final session, he is reported to have said to two of his friends that the form of the new Turkish Government would be that of a republic. But before this could be realized, some conditions had to be fulfilled. Following the conclusion of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the Government of the Grand National Assembly, which ruled the country until 1923 subject to the provisions of the time, was ripe for the official announcement of the form of government the new Turkish State was to have. This was no other than a Republican system.

This important matter was being debated among members of the Cabinet and the Grand National Assembly. At that time the members of the Cabinet were elected by the Grand National Assembly. This was the cause of a number of difficulties.

Mustafa Kemal as President of the National Assembly gave the following statement to a foreign news reporter:

"The first article of the new Turkish Constitution states that sovereignty belongs to the nation unconditionally. The legislative and executive powers will be embodied in the Grand National Assembly, which is the sole representative of the country. To put it briefly, the new Turkish State will have a republic as its form of government." Mustafa Kemal discussed this matter privately with his colleagues, some of whom were in full agreement with him, while some believed the time was not yet quite ripe for the declaration of a republic in Turkey.

The election of new cabinet ministers in the Grand National Assembly led to a government crisis in October. No agreement could be reached on the nomination of candidates for the Cabinet. While discussions over this issue went on in the National Assembly, Mustafa Kemal and his close associates made a new decision at Çankaya: The new Turkish State will be a republic.

This principle was accepted as the first article of the Turkish Constitution by the Grand National Assembly on 29th October 1923. Thus the new Turkish State would be a republic,and the nations of the world would recognize the new Turkey as a republican state.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, deputy for Ankara, was unanimously elected as the President of the Turkish Republic,while Ismet Inönü was appointed as Prime Minister (30th October 1923).

The government crisis had been overcome, and the country entered a phase of peaceful development. The republic of Turkey had at last become a reality, and everything was favourable for its development. The republican regime was welcomed enthusiastically by the people of Turkey. An atmosphere of mutual understanding prevailed between the leaders and the masses, an important condition of success in countries ruled by democratic forms of government.

While the establishment of democracy was an important turning point in our history, furthering the cause of democracy was a task to be shared by all ctizens.

f. The major events of the early phase of the Republic of Turkey (1923 - 1939)

We can sum up the history of the Turkish Republic during the period between its foundation and the beginning of the Second World War under three headings: 1) International developments 2) Foreign relations 3) Reforms.

An important development at this phase of the Turkish Republic was the abolition of the Caliphate on 3rd March 1024. Following the separation of the Caliphate from the Sultanate, the last Caliph fled abroad. Upon this, the Grand National Assembly appointed Abdülmecit Efendi, a member of the Ottoman Dynasty, as the new Caliph. The new Caliph was requested to announce publicly his contentment at being appointed as the Caliph, to condemn the conduct of Sultan Vahdettin, to declare that the regime underlined in the new Turkish Constitution was the best form of government for Turkey and the entire community of Islamic nations, and to praise the new Turkish Government for its achievements. In the written statement the Caliph would publish, he was instructed not to include any hint at any political authority that the Caliph might be granted. The Caliph would not comply with these requests of the Government. In fact, he acted in such a manner that he seemed as if he were in facour of the continuation of the old monarchy. The existence of such an institution likely to undermine the authority of the Government of the Republic of Turkey was regarded as undesirable. In fact, the Caliphate had proved to have been totally ineffective in obtaining any support for the Ottoman Empire from the Islamic countries living under the domination of other powerful imperialistic nations. The Caliph's call for a "Sacred War" had not produced any response from the Islamic nations. Instead, the Turkish armies were attacked treacherously by Moslem troops during the Frist World War. Throughout history, the Caliphate failed to exercise any authority over Moslem races. It was very sad to see an Army of the Caliphate attempting to frustrate Turkey's war efforts in the War of National Liberation. It was difficult to see why Abdülmecit Efendi, the new Caliph appointed by the Grand National Assembly, should try to revive the corrupt Ottoman regime.

Believing that the Caliphate might be a force superior to the Grand National Assembly, some reactionary groups in the country wished to use it in destroyung the newly flourishing republican regime and reviving the Ottoman monarchy.

At a meeting of the army commanders held by Mustafa Kemal in İzmir on 15th February, 1924, it was decided that the Caliphate be abolished. This decision was disclosed by Mustafa Kemal during his opening speech at the Grand National Assembly on 1st March 1924. Although the principles adopted at the party group on 2nd March led to heated debating in the Assembly on 3rd March, the Caliphate was abolished by Law No. 431.

Following the abolution of the Caliphate, further amendments were made in the Constitution (20th April 1924).

Series of Reform Acts were now being passed by the Grand National Assembly. Occasionally there were overt or hidden reactions against them, but the majority of the population welcomed them. The question as to whether army commanders could be elected as members of the Grand National Assembly while they were still in charge of their military responsibilities had to be solved. It was finally decided that they should resign from their military duties before they were eligible for election, so there were a number of resignations among well known army commanders.

There was an attempt to create a political party called Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party, 17th November, 1924). In a democratic system the creation of an opposition party was, of course, quite natural. The opposition party would exercise a form of control on the operation of the ruling party. There was no danger in the creation of an opposition party as long as it did not give way to reactionary trends in the country.

A change occurred at the prime ministry at about this time. Ismet Pasha (Inönü) resigned from the post of the prime minister for health reasons and was replaced by Fethi Okyar on 21st November 1924.

Another problem requiring solution was the question of Mousul, which had been occupied by the British following the signing of the Armistice of Mondros. The question was left by the Treaty of Lausanne to be settled by negotiations within 9 months of the conclusion of the said treaty. The British were unwilling to evacuate Mousul, and negotiations dragged on. It was about this time that a revolt broke out in southeastern Turkey under the leadership of Şeyh Sait. Upon this, Ismet Pasha was reappointed as prime minister (4th March 1925), and the revolt was suppressed. The Mousul dispute was transferred to the League of Nations, where the matter was settled in favour of Iraq. An agreement was signed with Great Britain (5th June 1926), and Mousul was left to Iraq, provided Turkey received % 10 of the oil produced in Iraq for a period of 25 years.

The government was engaged in carrying out numerous reform projects, and many new laws were being made for this purpose.

A summary of the history of the period between 1918 and 1927 was given by Mustafa Kemal in a speech he delivered during the Second General Congress of the People's Republican Party. The text of this speech was later published under the title of Büyük Nutuk (The Big Speech).

In this important speech, Mustafa Kemal accounts for his actions as the founder of the new Turkish State. In a democratic system of government,every individual should be ready to account for his acts. A nation owes her existence not only to the efforts of her leaders and statesmen but to the achievements of all her citizens.

Following the passage of the Family Name Act on 21st June 1934, every family chose a family name for itself. The Turkish Grand National Assembly gave Mustafa Kemal Pasha the family name of "Atatürk" with a special law passed on 17th December 1934.

Atatürk explained the principles of Turkey's foreign policy as follows on various occasions:

"The ideas of peace and good relations among nations are being pursued with sincerity in our foreign policy. I hope that the frank, friendly attitude of our state in the field of international relations will be understood better in time by nations of the world."

"Unless we show our strength as a nation we cannot expect other nations to respect our rights."

"We are nationalists, but we respect all nations willing to cooperate with us."

After the First World War an international organization was established with the purpose of arranging meetings to solve international disputes. This was the League of Nations, which Turkey joined as a member on 18th July 1932.

During the period between 1918 and 1939, Turkey concentrated her efforts on improving her international relations and seeking opportunities for settling disputes left unsolved at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne.

The question of the Straits was solved at the Montreux Conference in 1936. All the restrictions which had been imposed on the Straits at Lausanne were now lifted and the sovereign rights of Turkey fully endorsed. There would not

be any demilitarized zones along the Straits, and the International Straits Commission was dissolved.

The following developments were taking place on the international scene at this time: Italy was invading Ethiopia. Japan had withdrawn her membership from the League of Nations; Germany was diligently preparing for a new war. This uneasy condition of the world situation had made the Straits Agreement necessary. Keeping a close watch on international developments, the Turkish Government decided to invite the countries concerned to a conference to discuss problems relating to the Straits. Certain provisions of the treaty relating to the passage of naval and commercial vessels through the Straits were amended in favour of Turkey. As I was a student at the University of Geneva at the time the Straits Conference convened at Montreux, I was able to attend some of its sessions as a listener. I had returned to Turkey on the day the new agreement was signed (20th July 1936). When I remarked that Turkey had no other unsolved problems left, Atatürk reminded me that we had the problems of Antakya and Iskenderun to take care of. As a matter of fact Turkey brought this problem to the League of Nations on 26th September 1936, and Atatürk spent his last years in bringing this matter to a successful conclusion.

The Assembly of the State of Hatay decided in a session on 29th June 1939 to join Turkey, and Hatay thus became a province of Turkey wtih a special law passed on 7th July 1939.

The Balkan Pact concluded on 9th February 1934 is one of the most outstanding proofs of the policy of good neighbourly relations pursued by the Turkish Government. Atatürk was one of the statesmen who paved the way for the realization of this pact. In talks with Greek, Yugoslav and Romanian statesmen who visited Turkey, he assured them of the necessity of bringing about such a pact. A preliminary meeting of the representatives of the Balkan countries held in Turkey in October 1931 was an outcome of his efforts in this direction. The purpose of the Balkan Pact, which was in fact concluded in 1934 was to ensure the unity and solidarity of the Balkan States and to guarantee, the territorial integrity of their Balkan neighbours.

The Sad-Abad Pact, signed among Afghanistan, Iraq, İran and Turkey, established friendly relations with all her neighbours in the east and west. The principle of "Peace at home and peace abroad", which was declared by Atatürk on 21st April 1931, formed the basis of the foreign policy. The aim of this policy was to establish good relations under equal terms with neighbouring countries.

Atatürk explained Turkey's foreign policy as follows on 25th October 1931:

"To lead man to fight with his fellow men for the sake of gaining happiness is inhuman and extremely regrettable. The only means of ensuring happiness for man is to bring him into close contact with his fellow men, to make him love and help them. People will be happy when they try to satisfy their mutual physical and spiritual needs. The real welfare of mankind can be ensured with world peace and more men dedicating themselves to this noble ideal."

This was the principle of the foreign policy pursued by the Republic of Turkey, which, as can be seen clearly, did not bear any resemblance to the foreign policy pursued by the now–extinct Ottoman Empire. There is no longer an "Eastern Ouestion" in the field of international diplomacy. During the period between 1923–1939 the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic was based on equality and mutual trust.

The establishment and maintenance of internal peace was equally important. Atatürk said the following on this subject on 21st March 1923:

"If we seek real salvation, we must above all get rid of ignorance fast."

Following his death on 10th November 1938 as the president of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk was replaced by İsmet İnönü, who was elected president by the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Atatürk's last wishes from and the directives to the Republic of Turkey were the following:

At a time when the world is heading towards war, we have to be economically stronger. We have to add new plans to the existing industrial plan, and carry out the necessary social reforms to bring our society to the level of contemporary civilization. Our nationwide progress will add strength to our national unity and solidarity. The importance we attach to our relations with our neighbours and to our international agreements is a proof of the fact that we are determined to adhere to our principle of independence and that we shall defend our sovereignty at any cost

The Turkish nation and her state will live forever.

CHAPTER III

The Turkish Revolution and the Principles of Atatürk

The foundation of the Turkish Republic was the beginning of a series of unprecedented reforms in the social, cultural and economic life of the country. The Turkish nation could not have remained a static socitey after having won the War of Liberation and founded the Republic of Turkey out of the debris of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey had to renovate herself, go forward and assume a worthy place among the community of civilized nations.

The Turkish nation had bled white in many fronts during the First World War and in her War of Liberation. She had suffered untold casualties. Now that peace had been made, the nation had to dress her wounds and face her problems. Turkey had been left backward during the reign of the Ottoman Empire, which showed utter negligence towards economic problems. Atatürk described the condition of the country at the end of the War of Liberation as follows:

"A devastated country on the edge of a precipice, but also a new country, respected both at home and abroad; a new state, a new society and continuous reforms being carried out in order to bring about these remarkable developments, This is briefly what the Turkish Revolution has been." (9th May 1935)

The vast changes which characterized this period of our history are generally known as Turkish or Atatürk Reforms. These reforms were of a more radical nature than what the word "reform" generally connotes. The connotations of words vary according to events through which they were born. What characterizes an abstract term such as "reform" are the principles and the form of application of the changes being undertaken in the social life of the country.

It must above all be pointed out that human societies are bound to undergo

change in time. Often, reactionary forces try to arrest the process of change, and such periods are known as periods of stasis in the life of a country. Such periods are marked by a lowering of standards in almost every sphere, an inneficient operation of the state mechanism and a general decline of civilized values.

Atatürk wrote the following in his diary on 6th July 1918, during the First World War: *"If I have the power and the opportunity, I think I would carry out the reforms required by a sudden coup."* In his diaries of those days he revealed some of his ideas concerning the education and cultural development of the people of his country. For example, he believed the intellectuals should help the common people to rise to their own level. Atatürk was convinced that he would have to start reforming his country by first educating his people. In fact, this idea is still valid.

In his speeches and statements, Atatürk frequently referred to the radical changes he called "The Turkish Reforms" and tried to explain them. In a speech he delivered on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, he described the Turkish Reform Movement as "To overthrow the institutions which kept the Turkish nation backward during recent centuries and to create those institutions which would help the nation to go foward in such a way as civilization requires."

The concept of change implied by the above definition is more thorough and radical than that expressed by the old term "inkilâp", and it is believed that the new Turkish word "devrim" is better suited to describe what Atatürk understood from the vast changes his country was going through. The term "devrim" is preferable to "inkilâp" as it is more sudden, and implies pulling down old, outworn institutions and creating totally new ones to ensure the progress of the country. The introduction of modern technology and the scientific attitude of mind would bring about far reaching effects in the social, cultural and material life of the country. Any institution which obstructs the progress of a country should be removed and replaced by a new one better suited for its development and progress. The founders of the new Turkish state were fully aware of this, and they realized that the country was in need of radical changes. What was needed first was a change of mentality.

The Turkish Revolution was carried out for the purpose of overthrowing the outworn institutions obstructing the country's advancement, and introducing those institutions which would clear the way for her progress.

There was a period of ideological preparation before the revolutionary changes were actually made. When the public was sufficiently informed of the nature of the changes to be made, the necessary laws were passed through the Grand National Assembly.

These changes were reffered to as Kemalism, Atatürkçülük (Atatürkism), Atatürk İlkeleri (principles of Atatürk), Türk İnkilâbı (The Turkish) Transformation or the Turkish Change), and Türk Devrimi (the Turkish Revolution) in publications at home and abroad. These important changes in our social life should be studied and evaluated objectively. As a matter of fact, such studies have already been made both in Turkey and abroad.

First of all, the Turkish Liberation Movement should be studied in the light of available documents, because it was through that movement that the Treaty of Sèvres could not be put into force. This was the only treaty which could not be implemented after the First World War. The causes of this failure and that of the successful fulfilment of the objectives of the Turkish Liberation Movement should be worth investigating.

The brilliant achievements of the Turkish nation have set an example for many other nations, which accepted Turkey as a leader. The nature of this leadership should be known and recorded in history.

Secondly, the series of radical changes Turkey went through in order to reach the level of contemporary civilization should be studied separately.

For a variety of reasons, the Ottoman Empire lagged behind European countries during the last phase of its history and began to be considered as an uncivilized country. Some countries which were once part of the Ottoman Empire were encouraged to invade her last remnants. The truth of the matter was that the Turkish nation, which had founded numerous states in history and possessed a vast cultural heritage, could not possibly be an uncivilized nation; she had her own civilization and set of values. It was on this heritage and values that a new Turkey would be reconstructed and it was with this objective that the series of radical changes began to be carried out.

