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EDİTÖRDEN

Elinizdeki bu yeni sayı ile, “Tarih ve Günce” Dergimiz, üç sayıyı geride bırakmış oluyor. Evet, bu sayı dergimizin üçüncü sayısı... Uluslararası hakemli tarih dergisi olarak yayınlanan, yurt dışı temsilcilikleri ve özenle seçilmiş kurulları ile dergimizin, tarih yayıncılığında yeni bir nefes olduğuna yürekten inanıyoruz. O’nun üstlendiği işlev, kuşkusuz artarak sürecek.

Nedir bu işlev?

Yanıt yalın ve açık: Bilimin nesnel, evrensel ve insanlığın ortak değerlerine dayanan ilkelerine bağlı kalmak... Ve elbette bu bağlamda tarih bilimine katkı sunmak ve bilimsel verileri, yaygın bir network ile dünyada oluşan bilgi havuzunun içine aktarmak... Bunu için de evrensel gelişmeleri yakından izleyerek; bilimin temel ilkelerine inanarak ve bunun gereğini yerine getirerek, tarih bilimine katkıda sunmak... Dergimiz bunun çabası içinde... Türkiye sınırları içine tıklıp kalmamak; dünyaya açılmak ve dünyaya Türkiye’den bir ses taşımak... “Biz de varız! Ve biz bunu yapabiliyoruz!” diyebilmek.

Dahası da var: Genç bilim adamlarının yetişmesine ortam hazırlamak. Gücü ve enerjiyi büyük ölçüde gençlerden almak... Öyle ki kendisine inanıp yola çıkan

genç akademisyenleri geleceğe hazırlama görevini üstlenerek; oluşan büyük bilimsel etkileşimin yapıcı bir halkası olmak...

Bunlar bizim temel ilkelerimiz ve kendimiz için önemli gördüğümüz sorumluluklarımız. Bu nedenle Türkiye sınırlarıyla bağlı kalmayı hiçbir zaman düşünmedik. Sabırla, dünya ölçeğinde geniş bir etkileşimin odağı olmak için çaba harcamaya karar verdik. Bu nedenle dünyanın dört bir yanında temsilcilikler oluşturduk; hevesli ve çalışma isteği içinde olan bilim insanlarını ve çalışma paydaşlarını bir araya getirdik. Şimdi dergimiz, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden Ortadoğu'ya, Macaristan'dan Orta Asya steplerine kadar geniş bir temsilcilik ağı ile gerçek anlamda uluslararası işlevini yerine getirmektedir. Temsilcilerimiz aracılığıyla olabildiği kadar dünyadaki bilimsel etkinlikler izlenmekte ve okuyucularımızla bunlar paylaşılmaktadır. Bu nedenle daha ilk sayıdan bu yana aramızda olan, katkı sunan değerli arkadaşlarımıza ve yeni katılanlara çok şey borçluyuz, kendilerine teşekkür ederiz.

Bu sayımızda birbirinden güzel ve ilginç yeni makaleler, söyleşiler, tanıtımlar ve bilgi notları bulacaksınız. Bu sayımızda üç ayrı dilde yazılarımız var: Türkçe, İngilizce ve Almanca... Dünyada değişik diller üzerinden ortak bir seste buluşmak istiyoruz ve yalnızca bilimin ilkeleri üzerinden yürümek istiyoruz. Dergimizde yazısı yayınlanan değerli araştırmacıların yazılarını, dünyanın bulunduğu ortak havuza taşımada araç olmaya çalışıyoruz. Kim bilir! Belki yakın bir gelecekte dergimiz üç ayrı dilde birden yayınlanır; aynı anda, üç ayrı dilde, tek bir sayı... Her şey düşünmekle başlanmış; biz de bunun çoktan düşünüyormaya başladık bile.

Derginin teknik boyutunun hazırlanmasında emeği geçen karıncalarımız var. Onlar, dergimizin çalışma gurubunu oluşturuyorlar. Editörlüğünü yaptığım bu sayının hazırlanmasında da onların büyük katkıları oldu. Geçen sayımızın editörü doktora danışmanlığını yaptığım öğrencilerimden Dr. Derya Genç Acar'dı. Bu sayının editörü benim. Gelecek sayıda da yine danışmanı olduğum eski öğrencilerimden Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Resul Yavuz olacak... Ve ardından başka arkadaşlarımız... Halkalar halindeyiz ve bir zinciri tamamlıyoruz; en büyüğümüzden, en küçüğümüze kadar. Bizi buluşturan yalnız ortak heyecanlarımız ve bilime olan bağlılığımız ve hizmet anlayışımız.

Arı ve karıncaları başaracak, bunu bizi tanıyanlar biliyor.

Esenlik dileklerimizle...

Prof. Dr. Kemal Arı

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ATATÜRK AS A WRITER AND JOURNALIST

Kemal Arı*

Translated by Murat Genç

Abstract¹

One of the least known characteristics of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is his authorship and journalism. As far as we can tell, he is a writer who wrote 14 different books. Until he reached to the level of his competence, he has developed a great passion for reading. After his student years, he fed his world of thought by reading many books written on sociology, culture, education, history and literature. Among the books he wrote, as well as focusing military topics, the one he explained very important concepts for contemporary democracy comes forward. He wrote a book translating geometric terms into Turkish, literally inventing new words. He also wrote out many of his memories. Besides that, he was very influential in the emergence of the newspapers *Minbar*, *İrade-i Milliye* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. He also wrote for *Minber* under various names as a ghost writer.

The purpose of this article is to reveal this little-known characteristics of Mustafa Kemal.

Keywords: Atatürk, Journalism, Writing, *Minbar*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *İrade-i Milliye*

ATATÜRK'ÜN YAZARLIĞI VE GAZETECİLİĞİ

Öz

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün en az bilinen yanlarından birisi, onun yazarlığı ve gazeteciliğidir. Saptayabildiğimize göre O, 14 ayrı kitap yazmış bir yazardır. Bu düzeye gelinceye dek Atatürk, büyük bir okuma tutkusuna kapıldı. Öğrencilik yıllarından sonra sosyoloji, kültür, eğitim, tarih, edebiyat üzerine yazılmış pek çok kitabı okuyarak, düşünce dünyasını besledi. O'nun yazdığı kitaplar arasında, askeri nitelikli kitaplar olduğu gibi, çağdaş

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demokrasi için çokönemli olan kavramları anlattığı kitabı son derece önemlidir. Geometri terimlerini Türkçeleştiren bir kitap yazmış, pek çok anısını kaleme almıştır. Bunun yanı sıra Minber, İrade-I Milliye ve Hâkimiyet-i Milliye gazetelerinin çıkmasında etkili olmuştur. Minber de değişik isimlerle yazılar da yazmıştır. Bu yazının amacı, Mustafa Kemal'in çok az bilinen bu yönünü ortaya koymaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Atatürk, Gazetecilik, Yazarlık, Minber, İrade-i Milliye, Hakimiyet-i Milliye

Introduction

Horace Mann, in one of his famous quotes, said: "*Had I the power I would scatter libraries over the whole land, as a sower sows his wheat field*". In the 19th century, there was a wise man who spoke over the Atlantic, from the United States of America to the world; Shakespeare, a famous poet from England in old Europe, has contributed: "*My books are a great kingdom to me!*" A word from Orhan Burian, Turkey's one of the elite thinkers: "*A book is like a life filtered through an alembic!*"

Every person can create a unique kingdom among his books. He can live enjoying his unlimited freedom among his books. The most beautiful love, heroism, virtuous and primal positions can be witnessed in this kingdom. Every curious mind can build up such a kingdom; there is no doubt about that... It seems quite easy for the reader to set up a kingdom for himself, just like that.

What about the writer?

What is his place in this process?

There is a kingdom consisting of a library of books to read; but every time he writes a book, he continues his reign of the nice kingdoms over and over again... The one who reads the book, accumulates his books, he buys his kingdom; but he creates his own kingdom with his own hands, accumulating knowledge and essence, as if they are drops, dripping and turning into a lake. The author of the book has another privilege; when the day is come, real kingdoms go down. However, every well-written book shows resistance to the cruel attacks of time, to such a degree that the human mind cannot even reason, absorb its loutish slaughter. If the work written is like a lush water that flows from its writer's identity, emotion and thought, then it is like a "warrior" fighting against the darkness. For example, it defends the mind and virtue of the society, fights against the slick dictators who is crushing the members of the society with

their treacherous passions, throwing them like they are worthless creatures, imposing their delusions and dogmas. The principles spreads over the individual's memories and minds, slam over the blunt knots that have created the darkest and fiercest order that pushes societies into captivity. They resist the injustices and the facts and formations that are in conflict with the values that make human beings human. During the process, the works that shake the established structure can be collected and burned by the oppressors or interest groups. Heaps of books can be buried under the ground just to prevent enlightenment of the society; as if they were creatures of Black Death, they could be thrown away in the sea. All kinds of anger and mischieves can be ruthlessly directed against such works in the hands of "tyrants". However, it cannot be killed in spite of all those cruel attacks against itself. It keeps breathing. If it is thought to have been killed and destroyed, and thrown into the darkness of temples for a temporary period, it always survives, finds a way to come to the light, continues to fight against the darkness and those who represent the darkness; and it will eventually win the battle... Inevitable victory belongs to it. A word from Rufus Choate: "*The book is the only immortality!*"

1. 1 Can Books Be Killed?

Yes, the only thing that has the power of immortality is books. Books cannot be killed even if they want to be killed. For example, during the Age of Antiquity, Plato and Aristotle of the Age of Reason, Xenophon, and the books of the other like-minded writers began to illuminate the darkness by questioning the body, the mind and nature. These works were seen as curses of a very godly religion at the time; for this reason vulgar Christian knights sometimes threw them into the midst of the flames with hate, other times tearing them down under the shoes of their horses, screaming hysterically that blessed their achievements as they destroyed the books. They certainly believed that their victory would be permanent, believing that the "Order of God", which they had created with their own belief system would last forever. Later, while the inquisition laws increased their powers, obsessions of dogmas capturing their bodies and souls seemed to be the only reason for them to exist. The unchanging, presumably permanent principles were introduced in the name of faith were the most effective rules in everything and in all circumstances. Law, in the name of these dogmas, was the imprisonment of lawlessness. The Inquisition was slamming its iron fist with all its power and hatred on to the writers who advocated order,

rights and justice. As knights of the holy warriors who were received their crosses sent from the God to the Earth, putting them on their chests, kneeling down, crossing themselves, isolating themselves from the earthly world, trying to prove their loyalty by showing extreme devotion to the God, they were regarding it as a sacred duty to destroy the human being. Those swords that were slaughtered in the name of faith were not just butchering the bodies, but also the common memory and the wisdom that mankind put forth, like the drips that flowed until then. As if those swords and whips descending on the bodies were acting on behalf of God. That way, a new ethical and legal order was embodied in religious beliefs. Where ever those Christian armies would go, books in major libraries were burned and destroyed in the name of making the ruling dogma. In doing so, the dogmatic head believed that he would rise in the presence of God, believing that he was performing a meritorious action, destroyed the values mercilessly that would make human beings human. In spite of the rudeness and vandalism, the day came, and some copies of the works were found in dark galleries, behind the ruined walls, and eventually taken to the daylight. Scientific awakening based on dialogue, observations and experiments, was reborn in the hands of those who pioneered Renaissance culture, leaping from the dark corridors of the Middle Ages. Since that time, the works began to enlighten humanity once again. Thus the rebirth, so-called "Renaissance", was a definite victory of the works which could not be removed from sight. The dark order was being demolished, the collective memory of mankind, and the mind was re-enlightened again. The Renaissance was the beginning of great inquiries and scientific awakening. After going back and forward through centuries, human-centered "enlightenment" culture was created. Progress did not stop; In spite of the bloody revenge attempts and battles between those representing the dark order and those trying to bring in the light, the effect of the rotten old days was gradually broken. The enlightenment created Industrial Revolution; which took the level of civilization to highest level stretching from 19th century to the 20th. Undoubtedly, every book that was written those days have contributed to this process². In parallel to this process, events and facts have been transformed into the

² Although there are many works describing this process, for example see Dorinda Outram, *Aydınlanma*, (Translated by M. Hamit Çalışkan, Sevda Çalışkan), Ankara, 2008; see also *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, 2007.

quantum, and post-modern culture, creating many versions of themselves, finding a way through the endless loops and finally flown into its right path³. Every book was a new world in the flow.

If every work, composition is a world, and there is no doubt that it has a creator. Naturally, people thinking, researching, learning, acquiring knowledge; and transfer their intellectual works to others and future generations, receive the honor of putting out the most splendid, indestructible, and unquestionable monuments. Today, every intellectual knows Socrates' Advocacy, which has been calling out for centuries, there are still lessons everyone will take from Yunus Emre's sincere sayings and verses. Aren't the dark corridors that still stretch from the past, being illuminated with the works of the scientists, thinkers like Spinoza, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Volter?

No one can beat the nature; the one who writes the book, will die one day. It's a rule of nature. However, this death of the body cannot be considered a true death. In every book written, the essence is resurrected, and as long as the work is known and recognized, it lives forever. Sör William Davenant did not say it for nothing; "*Books are the monuments of lost minds!*" ...

If each book is a monument; as long as it is well written; it does not care about the winds, the snow, the thunderstorms; it stands on its feet without being worn, without being worn out in that great process of reaching eternity. It calls out future generations. The owner of this magnificent monument conveys an unlimited message to future generations, in the network of influence which extends from past to future; as long as his book lives, the writer lives and becomes heroic... The book creates its author; as well as the one who reads itself... A word from Payot: "*Reading gives the power of escape and freedom*" ...

2. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as a Journalist and Writer

So, there are a number of requirements to be free, to reach this greatness. In history many leaders have struggled to bring freedom and independence to their nation. Some have been successful in this, some have given their lives in this auspicious occasion. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is a great identity and personality at the beginning of the twentieth century, as a person of an underdeveloped society, led his nation to independence and freedom. However, he did not settle

³ Caner Taslaman, *Kuantum Teorisi*, Felsefe ve Tanrı, Caner yay., İstanbul, 2008.

for being the greatest revolutionist in the world by establishing the Republic of Turkey alone, creating a nation from a subject, and bringing that nation as a sense of self-confidence in its contemporary values. That was just not enough for him. He was also a writer who constantly wrote articles and books... When he said, "*My greatest work is the republic*" he was undoubtedly right; but he constantly explored and questioned the republic in order to complete the mind education of the new generations. He managed to write the results of his efforts in his short life. Through journalism, he tried to create public opinion and wake the public up; by writing books, conveying his knowledge, feelings and thoughts to his people. Like every writer, he was rebuilt while he was writing his books. The famous intellectual Montaigne says: "*Before I created my books, my books created me.*"

2.1. Reading Curiosity; Recreation While Reading

A book comes to life; however the book recreates the author before it truly comes to life. That's why every book is a world, and author of every book lives a new world in that book. The writer always reads and investigates thoroughly before giving life to his work; forces his brain and emotional power to the latest stage; infiltrating his knowledge, experience, and reasoning into the lines of his work.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a man who was constantly reading⁴. He was very curious to study and research since early ages. He used to like to argue with his peers. His interests have constantly evolved, expanded and changed. History did convey its experiences, allowing him to see the cause-and-effect relationship between the past and present, and to make predictions about the future. Literature and philosophy were making him questioning and broadening his world of emotion, changing his world view. Economics, politics, and sociology made it possible for him to understand the world he lives in. He was not only learning but also he was able to perceive everyday politics and strategies by acting on the expressions of these books. For this reason he did not only consume the knowledge, he pondered and combined the knowledge with the power of per-

⁴ Gürbüz Tüfekçi, *Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar*, İstanbul, 1983; Leman Şenalp, "Atatürk'te Okuma Tutkusu" , *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, V/14, (1989), pp.369-377; Sadi Borak, "Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar ve Kitaplığı", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, IX/25 (Kasım, 1992), s.s.72-83; *Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar*, Ankara, 2001.

ception. Books were like springs pouring their crystal clear water gently. He filtered and settled the waters flowing from these springs in his mind. The knowledge flowing from them has always fed that historical personality. He was influenced by events and people, and his mind was continuously maturing⁵. This process that based on learning, perceiving, and feeling, created the genius, Mustafa Kemal. Then that genius; wrote his books which were monuments that reached us today. As one of the most precious gifts to the nation, he produced this valuable heritage... Here, let's recall the question Vasif Bey (Cinar) asked when he was studying history, "*Why are you reading so much?*": "*I was poor when I was a child. Whenever I get a penny or two, I would use the half for books. If it wasn't for me, I would not do any of what I did.*"

It was true; because Mustafa Kemal knew that every book was a filtered life from the alembic; he was absorbing life from every book, adding to his own body; his world of thought was expanding; his ability to perceive events was getting deeper. The more he reads, he was becoming Mustafa Kemal, over and over, and deeper.

1.2 His Passion for Writing

One of the least known aspects of Mustafa Kemal, which must be the one needs to be known his journalism and authorship. It is known that during his childhood and youth he was very interested in one of the major professions of his time; journalism. It goes as far as his student years at İdadi Mektebi (1896-1899). He was most influenced by Ömer Naci during those years. According to him, Ömer Naci was expelled from Bursa İdadi Mektebi, and came to Mustafa Kemal's class. He was very curious about poetry and very interested in the art of speech. One day Ömer Naci asked for a book to read from Mustafa Kemal. When Mustafa Kemal showed the books he read, he did not like any of them. That event left a deep scar on Mustafa Kemal's soul. Ömer Naci's attitude gets Mustafa Kemal to his nerves; but she learns an interesting lesson: There was something called poetry and literature. He wants to study poetry but one of his teachers says that such a pursuit would take him away from his military studies.

⁵ Şerafettin Turan, *Atatürk'ün Düşünce Dünyasını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler, Kitaplar*, Ankara, 1981.

Following his teacher's advice, he changes his mind; yet, he was still very interested in art of speech and writing⁶.

He was fall for speaking and writing beautifully. On the other hand, he began to be interested in historical topics. One of his teachers at Manastır İdadisi, Mehmet Tevfik bey had an influence on his interest. He started reading Namık Kemal, Abdülhak Hamit, Ahmet Mithat and historian Murat bey's works. His national consciousness was built by these readings. One of the most influential people was his friend Ali Fethi Bey. He now had Voltair, Montesguieu and Rousseau in his world of thought. He had the opportunity to learn French history of enlightenment; recognized the basic concepts of human dignity; he perceived that believing them was a must⁷

2.1 First Journalism Experience

He never lost his interest in writing. It continued after İdadi Mektebi, while he was a student at Harp Okulu. Many of his teachers were influential in the formation of his world of thought⁸. The winds of nationalism are blowing in the world; II. Abdul Hamid's Administration was not pleased that the works written under the influence of this wind had entered the country. The books distributed secretly through Iran, was reaching Mustafa Kemal too. Under the dim lights of his dorm room, he was trying to read secretly about equality and freedom concepts. By diving into long thoughts every night, he tried to perceive the conditions of his own country, trying to weight and understand the problems. Eventually there was a buildup of knowledge. He wanted to share his thoughts and findings with his friends. He decided to publish a newspaper using his writings. He sometimes writes the writings of the journalist whom he tried to cooperate with his trusted friends. Coming together with his trusted friends, they were trying to publish the newspaper using their writings and sometimes, he was the only one writing articles. They wrote about their ideas. At some point, the administration figured what they were doing. It was a very close call but he managed to escape⁹.

⁶ This topic is addressed in all the bibliographic works that deal with Atatürk's life and the sections that Atatürk told about his life. For example see. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam*, I, Remzi Baskı, 3rd edition, İstanbul.

⁷ Turan, *ibid*, p. 38.

⁸ Turan, *ibid*, p. 5-8.

⁹ Uluğ İğdemir, *Atatürk'ün Yaşamı: 1881-1918*, Ankara, 1989.

After all, he became a young officer serving in the army. The country was living in her darkest days. Because of his ideas, he was exiled to Şam during the period of Abdülhamit, which he was criticizing intensively. No matter how much the freedom was being limited, punished, it was impossible to stop Ottoman Empire coming to an end. Battles were continuously breaking out, one after another. He witnessed the collapse of a great empire with his own eyes like many other patriotic individuals of his own generation. It was tearing him apart, so he joined to the fight to defend his country. He fought in Derne, Çanakkale and Eastern Front. He was assigned to the commander of Yıldırım Orduları. While he was witnessing the defeat of the empire, he was trying to a way to defense the country. Even under these incredible circumstances, we see a portrait of a man, Mustafa Kemal, who was still reading, asking his friends to send him books to read¹⁰.

And the inevitable end of the empire; The Armistice of Mudros; the empire officially surrenders... Mustafa Kemal's return from Syria to Istanbul... In the morning of the shadow of the artillery of the Entente fleet directed on her, the gloom and the haze has collapsed on Istanbul... It's a very intense and heavy historical process that a human being would rarely encounter in his life...

2.2 His First Books

In this process, Mustafa Kemal did not ignore writing important works. The painful experiences of the Balkan War, the turmoil in the army, the imperfections seen in the chain of command led him to write books. At the time, one of his most valued friends was Nuri Conker. They were born on the same date. A strange game of fate, the death of Nuri Conker was close to Atatürk's: 1937... Conker, whom he valued very much, was a friend of the same neighborhood. They went to the same schools. Then they became a classmates; they shared the same profession.

He was a comrade in the Turkish Army. While the empire was slipping through their fingers, they ran to the fronts to fight for her. Their lives have been intersected countless times so far. In Tripoli, they were again together while organizing the resistance against the Italians. Then they found themselves in Çanakkale. When the Balkan War started, they immediately travelled to Balkans from Tripoli. Because the danger here was much closer and bigger... The Balkan

¹⁰ To see the list of authors Atatürk read during this period, see. Turan, *ibid*, p. 18-24.

War represented a complete collapse in terms of the Turkish military. Army Commander Abdullah Pasha had fallen into such a difficult situation that he could not deliver his orders to the nearest combat forces. In the army there was no communication; command and control has almost collapsed, the army was withdrawing in rush, without firing a single shot¹¹. Like a mythological story, the great empire was collapsing. Nuri Conker occupied himself writing a book. He examined the problems of the Turkish Army command and control structure. This book was his only book. He published the book. The name of the book was *Officer and Commander*. Mustafa Kemal participated in some of his friends' opinions, but in some, he did not. He also wrote a book that criticized his friend's book, named it as *Officer and Commander, A Friend's Thoughts...*¹²

They expressed their views on the army which had went through Tripoli and Balkan Wars. Their views on command and control, incompetence and disruption in the administration. The aim was to diagnose the problem. They knew that no disease could be treated without diagnosis. These two highly valued officers in the army were trying to find solutions to the urgent problems of their country; exchanging their knowledge, discussing very specific topics respectfully, sharing their observations and carefully criticizing each other. There was an important principle in this book that was complementary and intelligible: good management and good command. They knew that an army without proper and profound commanding would fail.

The soldiers had to have scientific knowledge. Courage was, of course, something that should have must possessed. In addition to this, the ability to make decisions on his own, in critical times was certainly a required skill of a soldier. A soldier who has not completed his individual development could not have succeeded...

The works of Nuri Conker and Mustafa Kemal complement each other in two separate books. Both of them described how could failure at the command level affect destiny of army and the country. Courage, ability to make decisions on its own, and individual traits were as important as the scientific knowledge. Mustafa Kemal wanted to publish the book at the end of the Balkan War. However, the First World War made it impossible to realize this will immediately. About six months after the publication of the book, Mustafa Kemal Pasha came

¹¹ Rahmi Apak, *Yetmişlik Bir Subayın Hatıraları*, Ankara, 1988.

¹² Mustafa Kemal, *Zabit ve Kumandan İle Hasbihal*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür yay., İstanbul, 2006

to Samsun to discuss the destiny of the Turkish nation and the country in Anatolia, where imperialist forces has occupied and wanted to remove them. The government of Damat Ferit Pasha, one of the toughest enemies of the national struggle in Anatolia, annihilated the book, which was published while Mustafa Kemal was in Istanbul¹³.

He was a military attaché in Sofia when the war broke out. He was writing letters to his friends in Istanbul and asking for new books; spending his time researching and reading. He could not indulge in staying in a stationary mission while his motherland was in such a painful period of life and death. He wrote a letter to Enver Pasha and asked for an active duty. Now he has actually participated in the First World War. In this period, we see him as the 19th Division Commander in Çanakkale. He could not stay idle, he both read and wrote. He even wanted books to read from friends in Istanbul, even under the worst conditions of the First World War. During the fiercest time of the Gallipoli war, journalist Eşref Ünaydın, a journalist who came to see him for a long time, had a long meeting with him.

Ruşen Esref Bey, who published this interview in the newspaper he was working for, described Atatürk's room with pleasant words, also emphasized his curiosity about reading books. He mentioned that he saw books from Balzak, Maupassant, Boule de Suif and Lavedan on his table. Mustafa Kemal wrote letters to his friend Ömer Lütfi Bey asking him to find some books and send them to him. It was obvious from his own writings that how he was happy and graceful when the books arrived. He was a fan of Tevfik Fikre, one of the most popular poets of the time. He was following very closely Abdullah Cevdet's thoughts and ideas, he was pleased to read Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi's semi-philosophical book "Is it possible to deny God?" He was finding a great pleasure reading articles on freedom from Namık Kemal, patriotic works of Mehmet Emin Yurdakul and Mithat Cemal Kutay. Georges Fonserrive's Mebadi-i Felsefeden Birinci Kitap: İlmünnefs was one of the books he was reading¹⁴. He

¹³ The book was published for the first time during the Republic in 1956, as a cultural series by Turkish Business Bank.

¹⁴ Turan, *ibid*, p. 7.

also read Alphonse Daudet's *Sopho and Moeurs Parisienne*¹⁵. He was even reading while he was in the front lines. While he was Commander of 16th Army Corps in the East Fronts, he wrote his joy and happiness in his "Autograph"¹⁶.

Mustafa Kemal, who gave himself to read, research and learning, was also spending much of his time to write. During the First World War, as well as the other ones, he wrote his autobiography. Two of these were named the Arıburnu Battles Report and The History of Anafartalar Battle. While the Gallipoli Battle was finding its place in the history in his lines; he revealed what a great literary personality he was. He added official reports to his observations; so that it all became an actual documentary. In these two works, Çanakkale Fronts was reviving in the eyes of the next generation; decorated with the notes kept on day by day by himself, they were told through Mustafa Kemal's eyes.

The battles took place on the front of the Dardanelles came to life vividly through his pen. Mustafa Kemal who says "How beautiful history is!", says "This is the spirit that saved Çanakkale!" while he was writing about Conkbayırı Operation, emphasizing how the Turkish spirit was revived¹⁷. In these two works, he explained the details of the war day by day. He recorded the history of the battles that took place in the region. He was supporting all events and topics with documents¹⁸.

The Turks were wanted to be wiped out in this Great War; but they haven't been killed, but resurrected.

2.3 Two Important Newspapers of the National War

During the period of ceasefire, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was in pursuit of many quests. At some point, he published *Zabit* and *Kumandan* and *Hasbihal*, which were later going to be collected and destroyed by Damat Ferit Pasha. In those days the Turks were living in the darkest days of their history. At the end

¹⁵ Turan, *ibid*, p. 7.

¹⁶ These notes kept by Atatürk are published by Şükrü Tezer: See. *Atatürk'ün Hatıra Defteri*, TTK press, Ankara, 1972.