The nature and principles of the Turkish Revolution should be properly understood. Its scope was very comprehensive; it involved (1) The operations of the State (2) the economic life of the country and (3) the cultural life of the country. Each of these topics will be treated in some detail in the following pages of this chapter.

The place of national culture in the reconstruction of the country should not be overlooked. Traditions and customs of the country should be developed in harmony with the changes effected in other spheres of life.

It must, however, be pointed out that the Turkish Revolution was not the outcome of a political philosophy with hard and fast rules. It differed from other revolutions in that it was not a doctrinaire one like others. A doctrine requires that a belief, or a philosophical or religious idea be applied within an absolutely fixed framework. The Turkish Revolution had a flexible character and it allowed freedom of choice and experimentation.

The founders of the modern Turkish Republic were wise enough not to copy any of the doctrinaire revolutions which had emerged in the XIXth century. These revolutions were based on theories which could not be applied in countries where different conditions prevailed. Atatürk's political philosophy was not dogmatic, but practical and flexible; it was logical and objective.

I. Democratic State

The introduction of the democratic system of State in Turkey was a revolution in itself.

There are three basic requirements for a nation to have a state: 1) to possess a certain geographical territory by conquest and have its frontiers endorsed by international agreements 2) to have a national settlement within that territory 3) to have an independent state with its own laws.

A state is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of its citizens and maintaining order within its territories. The Turks have founded various states and empires during various periods of history.

Our subject here is concerned with the foundation of the Turkish Republic and the various phases of the evolution of the Turkish Constitution. Reference will be made to earlier periods for comparative purposes.

While democratic changes were taking place in state administration in many European countries during the Ottoman Empire the Ottoman Empire also felt the need of carrying out certain changes in her constitutional laws.

An edict called Senet–i İttfak (Bond of Alliance), issued by Sultan Mahmut II in 1808, accepted the restriction of the authrority of the monarchic government by the Anatolian and Rumelian Protection of Rights Society.

The Gülhane Hattı Hümayunu, an edict issued by Mustafa Reşit Pasha on 3rd November 1839, introduced a number of changes in the organization of the Ottoman State and in the rights of its citizens. The Edict of Gülhane, announced in the presence of the Sultan, ambassadors of foreign countries and the public in the Gülhane Park in Istanbul on 3rd November 1839 promised that citizens of the Empire would be treated equally without any religious discrimination, that they would enjoy the right of property ownership, that taxes would be collected according to law, and that the system of military service would be recognized.

The Sultan and members of the Government would take an oath to the fact that they would adhere to all the conditions set forth in the edict. There was a second edict called Islahat Fermanı (the edict of Reform) published on 18th February 1856.

All these were insufficient to meet the constitutional needs of a state because, although they granted equal rights to citizens, the Sultan, continued to exercise his absolute authority, and all the promises made could either be altered or completely cancelled by him at any time.

This phase, which is also known as the Period of Tanzimat (Period of Reform) could not bring about a complete change in the Ottoman system of government because the gradual deterioration of the economic conditions and the investment of foreign loans in unproductive fields had had a very negative effect on State administration. Upon the outbreak of a number of internal disturbances, some intellectuals began to demand changes in state administration, There were demands for a new Constitution as well as a constitutional system of government. These ideas had a deep impact on the people. The intellectuals making these demands were organized in such societies as the Genç Osmanlılar (Young Ottomans) and the Genç Türkler (Young Turks). These societies advocated the cause of the parliamentary system in Turkey and worked hard towards its realization.

A draft constitution prepared along the lines of the Belgian Constitution by Mithat Pasha in 1831 was reviewed by a commission on the succession of Abdülhamit II to the Ottoman throne, and proclaimed as the first Constitution in the Ottoman Empire on 23rd December, 1876. The provisions restricting the authority of the Sultan had been taken out of the original draft before the constitution was announced.

This Constitution confirmed the extensive powers of the Sultan, which had already been granted him by the First Constitution. Being the Caliph, the Sultan ran his temporal affairs through his Grand Vizier and his spiritual affairs through the Şeyhülislâm.

According to the First Ottoman Constitution, which consisted of 119 articles, the Ottoman State was a constitutional monarchy. The eldest son received the title of Head of State and Caliph (Article 3).

Completely unaccountable for his actions, the Sultan enjoyed extensive rights over the government, including the right of abolishing the Parliament provided that it be reelected (Article 7).

Articles 8-26 of this Constitution concerned the basic legal rights of the Ottoman citizens.

Ariticles 27-28 defined the duties and responsibilities of the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) and the ministers. Provisions concerning government officials were included in Articles 39-51. This Constitution also contained provisions concerning the General Assembly and the rules governing the oath taking of deputies and senators in the General Assembly (Articles 42–59). It was provided in this constitution that the senators would be elected for life by the Sultan. The duties of senators were also described (Articles 60-64). The general elections for the Parliament would be held every four years. One deputy would be elected for 50,000 people. The requirements candidates should have were described in the Constitution (Articles 65-80). The legislative power belonged to the Parliament. Articles 81-91 concerned the courts, while Articles 92-95 defined the duties of the Supreme Court; Articles 96–107 contained provisions concerning the budget and financial matters. Articles 108-112 contained provisions concerning provincial administrations. The rest of the articles defined the penalties to be given in the event of the violation of the constitution and described under what conditions Martial Law would be imposed (Articles 113-119).

Constitutional government under this constitution could last only one year, and the rule of monarchy in the Ottoman Empire continued until 1908. The Second Constitutional Movement aimed at reestablishing the Constitution of 1876. In 1909 certain articles of this Constitution were amended by the Senate, while in 1914 provisions were introduced giving the Sultan the rights to abolish the Parliament and to sign peace agreements.

The provisions of the Constitution of the period of Tanzimat defined the rules of election in State administration, the functions of the legislative organs of the State and the duties of the control mechanism. It accepted human rights and the freedom of the press. Nevertheless this constitution allowed the Sultan excessive prerogatives especially in abolishing the Parliament. Sultan Vahdettin exercised this authority and abolished the Parliament following the Armistice of Mondros on 12st December 1918.

Although history records two constitutional periods in Ottoman history (i.e. 1876 and 1908), in practice no radical changes could be brought about in the system of government.

When the Turkish Grand National Assembly met in Ankara on 23rd April 1920 the very first resolution it took was as follows: "The Turkish Grand National Assembly is formed of members of the Istanbul Parliament and the newly elected members."

In Law Number 3, which was passed on 2nd May 1920, there were the following provisions: The government shall consist of 11 ministers, each responsible for one or more of these specified areas regilious affairs, health and social assistance, economy, commerce, industry, agriculture, forestry and mineral resources, national education, justice, finance, public works, internal affairs, national defense, foreign affairs, chief of the general staff. The ministers will be elected by majority vote from among members of the Assembly. In the fulfilment of their duties the ministers shall consult with the commissions to be formed in the Assembly. The disputes which may arise among members of the government shall be settled by the Assembly.

Law Number 18, which was passed in April of the same year, contained provisions, concerning some matters of procedure related to quorum in meetings of the Assembly. This law of 8 articles stated that the Grand National Assembly shall continue its sessions until the Sultanate and Caliphate as well as the country and the nation have been liberated.

According to the election law, no new members shall be elected to the Assembly unless a vacancy occurs in a certain constituency.

If a member of the Assembly fails to attend the Assembly's meetings for a period of two months in a year without any excuse, he is considered to have resigned.

A person cannot be a government official and a member of the National Assembly at the same time. However, a person may be appointed to scuh positions as ambassador and army and corps commander at the same time by the National Assembly. The same law contained provisions concerning the salaries and travel expenses of members of the Assembly.

Law Number 47, passed during the same year (1920), amended the law concerning the election of the ministers as follows:

"Ministers are elected by absolute majority vote from among candidates to be nominated from among members of the Assembly."

The laws issued until a complete constitution is ready were about matters needing urgent solution.

A Constitution was in process of preparation. A preliminary Constitution consisting of 23 Articles was issued as Law Number 85 during the first month of 1921. A Constitution consisting of 105 Articles prepared in 1924 was published in 1945 together with appendices made in 1928 and 1937. However, this constitution had undergone some changes before its publication.

These were changes introduced in 1932, with Law Number 244 concerning the election of members of the government. According to this law the Prime Minister and Cabinet ministers should be elected by the Grand National Assembly separately, by secret and absolute majority vote. On the other hand, if the Prime Minister has been elected from among ministers, he may, subject to the approval of the Assembly, also assume the duties of his ministry.

In the event of a minister's leaving his duty temporarily, the Assembly selects a new minister in his place, but if the new minister leaves his post, one of the cabinet ministers may assume his duties temporarily.

Most of these laws and amendments were concerned with the election of cabinet members and their powers.

The two important resolutions of the Grand National Assembly (Laws Number 307-308) were related with the Constitution. It was stated in these laws that following the extinction of the Ottoman Empire on 30th October 1922, the government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly would replace the Ottoman Government that the sovereignty belonged to the nation and that the

Sultanate had been abolished. In the absence of an Ottoman Government, Istanbul and the outlying districts would be administered by the Grand National Assembly and the Caliph would be saved from the hands of the foreigners who had been keeping him as their captive.

In another resolution, the Turkish Grand National Assembly dissolved the authority of the Sultan and the Istanbul Government, both of which had collaborated with the enemy to frustrate the Turkish Liberation Movement. It was stated in the same resolution that according to the Turkish Constitution, sovereignty belonged to the nation and that powers of declaring war and making peace as well as legislative and executive powers were vested in the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Thus instead of the subjective rule of the Sultanate, a government protecting the national rights and interests was in charge of the administration of Turkey. As a matter of fact, the Istanbul Government had virtually ceased to exist since 16th March 1920.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly was considering the election of a qualified person as the Caliph. Such matters were settled in the Assembly before the declaration of the Republican regime in Turkey. For example, it was decided by the Assembly that its president also was president of the Cabinet and that the Cabinet was responsible to the Assembly.

The members of the Assembly were sworn in by repeating the following statement:

"I swear that I shall not serve any other cause than the welfare and prosperity of the country and that I shall be loyal to the principle of unconditional sovereignty of the nation."

Law Number 364, passed on 29th October 1923, made the following important amendment in the Constitution of 1921:

I. Sovereignty belongs to the nation unconditionally. The system of government is based on the principle of self-government by the people. The form of the government of the Turkish State is a republic.

This article defined the form of government in clear terms. The Constitution defined the official religion of the State as Islam and its language as Turkish.

The President of the Republic was elected from among members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly for a single term. He is eligible to be elected for a second term. As Head of State, the President may preside over the National Assembly as well as the Cabinet. The Prime Minister is elected by the President from among members of the National Assembly, while the ministers are elected from among the members of the Assembly, following the election of the Prime Minister, and they are submitted to the approval of the Assembly by the President. These amendments had been made in the Constitution at the time of the declaration of the Republic in Turkey. A President was elected at once and a cabinet formed according to the provisions of the Constitution. In the event of members of the Armed Forces wished to be candidates in the elections, they were required to have resigned or retired from their military duties 10 days prior to the elections. The retirement and seniority rights of those who served in the previous term as members of the Assembly while still retaining their military duties were reserved. No military personnel were allowed to take part in the debates of the Assembly. Thus the provisions of Law Number 19 concerning the matter of quorum were amended, and a member of the Assembly was no longer allowed to retain his former position.

On 3rd March 1924 Law No. 43 concerning the abolishing of the Caliphate and the confiscation of the Caliph's property was passed by the National Assembly.

After all these amendments had gone into force, the constitution was thoroughly revised and a new Constitution consisting of 105 articles came into being and was passed by the Assembly as Law No. 491 in April 1924. In 1928 a clause was added to Article 2 stating that the capital of Turkey was Ankara. The law making Ankara the capital of Turkey had already been passed by the Assembly on 12th October 1928. In 1937 a clause about the principles of Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Etatism, Laicism, and Revolutionarism was added to the Constitution. It was also stated in the Constitution that men and women enjoyed equal rights of franchise. The law concerning the Municipal elections was introduced in 1930. The law governing the rules of election was passed in 1934.

The 1924 Constitution had the following sections: I. Basic Provisions; II. The Legislative Power; III. The Executive Power; IV. The Power of Trial; V. The Rights of Citizenship; VI. Miscellaneous articles concerning civil servants, financial matters, and the principles on which the Constitution is based.

This Constitution has been revised twice from the point of view of wording. The style of the 1924 Constitution was characterized by the use of abundant Ottoman words and expressions. It was rewritten in what is called new Turkish in 1945, but it was returned to its old form in 1952.

After 1960 a completely new Constitution was drafted and submitted to a referendum on 19th July 1961. This Constitution remained in force, with some amendments, until 12th September 1980.

Now, let us read the 1921 Constitution as a historical document:

THE CONSTITUTION
(1921)

Law No. 85

Article 1. Sovereignty belongs to the nation unconditionally. The form of government is based on the principle of government by the people.

Article 2. Executive and legislative powers are vested in the Grand National Assembly, which is the only real representative of the Turkish Nation.

Article 3. The Turkish State is ruled by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and its government is called "The Government of the Grand National Assembly".

Article 4. The Grand National Assembly is formed of members elected by the Provinces.

Article 5. Elections for the National Assembly are held twice a year. The members are elected for a term of two years. Members are eligible for reelection. The old Assembly continues its work until the new Assembly is formed. When it is impossible to hold new elections, the Assembly's term of office may be extended for one year only. Each member of the Assembly is the representative not only of the people of the province who elected him, but of the whole nation.

Article 6. The Grand National Assembly holds its General Council at the beginning of November without any invitation.

Article 7. The power to enforce religious provisions, to introduce new laws, to make amendments in existing laws, to abrogate laws, to sign pacts and treaties and deal with matters concerning national defence are vested in the Grand National Assembly. In making laws and by-laws, the latest and most suitable legal interpretations are taken into consideration. The duties and responsibilities of the Cabinet are defined in a special law.

Article 8. The Grand National Assembly runs the government departments through ministers elected by a special law. The Assembly issues executive directives to the ministers, and replaces them when necessary.

Article 9. The chairman of the Assembly is elected for one term. In this capacity he can sign documents on behalf of the Assembly and accept or reject the decisions of the Cabinet. The Cabinet elects the Prime Minister from among its own members; the Chairman of the Grand National Assembly is also the Chairman of the Cabinet.

Administrative Organization

Article 10. Depending on the geographical and economic condition of its regions Turkey is divided into provinces, districts and sub-districts.

Provinces (İl)

Article 11. The province enjoys independence and autonomy in matters relating to its local affairs. Except for matters of internal and external policy, religious, judicial, military affairs, international relations, the general responsibilities and interests of the State, and matters relating to a group of provinces, such matters relating to the Religious Foundations, Religious Schools, National Education, Health, Economy, Agriculture, Public Works, and Social Assistance are subject to special laws to be introduced by the Assembly, within the executive authority of the provincial Councils.

Article 12. The provincial Council is made up of members elected by the people of the province for a term of two years. Its meetings last two months a year.

Article 13. The provincial Council elects a chairman with executive authority, and an Executive Committee, consisting of members each charged with the responsibility of various sections. The executive authority is vested in this permanent body.

Article 14. The Governor (Vali) is the representative of the Grand National Assembly in the province. The governor is appointed by the Grand National Assembly. He is charged with the duty of carrying out the State's general and joint functions. He uses his own judgement when the State's general functions conflict with the local functions of the province.

District (İlçe)

Article 15. The district is an administrative unit without autonomy. It is run by a district officer (Kaymakam), who is appointed by the Grand National Assembly. The District officer is responsible to the Governor.

Sub-District (Bucak)

Article 16. The sub-district enjoys limited autonomy within its own area.

Article 17. The sub-district has an executive Council, an Executive Committee and a director.

Article 18. The sub-district Executive Council is made up of members elected by the people of the sub-district.

Article 19. The Sub–District Executive Committee and the Sub–District Director are elected by the Sub–District Council.

Article 20. The Sub-District and the Executive Committee have authority to deal with legal, economic and financial matters subject to laws.

Article 21. A sub-district may be a town or may consist of one or more villages.

General Inspectorate

Article 22. Provinces may be grouped together depending on their social and economic relations under a general inspectorate.

Article 23. In provinces grouped under a general Inspector, the maintenance of law and order, the control and inspection of government offices, and coordination of the joint operations of provinces are among the duties of general inspectors. General Inspectors maintain regular control over the operations and decisions of the local administrations and the general functions of the State.

Temporary Article

This law is applicable as of the date of its publication. But, as the present Grand National Assembly shall, subject to the provisions of Law concerning quorum (5th September 1920), continue to hold its meetings until it has fulfilled its purpose, the fulfilment of the objectives described in Articles 4, 5 and 6 of this Constitution, if the decision of the Assembly is taken by a two-thirds majority, will take effect after the new elections.

Law Concerning the Formation of the Council of Ministers (8/7/1922)

Law No. 244

Article 1. The Council of Ministers (Cabinet) and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers are elected separately by secret vote and absolute majority by members of the Grand National Assembly from among its own members.

Article 2. In the event of the chairman of the Council of Ministers being elected from among the members of the Council of Ministers, he may retain his duties as minister subject to the approval of the Assembly.

Now let us look at some other problems of the newly founded Turkish State.

Mustafa Kemal described the condition of the country, which was torn and under enemy occupation, as follows in 1919: *"The foundations of the Ottoman State had collapsed, and the Empire was doomed. Under these conditions there was only one choice left for us: to create an independent new Turkish State based on unconditional sovereignty."*

The new Turkish State created would naturally have many institutions; chief among them are its armed forces, government organization and sovereignty of the people of Turkey, on a parliamentary system functioning along democratic lines and on the principle of laicism. The evolution of the concepts of freedom of the individual and public opinion paved the way for the idea of human rights. The first task of the state was to maintain peace and order in the country to ensure the necessary conditions in which citizens lead their lives in freedom without molesting one another. The State is also responsible for maintaining an army to defend the country. The need for a foreign policy capable of protecting the country's interest is, of course, obvious.

The Turkish Armed Forces were reorganized along modern lines and reequipped with up-to-date equipment following the successful termination of the War of Liberation. The Turkish Armed Forces were the mainstay of the new young Republic of Turkey, and the Government paid utmost attention to keep it in constant readiness. Matters of training and supplies received top priority. Every effort was made to keep the Turkish Armed Forces in combat readiness. The reason for this was explained by Atatürk as follows in 1927:

"Our army is the finest expression of Turkish strength, unity, energy and patriotism. It is the invincible guarantee of the systematic efforts we have been making for the protection of the Turkish homeland and the realization of the Turkish ideal."

While the Turkish Armed Forces were being reorganized and developed old military terms and titles of ranks were also changed. New terms and names have been created with the use of pure Turkish roots. Atatürk's suggestions have been followed in making those changes. The Ottoman word "zabit" meaning "officer" was replaced by the word "subay". Pure Turkish words have been found for all military ranks in the Armed Forces. The new words have now been totally assimilated in the Turkish language.

During the Republican era the Turkish Army, Navy, and the Air Force have taken worthy places within the new Turkish State.

The following message, written by Atatürk, was read to the Turkish Army by the Prime Minister in 1938:

"The heroic Turkish Army, whose victories, each of which is a herald of civilization, are as old as human history!

"I have no doubt at all that you will carry out your duties in this Republican era, when you are equipped with the latest weapons of war, with the same loyalty you have demonstrated during the most critical periods of our country.

"Today when we are realizing the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic in a state of welfare and prosperity, I extend to you my heartiest congratulations, and while doing so I feel I am expressing the sentiments of the Turkish people. My country and I have full confidence that you are fully competent to carry out your duty, which is to preserve the glory and honour of the Turkish Nation at home and abroad.

Strengthened with the latest war plants and most modern war equipment you are ready more than ever to carry out your duties in a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion. With this firm belief I greet the brave and experienced commanders, officers, and men of our Army, Navy and Air Force, and I express my gratitude to them on behalf of the Turkish Nation. Blessed be this 15th anniversary of the Turkish Republic!"

During the period between 1919-1920 Mustafa Kemal and his followers reacted towards the hostile and treacherous manoeuvers of the Ottoman Government in a series of actions which finally took the character of an all out revolution. An examination of documentary evidence has revealed that Mustafa Kemal's revolutionary philosophy was based on the concept of "national sovereignty". The societies founded by men and women determined to carry on a resistance against the enemies of the country were all inspired by the same ideal of sovereignty. All such societies were incorporated within the Anatolian and Rumelian Society for the Protection of Rights. The decisions reached at the Congress of these societies were carried out through the Representative Body. What had happened can be summed up briefly as follows: The Ottoman Sultan had abolished Constitutional Government by dissolving the Parliament on 21st December 1918. As a reaction to this, a national resistance movement started. Although it was at the outset a revolt, the Congresses expressed their determination to resist and to give full authority to a representative body which they elected themselves. As is known, 1919 is the year of Congresses. Mustafa Kemal's role here had been to move these congresses out of their regional character and give them a national identity and move them towards the ideals of Turkey's unity and independence under his leadership.

Although the last Ottoman Parliament had met on 12th January 1920 in consequence of pressures resulting from the popular resistance movement, the dissolution of the Ottoman parliament by the occupation forces of the Entente Powers led to the harsher implementation of the terms of the Mondros Armistice. Upon this Mustafa Kemal as chairman of the representative committee succeeded in holding an extraordinary meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara in response to the desires of the congresses. Thus, instead of the Ottoman State, which had now collapsed, a new state had been created. This new state produced a government with an entirely democratic nature. This development, from the legal point of view, approved of the reality of national sovereignty and the fact that a new state had been created. The administration of the country with laws made by the Assembly

forms the first stage in the history of the new Turkish State. As will be remembered, monarchy was abolished with a law passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 1st November 1922. Thus a system in which the head of the state came to power under the traditional rule of dynastic succession was abolished by law. In fact, the following conditions found their expression among the basic provisions of the 1921 Constitution:

1. Sovereignty belongs to the nation unconditionally, while government is based on the principle of rule of the people by the people.

2. The executive and legislative authorities are vested in the Grand National Assembly, which is the only real representative of the nation.

3. The Turkish State is ruled by the Grand National Assembly, and the government is konwn as the government of the Grand National Assembly.

The chairman of the assembly elected subject to the provisions of this Constitution is also the Head of the State. He is authorized to sign documents on behalf of the Assembly and accept or reject the decisions of the Council of Ministers. However, members of the government may elect one of their own members as chairman, too. Such a chairman was naturally equipped with extraordinary powers, but it must not be forgotten that this first constitution was prepared to meet the requirements of an extraordinary period. The members of the government, i.e., the Ministers were also elected separately by the Assembly. Upon a proposal by Atatürk a clause was added to the Constitution that *"the form of the Turkish State is a Republic"*. (29th October 1923) This was a genuine revolution. The series of amendments made in the Turkish Constitution during the period of 15 years under the presidency of Atatürk, present the character of a steady development of the democratic regime in Turkey. Consequently the modern Turkish republic came to be a state completely different from the old Ottoman State. From this point of view this radical change in the form of State is in the nature of a perfect revolution. Sovereignty was snatched from the hand of the monarch who inherited the throne from his father and transferred to men and women electors. Every individual can assume State responsibilities subject to laws in our system of government. Atatürk once said the following about state authority: "By nature man desires the best things in life, and the powerful defies the weak. Consequently it would be impossible to live in peace in a society where this is the usual way of life. Man should help his fellowmen, treat them with respect and justice. This is possible only through the existence of a state organization.

The state regulates everybody's rights and responsibilities. No one can exceed the limits of the rights defined by the state. Similarly, no person can be charged with excessive responsibilities."

The above paragraph ended with the statement, that *"in the event of the violation of these rights and responsibilities, both the society and the individual will be harmed, so the state should carry out its function of control and application."*

As will be seen from the above statement Atatürk was a man of order and authority.

In order that the nation might reach a civilized standard of life, it was absolutely necessary that the laws of the Turkish Revolution be protected; therefore, the State authorities and those in responsible positions were warned to be extremely watchful in carrying out their duties, and they were asked to deal with those violating the laws according to democratic rules.

The changes made in the Constitution of 1961 were necessitated by political exigencies. Numerous changes could be made in the Turkish Constitution but the basic principle of our state should not be changed; the principle of Republicanism should remain as the foundation of the Turkish State. As the rule of democracy is based on the sovereignty of the people, it is important that democratic procedures be assimilated and used. This depends on the people's being aware of democratic rights. This awareness is acquired by education.

During the first fifteen years of the Republican Era various political trends emerged and political parties were formed. But they could not function properly under the influence of some reactionary movements. When the Republican Independent Party (Cumhuriyetçi Serbest Parti) was created in 1930, M. Kemal Atatürk supported it in spite of the fact that he was the chairman of the People's Republican Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), because the existence of an opposition party in the National Assembly would be desirable, as it would exercise some control over the government's operations.

When Ali Fethi Okyar, Turkish ambassador to France and a close friend of Atatürk, was in Turkey on leace, he had some exchanges of ideas over

democratic procedures. Atatürk suggested to him that he set up a political party. In August 1930 the Republican Independent Party, with a liberal program, was created. This party, like the ruling People's Republican Party, accepted the principles of Republicanism, Nationalism and Laicism.

Atatürk spoke as follows on the occasion of the creation of this party: "The Republic of Turkey was at last founded after a series of historical developments. The same year, the People's Republican Party was founded as an extension of the society for the protection of rights (Müdafaai Hukuk Cemiyeti). A number of political organizations did not survive long because their principles clashed with Republicanism, so the People's Republican Party remained as the only political party in the country. The President and the Prime Minister were both from that party. Following the principles of the People's Republican Party, the Turkish governments of those days did much to reinforce the foundations of democracy in Turkey.

But there were a number of disadvantages in this system. The most serious criticism directed against the single – party system was that in that form of government there was no sufficient control of the government's operations. As both the President and the Prime Minister were from the ruling single party, the Assembly may, out of respect for them, reach its decisions without long debates. Members of the same party may not wish to hurt one another with their criticisms. Gradually the government and the President by whom it was formed may develop a habit of using their authority without any discussion or criticism. Acting without any criticism is easier than acting with the knowledge that one will face criticism on account of his actions. It is not easy to imagine what form this sort of government would take.

The creation of the independent Republican Party on democratic principles was a good measure to be taken against such disadvantages. The existence of two political parties was desirable, as they would control one another and at the same time inform the public about their ideas and intentions. A nation must not be swept away with the ideas and actions of a single statesman who is never challenged in any way. History is full of examples of this kind of statesmen."

It was believed that a multi party political system would be the best for Turkey, but the application of this system was delayed because of reactionary movements.

Our democracy was based on an order of law. Atatürk's ideas on this subject were as follows: *"The basis of our policy of justice is that with the passage of time, judgements also change"* (1922). A year after this statement, our laws were completely revised to meet the requirements of our nation and conform to the principles of modern law. In the revision of our laws the principle of national sovereignty would be kept in view. The laws needed by the modern Turkish Republic were gradually prepared and passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Government of the new Turkish State enforced them. These laws can be divided into two groups:

1. Laws of a revolutionary nature, which abolished the old institutions and replaced them with laws better suited to contemporary conditions.

2. Laws to regulate our daily lives.

Atatürk stated in 1925 that making good laws and applying them properly was the best way of leading a nation towards happiness and properity. So we see that the new Turkish State took the modern legal principles as a starting point and the National Assembly passed the law required urgently.

Although customs and traditions are the sources of laws, in preparing the laws of a modern society, scientific and technological developments should be taken into consideration. The public should be prapared by the state in this respect.

While the new concept of state was being assimilated and the revolutionary changes were being carried out in keeping with the laws, the state was being reorganized to meet the new conditions.

The financial system was also receiving the attention of the new Turkish Government. Turkey's financial resources had almost been drained dry through long and costly wars. The Ottoman State had left a heavy burden of foreign debts to new Turkey. These had been accepted by the new Turkish State at the Lausanne Conference. Care

was shown that the form of payment of these debts should not in any way clash with Turkey's sovereignty. The loans extended to the Ottoman Empire by foreign countries were not invested in industry and productive fields, but spent on luxury, such as the building of palaces. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman sources of revenue had been seized by foreign powers as early as 1881, and the Foreign Debts Administration (Düyunu Umumiye) was set up in order to settle Turkey's debts. The said administration collected the taxes of the Ottoman Empire in payment of its debts. Foreign countries were granted concessions to build railways in Turkey. If we add the other various concessions granted to foreign countries (all known as capitulations) we see clearly that the Ottoman State was far from being financially independent.

The capitulations were abolished by the Treaty of Lausanne, and the new Turkish State undertook to pay 67 % of the foreign debts of the Ottoman Government. The aim of the Turkish Republic was to improve the financial situation of the country without jeopardizing its independence in any way.

The revolutionary policy of the new Turkish State in this respect was an attempt to make "balanced budgets'. Atatürk said the following in this respect in 1937:

"A common feature of the budgets of the Republican Government is that they are not only balanced, but at the same time constructive and productive. These features should always be strengthened."

Financial independence would be realized by the payment of foreign debts, purchasing the business of foreign companies, utilizing the raw materials of the country by developing a national industry and increasing production. The Republican Administration appreciated the value of a sound Treasury and pursued a financial policy to this end during the period up to the Second World War. This had not been an easy task to achieve. But being aware of the importance of financial problems, the governments of the time dealt with the matter with utmost seriousness, used the resources of the country wisely and achieved balanced budgets.

Atatürk expressed the following views on this subject in 1937:

"We shall maintain the stability of our currency by following a sincere monetary policy based on a genuine balance of payments."

He further said the following on this problem:

"We shall take every necessary measure to strengthen the Turkish currency to maintain the country's financial prestige and we shall undertake our financial commitments promptly. We shall increase state revenue not by introducing new taxes, but by improving our methods of tax collection." (1937)

In his speeches he delivered every year on Ist November on the opening of the Turkish National Assembly, Atatürk always referred to financial subjects. He revealed the financial condition of the state during the year before, and indicated what should be done during the year to come.

He said the following on Turkey's economic problems during the 15th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey:

"The financial system of the country requires security and discipline. The strength of the Treasury is the mainstay of the economic life of an etatist and populist state administration." (1928)

We se that a democratic system based on national sovereignty was in the process of being established in Turkey, and the laws required for the modernization of the Armed Forces, civic administration, and the legal and financial systems were being introduced in succession. State administration was being replanned and reconstructed, and the revolutionary laws were being introduced for making this transformation possible.

It was necessary that the concept of Republicanism be reinforced by the principles of laicism, populism and nationalism. Laicism required that all laws and procedures in state administration be based on scientific and contemporary ideas so that they could serve the best interests of the country. Religious beliefs as fixed rules should not restrict the development of social life. Laicism is the separation of the religious affairs of the society from its temporal affairs. Although the Islamic faith has occupied a very important place in the spiritual and moral life of the Turkish nation and contributed much to human civilization, it should nevertheless not be allowed to interfere in the operations of the State.

The individual is free in his religious beliefs, and he can practice any religion he wishes. However, fixed religious rules should not hamper the social life of a nation, because changing conditions require new laws and institutions.