¹⁷ Kemal Atatürk, *Arıburnu Muharebeleri Raporu*, Ankara, 1990; Kemal Atatürk, *Anafartalar Muharebatına Ait Tarihçe*, Ankara, 1990.

¹⁸ İsmet Görgülü, "Atatürk'ün 'Arıburnu Muharebeleri Raporu' ve 'Anafartalar Muhaberatına Ait Tarihçe' Adlı Eserlerinde Yer Almayan Emir ve Raporlarından Bir Demet", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VII/ 19.

of the First World War there had been large land losses. He has left the Commandership of Yildirim Army Group and came to Istanbul, rented a house in Şişli. He was coming together with his friends frequently, trying to figure out remedies for salvation of the nation¹⁹. He was sure about that there would be no help or use from the Ottoman Sultan and his government. He was developing connections with the governments which were coming and going rapidly in power, looking for ways that could be more effective in the new period. In the end, there was no hope from the governments, nor the Sultan, Istanbul herself. The nation had to be embraced and whatever was necessary, had to be done with the nation. At the same time, however, he believed that some useful tasks could be done through the political path, at least needs to be demanded that way. When he arrived in Istanbul, he had some money that he could not spend in the years of war. First he wanted to buy a house for his mother with but money; he could not succeed. He gave the remaining money as capital to this everyday newspaper to be published²⁰. Together with his friend Ali Fethi Bey, he attempted to publish the newspaper to awaken the public. He tried to publish a newspaper called Minber. Dr. Rasim Ferid took the privilege of the publisher and became the responsible manager of Minber. Atatürk also wrote articles on this newspaper with the nickname "Minber". The newspaper was shut down after the 50th issue on November 21, 1918²¹.

This little experiment showed that Atatürk gave high importance to the newspapers to enlighten the nation²². In an interview with Falih Rıfki, he described this initiative as follows: "*Fethi Bey was publishing a newspaper named Minbar in Istanbul. He was the owner and the editorial. I have also partnered with him to publish our thoughts together. I do not know how successful the newspaper was*"...²³

It has been told by many writers that Atatürk was writing under the names "Hatib" and "Minber"; but there were also comments that Hatib cannot be Mustafa Kemal²⁴.

¹⁹ Aydemir, *ibid*, p. 370.

²⁰ Fethi Tevetoğlu, "Atatürk'le Okyar'ın Çıkarıdıkları Gazete: Minber", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, V/ 13 (1988), p. 184.

²¹ Tevetoğlu, *ibid*, p. 185.

²² Erol Kaya, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün İlk Gazetesi Minber*, Ankara, 2007; Erol Kaya, "Minber Gazetesinde Mustafa Kemal Paşa İle İlgili Haberler", *Erzincan Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, VI/2 (2004).

²³ Falih Rıfki Atay, *Atatürk'ün Hatıraları: 1914-1918*, Ankara, 1965, p.89;

²⁴ Şerafettin Turan, "Minber Gazetesinin Hatib'i M. Kemal Atatürk Olamaz"; *Çağdaş Türk Dili*, 12 (February, 1989), pp. 557-559.

However, this effort has not been successful. Anatolia was boiling. Anatolia was surging up. The Greek army came to Izmir with the support of Great Britain, and they have shed the blood of Turks in the city²⁵. Thousands of Turks had died under the Greek bayonets. While Greeks were invading the city and committing this unbearable crime, Mustafa Kemal Pasha concluded that it was not necessary to expect anything from İstanbul, therefore, he took the liberty of acting for the nation and together with his 19 friends, and he arrived Samsun, Anatolia on May, 19th, 1919. At the same time, the nation was helplessly trying to find a way to protect the country. But Mustafa Kemal was determined; establishment of a fully independent, new stated based on national sovereignty... He knew the difficulty of explaining this idea to people²⁶. Opposes would put all sort of barriers to stop him; and the ones who do not understand the idea would act in the same way, even though they were patriotic. For this reason, he believed that a road map has to be constructed first. He decided to divide the object in several, smaller stages and act upon when the time has arrived for each stage planned. And of course, the conditions should have been favorable, only then he would try to communicate with his friends, colleagues and the nation too.

There were two dimensions of the struggle he was facing. The first was the battle against the Ottoman monarchy on the basis of national sovereignty, the battle to its institutions and concepts. And the second one was to start the fight for freedom against the colonial powers, who were occupied the country in order to destroy the land, divide it into pieces.

It was the only way to communicate thoroughly with the nation in a way that would be only then possible to explain these struggles. At that time, many newspapers were published in Anatolia, especially in Istanbul. Some of them in Anatolia were supporting the nation under Mustafa Kemal Pasha's leadership, while there were those who opposed it claiming that it was a mischief and banditry. For example, the newspapers *Alemdar* and *Peyam-i Sabah* were against this war. Famous newspapers such as *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *İkdam*, *Vakit* and *İleri* were more moderate in spite of the prosperity of the occupation forces. In Anatolia, there were newspapers those who oppose as well as those who support it²⁷.

Atatürk knew the power of the press. For this reason, he was placing high importance to the newspapers that would tell and explain the nation about

²⁵ Haydar Rüştü Öktem, *Mütareke ve İşgal Anıları*, Ankara, 1991.

²⁶ Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk*, İstanbul, 1938, p.9.

²⁷ İzzet Öztoprak, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Türk Basını*, Ankara, 1981.

this war for freedom. While he was traveling from Samsun to Amasya, and back to Sivas, from Sivas to Erzurum and finally to Ankara over Sivas and Amasya, he established relations with many newspapers along the way. He believed in the necessity of telling the world, in particular, about the justification of the ongoing national struggle; for this reason it was important that articles should be published in foreign newspapers. During the days of Sivas Congress, the Chicago Daily News sent a correspondent to Sivas from America. The name of the journalist was Lous E. Brown. Atatürk tried to explain the justification of this national war. As well, he decided to publish a newspaper to mold public opinion, to announce the decisions taken at Sivas Congress, to explain the works done so far, and to attract supporters inside and outside the country. He applied for the governorship of Sivas and got the franchise of the newspaper. He gave ownership and responsible manager role of the newspaper to Selahaddin, one of the young people of Sivas. The name of the newspaper was İrade-i Milliye. The newspaper was printed in the house of governorship of Sivas. On September 14th, he wrote the following under the name of the newspaper: "Defender of the Nation's will and purpose".

The newspaper was being printed in the county printing office. The propaganda of the new national war in Anatolia was going to be made through this newspaper. In addition to some enthusiastic people to publish newspapers, Atatürk directly asked for the publication of the newspaper. For this, it was asked to the governor and 22 yrs. old Selahattin bey has been received the franchise of the newspaper. The newspaper was 30x50 cm in size. The printing machine had remained from constitutional period and it was man-powered, and did not have enough type sizes. A part of the printing office was transformed into the head office of the Sivas Müdafa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti. That was the reason Mustafa Kemal Pasha would frequently go there. The basic principles of the National Struggle has begun to be published in this newspaper with the directives of Atatürk. The newspaper was delivered to all four sides of Anatolia in many ways. The British who had obtained a copy of the newspaper came to Bab-i Ali and protested the newspaper. The news and articles were prepared by Atatürk's friends and published after being confirmed by Atatürk. In the first issue of the newspaper, Atatürk's speech at the opening of the Sivas Congress took place. In addition, the national memorandum and the telegraph which was sent to Sultan by the convention found its place in the newspaper. When Atatürk left Sivas on

December 18th, 1919, the newspaper was actively being published and delivered. The newspaper published a total of 138 issues, until 1921, when the printing office was burned and destroyed²⁸.

On December 27th, 1919, Atatürk was in Ankara. Now the days of Ankara have begun. He chose Ankara as the center of national warfare. He was staying at Ziraat Mektebi in Keçiören. At the time, there was a newspaper published in printing office of the Ankara province; but this official newspaper was not steady; it was not even clear when it would be printed. And if it is even published, there was only news about the province and couple of official news. On the second day of his arrival to Ankara, he decided to publish a new newspaper in the city. First he thought about what the name would be. According to the suggestions he received, first he thought it would be "The Voice of Anatolia". Then this decision was abandoned. And after that, the new name has been chosen; "Hakimiyet-i Milliye". Thus, it has been established on January 10th, 1920. However, The Voice of Anatolia appeared as an article which is thought to be one of his works. There was no proper printing house for the newspaper, it was rare to get the newspaper. Regardless, permission to publish the newspaper was issued for lieutenant governor of Ankara, Yahya Galip. Recep Zühtü was appointed to the General Manager. The manager's room was a tiny room upstairs, through narrow and wooden steps in the printing office. Mazhar Müfit Bey mentions those difficult days after seeing Ziya Gevher writing under the light of a five watts lamp, on the edge of a wooden table, on one of those days²⁹. Later, on the Ulus Square in Ankara, two rooms were rented on the first floor of the Veli Han, near the first Grand National Assembly, and the editorial board was placed in this room. The newspaper was printed in the printing office situated at the ground floor of the county building.

In the first issue of Hakimiyet-i Milliye on January 10th, the newspaper clearly set its position. As it was emphasized in the editorial, the attitude of the newspaper was clearly defined its side as the country and sovereignty of the nation. The newspaper announced that it was advocating Kuvay-i Milliye, the nationalist movement, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

²⁸ Hüseyin Yıldırım, "İrade-i Milliye Gazetesi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VIII/23 pp. 325-330; Ömer Sami Coşar, *Milli Mücadele Basını*, p. 113.; Yücel Özkaya, *Milli Mücadele'de Atatürk ve Basın: (1919-1921)*, Ankara, 1989, pp. 60-61; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönü İle Basın*, Ankara, 1969; İzzet Öztoprak, *ibid*, p.385.

²⁹ Mazhar Müfit Kansu, *Erzurum'dan Ölümüne Kadar Atatürk'le Beraber*, II., Ankara, 1968, p. 503.

In the meantime, Atatürk always continued to read. During the most difficult days of the War of Independence, Anadolu Agency was established to follow the events of the world and to announce the events in Turkey to the world. He also continued to watch domestic and foreign press, and continued reading books, expanding his view and background of world affairs. Between the Sakarya War and the Great Offensive, Pasha was reading and studying Islamic History.

He had a great passion for reading. He could not build a solid library environment while his life was disrupted with wars continuously. But every time he was away from home, he asked his friends and wanted books to read. As a person who knew that every book was a life, he added life to his life from books. He nourished his mind through every single line he read. Being a writer is the next step after having such a filled mind with knowledge and life from books. Brain gets filled up; emotions get developed, improved; the way of looking at life becomes richer; the maturity in the mind becomes reflected in the body language. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is an identity and personality with superior features, so there is nothing unnatural or surprising as reading so much. And if it is a developmental concern for journalism and writing; it is inevitable to read too much.

3.1. The Other Books

He has taken examples from history; expressing his admiration for some, and hate for others. For example, while he made the interpretation of "the honor of the Turk was saved" for the hero of Silistre, Osman Pasha; However for Napoleon; "I do not like this man at all, because he dragged a great nation after him for his own glory and reputation." He also interpreted Jesus, and Moses too... He has made comments on what religious leaders and thinkers have done and their achievements. Every time he read a book, he was influenced by the leader and thinker of every acquaintance; He created a spring of his own personality. Mustafa Kemal has been influenced by many people and books in the way of his writing style³⁰.

³⁰ Şerafettin Turan, *Atatürk'ün Düşünce Dünyasını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler, Kitaplar*, Ankara, 1981; Sadi Borak, *Atatürk ve Edebiyat*, İstanbul, 1998; Utkan Kocatürk, *Atatürk'ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri*, Ankara, 1999.

The book is an unlimited life; personalities emerge in each book; and the reader will enjoy an eternal dialogue with the sharpest intellects of the past. Mustafa Kemal is a person who made these historic meetings often...

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is not an individual who reads alone, but an intellectual trying to enlighten society with what he writes. Unfortunately, his writings are not well known by society. Someone who is on his way to understand Atatürk has to head towards two important processes. The first is to examine the writings of Atatürk; the second is to read Atatürk's biography. However, once they are done, it would be then possible to go deeper into the analyses. However, Turkish intellectuals in Turkey have not made enough efforts to write Atatürk's biography. It cannot be said that enough biographical work has been done that expresses Atatürk's life story. Most of them were written by foreign writers; which is another aspect that needs to be criticized... Although his writings are published by different institutions from time to time, the fact that these writings are late in simplifying the language and at least but not last, they have not been introduced into the Turkish education curriculum. All these issues have prevented Atatürk being recognized as a writer, and left his works unknown. He himself has said; *"Seeing me does not necessarily mean to see my actual face; Understanding and perceiving my thoughts and feelings is just enough!"* Instead of understanding and feeling Atatürk, consciously or unconsciously, the society has been directed to an image-based, factitious discourse and artificial posture. The most prominent proof is Atatürk sculptures spread throughout Turkey, which many do not carry aesthetic values, and all those epic and meaningless speeches given in different platforms. Society, for this or that reason, has not been directed to the true process of recognition of Atatürk. It cannot be said that the Turkish intellectual knows Atatürk well enough. For example, just to make politics or criticize Atatürk, many so-called intellectuals and scientists has emerged who not only said but wrote that Atatürk did not mention the word "Democracy" ever. With these ignorant courageous words, so-called taboos were being torn down, the established public opinions were changed, the bright and democratic "the second republic" was paving its way. This was the true "ignorant courage"; because Mustafa Kemal wrote a book to promote democracy after his attempt to establish two political parties, and then the book was taught as a compulsory course book at secondary schools. This approach, talking about him without having enough knowledge about him, without knowing him and his thoughts and feelings, turned into a struggle of opinions and judgment, was

a matter needs to be emphasized on its own. John Lyly's words sum up the matter very nicely: "*The empty container makes a lot more noise than the full barrel*".

But even if so, Atatürk's writings are clearly obvious. Both the writings he wrote to the newspapers, the notes he held; even further, his books...