As the democratic system of government is based on the sovereignty of the people, populism as a concept acquires significance in our new political philosophy. Populism is the equality of the Turkish people before the law and the rejection of the superiority of a social class over other classes. In Turkey, there is a Turkish nation divided only in the sense of a division of labour. As a principle, individuals should be trained under contemporary methods, and they should benefit equally from public institutions in their social and professional lives. Atatürk wrote as follows on this subject in 1931:

"It is our view that the people of the Turkish Republic are not composed of different classes; their division is a division of labour in individual and social life."

During the Republican Era, our statesmen toured the country and talked to people from different walks of life. They encouraged the people to think over various problems of the country, trying to establish close collaboration between the public and the government. Atatürk made constant efforts to know the thoughts and wishes of the Turkish people. He often toured the country to talk with citizens and to answer their questions.

In 1937 The Financial Times asked me to write an article on Turkish Women. When I asked Atatürk his opinion on the subject, he advised me as follows:

"I see that you are visiting the villages of Ankara one by one, and writing your impressions. I advise you to write about Turkish women depending on your observations during your visits to the villages. It would be more interesting to read if you write your articles in this way."

I followed his advice and recorded my impressions of Turkish peasant women during my field trip.

As I have always tried to point out, Atatürk came to know the people of Turkey through his personal observations and contacts in his military life.

The concept of populism both as a theory and a practical principle was

introduced into the Turkish Constitution during the Republican Era on 5th February 1937. Populism can be defined as helping Turkish people to rise and to be civilized. Another definition may be "to rely on people under democratic conditions in an effort to reach any national goal."

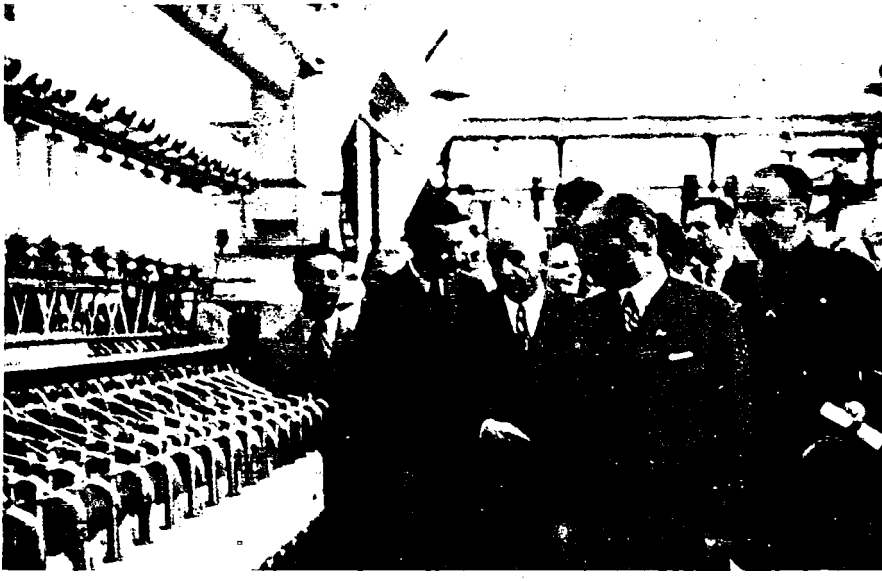
On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey Atatürk said: *"The Republican regime means government by democracy. We have founded democracy in Turkey. Now it is ten years old. While it is realizing its 10th year, we must be determined to do all that its success requires."* (1933)

The state is the expression of the life of a nation in a certain geographical area. History studies the organization of this state. Political order ensures the peace and order, which are necessary for man's life and work. The Republic of Turkey, based on democratic, laicist, populist and nationalist principles, has now completed 57 years. The development of the democratic regime is possible only by the increase and efficient functioning of institutions required by contemporary civilization. When Atatürk stated that Democracy depended on national sovereignty, he believed that the Turkish people must develop in every way so as to be able to safeguard this valuable possession and develop it further. Polulism froms the basis of democray on one hand, and requires the capacity necessary to nourish it on the other.

Laicism is non-interference in the indvidual's religious beliefs in social life and in state affairs. Religious worship takes place according to fixed rules, while democratic rules vary according to the conditions of the day.

2. State Controlled Economy

Economy brings about the tangible results of the material life of a nation settled in a certain geographical area at a certain period in history. Production, industry, roads and means of communication, consumer goods, crops, and menchandise can all be subjects of study just like a certain historical period or event. Economic life depends very much on natural resources, technical know-how and social conditions. Nature has taught man to consider the future, to be cautious and has given him a sense of time. The State aims at developing the agricultural and mineral resources of the country in order to ensure a good life for its people.



Atatürk opening a textile mill at Nazilli, 9th October, 1937

The financial and economic problems of a country are among the most important problems the State is expected to deal with. Economy is a very complex type of activity which determines the rise and fall of states. While the new Turkish State was being founded, the Government of the Turkish National Assembly attached serious attention to economic matters and sought urgent solutions for them.

Although conditions were not ideal for normal economic development in Turkey, at the time of the Lausanne Conference Turkey tried hard to gain economic independence and even threatened to go on fighting if her demands for economic independence would not be accepted. The meeting of the Izmir Economic Conference at a time when the Lausanne peace talks were suspended is, therefore, rather significant.

The documents of our Republican era show that, in spite of the fact that the country had to go through great difficulties and hardships, its economic problems received close attention. The economic principle of the Turkish Government was Etatism, i.e., state-controlled economy. Early in the history of the People's Republican Party, it was in its programme. Later, on 5th January 1937, it was included as a provision of Article 2 of the

Constitution. These principle has been put forward by Atatürk as a result of this personal investigations in the field of state economy.

He tried to understand the value of the country's soil products and then considered what would be the best way of utilizing them. He also considered the theoretical solutions of contemporary economic problems.

First, he had the country's economic problems studied by professional economists. He read books on economics and discussed economic problems with specialists. This was how he went about a serious state problem. For example, he read a great deal when he was working on the principle of Etatism. He also asked his associates to read books on important state problems. The concept of "Moderate Etatism" was thought of in 1930; this was debated for some time. This was what he had written when he was thinking about these questions:

"As in political and intellectual matters, the state's role as regulator should also be accepted. In this case we would be faced with a difficulty: to distinguish the fields of operations of the individual and the state.

What will be the boundaries of the State's field of operation and what will be the criteria for determining these boundaries? How are we going to avoid restricting the indvidual's freedom of enterprise? These are serious questions to which statesmen should give satisfactory answers. As a principle the state should not replace the individual, but do whatever is necessary for his development. The individual's operations should be the main source of his own economic prosperity."

The state should be very careful not to obstruct the individual's economic activities. We can then say that "where individual development is threatened, there should the state help." The state can undertake an economic activity which presents a permanent quality in space and time. For example, a business operation which requires a large and regular management impossible to be run by private entrepreneurs, or may be turned into a private monopoly, can be undertaken by the State. State economic enterprises may cover such fields as the mines, forests, canals, railroads, sea-lines, the nationalization of banks issuing currency, distrubution of water, gas and electricity. In this sense Etatism is social, moral and nationalistic."

If we consider the individual as a social being, "As in political and intellectual life, it will not be correct to leave economic activities entirely to the intiative of the indvidual. Important and large enterprises should be

undertaken by the State. The application of the principles of Etatism, without deviating from the democratic system, would be fitting under the conditions we are in now."

As will be seen from the above statements Turkey's economic system was neither liberalism nor socialism. As Atatürk explained, "Etatism was a system born out of Turkey's needs."

What would be the best way of putting Etatistic principles into operation? This question was discussed extensively and it was finally decided that there were basically two steps for the state to take at the preliminary stage of Turkey's economic development according to Etatistic principles.

1– The state should complete a nationwide system of infrastructure consisting of highways, dams, irrigation canals etcs., and establish large industrial centres with state funds.

2– Activities of the private sector should be planned by the State, and when they are in full operation they should be inspected. All types of cooperatives should be established. Althought the State recognizes the right of private ownership, it will take the necessary measures for the best utilization of the country's agricultural and industrial potentials, and issue new laws whenever they are necessary. Planning is important before the application of Etatism, while inspection and control mechanisms should operate once the State Economic Enterprise goes into full production. Production and profit rates should be constantly checked. State economic enterprises are useful as long as they operate in conformity with the conditions of market economy. As private enterpise will be operating alongside the State enterprises, according to the general economic plan, the operation of the latter will be regulated by taxes.

In modernizing our economic system and bringing it into close contact with the international business world we had to change some of our old-fashioned business customs and ways. Three of these changes are given below in chronological order.

1. Acceptance of the international calendar and time. 25th December 1925.

2. Acceptance of the international system of numbers. 24th my 1928.

3. Acceptance of the metric system of measures. 1st April 1931.

With the introduction of the above changes in our business life certain facility and uniformity were experienced both in the country and with the international business world.

According to the principle of Etatism there is not a decisive line separating the operations of the private and public sectors, but coordination and control of the state was considered to be desirable. The first fifteen years of our republic was a period of development and reconstruction.

The 1933 and 1936 Industrial plans provided the first application of the principles of Etatism during the period of transtiton. Many industrial projects were started during this period. After 1960, state industrial projects were further expanded. The chief aim of the various Turkish Governments has been the development of our national economy through public and private sectors. With the introduction of modern labour laws the lot of the Turkish worker has been considerably improved.

3. Intellectual and Social Life

A country living under a democratic system of government based on national sovereignty will naturally have, besides an economic life, a spiritual life with intellectual and cultural manifestations. In a free society the intellectual and cultural activities of man have an important place.

As we have seen, during the Republican Period our society has gone through many changes, each of which was in itself a revolution. The reform movements of the Ottoman Empire were partially carried out but they were not in the nature of radical changes.

Although our customs show regional variations they were basically Turkish and Islamic. These customs were far from meeting the requirements of contemporary life. Revolutionary laws were also needed for the transformation of such customs. The free personality of the individual will develop as the individual conforms to social conditions. It is only when the individual finds his own national identity that he will have a place for himself in the civilized world.

Woman's Rights

The recognition of woman's rights is one of the most significant developments in our social life during the last 50 years of the history of our republic.

The Turkish Woman has gone through two major periods in history:

1– Before the acceptance of Islam.

2– After the acceptance of Islam.



Atatürk among students of the Girls Lycée in Ankara

In the Turkish tribes living in different parts of the world woman enjoyed freedom and was held to be almost equal to man. But when the Turks accepted Islam and became a part of the Islamic society, they restricted the rights of woman in accordance with the principles of Sheriat (religious law).

The Turkish woman had lost her place in social and intellectual life under the influence of the customs of Byzantine aristocracy over the Ottoman court life. During the period of Tanzimat (Reform Movement) Turkish women living in cities demanded more education and knowledge, while our peasant women contributed much to the national economy through their work in the field of agriculture and handicrafts. While during the War of Liberation Turkish women joined her men in the defense of the country, they carried ammunition to the front on their bare backs. One could have seen these behind the lines in all fronts. Was this merely an act of sacrifice? Of course, not. The women of Anatolia carried out this duty out of the purity of their heart, in complete forgetfulness of whether they were doing a military duty or carrying out the requirement of the law. They merely felt an urge to run to defend their country. So important had been this sacrifice that it was symbolized by a statue of a Turkish woman carrying a shell on her shoulder, erected in the Ulus square in Ankara.

Turkish women founded societies such as the Anatolian Women's Society for the Defence of the Country with its centre at Sivas and developed a kind of intellectual front in the War of Liberation. Mustafa Kemal, head of the Committee of Representatives appreciated their work and urged them in their patriotic efforts.

There were, however, some forms of discrimination of women still lingering in our society; the liberation medal awarded to the father was, according to our law of inheritance, inherited by the eldest son (29th November 1920); when the Election Law was revised (April 1923) the number of women in a constituency was not taken into consideration. A Turkish proverb says "Rights are not given but taken". In the speeches Atatürk delivered during his tours of the country he praised the virtues of the Turkish woman, and expressed the belief that in modern society man and woman should be considered equal.



Turkish women learning the new alphabet

One of the most important subjects with which our women were concerned after the War of Liberation was the question of education. Turkish women wanted educational and vocational opportunities. In time they were given these opportunities by the new Turkish State and many of our women were trained in various professional fields which were formerly open only for men. Many laws were passed by the Grand National Assembly in order to make Turkish women equal with men in every way. These laws were, in a sense, revolutionary laws.

With the Turkish Civil Code going into offect on 4th October 1926 a profound change took place in social life in Turkey. The aims of this law, which is generally accepted as a genuine revolution, are interesting.

There were earlier attempts during the Ottoman Empire to change the laws of the country. Efforts made in this direction during the Tanzimat, Reform and Constitutional periods could not bring about any radical changes in our laws.

Such changes as the abolition of the Caliphate, the Unification of Education (3rd March 1924), the dissolution of religious courts (8th April 1924) were all made after the declaration of the republican regime in Turkey, but there was need for more laws based on laicist principles. Special commissions were created (19th May 1924) in order to prepare new bills according to certain rules.

Briefly the Ministry of Juctice expected the following from these commissions.

1– The laws should be compatible with the contemporary concept of state and civilization.

2– The needs of Turkey should be taken into consideration.

In changing the laws of the country the laws and rules of justice of civilized countries could be taken as models. Following the creation of commissions which started their work along the above principles, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, the Minister of justice set up a new commission on behalf of his Government. Composed of members of the Assembly representing the legal professions such as lawyers, judges, and professors of law, this commission drafted the Civil Code (Kanunu Medeni), which was mainly modelled after the Swiss Civil Code.

While new laws were being prepared for Turkey a School of Law was opened in Ankara by the Ministry of Justice. Speaking on the opening of this school, President Atatürk explained the necessity of modifying old rules of life by modern legal principles in democratic new Turkey. The draft Civil Code consisting of 937 articles was passed by the Council of Ministers on 20th December 1925 and submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

The draft law passed through the Justice Commission without any changes or criticism. In the National Assembly it was proposed that the draft be debated as a whole and not article by article. This proposal was accepted on 17th February 1926.

The draft accepted by the Grand National Assembly and published in the Official Gazette on 4th April 1926. The Civil Code came into force on 4th October 1926, as provided by Article 936.

After being in force for about half a century, the Turkish Civil Code provided a number of basic rights for women. The Civil Code is a set of rules determining direct and indirect relations pertaining to individuals or their belongings. The Civil Code has introduced a number of revolutionary changes relating to family life.

After Man's responsibility as the head of the family was described, woman's place in the family was described as an important function in making family unity possible.

The Civil Code did not discriminate the sexes, and regarded man and woman equal as far as the laws are concerned. With reference to matters of inheritance and property owhership she is no longer considered to be inferior to man. Briefly, she assumed her real identity. However, this principle of equality was modified by a number of restrictions for the married man in order to maintain the continuity of the family.

The most important principle of the Civil Law was monogamy, which allows a man to be married with only one woman. Girls should be 18 before they are eligible for marriage. Couples are married according to prescribed rules at municipal marriage offices in the presence of witnesses. A record of marriage is kept.

A number of provisions are included in the Civil Code for the purpose of protecting the family.

The husband represents the family union. The Wife takes her husband's family name after marriage. The husband decides where the family home will be. He cannot, however, force his vife to live with his own relatives, or in a house which is unhealthy or unsuitable for her fame or for the development of her profession. A wife, who has started a divorce case, can live in a separate house. In case of failure to reach an agreement, the father is obliged to take responsibility of the children.

The wife can have a profession and practice it subject to her husband's approval. There are some other conditions. In case of failure to reach a settlement, the wife may be allowed to practice her profession without her husband's permission provided she proves before court that this is to the benefit of the family unity. This may of course lead to serious conflict between husband and wife; the family life of a woman, who receives a court permission

to carry on her profession against her husband's disapproval, may not be expected to be a normal one. The Turkish Trade Law on the other hand, allows the wife (Article 17) to be engaged in trade subject to her husband's conset. because commercial activities imply a number of material and financal responsibilities and the husband, being held responsible from family economy by law, even though the wife may receive a court permission to work in a trade, it is not considered valid. But in the event of such disputes the wife can have certain claims subject to the general provisions of the Civil Code. In spite of all these restrictions the wife is entitled to buy and sell. Non-married women are naturally completely free to be engaged in any kind of commerical activity.

Contracts signed with third parties by a wife in favour and on behalf of her husband are subject to the approval of a judge. Unlike the Swiss Civil Code, which unites the properties of husband and wife, our Civil Code considers them separate. In other words, when a Turkish woman marries, as in the Islamic Law, she can dispose of her property as she wishes. The husband may have a claim over wife's property, or may represent her in disputes only if the couple have officially declared that they have combined their properties. All these restrictions are related to the repsonsibility of the married woman in maintaining family unity.

The laws of all civilized countries have, like Turkish laws, placed restrictions on married life. What is of great importance is the fact that the Turkish Civil Code recognized the equality of woman with man in family life.

With the Turkish Civil Code, Turkish women have gained their basic rights and reached a new milestone on the way of progress. With this law the legal status of family was defined as in civilized countries of the world and man and woman were treated as equal. Monogamy, and wife's rights in divorce cases were some of the important changes in family law. Although the old practices lingered in some remote areas for some time, the majority of the people of Turkey, welcomed the changes.

Naturally there is a direct relationship between this ready acceptance of family laws and the level of education of the community. Laws are made to ensure a civilized way of life in freedom based on human rights. With such laws the mother would have more control over her children and assume at the same time her true identity as wife and mother.

During the republican era Turkish women were also granted certain political

rights far ahead of those granted to women in other countries. Political rights and their application vary according to geographical regions and historical periods, because they are directly related to the form of government in a certain country. The most important characteristic of democracy is that in a country ruled by a democratic state, the state is the representative of all male and female citizens living within its boundaries. In a country ruled by democracy there are no privileged classes receiving special treatment. All people, all men and women, in a democratic country are equal.



Turkish women holding a meeting on the occasion of the passing of the law giving women the right to vote, 5th December, 1934

The Municipal Act of 3rd April 1930, the Village Act of 26th October 1933 and the members of the National Assembly Act of 5th December 1934 granted Turkish Women the right to vote. Thus, the women of Turkey possessed almost all the basic political rights. In itself, this was undoubtedly a major revolutionary change. In this way Turkish women would have a say in running their country. When these laws were proposed by Ismet Inönü at the suggestion of Atatürk, many members of the Assembly spoke in favour of them during debates in the Assembly. In order to see whether these laws would be suitable for Turkey or not, Atatürk discussed them with many colleagues, friends and citizens. He organized debates and brought together people of diverse opinions who expressed their views on these laws freely. There were some who believed that the women of Turkey were not yet ready for such rights. These debates were most interesting. In a school I had just begun to teach, a male student expressed his dissatisfaction at girls voting in the municipal elections. I took this opportunity and told my student, how other nations had solved this problem (1930). Some of the ideas I expressed in my talk can be summarized as follows:

"These rights should be given to the women of this country. Even though the women of some parts of our country may not be ready for them, in time they will also appreciate their walue. In fact, all men and women should be educated and trained together. Atatürk demanded that the Assembly make these laws, because he knew that time had come for them. Our women must be able to use these rights. They should also receive education and enter professions. Our democracy provided our women these possibilities and many women have already shown that they were worthy of them. Today there are professional women working in almost every field of activity. The women of Turkey are now proud to have been given these civilized rights, and they are doing their best to serve their country through their professional activity in various fields."

The United Nations Organization has also accepted the principle that men and women, are equal everywhere in the same way that small nations are equal with large nations. This is an ideal cherished by all nations. Has this ideal been universally realized so far? Of course not. The day it will be accomplished, it will no longer be an ideal. It will be a reality. Women make up half of the population of the world. The economic and cultural development of the women of the world will be a tremendous gain for world civilization. It is, therefore, necessary that women enjoy the same basic rights as men. Turkish women have gained these rights earlier than the women of many other countries. Those who make a special study of this problem will notice that Turkey has achieved this development ahead of many countries. Atatürk once said the following about the equality of men and women:

"If a society does not march towards the same goal with all its men and women it will be futile to wait for any progress towards civilization."

The women of Turkey have now two responsibilities: to use the rights which have been granted them by laws, and to teach others about these rights. Our society is a staunch advocate of the principle of "equal rights and equal responsibilities". By following this path our nation will before long take her worthy place among the community of civilized nations. Success in social life depends very much on individual sense of responsibilitiy.

Health, Social Assistance and the Sports.

A Ministry of Health and Social Assistance was organized in the first government of the Turkish National Assembly (3rd May 1920). This was

an evidence of the importance the new Turkish State attached to the health of its citizens. A democratic society required healthy citizens for its state could deal effectively. The problem of health recevied the attention of the government from the very beginning. Laws necessary for the solution of the nation's health problem were made and put into force without delay.

Sports are important for man and society in every age. In a way they are colesly related to the problem of health.

Various sports facilities were built and put into service during the republican era.

Taking all the measures for bringing up a healthy generation of young men and women has been accepted among the basic responsibilities of the state.

Dress

A history of dress is as old as mankind. A number of factors have determined the form of dresses worn by man. These are climate, geographical conditions, national traditions and the sense of taste. For various reasons man changed the form of his dress continuously. Often the impractical traditional costumes have been discarded in favor of more simple and practical wear. Turkish peoples have been changing their clothing throughout history.

The problem of dress became such an important issue during the republican era that it was even a subject of legislation.

During the Ottoman Empire, dresses varied from region to region, from community to community. People belonging to certain religious sects had to wear certain type of dress headwear and footwear, When the fez, a Tunisian headwear was accepted during the reign of Mahmud II, it became the symbol of the Moslem citizens of the Empire. During the last phase of the Ottoman Empire, it was generally believed by some intellectuals that the Turkish dress was the main cause of all kinds of backwardness in the Empire. There was some truth in this, because the Ottoman dress being the symbol of Islam was taken to be a sign of conservatism and opposition to any kind of change and

novelty. In time the problem of dress assumed a very sentimental character so much that any man who discarded the fez would automatically become an infidel. This mentality was an obstacle on the path of progress.

Women's dresses presented great variety in cities and rural areas. City women had to cover themselves completely. The thickness of the veil women wore were determined by special edicts. Women were often prohibited to appear wearing thin veils in crowded streets. Violators of strict police orders regarding feminine dress were severely punished. Moslem women were prohibited even to walk or to ride in a carriage in such quarters of Istanbul as Bayazıt, Şehzadebaşı and Aksaray. Moslem women were strictly prohibited to gather in groups in public places. When the police saw such a group warning had to be given to the eldest members of the group. Men were prohibited to speak or to make signs to women in the streets. Those violating those orders were punished severely.

The republican regime has granted Turkish people freedom in matters of dress. Turkish people would be able to wear the same dresses worn by men and women of the civilized countries. The Turkis would no longer be a race apart as far as their costumes were considered. Although Turksh women were not obliged to dress in any special way, the mentality forcing them to wear the çarşaf, a loose black gown and veil, was rendered ineffective. Today Turkish women dress like the women of civilized countries, i.e., they wear anything they like. A law made in 1925 made the fez illegal to be worn by male citizens of Turkey. Today it may look strange to determine the type of head-wear by law, but we must remember that fanaticism was very strong in Turkey during the early phase of the republican regime, and sometimes harsh measures had to be taken to break its resistance. The Ottoman dress was the symbol of the Ottoman mentality. The removal of the symbol was expected to lead to the eventual eradication of the mentality. Atatürk was very sensitive towards this problem, because he believed the Turkish people with their oriental clothes were the laughingstock of Europeans. He had formed this belief during his travels in foreign countries. On the occasion of the Hat Reform which he announced at Kastamonu Atatürk said: "The people of Turkey, who are really civilized, have also to show with their outward appearance that they are so." It is this attitude and mentality which marked a new phase in our social life.

Education and the Change of the Alphabet

Movements introducing changes affecting the education and culture of a

nation are of special significance in its history. Education is of vital importance for the welfare and unity of a country. It is through education that modern ideas are disseminated and citizens are taught and trained in various trades and professions.

The education system inherited by Turkey from the Ottoman Empire was far from being able to meet the requirements of contemporary civilization. During the reform periods, Turkish statesmen were aware of the necessity of introducing new systems of education and they had actually opened many new schools, but their reforms had limited results, as the old medresehs (schools where education was conducted along religious lines) existed side by side with the new schools. The uniformity of education was thus prevented.

The earliest medresehs in Islam were founded during the reign of Mahmut of Gazna (997–1030), a Turkish ruler. He founded a school and four medresehs in Gazna. These medresehs became important centres of Islamic education from the XIth century onwards. During the Seljuk period Alp Arslan (1063–1072) and Nizam-ül-mülk, vizier of Melik Shah, founded the Nizamiye, a medreseh organization, founded for the purpose of training the statesmen and scholars needed by Islamic peoples. What Nizam-ül-mülk did was to reorganize the existing medresehs into state educational institutions, where advanced teaching methods were applied and positive sciences included in the curricula. It must be pointed out in this connection that the Turks contributed significantly to medieval Islamic culture. The Nizamiye medreseh constitute only one example of this service. Gradually the medresehs lost their original character and instead of carrying their tradition of disseminating scientific knowledge they turned into scholastic institutions which shut their doors to free inquiry. During the Ottoman Empire these reactionary institutions continued their operation. There were, however, Ottoman schools called Enderun, which were attached to the court, and trained high ranking statesmen required by the Empire. As the territories of the Empire grew so did the number of peoples speaking different tongues within its boundaries. But the Ottoman State took no serious measures for the education of these peoples. The practice of building large complexes called Külliye alongside mosques continued. Basically a religious type of education was given in these institutions. Peoples belonging to other religious faiths in the empire had their own schools.

The medium of instruction in the medreseh was mainly Arabic . Although the problem of education received some attention during the reform movement known as Tanzimat, no radical changes could have been achieved. There were

basically two difficulties for which no positive solution could have been found. The first was the language problem. What would be the medium of instruction in the schools? The second was the problem of modernizing the curricula. Traditional medresehs were opposed to teaching the positive sciences within their walls.

The language problem created some difficulty even during the debates on the first Ottoman Constitution. What language would the representatives from different parts of the Empire talk in the Parliament? What would the language of the laws be? An article of the Constitution (Article 18) defined the official language of the Ottoman Empire as Turkish.

The Ottomans gradually began to feel the need of establishing new educational institutions. The intellectuals, who received their education abroad, and those who were trained in new schools in the country demanded that the State open more schools teaching along modern lines.

Ahmet Vefik Pasha, Chairman of the Ottoman Parliament declared: "No country can stand without learning, and no country without learning can achieve anything of value." During the last phase of Ottoman history there were some efforts directed at overcoming ingnorance, but these always fell short of achieving anything drastic. In spite of this, some new schools at various levels from elementary to higher education were opened. Education was conducted along modern lines in these schools. For example, the Medical School was opened in 1827 and the War School was opened in 1837. In both of these schools modern methods of education were applied.

Foreign powers had established schools through which they disseminated their own language and culture, under the various privileges and concessions granted to them by the Ottoman administraiton.

Thus, the Ottoman system of education was far from being nationalistic. In spite of its shortcomings and limitation, the new schools, opened in various parts of the Empire, were able to train many People, who occupied important positions in the Army and the State Administration.

When the first Turkish Government was founded (1920) during the War of Liberation, education was one of the first problems to receive attention. The renovation and modernization of Turkey's educational system was planned

to be carried out by considering our own social and cultural characteristics. The most urgent problem was to run the existing schools well.

It was also decided to translate the finest literary and sicentific works of the world into Turkish.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly did not neglect problems of education even in the most critical periods of the War of Liberation.

Before the Battle of Sakarya the Ministry of National Education organized an Education Congress (15th July 1921). In a speech Mustafa Kemal delivered at the Congress he laid bare the sad state of our educational system and suggested a number of solutions for the future. He added that as a result of centuries of neglect our education had reached a gangrenous condition requiring prompt attention. Although the liberation of the country was the most urgent problem facing the nation at the time, a carefully drawn education plan for the country should also be prepared without further delay. In his speech Atatürk particularly pointed out the necessity of formulating an education programme compatible with our history and national character. He praised teachers as persons who know this country and its people better than anyone else. He said: *"It is a historically proven fact that nations waking up in the presence of danger show remarkable degree of endurance... our nation has to fight not only with arms but with brains as well. I am sure that we shall be victorious in both kinds of struggle."*

The importance of this congress lies in the fact that it was held during the most critical phase of the war of Liberation. This alone is sufficient to prove the importance the new Turkish State attached to the problem of national education. After the victory the Turkish Governments were naturally able to make more energetic efforts to improve Turkey's much neglected educational system.

In his inaugural speech at the Grand National Assembly in 1922 Atatürk said:

"Man and human societies possess spiritual powers in addition to their material powers. The former shall develop by education.... For the successful solution of our educational problems we have to pursue a programme suitable to the conditions of the environment and capable of meeting the requirements of the times in which we are living. The primary aim of our national education policiy is to drive out ignorance... Our most urgent task should be to teach

Turkish people how to read and write; to give them some knowledge of geography and history, so that they know where they live and where they come from, to enable them to see what is right and what is wrong, and to teach them the rudiments of mathematics. Men and women of Turkey would receive the same kind of education."

After the War of Liberation Atatürk said the following to teachers in Bursa: "The victories won by our armies have prepared the ground where real victories will be won in the field of education."

Numerous plans have been made to improve the educational system in Turkey during the republican era, but they could be carried out only as far as funds were available. The plans were prepared by a special commission called the First Commission of Experts formed by the Ministry of Education in 1923. The most important revolutionary change in the field of education was the Law no. 430 for the Uniformity of Education, which came into force on 3rd March 1924. With this Law all institutions of teaching and learning in Turkey would be run by the Ministry of Education. The educational plans of all kinds of schools in Turkey would be prepared by the same ministry.



Atatürk inspecting a school

Earlier, when Atatürk started preparing the public opinion by his statements in this direction he already hinted in his nine principles, which were published on the occasion of the elections for the Assembly (principle 5 and Article 8) that education in Turkey would be made uniform. This was a revolutionary act, because it would put an end to having two types of education at the same time in Turkey: the relgious and secular types of education. The teaching of the positive sciences would be included in the school curricula and Turkish children would be instructed in accordance with the latest pedagogical methods. The second (1924) and third (1926) Commissions of Experts prepared programmes for trade and technical schools of all levels. In order to deal with the problem of illiteracy primary education was made compulsory and free.



Atatürk sitting in class with students and hearing a lecture in Istanbul University

One of the problems which received special attention was the creation of sufficient numbers of schools giving instruction beyond the elementary school in every part of the country. These were secondary, vocational and technical schools. In the meantime other ministries opened schools to train the specialized personnel in their own fields.

The School of Medicine founded in 1827 was turned into a kind of University consisting of a number of faculties in 1863. The War Academy and the School of Engineering were founded within the War School.

During the republican era these institutions were modernized. Law No. 2252 passed on 31st May 1933 turned the old Istanbul University (Darülfünun) into a modern university. Dr. Reşit Galip, the Minister of Education of the time, used the authority granted him by the said Law and laid the foundation of the new Istanbul University, with the Faculties of Medicine, Law, Arts and Science, on 1st August 1933. In Ankara there was a School of Law (1925) which was turned into a faculty in 1940. The first faculty to be established in Ankara was the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (Faculty of Letters) (9th January (1936). .