What Cervantes has said; "*The pen is the tongue of the mind!*"

What a right saying... The true way of understanding Atatürk, isn't it not only reading about him, but also understanding what he wrote? Let's add another word from Bacon; "*Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man.*"

Some of the books written by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:

Drills for Battle Team, Cumali Military Camp, Tactical Drills and Transportation, Drills for Troops, Conversations with The Officer and Commander, Minority Concerns and Advices for Applying Commands, Arıburnu Battle Report, History of Anafartalar Battle, Karlsbat Memoirs, Autograph, The Great Speech, Civil Knowledge, Geometry... And the speeches and statements that can be added to them... It is also known that in the book of history published during his periods by the Ministry of Education, which had four volumes, he wrote the Islamic History... Exactly fourteen books...

Two of them are translations from Germany. Mustafa Kemal has translated two books from the German General Litzmann: Instructions for the Conduct of Platoon Combat (Takımın Muharebe Talimi), Instructions for the Conduct of Company Combat (Bölüğün Muharebe Talimi). He published Turkish translations of two of this famous German General's books who lived between 1850 and 1936. General Karl Litzmann was the former director of the Berlin Military Academy. While Mustafa Kemal was a senior staff captain at the 3rd Army Headquarters in Selanik, he translated the first of General Litzmann's book named "Instructions for the Conduct of Company, Platoon, and Battalion Combat (Seferber Mevcudunda Takım, Bölük ve Taburun Muharebe Talimleri) into Turkish. The book was printed in Asır printing office, Selanik, 1908. In the book, he explained what the communication methods of a full-fledged platoon combat should be under different weather conditions. In these conditions, when the obligation to form a conduct of battalion emerged, it was stated how the fire fight would be on this line. According to the book and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the officers had to be trained in the field. That is why the drills were important. After

this one, he translated another book from the same person. This book, Instructions for the Conduct of Company Combat (Bölüğün Muharebe Talimi), battlefields, defense tactics and attacks in established places in the field. Established places had their own defense conditions. These conditions were limiting the soldiers' ability to move in the field. Topics included cleaning fire fields, closing dead zones that could not be under fire attacks, advances in defense, progressing in the field and fire superiority.

There is a need to emphasize another important point about these two studies. From time to time, some argue that in the name of bringing criticism to Atatürk, he does not speak a foreign language and therefore cannot perceive world events. In these claims, as well as prejudice and distortions, there was also an attempt to smear in the name of justification of their worldview they were in. Everyone was deliberately choosing to rebuild history and historical personalities by judging through their own point of view. For this reason Mustafa Kemal was subjected to attack from every direction, from his private life to world of thought. These words and attitudes which have no other meaning than distorting the truth were also effective in deceiving the society. Thus, Atatürk was being misrepresented and increasingly misunderstood by society; with this in mind, it was their intention to create a sense of insecurity to his political plan and the basic principles of the republic. As Atatürk said, there is a necessity for the people of the society to be very vigilant against those who pledge themselves to mislead the society. The truth is as real as ever; the truth can never be changed; but can be misinterpreted intentionally to direct the society in another direction. Prejudices can be developed by the influence of political views against historical personalities, processes and events. Such claims were intended to create such a bias. Unlike the claims that Atatürk did not speak any foreign language, he knew French language "very well". He has also learned German as a second language. His German was not as good as his French but it was good enough to translate these two books into Turkish. For those who criticize and attack; let's remember that word immediately. It is from Bernard Shaw: "There is no more frightening power, than ignorance on the move".

Atatürk has other works related to military. One of the most famous of these is the name of the Camp Cumalı. Cumalı is a name of a place in Macedonia and it is on the way to Köprülü-İstip. A cavalry brigade under the command of Suphi Pasha was trained and maneuvered in this area; Mustafa Kemal, who participated in this maneuvers, wrote a book called "Camp Cumalı". He has taken careful observations of this exercise for 10 days; and he thought that it would be

helpful to published for later generations. This work, which is a small handbook, was published in Selanik in 1909. One of his books of this kind was called "Tactical and Drill Reconnaissance". In this work, Atatürk dealt with the qualifications of the person who was mainly the commander. Not everything is pre-determined rules. A good commander will train his troop in peace period and prepare for war. He shows his management and commanding abilities at every stage. He would improve himself skillfully as quickly as possible and be superior to his subordinates. Even that would not be enough to be a good commander. Personal courage, intuition, and the ability to make the best move at the right time must complement them. When this authority is established, the road to success would have cleared.

Even these sentences he wrote give us clues to his general strategy that he had followed during the War of Independence. He had pre-determined what he wanted to do in the War of Independence; but they were put into practice only when the conditions were mature. In this process, he could skillfully direct his closest friends to a certain goal with the art of talent and management skills he had. All these skills came from the knowledge, experience, and abilities he gained during this period.

And the Great Speech (Nutuk), undoubtedly the most important epic of the War of Independence...

In one of his sayings, Atatürk states: "*Those who are authorized to rule the state in the name of the nation should know that they are obliged to give account to the nation when necessary ...*"

Accounting for the nation; considering that necessary; and going for it... Filled with pride, being able to say; "I want to account for my nation!", and actually able to do so...

In his Great Speech, Atatürk has explained what he has done, and accounted for the nation before the eyes of history. The long speech text, which started with "I arrived Samsun on May 19th 1919," depicts a strong image of the nation and the country after The Armistice of Mudros. Then, the occupations that started in Anatolia were discussed; step by step how the occupations developed, the collaborative stance of Sultan Vahdettin and those around him in the face of these developments, and how they are increasingly tried to facilitate the work of the occupation forces. The story behind his decision to come Anatolia,

the reason behind it; How did he communicate with the civil-military bureaucracy, community leaders, local resistance organizations and the people after he has emerged in Anatolia; step by step, his role in organizing national posture and resistance. Then, internal revolts, Sultan's edicts, the efforts of the so-called "advisory delegation" was trying to break the national resistance, and finally the establishment of the parliament and the national army; bloody fights with the enemy and eventually epic march to İzmir. He took the rostrum at the 2nd Extraordinary General Assembly of The Republican People's Party in Ankara between 15-20 October 1927 and made long speeches lasting for six days. 6 hours for five days, and 6.5 hours on the last day, the total speech has lasted 36 hours. The speech was named as The Great Speech because of its unbearable length³¹.

The Great Speech is not contented with only telling the story of an historical period of Turkish nation. It also heroically explains how a nation has fought for its existence with everything it had. In terms of its narrative style, it has a great artistic value. It seems that there is no such example in the world that a political leader giving such a long speech to enlighten the society and accounting for them. He did not only give account to the lone nation with this speech. He intended to get the nation around its sense of national unity that would determine its future. Thus, national sovereignty and full sense of independence would have be not only a thought but become an ideal. At the same time, while Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was walking towards to the level he wanted to bring the society and political structure, he warned the nation about the threats that could be put before him. Not only he warned the nation, he also quickly moved those people and political views out of his way in his time.

The Great Speech was published for the first time in 1927 by the Turkish Aeronautical Association (Türk Teyyare Cemiyeti) as two volumes in Arabic letters, one being the original text and the other supporting documents. Many editions are published so far.

Atatürk's one of the most original works is undoubtedly the one called "Geometry". He wrote it a year and a half before his death, in the winter of 1936-1937, at Dolmabahçe Palace. The II. Turkish Language Congress has just finished. What is the reason of that book? Why does someone like Atatürk need to write such a book? Atatürk was Mathematician? Of course not.

³¹ İsmail Arar, "Büyük Nutuk'un Kapsamı, Niteliği, Amacı", *Atatürk'ün Büyük Söylevi'nin 50. Yılı Semineri*, Ankara, 1980, pp. 126-127.

However, let's pay attention to the following example. "Müselles-i müte-saviyul adla"... It was impossible for the Turkish children who were speaking and understanding Turkish, to understand concepts in Geometry, Mathematics, other natural and physical sciences taught using terms like this one.

Using those unnecessarily complicated Arabic words like "müselles" instead of triangle, "satih" instead of area, "hat" instead of line, was creating a complete anarchy in their brains. It was simply a language issue. It was the confusion in the language preventing Turkish children to learn and improve their scientific knowledge. It was not possible to rely on a geometric image which children could not perceive or understand. Before the Republican era, some books of mathematics and geometry were written. These books were written using an incomprehensible language for the concepts such as "müselles", "murabba" and "hatt-ı mübas". Those words were not making any sense to the children.

For this reason, the society was not able to learn and move on in science, it was the opposite. A scientific leap was not even possible because of the difficulty of the language used, which was far different than the language Turkish people were speaking. In that case, the most important task was to make Turkish a language of science. Atatürk began to write a Geometry book starting in the autumn of 1936, and published it in 1937.

His main purpose was to prove and show the nation that Turkish could be a language of science, and terms that following Turkish grammar rules and semantics would be much better and faster to learn. On the day of November 13th 1937, he went to Sivas. He visited a Geometry class in the building where Sivas Congress were held. He talked to the students and asked them some questions. The teacher was trying desperately to explain some geometric concepts using the old language. The topic was Pythagorean Theorem. While observing the class, he understood the fact one more time that it was very difficult to teach anything using a language so different than Turkish. What he did then was a solid proof that Turkish was indeed a scientific language; he stood up, and explained the theorem using the terms from his own Geometry book.

By doing so, Atatürk has tried to show that a book of Geometry could be written using Turkish terms. Today, day and night, millions of Turkish children and young people in Turkey, learning Geometry using the terms that Atatürk has derived using Turkish language. Many of them don't know where did those terms come from, they don't know that today, they learn Mathematics and other

sciences based on Atatürk's works. Millions of people were educated using these terms; generations over generations, yet, those Turkish terms stayed the same.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, one of the least known aspects of Atatürk is his journalism and authorship. Many of the so-called Atatürkist educated individuals in the Turkish society do not know that he is a writer who wrote over 14 books and that he had struggled times to publish a newspaper for the sake of enlightenment of public during very critical and difficult times. Atatürk's books are almost never read except for a certain curious mass and intellectual. Apart from this, it is extremely painful to see that many authors who wrote books on Atatürk and try to enlighten the society are not aware of these works. Atatürk can be understood by learning about him; it could be only possible to understand him and put his thoughts into practice by reading his works. Without knowing and learning about him, criticizing and gradually pursuing a wrong approach, attitude and evaluation about him, has no meaning except "distortion" of history and historical personalities. Unfortunately, Atatürk is not well known and understood in his own society today. There is no doubt that it would be impossible to understand a thinker's world of thought without reading his works. Unfortunately, Atatürk's books have not been published at all, or published only insufficiently by state institutions who has the responsibility. Even when it was done, it was often done using the language of that period. It is almost impossible for generations to understand the works of this kind because of the change of language of old times. Even though the recent publication of Atatürk's All Works by Kaynak Press seems to fill the gap, it is still hard to say that they found a place in the libraries in sufficient quantities, or the individuals has shown the necessary importance to the book set. Whereas, there is no possibility to understand him without reading and understanding his works.

For this reason, it is necessary to question why the society and the intellectuals are not interested in these books or why these works are ignored by a certain group at least.

Just as it is a necessary to question why most of Atatürk's biographies have been written by foreign authors, but not Turkish writers.

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SOCIAL REALITY AND WOMEN IN THE NOVELS OF SABAHATTİN ALİ

Derya Genç Acar*

Abstract

Sabahattin Ali has been a popular author not only in his period but also today. The author has revealed his works by pointing out that art should direct society towards the good. At the same time, he has opened a new page in contemporary Turkish literature by bringing social events to the agenda for the first time with a realistic and critical perspective. In these works, in which the social background is described very successfully, the contradiction between the ordinary people and the bureaucracy in the upper class and notables is reflected.

Sabahattin Ali has had three novels, Kuyucaklı Yusuf, İçimizdeki Şeytan and Kürk Mantolu Madonna. Among these novels, İçimizdeki Şeytan and Kürk Mantolu Madonna take place in the city; Kuyucaklı Yusuf takes place in the town. The author in his novels starting with individual love stories forms plot based on his observations and some traces of his own life. In this context, he describes the social structure of the period and very important details about the women. In the plot, the women characters have important roles. As a matter of fact, the observer and realistic side of Sabahattin Ali in the novels gives us to observe the author's thoughts about women and women in social life. In this study, starting from the novels of Sabahattin Ali, we will evaluate the social structure of the period and the thoughts of the author's opinions about woman issue in this structure on the basis of female characters.

Keywords: Sabahattin Ali, woman, novel, social structure, modernization, urbanization.

Toplumsal Gerçeklik ve Sabahattin Ali Romanlarında Kadın

Öz

Sabahattin Ali, yaşadığı dönemde olduğu gibi günümüzde de popülaritesi çok yüksek bir yazardır. Yazar, sanatın toplumu iyiye güzele yönlendirmesi

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gerektiği noktasından hareket ederek eserlerini ortaya koymuştur. Aynı zamanda toplumsal olayları, gerçekçi ve eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla ilk defa gündeme getirerek çağdaş Türk Edebiyatı'nda yeni bir sayfa açmıştır. Toplumsal arka planın oldukça başarılı bir şekilde betimlendiği bu eserlerde sıradan insanlarla üst sınıfta yer alan bürokrasi ve eşraf arasındaki çelişki yansıtılmıştır.

Sabahattin Ali'nin Kuyucaklı Yusuf, İçimizdeki Şeytan ve Kürk Mantolu Madonna olmak üzere üç romanı vardır. Bu romanlardan İçimizdeki Şeytan ve Kürk Mantolu Madonna kentte; Kuyucaklı Yusuf kasabada geçmektedir. Yazar romanlarında bireysel aşk hikâyelerinden yola çıkarak gözlemlerini ve kendi hayatından birtakım izlerle birlikte bir olay örgüsü oluşturmuştur. Bu kapsamda dönemin toplumsal yapısı ve kadına dair çok önemli ayrıntılar anlatmaktadır. Olay örgüsü içinde kadın karakterler çok önemli rol oynamaktadır. Nitekim Sabahattin Ali'nin romanlarındaki gözlemci gerçekçi yönü bize dönemin kadın algısı ve yazarın toplumsal yaşamda kadına ve kadın sorunu hakkındaki düşüncelerini gözlemleyebilme imkânı veriyor. Bu çalışmada Sabahattin Ali'nin romanlarındaki gözlemci yönü toplumsal yapısını ve bu yapıda yazarın kadın sorununa dair düşüncelerini kadın karakterler üzerinden değerlendireceğiz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sabahattin Ali, kadın, roman, toplumsal yapı, modernleşme, kentleşme.

Introduction

Sabahattin Ali who revealed his works in the context of art for society has tried to stay far away from individualism and stay as close as possible to the life and environment. While doing this, he did not allow his realist identity to repress the romantic side¹. His aim was to understand humanity and life with all its simplicity and show this to the readers starkly². It was his greatest success to make the plot pattern of his novels that started as an individual story, into a social, political and economic event that everyone lived and to discuss the impact on individuals. This discussion soon leads to a connection with the reader and causes the internal contradictions and solutionlessness of the hero to become things that are actually experienced by other individuals in society³. He has shown the deserved importance by making emotion an art piece. In other

¹ Marko Paşa yazılarında realist olacağım diye hayatta vakıa halinde mevcut bulunan romantizmi inkâr etmek saflık olur demektir. Bkz., Sabahattin Ali, **Marko Paşa Yazıları ve Ötekiler**, YKY, İstanbul, 2004, s. 87.

² Konur Ertop, "Sabahattin Ali'nin Sanatının Dayanakları", **Yaşasın Edebiyat**, April 1998, S: 6, p. 42; Sevgül Sönmez, "Sabahattin Ali'nin Sanat ve Edebiyata Bakışı", **Kitaplık**, February 2007, S: 102, p.p. 87-88.

³ Konu ile ilgili olarak bkz., Mustafa Kutlu, **Sabahattin Ali**, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1980, p.p. 3-4; Alper Akçam, "Sabahattin Ali ve İçimizdeki Şeytan", **Oggito**, www.oggito.com.tr

words, Sabahattin Ali has tended to reflect and keep alive the characters as a whole. This point of view also caused to distinguish him from the renowned names of the period⁴. In his works, he preferred to narrate bureaucracy-people or notables-bureaucracy-community contradictions rather than expressions based on class contradictions. These novels also convey the author's point of view about the relations between women and men in society, marriage institution and the place of women among the relationships in social classes. Our work will be based on evaluating the author's point of view on women in the framework of social structure.

SOCIAL REALITY AND WOMEN IN THE NOVELS OF SABAHATTİN ALİ

Sabahattin Ali has had three novels. These novels are *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, *İçimizdeki Şeytan*, *Kürk Mantolu Madonna*. The novels were first serialised in newspapers and then published as books. His first novel, *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* was published as a book in 1937 after it had been serialised in *Tan Newspaper*. *İçimizdeki Şeytan* was serialised as 87 parts in *Ulus Newspaper* then published as a book in 1940. Finally *Kürk Mantolu Madonna* was published in the *Hakikat Newspaper* with 48 episodes with the title of *Great Story*. It was in 1943 that the work became a book.

Kuyucaklı Yusuf was the first of these novels, which he fictionalized on three layers, individual, social and philosophical. It is known that the author put down that novel on paper with the influence of Yusuf whom he had met or listened in Aydın prison⁵. The novel, *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* begins with Kaymakam Salahattin Bey, who came to investigate the murder of the parents of a boy called Yusuf by bandits in Kuyucak village of Nazilli, with Yusuf as his adopted son. Edremit is the place where the story takes place. At the beginning of 20th century Edremit was a place where corrupt feudal relationships prevailed. In fact, the relations between tradesmen who were dominant in the life of the town and notables and representatives of the government maintained their old structure. Government agencies could not get rid of the corrupt nature due to current economic and social structure despite all the transformation to be made and the oppression of the dominant class over the poor continued. Yusuf is never accepted

⁴ Mehmet Ergün, "Sabahattin Ali'nin Önemi", *Yansıma*, April 1973, Volume: 16, p. 272.

⁵ Ramazan Korkmaz, *Sabahattin Ali (İnsan ve Eser)*, Kesit Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, p. 283. Bazı araştırmacılar ise hapishanede duyduğu bir hikâyeden esinlenerek yazdığını söylemektedir.

by the wife of the district governor in his new life that he would continue with district governor's wife, Şahinde and his daughter, Muazzez. Moreover, Şahinde keeps up with mentioning that he does not belong to their own home until the end of the novel. Yusuf does not feel closer anybody except Muazzez that he often cares her like a parent more than a sibling. He protects her in every means. This closeness as brother and sister changes after the events on a festival day. Yusuf, Muazzez and their friend Ali go to festival place. Muazzez wants to swing. As Yusuf doesnot want to swing due to his dignity, Ali accompanies Muazzez. Meanwhile, Şakir, son of Hilmi Bey who is one of the notable wealthy men in the town comes to them. Şakir who is drunk starts to harass Muazzez. Yusuf who reacts to this punches Şakir. With this incident, the two opposing forces in the novel (good-bad = Yusuf-Şakir) face for the first time and conflict starts. Over time, the events in the novel that will "turn into town or city struggle in the spirits of the countryside or mountain climates" reveal all the nakedness of the relations of power and sovereignty in the province⁶.

The novel, İçimizdeki Şeytan is fictionalized around the love between a university student Ömer and Macide before World War II. Ömer, the young protagonist of the novel, comes to Istanbul from Balıkesir to study philosophy but does not finish the school after a long time. On the one hand, Ömer attends the school and on the other hand he works in the post office with the help of a close relative. Ömer, the protagonist of İçimizdeki Şeytan represents the lumpen person who lives contradictions within himself and thinks that life is meaningless, takes each day as it comes. Throughout the novel, he refers to the evil as the reason of his laziness through various internal dialogues, and frequently expresses the contradictions he has experienced.

In the novel in which the plot is based on the love story of Ömer and Macide , internal talks and psychological conflict situations are given widely at the background. The background of the story comes as the reflection of university and art society. The author makes a sophisticated critique in his work. He reflects the racist views on the one hand and also shows the mood and corrupted

⁶ Hanife Özer, "Kuyucaklı Yusuf'ta Arzu Üçgenleri", *Türk Dil, Edebiyat ve Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2013, Yıl:1, S: 2, p.p. 399-408. www.dergipark.gov.tr

values of the intellectuals on the other hand⁷. At the same time he does not hesitate to criticize the negative attitude of the political administration against the knowledge, book and intellectuals⁸.

Kürk Mantolu Madonna is about the love of Raif Efendi, who worked as a German translator in Ankara in 1933, with a woman named Maria Puder. Raif Efendi, who comes from a wealthy family goes to Berlin to learn how to make soap during his youth, and he falls in love a painting than the woman who painted the picture, Maria Puder. The only and most important period in Raif Efendi's life who is introverted and silent, is the love that he has for Maria Puder in a short period of time like three months. In this novel, Sabahattin Ali describes Raif Efendi's unforgettable love and the process of loss in the individual level; the relationship of the people and the structure of the society in the social level and in the philosophical aspect he shows how even the simplest person is actually complicated and worth to be understood. Raif Efendi has never forgotten the love he lost, he keeps the rest of his life by throwing himself upon this memory. In social life where inter-human relations are highly artificial and based on interest, this escape of Raif Efendi is as a result of his inner reaction... In the Raif-Maria love where the real fictionalizing starts, we know all the details about Maria Puders who has a feminist personality.

The main female characters of Sabahattin Ali are Muazzez in Kuyucaklı Yusuf, Macide in *İçimizdeki Şeytan*, Maria in *Kürk Mantolu Madonna*. In these novels, it seems that the author especially clarified the characters of Maria and Macide with thick lines in positive direction. In these novels, in which the social background is reflected in a highly realistic perspective, female characters sometimes play a very important role in the occasion, sometimes as an observer (Macide). As we briefly know the main characters of the author : Muazzez is a young girl who has grown up with the comfort of growing up in a civil servant family and is childish and generally introverted. In accordance with the social structure of the period, she finishes primary school and despite her mother's neglect, with the help of the neighbors she learns about embroidery and some sewing. At the same time, she has oud lessons from tailor Mürüvvet Hanım with her peers⁹.

⁷ Mehmet Ergün, "Sabahattin Ali'nin Önemi", *Yansımalar*, April 1973, Volume: 16, p. 275; Konur Ertop, "Sabahattin Ali'nin Sanatının Dayanakları", *Yaşasın Edebiyat*, April 1998, S: 6, p. 43.

⁸ Ertop, *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁹ Sabahattin Ali, *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, YKY, İstanbul, 2014, p. 27.

The author emphasizes her young age, purity and fragility of Muazzez at every opportunity.

Macide who is grown up in a typical environment in Balıkesir has a musical ability. Although the environment she is growing seems more appropriate for her to marry at fifteen years old; she attended secondary school as his father lost himself in business. Despite the dignified and oppressive atmosphere that Macide is grounded and she has a critical look comparing the life she is living and the things she has read. Except her mother's occasional involvement in her clothing she has a partial freedom of movement. Being in peace with her loneliness keeps her away from other friends in the school. Also, the belief that her girlfriends worlds' that consistently consist of men and marriages are extremely unnecessary for her, and that their sexual conversations are contaminating her own dreams, further deepening this gap.

Other than these, Maria is a character born of a Jewish father from Prague and a German mother and she has a feminine personality that never sees herself as belonging to a religion. Maria lives with her mother after she lost her father at the age of seven. Maria, through this sad coincidence, succeeds in standing alone in life without being exposed to male domination: " ... *I did not learn anything to make myself feel like a man. I have never felt embarrassed in front of men and I did not expect a compliment from them. This situation has condemned me to a terrible loneliness. My girlfriends found it incompatible with my pleasure and comfort in accepting my ideas and friendship with me. Being a cute toy was easier and more appealing than being a human being. I have not been friends with men either. When they can not find the soft spot they are looking for, they prefer to flee*"¹⁰. Later in her life she is against to the role expected from a woman to be obedient. She can make a living by working in a job that she does not love for not being in need of a man. When time, space and the social structure are taken into consideration, according to Sabahattin Ali, it is impossible for a feminine character like Maria Puder to live in Turkey. Thus, Maria, who comes to life in Germany appears as the ideal woman¹¹.

In the context of social reality, in this research in which we examined the views of Sabahattin Ali about women and women issue, we see that love and marriage are at the top of the topics that the author has been most concerned about. The love phenomenon has an indispensable place in his novels as well as

¹⁰ Sabahattin Ali, **Kürk Mantolu Madonna**, YKY, İstanbul, 2011, p. 97.

¹¹ Nüket Esen "Sabahattin Ali'nin Kadın Karakterleri", **Yaşasın Edebiyat**, April 1998, V: 6, p. 37.

in his own life. He shapes the events around an individual love story and intensifies the attention of the reader, at the background he processes social events, in other words he surrounds the second ring around this first ring. The plot of the novels evolve around love between Ömer and Macide, Maria and Raif Efendi Yusuf and Muazzez. In Sabahattin Ali's novels love that a person suddenly confronts is an inverse state.

Female characters in stories based on love are mysterious and as a turning point in the lives of male heroes... The only thing that is needed for the rest of the heroes lives is the love of these women ... Ömer falls in love with Macide, Raif Efendi falls in love with Maria for the first time. All Ömer, Raif Efendi and Yusuf have assign a different meaning to their lives. Two completely different worlds have always felt a sense of familiarity as if they had waited forever to find each other. This sense of acquaintance has both become complete and almost a moment of shock. As a matter of fact, Raif Efendi saw Maria for the first time as a painting in a painting exhibition, "...*This pale face, these black eyebrows and the black eyes beneath them this dark brown hair and the original, innocence and will, an endless melal and a strong personality, could never have been a stranger to me. I knew this woman from the books I've read since I was seven, from the world of dreams I've had since I was five. I envisaged Halit Ziya's Nihal, Vecihi Bey's Mehçure, Şovalye Buridan's lover and Cleopatra, which I read in history books, and even Mohammad's mother Amine Hatun, which I envisaged while listening to Mevlit. She was a detainee, a deterrent to all the women in my dream..*"¹²

The feeling of familiarity and infauation is also experienced on the scene where Ömer sees Macide on the ferry: "... *Something terrific happened or will happen. The young girl I saw there came to me like someone I knew from the lines of the universe, rather than the world,. How can I tell you. At first sight, I'm in love like crazy, I'm yearning!*"¹³. In Kuyucaklı Yusuf, the lives of Yusuf and Muazzez have gained a totally different dimension with the transcendence of love between them. It is about acceptance that they can not spend the rest of their lives without each other. Yusuf's feelings towards Muazzez are quite different: "... *...He does not think of him as a foreigner, other person, but feels as part of himself, as arm, eye, and heart. There could be no concern of appreciation or not, love or not, humiliate because he did not think such things once. A sense of waking up and coming to consciousness was a terrible pain that he feared for the possibility of her being torn himself.*"¹⁴ Muazzez

¹² Ali, *Kürk...*, p. 55

¹³ Sabahattin Ali, *İçimizdeki Şeytan*, YKY, İstanbul, 2015, p. 18.

¹⁴ Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*, p.p. 82-83.

represents the most noble, cleanest and highest emotions, eternal happiness and happiness of man. In other words, it can be said that the interest and desire for Muazzez has a message about these values¹⁵.

In a comparative reading we see, that the female characters are in a more intelligent way of looking at love and affection, and are grounded in contrast to the male characters. Love for Maria is beyond description, impossible to describe and unknown. She separates love and affinity from each other and expresses that love will not endure; “...want, with all spirit, with all body, with everything is different ...”¹⁶ Maria tells that her love to Raif is not a infutuation but a rational love.