In a speech Atatürk delivered in the National Assembly on 1st November 1937 he said:

"Friends, our great caus is to reach a high level of civilization and prosperity. This is the ideal of the illustrious Turkish nation which has changed not only its institutions but its ideas as well. In order to achieve this ideal we have to carry thoughts and actions together. Success in this cause is possible only through planned and rational work. We should not leave a single citizen who could not read and write; we should train the technical personnel required in the reconstruction of the country; we should train the people who understand the problems of the country, and pass their knowledge from generation to generation; we should create the institutions we need in solving the vital problems of the country without any delay. These are the responsibilities of the Ministry of Culture.

Keeping the ideas and principles I have pointed out fresh in the mind of the Turkish youth and in the consciousness of the Turkish nation is the main responsibility of our universities and institutions of higher education.

In the meantime we have planned three cultural divisions of the country: the western region which will be served by the Istanbul University; the central region where the Ankara University will be established as soon as possible; and the eastern Turkey where we plan to build a large university and cultural centre in the beautiful surroundings of Lake Wan. The Republican Government will be very happy to see the completion of this project which will play an important role in spreading knowledge and culture in our eastern provinces.

These projects will no doubt help to increase the number of instructors and teachers.... The efforts of the Ministry in this direction last year have produced very encouraging results."

There was a rapid increase in the number of universities and institutions of higher education after 1938.

On the other hand higher technical schools, conservatoires and academies were opened in various parts of the country.

Today Turkey has academies and universities giving instruction in every branch of learning to meet the increasing demand of the country for higher education.

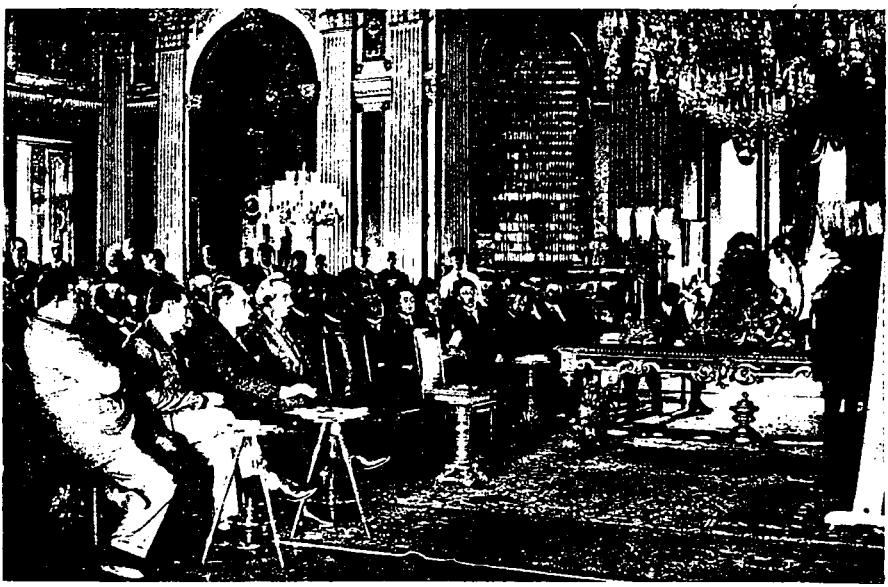
The Change of The Alphabet

The most significant revolution in the field of education during our republican era was what was called "the Alphabet Revolution."

The history of the alphabet is very old in our country. As far as can be told from archeological evidence various types of alphabets were used in Anatolia as far back as 4000 B.C. Cuneiform and Hierogliphic inscriptions are frequently discovered in excavations conducted in many parts of our country. They completed their time and were eventually completely forgotten. These alphabets were simplified by the Phonecians, who passed them on to the Greeks and Romans. The Latin Alphabet which is the final form reached through a series of centuries old evolution is now being used by many civilized nations of the world. One advantage of this alphabet is that it has a sign for all vocal sounds and consequently it is easy to write and read.

Ancient Turks had their own inscriptions which are to be seen in the Orkhon monuments in Central Asia. After Turks accepted the Islamic religion they abandoned their own systems of writing and accepted the Arabic Alphabet during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The scarcity of letters corresponding to vowel sounds and the fact that Arabic letters were read differently depending on their position in the word have presented considerable difficulty in teaching how to read and write. Consequently illiteracy was very high in the Ottoman Empire. During the Ottoman Reform Period Ottoman intellectuals made some attempts

to simplify the Arabic alphabet and tried writing the letters separately, but these efforts did not come to any positive conclusion. The acceptance of the Latin Alphabet was considered during the period of Second Constitution and a bill was submitted to the Ottoman Parliament for the improvement of the Arabic script as used in the Ottoman Empire by Dr. Davut Bey of Mousul. Dr. Davut Bey explained that teaching the Arabic Alphabet to Turkish children was extremely difficult, as the learner had to learn various forms of the same letter depending whether it occurred in the beginning, centre or end of the word. He showed these difficulties by various examples. Dr. Davut Bey proposed that the Latin Alphabet be accepted (1910). There were a number of other attempts in this direction but none of them produced any result.



Atatürk attending a seminar on the new Turkish Alphabet at the Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, 1928

Mustafa Kemal thought about the Alphabet question during his school period and thereafter. While studying foreign languages he compared the Latin Alphabet with the Arabic Alphabet. In his diary on 8th August, 1919, which was the day the Erzurum Congress was concluded, we read the following note: "Latin Alphabet will be accepted." Nine years later on 3rd November 1928 the Turkish Grand National Assembly passed Law No: 1353 abolishing the Arabic Alphabet and replacing it with the Latin Alphabet. A proposal had been submitted for the

adoption of the Latin Alphabet, during the Economic Congress held in Izmır, but it was then considered that this matter be solved by the Ministry of Education. Atatürk was thinking about this problem and he referred to it from time to time in his taiks with his associates and in his public speeches. I think the following incident will be interesting from the point of view of the history of the change of alphabet in Turkey. While Atatürk was having some alterations in his summer house at Çankaya, he wished to turn one of the upper storey rooms into a library, and he ordered a number of books for this purpose. Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, a well-known poet had brought a number of books from Istanbul. Atatürk told him one day: *"These books are all right; but it is very difficult to teach this alphabet to the masses. We must, therefore, think of a new system of writing; in fact we must accept the Latin Alphabet."*

During this conversation which took place in Atatürk's private library, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı expressed his objections saying that it would be impossible to change our Alphabet, as the body of our literature, forming the basis of our cultural heritage, was all printed in the old script i. e., the Arabic Alphabet. Atatürk broke off the discussion abruptly saying that he had asked the poet merely his opinion regarding the change of alphabet. When finally the Latin Alphabet was accepted in Turkey in 1928, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, who was then ambassador in Madrid thought that Atatürk might be offended with his former opposition to the idea of changing the alphabet, and left his embassy and moved to Paris. When Atatürk heard of this, he is reported to have said: *"Everybody is entitled to his opinion. He was against this change then, but I vould discuss the matter with him again."* When the poet returned to Ankara, he was received by Atatürk in a friendly way. When the matter of the alphabet change was raised during the meeting, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı did not repeat his objections.

As usual, when Atatürk wished to make a change, he first aroused the interest of his close associates, and discussed the matter with them freely. Preliminary work on a new system of script for Turkey began in the Ministry of Education in 1927, and continued in Istanbul in 1928. Atatürk personally supervised the work of the committee of experts in Istanbul. Atatürk opposed to having two letters as in French for the sounds of C, Ç and W, and believed the letter Q was unnecessary as the letter K in combination with a vocal sound could serve the purpose. The letter X was considered to be unnecessary for Turkish. Discussions on the letters of the new Turkish Alphabet in

the Alphabet Commission continued throughout the summer of 1928. One day Atatürk took a sea cruise in the Marmara and called at Çanakkale, where he tried to teach the new letters to those who had come to the pier to welcome him. He was satisfied with the test, because the porter working on the pier had grasped the new alphabet without any difficulty, and demonstrated in the presence of the public that he was able to read and write in the new alphabet without any difficulty. On another occasion, 1928, Atatürk's mind was again occupied with the Alphabet problem, and he was observed to have scribbled something on a piece of paper. This was a note written in the new Turkish Alphabet to be given to Falih Rıfkı Atay, a close friend of Atatürk and a well-known journalist. When the concert was over, Atatürk handed the note to Falih Rıfkı Atay and asked him to read it aloud. This was how the new Turkish Alphabet was revealed to the public.

This is what Atatürk had written on that piece of paper:

"Friends! We are accepting a new system of writing which will suit our beautiful language better. The rich sonority of our language will be expressed more effectively with this Alphabet. We have to get rid of the unintelligible and meaningless signs which have imprisoned our heads in an iron cage for many centuries. You will see that we shall learn this new Alphabet perfectly in a short time. I have full confidence in this.

My fellow citizens! Learn the new letters of the Turkish Alphabet as soon as possible and teach them to peasants, shepherds, porters, boatmen, and everybody. Do this as a patriotic duty. While you are doing so, remember that 80 percent of the people of this country are illiterate. This is disgraceful.

We ought to be ashamed of this. But this nation has not been created to be ashamed of itself. This is a dignified nation, with a glorious past, a nation with a glorious past, a nation with a sense of pride. If 80 percent of the people of this country are illiterate the fault is not in us. The fault is to be found in those who failed to estimate the character of this nation and chained our minds. This is the time to correct the mistakes of the past. And the mistakes will be corrected."

While the Alphabet Commission continued its work, one night Yunus Nadi Abalı suggested that the Latin Alphabet should be accepted, but that for a while newspapers should print using both the new and the old alphabets, in order to allow people time to learn the new script. Whereas in schools beginners can start learning the new alphabet right away, while others can

go on with the old alphabet. Conducting such debates in his usual quiet manner, Atatürk became angry all of a sudden and shouted: *"No, this can't be. It will either be accepted as a whole, or it will never work. No one will read your newspaper column in the new alphabet. People will prefer to read the column printed in the alphabet they are familiar with. In this way the old will go on just as before; the instruction in sefarate classes in schools is not a solution either. This will create total confusion."*

When the new alphabet was given its final form by the Committee of Alphabet meeting at the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul, Atatürk started a tour of the country and travelled as far as Sivas. Wherever he went he had a blackboard brought to a square, and started teaching the new letters to large crowds gathered around him. This was Atatürk's concept of revolution: explain and let people accept. He prepared the public opinion first, and then paved the way for the necessary legislation.

On 1st November 1928 in his opening speech at the National Assembly, Atatürk announced the acceptance of the new Turkish Alphabet.

"I would like to refer to a very important subject, which is so to say the foundation stone of everything. Before everything else we should give the Turkish nation a key with which it can read and write. This key will turn its hopes into a reality. The great Turkish nation can be saved from ignorance only with a system of writing which suits its beautiful language. A simple test has shown clearly how even old peasants and city dwellers could read and write the new Turkish letters derived from the Latin Alphabet. The acceptance of the new Turkish Alphabet by the Grand National Assembly is a new milestone for Turkey on the path of progress. The Third Grand National Assembly, which has passed the law giving the nation this alphabet has fulfilled a task which will be remembered as an outstanding event not only in the history of Turkey, but also in the history of the world.

Now that we have a new alphabet, all patriotic citizens are expected to perform a very important duty: to teach the Turkish nation to read and write in the new alphabet. We must all be willing to reach men and women citizens who are enthusiastic about learning the new alphabet, With the solution of this centruies old porblem, a bright new era will davn for Turkey. We are excited, because we shall win a new victory, this time against ignorance. Our hearts are filled with a kind of joy only teachers may feel.

Dear friends! With your historic decision the great Turkish nation will enter a bright period in her history."

The new Alphabet Law came into force on 3rd November 1928.

Following the acceptance of the new alphabet. Law there was, so to say a nationwide mobilization of learning to read and write. Everybody started teaching everybody else how to read and write. Reading and writing courses were organized everywhere in the country and people of all ages attended them in order to learn how to read and write. The excitement of the Alphabet Revolution swept through the nation and Atatürk was called the Great Teacher.



Atatürk teaching the public the new Turkish Alphabet in Sivas, 1928

Replacing the old alphabet with a new one had not been an easy task. The printing houses had to reorganize themselves in order to be able to print in the new alphabet. The schools and government departments had to adjust themselves to the new system of writing as soon as possible. The new alphabet was not very difficult to learn, but for the majority of the population it was not an altogether easy problem.

Compared to the others, the Alphabet Revolution was the most significant of the Turkish Revolutions.

The acceptance of a new alphabet gave Turkish education a new impetus and the rate of literacy, which was as low as 10 percent, began to rise. With the building of new schools, training great numbers of teachers and making primary education compulsory and free, Turkish education began to improve. The Uniformity of Education Act gathered all institutions of education under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. School programmes were readjusted so as to meet the requirements of our society, and with the purpose of training citizens loyal to the idea of national unity and independence. Education was throughly revised at all levels. Primary schools, universities and technical schools were modernized.

The opening of Halkevis, (People's Houses) cultural centres for people, were of great help in the cultural development of the Turkish people. When they were first organized on 19th February 1932, they were very active cultural centres in the service of all citizens. They had libraries, theatres, public lecture programmes and all sorts of courses. In a way, they were a fine expression of the application of the concept of populism.

The Positive and Social Sciences

Contemporary civilization is based on the application of the positive sciences. The state of the intellectual life of a country can be understood by the importance attached to the positive sciences by the state and citizens of that country.

Our Republican Government has given special importance to the positive sciences, and the Ministry of Education took all the necessary measures for the teaching of these sciences both theoretically and practically.

Atatürk had given much thought to this subject. When he said "Science is the best guide in life" he expressed his firm belief that Turkey could develop only through the applied sciences and by cultivating a scientific mentality among its citizens. He felt the need to emphasize the word "guide" by the adjective "best", because it was his habit to use such strong adjectives for anything he considered to be important. This motto was actually taken from a longer sentence, which was as follaws: *"For everyting in the world, for civilization, for life, and for success, the best guide is learning science; searching for a guide to follow outside science is foolish. We must follow the scientific developments taking place in our world minute by minute."*

Speaking to teachers in 1925, Atatürk said: *"Democracy needs guardians strong in mind and body armed with scientific knowledge and high moral principles.... Democracy requires liberal minded, free generations."* In a speech he delivered to teachers in Bursa soon after the great victory in Anatolia (27th October 1922) he said: *"We cannot close our eyes and imagine that we are living in isolation from the rest of the world, as if we are shut up in a circle. On the contrary, we are going to live as a cvilized nation within the community of civilized nations. Knowledge and science are necessary conditions of modern life. We shall take science and knowledge wherever we find them, and we shall plant them in the mind of everybody. Knowledge and science are boundless and unrestricted. It is through knowledge and science to be given by schools that the Turkish nation, Turkish art, economy, poetry and literature will develop and acquire richnes."*

Atatürk constantly reminded his people that modern civilization rested on science and technology and that Turkey's goal was to carry on her existence as a civilized nation. To reach this objective Turkey had changed not only her institutions, but also her mentality. He pointed out the necessity of combining ideas with actions in our efforts to realize our aims (November 1937). Such ideas of Atatürk have not yet lost their relevance. When we examine his speeches today, we see that they combined rhetoric with hard facts. Rhetorical speeches move listeners in an emotional way, but when they also contain ideas, they assume a lasting value. Thus, what Atatürk said about the value of science and knowledge years ago, is still valid and deserves our attention. He repeatedly pointed out that the revolutionary changes of our republican era could only be accomplished if they are supported by a scientific mentality. Our democratic governments were fully aware of this, and they have prepared their programmes with this awareness. The positive sciences provided us with the greatest source of driving energy in the fulfilment of our sweeping reforms.

The Basic Principles of Nationalism

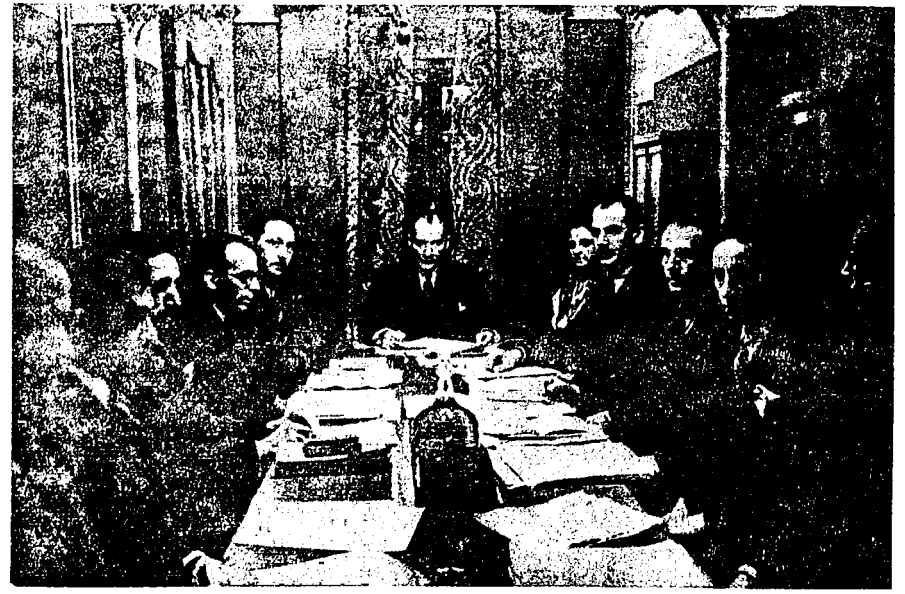
When we say that the Republic of Turkey has been founded by the Turkish Nation, we are actually defining the concept of Turkish nationalism. The origin of the concept of nationalism is to be found in the natural and historical conditions acnompanying the existence of a nation. Peoples sharing a common language, coustoms, a moral code, a historical heritage, and a desire to live together form a nation. Modern Turkish nationalism is also based on such a foundation and its aim is to preserve the identity and independence of the Turkish nation among the community of civilized nations.

Unity of Language

Language is of primary importance in the maintenance and consolidation of the idea of national unity. Our language has gone through many phases of transformation in history. Turkish belongs to the Ural-Altaic family of languages. The oldest inscriptions of the Turkish language are found in the Uigur texts (5th – 11th centuries A.D.) and the Orkhon monuments (8th century A.D.). The Turkish script has gone through a number of changes in history.

Languages develop as civilization advances, because new ideas require the introduction of new words and terms into languages. This process of change can be seen in the Turkish language as well. After the Turks accepted Islam, they borrowed many words from Arabic and Persian. The Persian language had become the official language of the Seljuk State for some time. Many scientific and scholarly works were written in Arabic or Persian, languages which form a kind of cultural link among all Islamic nations. The spoken language of the peoples of Turkey was, however, always Turkish. During the Seljuk period Karamanli Mehmet Bey declared Turkish to be the official language of the State on 17th June 1277. Nevertheless the strong Arabic an Persian influence on Turkish continued throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire. During the reform period of the Ottoman Empire, when nationalism was gathering momentum some Ottoman men of letters attempted to purify and simplify the Ottoman Turkish. But these attempts yielded limited results. Finally, the Turkish Grand National Assembly introduced an article into the Turkish Constitution stating that the official language of the Turkish State was Turkish. (Article 2)

The Turkish Language Society was founded in July 1932 for the purpose of studying the Turkish Language and enriching its vocabulary with new words to be derived from the roots of words which have survived in folk speech. Atatürk demanded that the methods of the social sciences be applied to the study of the Turkish Language, and a comprehensive Turkish dictionary be compiled based on current usage and historical principles. Turkish Language Congresses were organized for the purpose of bringing together Turkish and foreign linguists working on problems related to the Turkish language. These Congresses have been very useful in stimulating interest in linguistic circles.



Atatürk presiding over a meeting of the Turkish Language Society held at the Dolmabahçe Palace

The new Turkish State treated the Turkish language as a very important subject, because the unity of language formed the basis of Turkish nationalism.

The Importance of Turkish History

The history of a nation binds its individuals with the memory of its past. It is a natural human trait to remember ancestral memories. We all try to keep

the memory of our forefathers fresh. We develop an attachment to our ancestral customs through the training we receive at home. Besides his family, the individual is under the strong influence of his environment, which is inseparable from national traits, feelings and attitudes. Psychological and national feelings are shared by all members of the community. One has nationalistic feelings for people whom one has never seen in his life and may well never see in the future. One might consider such a feeling in this way: first, one has a feeling of love for one's children; this feeling and responsibility are transferred to one's students, an finally is culminated in love for Turkish youth and the Turkish nation. National joys and achievements move one in the same way as one's private joys and achievements. To observe good acts in one's country gives one a sense of relief and confidence. One has a similar feeling in the presence of a Seljuk caravanserai, an old hospital or an Ottoman civic center, although they may have lost their original function. One feels proud to have belonged to a nation that has produced these fine works. One is moved in a special way in the presence of these buildings, and one wishes that they may stand forever. This is an evidence of the fact that we have a national consciousness, and a feeling that we own those works nationlly and collectively. In other words they form part of our national heritage.



Atatürk presiding over a meeting of the Turkish Historical Society, July, 1931

Atatürk once said: *"Writing history is as difficult as making history. If the writer is not loyal to the maker, historical truth will be distorted."* (1931) This statement carries a profound truth from which the historian can derive a valuable lesson for himself. Seeking and evaluating historical facts are of course, the main tasks of the historian. Historical research requires a discriminating and systematic examination of documentary evidence. The sources of history are in written documents preserved in state archives. History is a social science engaged in the study and evaluation of historical evidence which has been accumulating for thousands of years.

History is the scientific study of the past, the causes of past events and their effect on current problems.

Why should man be concerned with the study of the past? Human history is a social process, something always in the making. Nations are changing both in themselves and in their relations to other countries. Every passing day is a page added to history. It is through a knowledge of the past that one can judge the present.

A brief glance at Turkish history may be useful:

The Ottoman State, which was an offshoot of the Seljuk Empire in Anatolia extended its territories in all directions and came to possess an important part of Europe. Was this an entirely military achievement? History shows that the Ottoman State, by the standarts of the time, excelled almost all its opponents in learning, economy, politics and military science. It is wrong to consider the Ottoman power solely on military grounds. In order to send an army to the gates of Vienna in the 17th century, a country should be capable of organizing a gigantic supply system, which is possible only in a civilized and advanced country. The Ottoman Empire was not merely an aggressor and a conqueror, the Ottomans were also great administrators. They repaired and preserved all institutions while adding new ones of their own. Their works are still standing all over the past Ottoman territories.

One needs now to glance at the various phases of Turkish history: (only a brief synopsis of the history of the Anatolian Turkıs can be

attempted here. The history of the Turkish states founded in other parts of the world is beyond the scope of the following summary.)

As the Turks accepted Islam in the 9th century A.D., the history of the Ottoman Empire was often treated as part of the history of Islam, and the history of the pre-Islamic Turks has often been neglected. This concept of history was basically wrong, because it denied the existence of a Turkish nation and culture. Following the Tanzimat (i.e., Reform Movement) in the 19th century, Ottoman history as an independent subject was introduced in the curricula of the new schools. It was about the same time that some European orientalists were making important discoveries in Central Asia, where the ancient roots of our culture were buried. The deciphering of the Orkhon Inscriptions marked the beginning of a renaissance of Turkish culture, which was buried deep in history. The spirit of scientific and scholarly research entered Turkey through Ottoman intellectuals who had studied in Europe and learnt European languages towards the end of the 19th century. During the time of the Second Constitution (II. Meşrutiyet) general Turkish histories began to appear under the stimulus of a new interest in Turkish culture. It is much to be regretted that no historical works of any value as textbooks were produced by Ottoman historians except Islamic and dynastic histories. Nevertheless a number of Ottoman intellectuals were closely interested in Turkish history outside the school programmes.

A growing awareness of national history was a source of strength during our War of Liberation. When we examine the minutes of the National Assembly during the War of Liberation, we can see that the speakers made frequent references to past historical events. On the subject of abolishing outworn institutions speakers often chose examples from our history.

In his speeches in the National Assembly and in those delivered to the public Atatürk spoke in an entirely new tone and style. In a speech he delivered in Samsun on 22nd September 1924 Atatürk said:

"If we consider the long history of our nation, we go beyond seven centuries of Ottoman times to several centuries of the Seljuk period and then to the great Turkish period which is equivalent to the former." This shows the range of Atatürk's historical perspective; his reference to "The Great Turkish Age" is also very interesting.

The growing interest in history led to intensive historical investigations of Turkish history from its earliest periods to the present as well as to a re-evaluation of the Turkish civilization in a broader context of world history.

Anatolia was often compared to a bridge across which numerous peoples and civilizations passed. This comparison is sometimes misleading, because Anatolia was in itself the cradle of many original civilizations.

Turkish history is divided into a number of periods. Turkish peoples came to Anatolia as immigrants and conquerors. The newcomers were mixed with the early settlers. The Hatti, Hittites and Urartus did not move elsewhere; they remained in their homelands. The Turkish people have inherited all the civilizations including the classical civilizations which flourished in Anatolia. In other words, what are seen in Anatolia are works of civilitazion left by Turkish ancestors who have inhabited this country for many centuries.

The political history of Anatolia was very complex, because it came under the domination of many Empires founded in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, the architectural works, the remnants of which are sitill standig in our country, were built by the peoples of this land following the styles of the periods to which they belong.

Anatolia has gone through numerous religious, social, and political changes for many centuries, but it has always been the homeland of the Turks.

Studied from this point of view, the Turkish civilization and the civilizations of Turkey present a unity. Our history shows that the roots of humanism were planted in our civilization. This fact is supported by new researchers on the civilizations of western Asia.

Such a new concept of history along these lines has broadened our view of the past and brought about a completely new perspective to our historical thinking.

In conclusion, we may point out that studies of the history of Turks and Turkey from the point of view of civilized institutions show the strength of

the foundations of our national existence. Built on these foundations, Turkish history willi reveal the values of Turkish civilization and help other countries to appreciate our contribution to world civilization. It is this belief which leads us towards the sources of our national history and defines our worthy place in world civilization. As a matter of fact, it is generally held nowadays that history serves to bring peoples of the world together and help them to understand better. Feelings of vengeance and policies of domination should no longer be allowed to be causes of hostility among nations. We can start re-writing our history in the light of these ideas.

History will fulfill its task by revealing through documentary evidence the institutions of civilization. This concept of history is in fact in keeping with modern historical scholarship. As a man deeply interested in history, Atatürk believed that the past of the Turkish nation held sources of inspiration for the generations to come. The roots of Turkish nationalism have much to draw from our history. Young men to be fed from our rich cultural heritage will be brought up as ideal specimens of intellectuals and artists.

It is with these thoughts that Atatürk considered history to be the foundation stone of the principle of nationalism. He founded the Turkish Historical Society with the same idea in mind (April 1931). The foundation of the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography by him in April 1936 was planned for the same purpose. All these were the outcome of a deep historical consciousness. In a way we can call this a kind of "revolution": a revolutionary concept of history. This concept of history rejected the old, narrow and sterile view of history and aimed at reconstructing Turkish history on the basis of new discoveries made for the purpose of bringing to light the works of ancient Turkish civilization. As Turkish history rises on these foundations, and new works of Turkish civilization are laid before the eyes of historians, Turkish nationalism will gain new strength.

The Fine Arts

No one can deny the place of the fine arts in a civilized country. They enrich cultural life with beautiful colours, sounds and forms. The arts develop man's sense of beauty through their appeal to his spiritual life and aesthetic sensibility. The arts are also a measure of man's creativity and imaginative power.

Atatürk's views on the arts are expressed as follows in a speech delivered in 1933:

"One of the historical characteristics of the Turkish nation is a love of art and a strong desire to reach artistic excellence. It is, therefore, our national duty to try to cultivate and develop its noble character, untiring industry, inborn intelligence, and deep interest in knowledge and the arts."

On another occasion Atatürk said:

"The dominant characteristic of man is his inventiveness and creativity."

Atatürk defined culture as follows:

"Culture forms the basis of the Turkish Republic. Culture means to read and understand, to see and to derive meaning out of what is seen, to be awake, to think and to exercise intelligence."

The Republican Government encouraged the arts in schools and educational institutions, and soon Turkish artists began to attract attention in international art circles. We have now many talents who have established their reputations both at home and abroad in the fields of architecture, painting, sculpture, music and literature.

Turkish art is not a recent development; we have a very old tradition of art; but the period of decline during the last phase of Ottoman history affected the arts adversely in Turkey. Artists are individuals, but they are nourished by national culture and values. It is for this reason that we feel proud for the achievements of our artists.

The foundations of our principle of nationalism can be summarized as follows:

The frontiers of the Turkish Republic are defined by the treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Our country is independent and indivisible. Its people are Turkish. A nation is a social and political organization of citizens who are joined by common ties of language, culture and ideal. Nationalism is a symbolic expression of the unity of the Turkish nation.

Three major currents of ideas emerged during the last years of the Ottoman Empire: Panislamicism, i.e., the ideal of uniting all the Islamic peoples in the world; Panturanism, i.e., the ideal of uniting all the Turanian peoples in the world; and Turkish Nationalism, i.e., the ideal of uniting all the Turkish peoples in the world.

Panislamism was an ideal which was obviously impossible to realize, because uniting millions of people speaking different tongues and having different customs and traditions would be impossible.

Panturanism, the ideal of uniting Turanian peoples, was also a futile concept. Although these peoples spoke basically the same language and shared a common historical heritage, they were spread over very large geographical regions of the world. This great ideal had never been realized in history.

Turkish Nationalism was a more rational concept than the other two. In fact it had many advocates and supporters during the period of the Second Constitution. Ziya Gökalp was the foremost exponent of this ideal. Like Gökalp, Atatürk was also a Turkish nationalist. As we have already pointed out, in a report he prepared in 1919 he stressed the importance of national unity, national sovereignty, and the feeling of being a Turk. The first aim of the nation was to gain its independence. The natural and historical bonds tying the Turkish people together can be listed as follows: the unity of language, historical heritage, common characteristics, common traditions, a desire to live together as a political unit within the boundaries of the Turkish State. Racial purity is an insupportable idea. Anthropologically the Turkish nation belongs to the Alpine group of the white race.

"How happy is the man who can say 'I am a Turk!', " a statement of Atatürk, can bu used as a motto of our sense of nationalism.

The principle of nationalism, with the unifying elements we have already mentioned, implies social, cultural and psychological unity among the peoples of a country. It unites people around a common ideal and moves the nation towards a common cause. Atatürk defined Turkish nationalism as keeping pace with other countries in the field of progress while preserving the national characteristics and identity of the Turkish people.

We read the following lines in the preamble of the Turkish Constitution of 1961, which may be considered as a concise expression of Turkish nationalism.