Macide and Muazzez do not make a distinction between love and affiliation, and they think that the love they have hang them to life. Macide confesses that before seeing Ömer, she does not know the meaning of life in real manners and she can not live without him. At the same time, she feels stronger as she sees these feelings bringing a sense of admiration and gratitude towards Ömer. It reflects the comfort of the feeling of completeness with the question of “*Now I'm in peace, I'm in peace like a woman who finds the love looking for and does not want anything else....Can there be a greater happiness in the World?*”¹⁷ For Muazzez, Yusuf is a person who completes her own existence, protects her, and a person whom she likes just sitting together silently. Not imaging herself with another and sharing the ordinary daily life are enough for her happiness.

In the love stories that are shown in three novels, the male heroes are able to reach the women by defeating all difficulties even for a short period¹⁸; but none of them ends with a happy ending. At the same time some of the causes of the social conditions of the result in the individual weaknesses of the characters. In these ending, which are very annoying for the reader, Sabahattin Ali shows that a great part of the reasons for love and affiliation are rooted in the social structure itself. According to him, the economic and social conditions prevent these lovers from happy ending. As a result, in Sabahattin Ali's novels the love starts suddenly and strong trauma of emotions and turns into a short relations

¹⁵ Korkmaz, *ibid.*, p. 296.

¹⁶ Ali, *Kürk...*, p. 107.

¹⁷ Ali, *Kürk...*, p. 109

¹⁸ For detailed information see., Mehmet Fatih Uslu, “Romansa Sıgmasa da Romans: Kürk Mantolu Madonna”, *Kitap-ılık*, S: 102, February, 2007, p. 84.

looks like deep cliffs. Yusuf, Omer, and Raif, who throw themselves out of this cliff, cannot be saved either. Only the sorrow and pain remain to the reader¹⁹.

The beginning point of Sabahattin Ali's plots about the woman's problem is undoubtedly the upbringing style of young girls. He is opposed to their closed life between the four walls of the house, that is to say, in his own expression, "away from everything" like a "pet"²⁰. He argues that being forced to throw away all your desires and needs for years causes deeply wounds or even deterioration in young girls' psychology. Indeed, he tells that it is impossible to understand this life without purpose and without doing anything. Through Muazzez he expresses this amazement: "...Fortunately, she has the ability to wait for hours, days, perhaps years like the girls who are grown like a pet in a house without any aim and when she is tired of the thoughts that tear her heart, she burst in upon this absolute nihilism"²¹

The author argues that young girls should be involved in life as an individual, but he opposes to bringing young girls into ornamental dolls and their only purpose in life is to find a husband. He even prefers to show this thought in Şahinde, no matter how repulsive, corrupt and hateful the character she is. She is a young girl who is very beautiful in her youth. His family gives all his energy to find a wealthy husband. It is a fact that this way of upbringing is part of her cheese-pairing personality: "... While her mother tires to tidy her hair for hours, none of the parents have thought to be busy with inside of her head. They dressed her up like an apple on a stand, cleaned and shined then palmed her to a wealthy customer. Isn't that the aim of raising a girl?"²².

Macide makes the reader to question the suffering a young woman who doesnot have any future any expectation.: "...Neither her mother nor father, or teachers or a parent of any girl know what to do next? Like everyone else, her fate would be determined by coincidences. Perhaps they would want her to marry and she would reject, they would offer someone else, she would not want him either, soon afterwards the persistence of the girl would end, she would say "no matter what happens" and accept. So life was a foggy and wobbly sea that you cannot see not even two steps ahead. If we became a puty in coincidences, why on earth we would have will? What do the feelings that fill our chest for when we could not use and the thoughts in our heads help us? Isn't

¹⁹ Korkmaz, a.ge., p. 300.

²⁰ Ali, **Kuyucaklı...**, p. 86

²¹ Ali, **ibid.**, p. 86.

²² Ali, **ibid.**, p. ..., p. 13.

it easier to live a life that the neighbours and the neighborhood shapes then living with a desire to shape our lives?"²³.

Maria opposes the role that the society and the men give them and the expectation of being a sitter for them: *"Do you know why I hate you, I mean all the men in the wold? Only they want many things as if it was their natural right ... Don't get me wrong, it isnot necessary to carry out these requests... Men have such a glance, such a smile, they take their hands up and treat women like that...One has to be blind for not realizing how much they believe in themselves foolishly. It is enough to see their astonishment when they are rejected in any way, understand their arrogant pride. They never give up seeing themselves as hunters and us as poor preys. Our only duty is to obey and do what they want... We cannot express our wills and behave spontaneously ... I detest this idiotic and arrogant male pride"²⁴.*

Sabahattin Ali is very opposed to upbringing style of Muazzez and young girls like a decorative baby and subject to man, and shows a style that is opposed to this situation with Macide and Maria. He thinks that it is extremely important to have education against the way of upbringing. It is very important for the woman to be involved in the education process because she has the ambiguity in her life and gives her opportunity to gain a place in the society. Macide and Maria still have to pay for their self-sufficiency with their loneliness, far from their peers. Maria and Macide sometimes think that it is much more humiliating to accept even if they complain about it.

Young girls who are grown up in such a closed and uneducated environment are also exposed to various forms of social oppression. Today, this "neighborhood oppression" is shown with phrases such as "it is a small place" ", "what do the others say", "what do the neighbors say" and forms a powerful kind of control mechanism over women.

Şakir kills Ali in a wedding ceremony just to take a revenge from Yusuf and this is a disaster not only for Şakir but also for Muazzez. The subject is the oppression mechanism that is developed over the "small place" and "what do the others say" thoughts. When a young girl has to marry quietly, her name is tarnished by a murder. What interested the society is not that the unfair murder, but it is the girl who causes the murder to be committed. As these events are recorded as minus points for a young girl, even the district governor begins to

²³ Ali, *İçimizdeki...*, p. 41

²⁴ Ali, *Kürk...*, p.p. 81-82

worry about the future of Muazzes: “..Then they do not like a girl who is known so much and the incidents for the sake of her. It is a small place.”²⁵.

The matron who sees Bedri giving a letter that is written for his mother to Macide seizes with the excuse of how the neighborhood has bad intent, this is an example of abovesaid. The fact that the matron tells him that he should thank her instead of bringing account for it because she rescued him from falling into a bad situation, causes Bedri to fall back desperately even he understands the irrationality of the incident²⁶. While Bedri observes the irrationality of the incident openmoutedly, Macide makes the reader question how these irrational thoughts directs her own life: “Do they have a right to humiliate her, to make fun of her, to cause all these disgusting things? Going to school seems like a terrible thing to her, and it seemed more wonderful to go and tell why she was not going or to think that it is whispered among others”²⁷.

Macide is exposed at a similar oppression at aunt Emine's house in Istanbul. The time spent with Ömer when the money that is not delivered for two months (though it is not a matter of concern for the household) becomes a problem. Auntie Emine weighs upon her with riddles from neighborhoods and acquaintances as a means of oppression. Neighbors are in the scene again... She makes a mountain out of a molehill by telling that Macide is seen with different people at different places and although she does not believe these things in the beginning, she continues saying that everyone can not be a liar: “...Hopefully there is no one in our family that everyone speaks ill of. But all the Muslims cannot be liars... I swear they told. Not once or five... We waited for you to listen to reason... Bu we donot let more. May God rest him, your father's watching. He entrusted you to us. How do I know! You have never seemed like...”

After all this, Macide knows that it is no longer possible to stay in that house, and it is the turning point of her life. On the one hand, there is the option of returning to the countryside (even though this thought is still staring at his hair), but on the other side she has no choice but to continue to study in Istanbul and save her life. Sabahattin Ali once again shows us the unbearable weight of the economic conditions on women and at the same time the sweltering and breathless face of the countryside over the women.... On the other hand, when she leaves home, seeing Ömer waiting for her increases her self-confidence and she

²⁵Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*, p. 110.

²⁶ Ali, *İçimizdeki...*, p.p. 34-35

²⁷ Ali, *ibid.*, p. 36

sweeps away all her negative thoughts. You can question "everyone" who is entitled to everything on herself, like all women: "...What would they say?... But what have I seen so far... All these people, including those closest to me, did what they said, except saddening me, making my life meaningless? By this time, I have had better days only when I could stay alone. Ömer is the first person who pleased me and gave me happiness...Who is everybody? Aunt Emine? Immoral uncle? Or my poor mother who is unaware of the things?... How much I have suffered for them, but now they can set me free ...I will let them free...suppose that I'm dead..." Here is the existence of a man, Ömer, who gives Macide the power to rest from her nostalgia to her past and surroundings. Although Sabahattin Ali thinks that free women are very important in society, he also emphasizes the difficulty of being able to get out of the boundaries determined by a society and to stand on her own feet due to the conditions of the time and current social structure. Given the economic and social circumstances of the period, it is impossible to imagine how vital it is for a woman to be able to really stand without a man.

The criticisms that lead to the way the girls are raised and their social position continue in different ways in the marriage institution where two people's lives are united. According to the new revolutionary concept brought by the Republic, Sabahattin Ali accepts the passive role of the old Ottoman society, but the woman and the man as two companions complementing each other in. In his speech in Konya Halkevi in 1932, he tells us his thoughts about the subject in the most clear way as follows: *A woman doesnot go to a man, or she cannot be given to a man and a man doesnot get a woman. These expressions (to give and get) humiliate the women and first of all women must give up these thoughts; they should know both of the genders have equal preciousness while uniting their lives, and a husband means a faithfull spouse. When this though is accepted by the women, it is obvious that they would want to be stronger in the intellectual level.* (Ali 2007,118)

He expresses how important is the love in marriage in Kürk Mantolu Madonna with the following words: *"People do not need each other wealth and financial aid, they need love and interest. If one does not have this, the real name for having a family is "having some foreigners"*²⁸. Although Sabahattin Ali regards marriage as a whole, social reality is shaped at a completely different dimension. For girls, there is almost no future other than marriage. Because of this, young girls want to get married as soon as possible because of having a chance to live comfortably and get a place in the social structure firstly as a wife and then as a mother. For

²⁸ Ali, Kürk..., p.p. 149-150.

a man to have a beautiful woman at home, to raise children are enough to have a regular home life. These coupling, which financial priorities are important, can not go beyond establishing a company. The things Aunt Emine from Istanbul, said to Macide's parents to convince "*Your daughter here you can not find another an officer husband... However, she deserves the doctors, engineers... a few years, you will also see after a few years*"²⁹.

While the changing breezes that started in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire gives a more active role to the woman, the known structure in Anatolia continues. Although this change, which is evident in civil servants and soldiers lives, differentiates expectation from opposite sex, the society structure is not yet appropriate. Therefore, the expectation of marriage is different between the two sides. Sabahattin Ali is not about marriage but about the process of marriage in society: "*In our small Anatolian cities this precious marriage always prevails. Even the strongest ones can not survive for a year or two, and then they can not save their lives from this pitiless germ and marry them at first sight, like blind. Of course, this marriage does not have any common duties, there is a woman at home for the man; it is thought that she would not miss an appropriate marriage*"³⁰. Indeed, it is easier for both men and women to take the form prescribed by the social order, and those who are trying to escape are disappointed. The most striking expression of this was made over Salahattin Bey and Sahinde: "*Indeed, for many husbands who come home with a serious attitude after playing backgammon and chat at twelve at night and looking for a white, plump body in bed, But those who want to "think of building a family home" like Salahattin Bey are disappointed when they see that things change that way*"³¹.

The biggest problem with marriages in this way is undoubtedly the fact that girls are married at a young age. According to Sabahattin Ali, these girls, who are married at the ages of 15-16, are the only reasons for the fact that they are thrown as penniless miserables³². At the same time, this age difference makes it impossible for two individuals to reach each other. Couples who are witnessed a struggle before their marriage and then are forced to live together by the influence of social pressure often live in their own world and live away from each other: "*Salahattin Bey thought that the woman is young and she opened her eyes in his home, he thought she could be a friend of him. He tried to behave like a daughter and sister but she made fun of him; when he tried to behave like master she was rebellious*"

²⁹ Ali, *İçimizdeki...*, p. 42.

³⁰ Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*, p. 12.

³¹ Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*, p. 13.

³² Ali, *ibid.*, p. 33.

*and he was confronted with fainting spell; finally when he behaved equally he had to bear injudicious requests, nonsensical behaviours or new desires*³³.

In addition, Sabahattin Ali thinks that the marriage institution in society is means of acting as a company rather than a partnership established with love and continuing the current unjust and corrupt structure. While telling the power of the notables and the tyrants, he revives the role of the marriage institution. As a matter of fact, the influence of these is not solely derived from their own wealth, but from their powerful relatives in town: *“Although the men whose relatives are mayors or businessmen do not want to come together with their relatives, they had to defend them at their homes because of their wives. Because their wives can be sister of such a vagrant, the family thoughts and the relative relations are important for them”*³⁴. Perhaps as a result of reaction to the fiction we have mentioned above, marriage does not take place in two of the three novels, they prefer living love despite all its rise and falls.

While trying to determine the views of Sabahattin Ali on the woman and the issue of women, we see that he gives importance to the issues of inequality, injustice and corruption, which cause the deterioration of the social structure in the plot that is based on the social reality. Sabahattin Ali discusses these matters without an ideological stance and rogue style. Ramazan Korkmaz says that the basis of injustice in Sabahattin Ali is based on factors such as opportunity inequality, the terrible imbalance in income, selfish attitudes of the environment, abuse of government power, ignorance and cowardice³⁵. Indeed, the author does this without questioning the characters, without glorifying them for their goodness, or judging them for their evil.

Rural areas are places where the inequality of the period is the most intense. *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, the first novel that expresses the problems of the countryside, is a novel that most clearly explains the co-operation of bureaucracy and the notables and the contradictions of the unfair order that they created. The novel makes the relations of the ruling classes with each other and lower class through the love of two young people. In the struggle shown over Muazzez, while she is the dearie love of Yusuf, Şakir sees her as a goods he can have just because he belongs to upper class. After the quarrel that takes place at the festival place, drunk Şakir's statements, "If I take that girl as a wife and do not take

³³ Ali, *ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁴ Ali, *ibid.*, p. 34.

³⁵ Korkmaz, *ibid.*, p. 122.

her home.. That foreigner Yusuf must know who is Şakir” fires the the events. Having Muazzez and humiliating her will be a sign of vengeance that the Şakir will take from Yusuf. From another point of view, owning Muazzez, who is a passive object, means that Şakir who holds the power in the dominant structure, will snub Yusuf who belongs to lower class and show his power³⁶.

The environment of Muazzez except two men who love her is a circle of evil. Her mother considers her as a medium to live more colorful and good life. The notable people in the town except her district governor father are all like ruthless hunters who set all sorts of trappings to capture Muazzez. But the real hunter, as Oğuz Demiralp stated, is of course the dominating order in the town ...³⁷ Berna Moran, claiming that he has a more striking narrative by bringing the town reality and the love of two young innocent people and to emphasize the the corrupt sexual love in city (abuse of Şakir, her mother’s dike, sleeping around prostitutes, rackjacking to Muazzez at rakı table etc.)³⁸. Starting from this point of view, the reality in Kuyucaklı Yusuf , first and foremost, reveals the structure of the society and the people are the result of this structure.³⁹ Muazzez for Sabahattin Ali has a vital role in revealing this reality. So, Sabahattin Ali emphasizes the childish, pure and fragility side of Muazzez every time ... This is also an explanation of Muazzez's inability to show sufficient reaction.

Yusuf's stance is against a mass representing a corrupt, unjust, and depressed society. Muazzez is so passive and poor that she can only say “Brother, how much did you sell me?” as a reaction to the decision of marriage with Ali. After Şakir who cannot bear the fact that marriage of Muazzez with Ali, kills him, it shows the inequality and injustice to the reader once more. Indeed, the incident goes to the court, but it ends with the acquittal of Şakir. The author shows an objective approach to this conclusion, which everyone knows and ties the cause of the problem to the unequal nature of the society: “... because there was no other way to be. This is how it came and went, and even the wisest of those who were at the top of the town did not admit that Hilmi Bey's son could be really imprisoned, despite the liberty and a few convictions he brought. The prison was only for slanders, peasants and people from the lowe class; the son of a Hilmi Bey, even if he killed a man, could not be held with them”⁴⁰.

³⁶ For detailed information see. Özer, *ibid.*,

³⁷ Oğuz Demiralp, Sahip Çık Sevdiğine”, *Kitap-lık*, February 2007, Volume: 102, p., 74.

³⁸ Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 2*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, p., 37-38

³⁹ Moran, *ibid.*,p., 40.

⁴⁰Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*,p., 96.

At the same time, this unfair structure in society is even more dramatic for the people in the lower classes. As a matter of fact, women are opposed to the exploitation of their labor and the exploitation of their bodies within this class. Kübra and her mother, who are miserable after her husband's escape with another woman, are an example. The working conditions of the working women are given to the reader through Kübra and his mother again. We are witnessing the tragedy of women workers with the knowledge that Yusuf fires the women and the owners do not even give them time to give a breast. In this economic and social structure, Kübra and her mother's only way out is to get Kübra to marry an artisan so that she can get rid of this and look after her grandkids beside her.⁴¹ The two women who had to work in the olive farm of the Hilmi Bey after the rape of Kübra by Şakir showed the dimensions of the desperation they had experienced with the following words to Salahattin Bey "*We would work or die, a gentleman, who would want to work under their orders after they had made us?*"⁴²

The last thing we need to mention is the place and meaning of death in Sabahattin Ali's novels. The death takes a considerable place in Sabahattin Ali's novels and stories, and it is seen as an image of both salvation and resistance. Death is a means of emancipation of social insensitivity. Two female heroes dies at the end of the novel. Maria Puder dies of a disease, Muazzez dies of the injuries she has from the fire of Yusuf. These deaths, which slam the reader's face, show the criminal beyond a dramatic end. Muazzez dies because of the one who has economic and social power, in other words Hilmi and his son Şakir and the new district governor dies because of the order he continued.⁴³ Raif Efendi ruined his own life because of the incapacity to change the current economic and social conditions and left Maria dead.

In Sabahattin Ali's novels, social inequality and corruption are two of the most interrelated concepts. We see degeneracy as a problem that arises from the alienation of human beings, their values and all humanity in professional and moral care. These degenerated types who are responsible for spreading, settlement and institutionalization of social injustice consist of cowardly, insincere and "*no need*" people, and the problem constitutes the most obvious characteristics of the heroes who represent the opposite powers⁴⁴. The women who represent the corruption in the author's three novels are Aunt Emine and her daughter

⁴¹ Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*, p., 42.

⁴² Ali, *Kuyucaklı...*, p., 60.

⁴³ Ahmet Oktay, "Bir Yetimin Romanı", *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, YKY, 2014, p. 219-220.

⁴⁴ Korkmaz, *ibid.*, p.p. 133-134.

in the *İçimizdeki Şeytan*, *Şahinde in Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, and Aunt Ferhunde Hanım in *Kürk Mantolu Madonna*.

Sabahattin Ali has shown social corruption as characters that can not comprehend the values of time as culturally or cognitively but exaggeratedly with their appearances. The common thing that all three characters have is to give importance to appearance, insensitivity to their family and give importance to live outside. For example, Ferhunde Hanım sees her two children as a punishment instead of showing interest; she does not know how to get away from them in order to avoid touching them with their dirty hands⁴⁵. Whenever she has a chance, she lives children to her sister and does not think of anything other than dressing a silk dress and going out⁴⁶.

Aunt Emine in *İçimizdeki Şeytan* is a feminine who does not give up make-up even after Macide's father's death. *Şahinde* is fancy, and although she is matured, she draws his eyebrows in his eyebrows and paints his hair with various herbs.

The common aspect of these three characters is that the importance they give to money and staying indifferent to everything. Although Aunt Emine is not wealthy as before she continues organizing parties with her friends and sycophants, with doing this she tries to prove her wealth as before: “ *Some of fivepieces of gold and pearls of Aunt Emine have been sold in Sandal Bedesten. Unfortunately the sadness of Emine who cries everytime about the troubles she has doesnot continue more then twenty four hours; she organizes parties with her sycophants from Istanbul as soon as possible*”⁴⁷

Şahinde uses Muazzez in *baccahanalian* in order to continue her comfortable life. Her own comfort is more than everything. She does not feel disturbed by the fact that Muazzez becomes a toy in the hands of men. Another dimension of the corruption is the fact that the new governor and his relations with the notables and his role in trapping Muazzez. Everyone from the district governor to the gendarmerie commander is involved in all kinds of things, including reversing justice on the grounds that Muazzez is taken as an object.

⁴⁵ Ali, *Kürk...*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Ali, *Kürk...*, p., 28.

⁴⁷ Ali, *İçimizdeki...*, p. 26.

Macide who starts a new life in a new environment, tells this environment as an observer. This environment that Ömer and his friends are in is an impersonal community pursuing material interest and pursuing power as much as possible under the mask of intellectuality. Muazzez does not let them destroy her with much strong personality and solid posture in this environment⁴⁸. Sabahattin Ali has preferred to give us the artificial and degenerated structure of this area especially with Macide who comes from countryside but rational: “...*In fact this high society doesnot make good impression. When she started to live with Ömer, she has been trying to see the good and fabulous sides of these important men but the only thing she has seen that their arbitrary behaviours to break the rules. Is this an important thing? Is it an extraordinary talent not to listen to someone who is speaking, to speak loudly in a musical recital in the garden, to humiliate or to insult, to look upon down? For months they have done nothing except showing how stupid and incompetents they are and proving their own ideas. Although Macide tires to remember the ideas hardly she can only remember the quarrel of some people and discussions. And when compared to the people she has known up to now the only difference is their arrogant style, they never hide the spark of desire in their eyes and Macide cannot find a relation of these with being a human*”⁴⁹

Bedri, along with Macide, is opposed to the perception of power as a religion, criticizes this group's ability to seize and hold power no matter what the cost. Just because of this, seeing Bedri as the opposite of Ömer causes Macide to see the weaknesses of Ömer and feel closer to Bedri.

Another criticism of Sabahattin Ali's intellectual class is about moral corruption. The author reveals the dimensions of the moral corruption of this intellectual circle through the harassment of Macide. Macide, who can not stand this negligent environment that Ömer has, stands far away from Ömer: “...*Taking another woman on his lap, then suddenly feeling embarrassed talking while thinking about his debts....Forgetting his wife on the roads, but loving her so much to worth dying for... Walking with a man whom he hates extremely but walking with him just because of feeling ashamed...*”⁵⁰. After all these things Macide decides to continue with Bedri.

Here is also another class in this new environment. This class is passed on to the reader as a bad imitation. Sabahattin Ali chooses to reflect on this class' freak and being unlike state with Macide's observations. These young people,

⁴⁸ Demiralp, a.g.m., p. 75.

⁴⁹ Ali, *İçimizdeki...*, p. p. 204-205.

⁵⁰Ali, *İçimizdeki...*, p. 222.

who are between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five, think that it is a virtue to speak out and to laugh after every word. Macide finds these behaviors so meaningless and creepy, which are extremely unjust and unnecessary. She especially notices the girls. As a matter of fact, artificial behavior is accompanied by artificial red lips on girls' artificially dyed and artificially curled hair. Macide, seeing that they are in a completely artificial situation without any of their own, thinks that they are trying to resemble themselves as third-rate movie stars, but she thinks that they can not go beyond being tired and artificial in this way. She even compares this with her friends and respects the girls in the conservatories as they have purposes. Indeed, even if the girls in secondary school can not do anything, they feel that it means something in their own circumstances. But she finds the girls here more than nothing. She can not put them anywhere. Again, although the old environment is not an enduring one, it has little humanity, friendship and warmth, but she can not help thinking how strange and artificial this new environment is: "...Is Aunt Emine better than my friends in Balıkesir? Impossible! My be five times worse... All of them are wannabe from uncle Galip to Semiha... Their neighbours are like them ... Gossipers, thoughtless people... I came from that side to here. But the things I have seen here is worse than everything... There weren't any nonsense people neither in Balıkesir nor in Şehzadebaşı ... At least there are not any crowd as in here ... It is impossible to live among them ..."51.

CONCLUSION

In his novels, Sabahattin Ali talks about social and realistic view of women in the context of social and economic structure. He has thoroughly shared his thoughts about the issue of women and women in the context of the events fictionalized around individual love. Kuyucaklı Yusuf takes place in the town; İçimizdeki Şeytan and Kürk Mantolu Madonna take place in city. Parallel to these places, he addresses the issue of women and women. Along with male heroes in three novels, we see two female characters (except Muazzez) are more dominant.

In all three novels, love and marriage are among the main issues about women. He is against the place and the form of marriages which means establishing a common life for him in the society. This institution, which is believed to have formed by women and men with love, brings unhappiness because it is formed with various interests in terms of families and individuals. He attributes to the upbringing way of men and women. In other words, the real problem is

⁵¹Ali, *ibid.*, p., 134.

the upbringing of the girls and their marriage at young ages. In this structure, where education and employment opportunities are extremely limited, women are confronted with the possibility that they can find themselves in social structure through marriage only. On the other hand, women are at the bottom of this structure and are subject to all forms of violence and rape, although the only condition for women to take part in the social life is to work. In this respect, even a university-educated woman like Maria Puder has to work in a nightclub (the writer is looking at it with respect because she is standing on her feet). We can easily conclude that the author supports the women to take more place in the working life after education.

As a result, Sabahattin Ali who sees every individual complex and worth to understand is against seeing woman as an object. His attitude towards people who have equal right in society and are sensitive and free with the qualifications of the period are more important for women. As women are free and self-confident individuals, the social, economic and political structure is parallel to contemporary values and therefore the adoption of these values may be able to create a development for women.

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Tarih ve GÜNce

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“BARTIN REHBERİ” ADLI KAYNAK ESER TEMELİNDE VE BARTIN ÖLÇEĞİNDE ATATÜRK DÖNEMİ ZİRAATÇILIK, HAYVANCILIK VE ORMANCILIK POLİTİKALARININ İNCELENMESİ

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Öz

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin, kuruluşundan sonra kendini kalkındırabilmek amacıyla olağanüstü çabalar harcadığı alanlardan birisi de tarım alanıdır. Nüfusunun yaklaşık % 80'den fazlası kırsal kesimde yaşayan ülkede aşar vergisinin kaldırılması başta olmak üzere modern tarım ve hayvancılık yöntemlerinin yaygınlaştırılması amacıyla ciddi çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Nitekim Osmanlı devrinde memleket ekonomisinin en büyük kısmını kapsayan tarım, kaderciliğe terkedilmiş bir halde idi. Yeni Türk devleti her şeyden önce zirai manada kendi kendine yetebilmek ve bu sorunların hemen hepsini çözmek amacıyla bir tarım politikası ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır. Özellikle Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nin kurulmasıyla modern tarımın nasıl yapılacağı hususunda bütün ülkeye örnek olmak amacıyla numune bir tesis de oluşturulmuştur. Kısacası yeni Türk devleti büyük bir inkişaf ile yeniden teşekkül ettirilirken; tarım ve hayvancılık da en fazla enerji harcanan alanlardan biriydi. Bu çalışmada 1927 yılında neşredilmiş ve uzun yıllardan sonra araştırmacıların dikkatini yeni çekmiş olan “Bartın Rehberi” adlı kaynak eser temel alınarak 1920'li yıllarda Bartın coğrafyasında yaşanan tarım, hayvancılık ve ormancılık alanlarındaki gelişmeler hakkında tespit edilen yeni bilgiler değerlendirilmeye çalışılacaktır. Çalışmamızda özelde Bartın coğrafyası genelde ise Atatürk devri tarım politikaları üzerinde durulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bartın, Ziraatçılık, Hayvancılık, Ormancılık, Atatürk dönemi

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THE INVESTIGATION OF THE BARTIN PROVINCE'S AGRICULTURAL, LIVESTOCK AND FORESTRY POLICIES BASED ON A SOURCE MATERIAL TITLED "BARTIN GUIDE" IN THE ATATÜRK PERIOD

Abstract

One of the areas, after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey purposes to be able to reconstruct itself spent tremendous efforts is husbandry. At first, tithe tax abolished and serious studies have been carried out in order to disseminate the methods of modern agriculture and animal husbandry in the country which living more than 80 % of the population in rural areas. As a matter of fact, the agriculture which included the largest part of the country economy was abandoned to fatalism during the Ottoman period. The new Turkish state has struggled an agricultural policy to overcome almost all of these problems and to be able to self-regulate itself in agriculture before anything else. With the establishment of Atatürk Forest Farm, a sample plant established in order to be an example for all countries in how modern agriculture can be done especially. In short, while the new Turkish state was restructured with a great revolution; agriculture and animal husbandry were among the most energy-consuming areas. In this study, it is tried to be evaluated new informations about the developments of agriculture, livestock and forestry areas in Bartın geography of 1920's, by basing on the reference book "Bartın Guide" which has drawn attention of researchers many years after. In the particular Bartın geography and in the general agricultural policies of Atatürk period emphasized in our study.

Keywords: Bartın, Husbandry, Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Atatürk period.

Giriş

Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk önderliğinde I. Dünya Savaşı sonu koşulları çerçevesinde yıkılan bir imparatorluğun enkazı üzerinde tesis edilmeye çalışılan modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti, birçok alanda olduğu gibi tarım alanında da ciddi bir kalkınma hamlesi içerisine girmiştir.¹ Nüfusunun yaklaşık % 80'den fazlası kırsal kesimde yaşayan ülkede aşar vergisinin kaldırılması² başta olmak

¹ Şaduman Alıcı, "Yeni Türk Devleti'nde Ekonominin Türkleştirilmesi Politikası: Türkiye Milli İthalat ve İhracat Anonim Şirketi Örneği", *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Ekonominin ve Sosyal Tarihi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Cilt 1, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 2017, s. 249.

² Aşar Vergisi'nin kaldırılması hususunda bk. Şerafettin Turan, *Türk Devrim Tarihi*, Cilt 3, Bölüm 1, 3. bs. Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 2013, s. 267-268.

üzere modern tarım ve hayvancılık yöntemlerinin kalıcı bir şekilde tesis edilebilmesi amacıyla köklü çalışmalar içerisine girilmiştir. Çünkü Osmanlı devrinden devralınan zirai miras da son derece yetersiz bir konumdaydı. Tarım, Osmanlı döneminde bir anlamda kaderciliğe terkedilmiş bir halde idi. Ne meteorolojik buluşlardan istifade edilmiş, ne kara sabandan kurtulma çareleri aranmış, ne çok ciddi sulama tesisleri yapılmış ve ne de düşük kaliteli tohumları bilimsel yöntemlerle ıslah etme imkânları üzerinde durulmuştu. Hava şartlarının müsait olduğu zamanlarda hububat geliri memleket ihtiyacını karşılamış buna mukabil kuraklık devresinde ise ülke gıda maddesi ithal etmek zorunda kalmıştır.

Yeni Türk devleti her şeyden önce zirai manada kendi kendine yetebilmek, bu sorunlarla büyük ölçüde mücadele etmek amacıyla bir tarım politikası ortaya koymuştur. Özellikle Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nin kurulmasıyla modern tarımın nasıl yapılacağı hususunda bütün ülkeye örnek olmak amacıyla numune bir tesis de oluşturulmuştu. Kısacası yeni Türk devleti büyük bir inkılap ile kültür, eğitim, sağlık, hukuk, sosyal ve ekonomi alanlarında adeta yeniden teşekkül ettirilirken; tarım ve hayvancılık da en fazla enerji harcanan alanlardan birisi konumuna yükselmiştir.

Türkiye’de harp yıllarının akabinde 24 Temmuz 1923 tarihinde Lozan Barış Antlaşması'nın imzalanmasından sonra tarımda üretim artışı yaşanmıştır. Tarımın ülke genelinde sahip olduğu gayri safi milli hasıla payı giderek artmıştır. Yeni Türk devleti 1925’te çıkardığı bir yasa ile 20 yılda ödenmek üzere 22.233 çiftçi ailesine 731.000 dönüm toprak dağıtmış ve kredi faizlerini imkânlar ölçüsünde düşürmüştür. İlaveten çiftçilere kolay kredi sağlanması amacıyla kooperatifçilik³ ve traktör kullanımını özendirilmiştir. Yine yukarıda temas edildiği üzere modern tarım yöntemlerini yaygınlaştırmak için örnek çiftlikler, fidanlıklar, tohum ıslah enstitüleri kurulmuş, Avrupa’ya tarım öğrenimi için öğrenci gönderilmiş, Ankara’da Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü açılarak tarım memurlarına ve öğretmenlerine hizmet içi eğitim yoluyla modern bilgiler aşılanmıştır. Hayvancılık ve ormancılığın geliştirilmesi için de tedbirler almıştır. Bütün bu tedbirler sayesinde üretim hızlanmıştır.⁴

³ Cumhuriyet döneminde kooperatifçiliğin gelişimi hususunda ayrıntılı bilgi için şu yeni araştırmaya bk. Ergül Ballı, “Türkiye’de Tarımsal Kooperatifçiliğin Gelişimi ve Fiskobirlik: Tarihsel Bir Değerlendirme”, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin Ekonominin ve Sosyal Tarihi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Cilt 1, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 2017, s. 667-674.

⁴ Temuçin Faik Ertan ve bşk., *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi*, 4. bs., Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara, 2016, s. 197.

Çağdaş medeniyetler seviyesinin üzerine çıkarılması gayesiyle yeniden inşa edilmeye çalışılan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti kurulduktan sonra ülke genelinde birçok alanda atılacak adıma temel oluşturması ve üretilecek tarım politikalarında da kullanılmak üzere 28 Ekim 1927 tarihinde bir nüfus sayımı yapılmıştır. Yeni Türk devletinin kuruluşundan sonra nüfusun arttırılması meselesi ülkenin en önemli gündem maddelerinden birini teşkil etmiştir. Çünkü gelinen noktada verilen savaşlarla ülke nüfusunda önemli kayıplar olmuştu. Dolayısıyla nüfusun arttırılması için öncelikle bu artışa engel olan nedenlerin ortadan kaldırılması gerekiyordu. Bunun için de nüfusun hem sayıca hem de nitelik bakımından özelliklerinin bilinmesine ihtiyaç duyuluyordu. Bu ihtiyaç doğrultusunda 1927 yılında Türkiye’de ilk defa genel nüfus sayımı gerçekleştirilmiştir.⁵ Sayımda aile ismi, cinsiyet, doğum tarihi, yaş, doğum yeri, medeni hal, ana lisan, daimi ikametgâh, tabiiyet, okuma biliniş bilinmediği, din, sakatlık vaziyeti gibi sorular sorulmuştu. Sayım sonucuna göre Türkiye’nin nüfusu 13.648.270 kişi olarak kayda geçmiştir. Nüfus sayımı öncesinde 1926 yılında İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü kurulmuştur. Böylelikle düzenli ve nitelikli verilerin elde edilmesine yönelik çabalar somut anlamda ortaya koyulmuştur. Bu sayımla sadece Türkiye’de nüfus tespiti yapılmamış ayrıca sayım öncesi oluşturulan bina sayım cetvelleriyle ülkedeki konut ve işyeri sayılarıyla bunların dağılımı da kayıt altına alınmıştır.⁶

Aynı tarihte Zonguldak ilinin bir kazası konumunda olan Bartın’da yapılan sayım sonuçlarında elde edilen nüfus verileri ile kazanın fiziki koşulları, ticaret, eğitim, sanayi, tarım, hayvancılık gibi birçok alanda toplanan somut veriler, Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası tarafından “*Bartın Rehberi*” adıyla küçük bir kitap olarak yayımlanmıştır.⁷ Bu çalışmada 1927 yılında neşredilmiş, o tarihten günümüze hemen hemen hiç değerlendirilmemiş ancak son yıllarda Bartın yerel tarihçiliğinin gündemine yeniden girmiş olan “*Bartın Rehberi*” adlı kaynak eser temel alınarak 1920’li yıllarda Bartın coğrafyasında tarım, hayvancılık ve ormancılık alanlarında yaşanan gelişmeler hakkında tespit edilen yeni bilgiler analiz

⁵ *Türkiye’de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişiminin 50 Yılı*, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1973, s. 48-49.

⁶ Ramazan Arslan, *Cumhuriyet’in İlk Yıllarında Bartın*, Orion Yayınevi, Ankara, 2017, s. 3-4.

⁷ Söz konusu kitap Ramazan Arslan tarafından transkribe edilerek “*Cumhuriyet’in İlk Yıllarında Bartın*” serlevhası altında “*Bartın Rehberi (Coğrafi, Zirai, Ticari, Sınai ve İctimai)*” başlığıyla yayımlanmıştır. “*Bu çalışma Bartın Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri Komisyonu tarafından desteklenmiştir. Proje No: 2017-SOS-A-004*” ibaresinden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla yazar eseri bilimsel araştırma proje kapsamında transkribe ederek yayına hazırlamıştır. Başlangıç kısımlarında eserle ilgili olarak verilen tanıtım bilgilerinden sonra iki sayfada aynı anda görülecek şekilde Osmanlıca ve Latin alfabeli nüsha okuyucuya sunulmuştur. Bk. Ramazan Arslan, *a.g.e.*, s. 1, 3.

edilmeye çalışılacaktır. 1920’li yılların Bartın’ı örneğinden hareketle ülke genelinde uygulanan tarım, hayvancılık ve ormancılık politikalarıyla ilgili bazı yorumlar yapılmaya çalışılacaktır.

Üzerine araştırma yapmış olduğumuz Bartın, Karadeniz Bölgesi’nin Batı Karadeniz bölümünde yer alan ve Zonguldak iline bağlıyken⁸ 7 Eylül 1991’de vilayet olmuştur.⁹ Kente ismini veren Bartın ırmağının Karadeniz’e ulaştığı kesimin 11 km kadar güneydoğusunda kurulmuştur.¹⁰ İl, 41° 53’ kuzey enlemiyle 32° 45’ doğu boylamı arasında yer almaktadır. Kuzeyinde Karadeniz; doğusunda Kastamonu, Cide ve Pınarbaşı; güneydoğusunda Eflani ve Safranbolu; güneyinde Karabük ve Yenice; batısında Zonguldak, Çaycuma ve Devrek bulunmaktadır.¹¹ İstanbul’un 164 mil, Zonguldak’ın 24 mil doğusunda denizden ilçe merkezine doğru uzanan ve bir zamanlar 100-200-250 tonluğa kadar gemilerin geliş ve gidişine elverişli Bartın ırmağı üzerinde kurulmuş durumdadır. Denizden ırmak yoluyla 7 mil, karayoluyla 11 km içeride üç tarafı suyla çevrili bir coğrafyada bulunmaktadır.¹²

Bartın, Amasra-Ulus-Kurucaşile ilçeleriyle birlikte 2143 km²’lik bir yüzölçümüne sahiptir. İlin kuzeyinde 59 km’lik sahil şeridi bulunmaktadır.¹³ Bartın, il merkezinin denizden yüksekliği muhtelif membalarda 8 metre olarak belirtilmekle birlikte bazı meyilli sırtlar ve tepelikler hâlinde bulunan bu yerleşim yerinde 25, 35 ve 55 metre rakımlı bölgeler olduğu gibi Ordu Yeri gibi 110 metre rakımlı tepeler de mevcuttur.¹⁴ Şehir, yükseklikleri 2000 metreyi geçmeyen ormanlarla kaplı dağlarla çevrilidir. Şehrin doğusunda Arıt Dağları, güneyinde Kocadağ, Karadağ ve Kayardı, batısında Aladağ, kuzeyinde Karasu dağları bulunmaktadır. Vadiler şehir merkezine doğru yer yer genişleyerek daha çok alan

⁸ Nurettin Cansever, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bartın*, Ersa Kollektif Şirketi Matbaası, İstanbul, 1965, s. 7.

⁹ Selâhattin Çilsüleymanoğlu, *Bartın Halk Kültürü*, Cilt 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1996, s. 21.

¹⁰ Metin Tuncel, “Bartın”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Cilt 5, İstanbul, 1992, s. 87.

¹¹ S. Çilsüleymanoğlu, *a.g.e.*, s. 21; *Bartın*, Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Yayınları, Ankara, 2007, s. 17.

¹² Mehmet Çötür, *Bartın Limanı İnşaat Sonu Raporu*, Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Demiryollar ve Limanlar İnşaat Reisliği, Devlet Su İşleri Matbaası, Ankara, 1970, s. 1.

¹³ *Bartın 2023 Stratejik Amaçlar ve İl Gelişme Planı*, haz. İl Planlama ve Koordinasyon Müdürlüğü, Bartın Valiliği Yayınları, Bartın, 2008, s. 5; S. Çilsüleymanoğlu, 1996, s. 21; *Bartın*, 2007, s. 17.

¹⁴ Kemal Samancıoğlu, *Bartın Belediyesi ve Tarihçesi*, 2. bs. Bartın Valiliği-Bartın Belediyesi Yayınları, Bartın, 1999, s. 202.

kaplarlar. Fakat son derece verimli bir yapıya sahip olmakla birlikte düzlüklerin yani tarıma elverişli toprağın miktarı fazla değildir.¹⁵

Bartın