"Deriving our energy and inspiration from Turkish nationalism, which unites all citizens as an indivisible whole sharing the same destiny and sense of pride, aiming at exalting the Turkish nation in a spirit of national consciousness, as an honourable member of the community of world nations, enjoying equal rights with them, and with the full awareness of 'peace at home and peace in the world', the spirit of natural struggle, national sovereignty, and the reforms of Atatürk, and in order to establish the democratic state based on law, to ensure human rights and freedoms, national solidarity, social justice, and the peace and prosperity of the individual.... we have full confidence in the watchful and alert guardianship of the Turkish youth dedicated to the cause of justice and virtue."

Thus our national identity was guaranteed by our Constitution. Nationalism has naturally a good many sentimental elements, but in practice these serve to bring citizens together around common goals and objectives. A nation can be regarded as a large family, which is similarly tied with a variety of ties.

We are nationalists, because above all we are proud to be members of the Turkish Nation. We wish to make our country a land where people live under civilized laws. We concentrate our efforts to develop our country economically and culturally. Sentimental nationalism is not enough; we have to strive to raise our country to the level of contemporary civilization. The Turkish people are determined to reconstruct their country. We are nationalists, but we respect other nations.

The following telegram sent by Atatürk to the Turkish Student Union in 1933 will throw further light on what he thought about Nationalism:

"We wish to bring up an industrious, refined and nationalistic youth. The youth of this country are obliged to obey the laws of the Republic in all their activities. You may be assured that the Republican Government is fully aware of its duties regarding national issues, and that the laws and law enforcing agencies are just."

President
Gazi M. Kemal

The Revolutionary character of the Reforms of Atatürk

Atatürk described the character of his reforms as follws in 1935:

"Our Party cannot be curbed by principles of gradual development and evolution in state administration. It is the essential duty of our Party to safeguard the radical changes, which have been achieved by our nation after countless sacrifices."

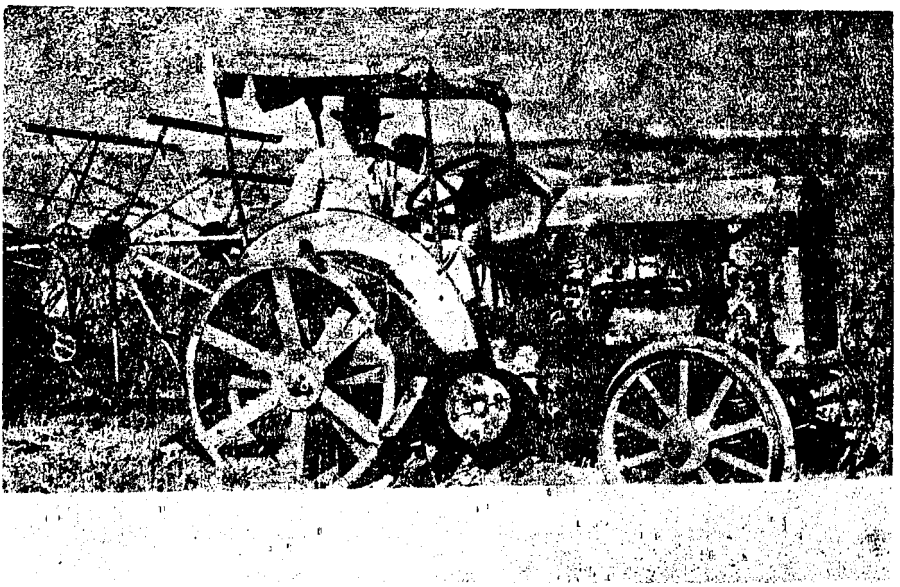
Atatürk's revolutionary principles were discussed a good deal in the circles of his close associates. He was asked many questions on them by his friends. One question put to him was: *"Since we know what our principles are, it may be sufficient to carry them out. Why talk about new principles of revolution?"* Atatürk's reply to this was: *The principles we have adopted are those we think to be necessary for the development of our country at this time. But social conditions change constantly, and new measures have to be taken to meet new requirements. Science and knowledge lead to new discoveries every day. The spiritual and material needs if people are increasing all the time. As long as the Turkish nation fosters this spirit of revolution she will not lag behind in the race of civilization. But the important point to remember is to safeguard our national interests and unity with great care and with full consciousness of our national identity. Revolutionary movements are useful as long as they are not merely destructive but also constructive, and capable of creating new institutions which are progressive and forward-looking."*



Atatürk and Ismet İnönü discussing official business

Enlightened by modern scientific and technical developments, society should be able to go forward in every way. Atatürk believed that a revolutionary philosophy of life gives nations a realistic and dynamic character. Since the social conditions in a country show constant change, the principles should always be revised and changed so as to fit in with new conditions.

During the 19th and 20th centuries there were a number of revolutions which were the outcome of certain political and social theories or doctrines put into application by certain countries to meet their own requirements



Atatürk driving a tractor in his farm near Ankara

Great changes have been taking place in the concept of human rights since the French Revolution in 1789 and following the two World Wars. There were attempts everywhere to overthrow monarchies and establish a new social order. No matter in what field, important movements should be based on knowledge, reason and justice. The concept of revolution is a very controversial subject. A revolution is good as long as it aims at progress and novelty. Foreign writers called Atatürk's revolutionary changes "Kemalism", which is now known as "Atatürkism" (Atatürkçülük). Atatürk himself used the term "the Turkish Revolution" to cover all the changes carried out by laws issued during the first 15 years of the Turkish

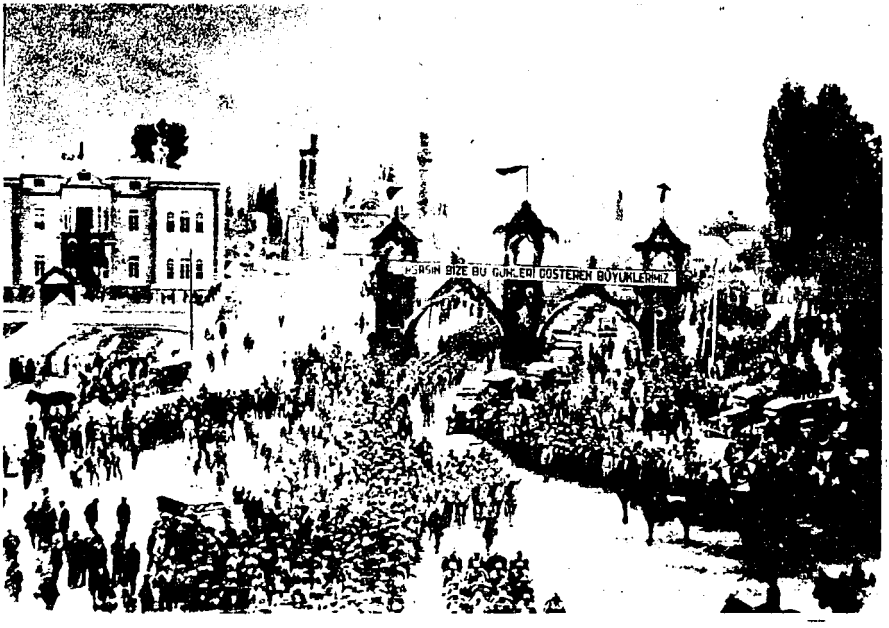
Republic. At present, there are some who describe them as superficial changes which affected only the upper layers of the Turkish society. In my opinion such terms as upper or lower layer or structure should be used not to distinguish classes of people, but to explain economic organizations. As a matter of fact during the early years of the Turkish Republic everything was done for the country and the nation as a whole. In one of his



Atatürk was very fond of horses and horse—riding

speeches Atatürk said that the aim of the reforms being carried out in Turkey was to make the Turkish people civilized in every sense of the word. When asked what the Turkish Revolution was, Atatürk explained that the

Turkish word "devrim" (i.e., turning over) did not imply "revolution", but it had a broader connotation than that word; it meant a more comprehensive kind of change than implied by the word "revolution". For example, the present form of government in Turkey was a "revolution" in the sense that it is a modern, and a totally different kind of government than the Turkish people had been used to in their past history. In trying to explain the problem of revolution to the people, Atatürk always stressed the fact that the Turkish revolution was different from other types of revolution in that it was nationalistic, modernistic and forward-looking. He believed that the principles on which the new Turkish State had been based would develop in time and carry the Turkish nation forward. Our democracy has taken great strides during the last 57 years, and it is hoped that it will continue its development in years to come.



The inauguration of the newly completed Ankara - Sivas railway line, 30th August, 1930

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH REVOLUTION AND TURKISH REPUBLIC

Documents and materials in State and private archives are first hand sources for the study of this subject. I have, therefore, made use of such records as far as I have been able to have access to them.

Among the printed sources the most important are the official publications, which have been consulted extensively in this study. The most important of these are as follows:

1. T.B.M.M. Tutanak Dergisi (Zabıt Ceridesi) [Minutes of the proceedings of the Turkish Grand National Assembly], Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, Ankara, 23rd April, 1920. [The minutes for the period 1920-1923, which were published in the old Turkish script, have been reprinted in the new Turkish script. The minutes for the period between 1923–1928 are being printed in the new Turkish script.]

2. T.B.M.M. Kanunlar Dergisi (Kavanin Mecmuası) [Laws passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly], Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, Ankara 1920. This is an annual publication. Its first volume corvers the period 1920–1923.

3. T.C. Resmi Gazete (Ceride-i Resmiye) [The Official Gazette], T.C. Başbakanlık Neşriyat ve Müdevvenat Genel Müdürlüğü. Being published since 7th February, 1921.

4. Düstur (Laws), Başbakanlık Neşriyat ve Müdevvenat Genel Müdürlüğü. Contains the texts of the laws passed since 1839. A wolume is issued each year. They are arranged as follows:

   I. Tertip : 3rd November, 1839 – – 13th July, 1908
   II. Tertip : 24th July, 1908 – – 4th November, 1922

III. Tertip : 23rd April, 1920 – – 26th May, 1960
IV. Tertip : 27th May, 1960 – – 1 Kasım, 1961
V. Tertip : 1st November, 1961 – –

(II. Tertip has a two–volume index)

5. Ayın Tarihi (The History of the Month), Ankara, September, 1923. Published by the Press Department of the Ministry of the Interior. Started from September 1923, this monthly record of events continued until 1931. It started publishing again the same year, but with new serial numbering, and continued until 1947.

Printed sources (Bibliographical and Chronological)

1– Filiz Başbuğoğlu, Gülser F. Tuncer, Sema Akıncı, İsmet Baydur, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Bibliyografyaların Bibliyografyası.* Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı, Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Yayınları: 3 Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1975

2– Muzaffer Gökman. *Atatürk ve Devrimleri Tarihi Bibliyografyası,* 2. Baskı, İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968.

3– Metin Tamkoç. *A Bibliography on the Foreign Relations of the Republic of Turkey,* 1919-1967, *and Brief Biographies of Turkish Statesmen.* Orta-Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, İdari İlimler Fakültesi, Yayın No: II, Ankara, Başnur Matbaası, 1968.

4– Müjgân Cumbur. *Türk Kadın Yazarların Eserleri, Bibliyografya:* 1928-1955. Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu Yayınları No: 3, Ankara Sonhavadis Matbaası, 1955.

5– Neriman Duranoğlu (Saryal). *Türkiye'de Kadınlar Hakkında Yayınlanmış Eserler.* Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu Yayınları No: 6, Ankara, Akın Matbaası, 1959.

6– Abraham Bodurgil. *Atatürk And Turkey. A Bibliography*, 1919–1938. Washington, Library of Congress, 1974.

Eski Harf Türkçe Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu. (Muvakkat Basım), Millî Kütüphane Yayınları Millî Kütüphanelerin 15. Kuruluş Yılını Tamamlayışı Hatırası olarak yayımlanmıştır. Ankara, Millî Kütüphane. Cilt ve Basım Atelyesi, 1963.

Basın-Yayın Bibliyografyası, Ankara, Millî Kütüphane, 1972.

– Gotthard Jaeschke. *Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı Kronolojisi. Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya kadar (30 Ekim 1918-II Ekim 1922).* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, XVI. Seri, Sayı 12, Ankara, Türk Kurumu Basımevi, 1970.

———*Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı Kronolojisi II. Mudanya mütarekesinden 1923 sonuna kadar. (II Ekim 1922-31 Aralık 1923).* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, XVI. Dizi, Sayı 12a, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973.

– Utkan Kocatürk. *Atatürk ve Türk Devrimi Kronolojisi*, 1918-1938. Türk İnkilâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1973.

The author's works on the Turkish Revolution and Turkish Republic

1– Atatürk'ten hatıralar; 200 sayfa, 25 makale, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi,1950.

2– Atatürk'ten hatıralar; Kemal Atatürk'ü anarken 2. kitap 180 sayfa Ankara, 1955.
– İkinci baskı 280 sayfa, Ankara, Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası, 1960.

3– Herkesin bir dünyası var. (makaleler) 191 sayfa, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958.

4– Atatürk hakkında hatıralar ve belgeler. 304 sayfa, 49 belge ve resim. İş Bankası yayınları "Atatürk ve Devrim Serisi" No. 10. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1959.
İkinci baskı, 351 sayfa, 50 resim ve belge. İş Bankası yayınları. Ankara, Ajans - Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1968.

5– Atatürk'ün askerliğe dair eserleri; İş Bankası Yayınları. Atatürk ve Devrim serisi No: 8. Ankara, Doğuş Ltd. Şirketi Matbaası, 1959.

6– Tarih üzerine inceleme ve makaleler. 444 sayfa. Ankara, Akın Matbaası, 1960.

7– L'emancipation de la femme Turque. 70 sayfa. Unesco yayınları. Liege, (Belgique) 1962. İmprime par Georges Thome.

– The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman. 63 sayfa. Unesco yayınları. Amsterdam, 1962

- Atatürk et l'emancipation de la Femme. Unesco "le Courrier. XVI. Annee. (Published in French, English, Spanish, Russian, German, Arabic, Japanese and Italian.) Paris, December 1963.

8– Taymis'ten Üsküdar'a. From the Thames to Scutari. İngilizceye çeviren Dr. Engin Uzmen, Londra BBC Türkçe yayınlarında konuşmalar, 88 sayfa. Kadının Sosyal Hayatını tetkik kurumu yayınları No: 8, Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1964.

9– Atatürk ve Türk Kadın haklarının kazanılması. Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının hak ve görevleri. 169 sayfa. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Atatürk serisi No: 10, İstanbul, 1964.

– İkinci baskı, ilâvelerle 185 sayfa. İstanbul Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1968.

– Üçüncü baskı, ilâvelerle 280 sayfa, belgeler ve resimler, Atatürk serisi No: 10, İstanbul, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1975.

10– Medenî Bilgiler ve M. Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, Atatürk serisi XVI. No: 9 Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969.

11– Atatürk'ten Yazdıklarım, 60 sayfa metin, 26 sayfa el yazısı, 7 resim, Ankara, Altınok Matbaası, 1969.

12– "Mesud'um çünkü muvaffak oldum". Kemal Atatürk'ten yazdıklarım. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı yayınları (1000) temel eser. No: 55- İstanbul, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1971.

13–Tarih'ten Bugüne, 23 Nisan 1920 Ankara'da Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin açılışının Ellinci yıl dönümü için, Konferans ve Makaleler, 240 sayfa. İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1970.

14– "Devletçilik" ilkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Beş yıllık Sanayii planı 1933. Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, XVI. seri No: 14, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972.

15–İkinci Beşyıllık Sanayi Planı 1936, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, Seri XVI. No: 21 Ankara, T.T.K. Basımevi, 1973.

16–Ellinci Yılda Tarihten Geleceğe, İş Bankası Kültür yayınları 130, Atatürk dizisi No: 20. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973.

17–Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Türk Devrimi, 180 sayfa, resimli ve haritalı. Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı, Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü yayınları No: 10. Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1973.
– İkinci Baskı, 222 sayfa, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları Seri XVI. No: 34, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi,1977.



THE GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF PRESS
AND INFORMATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC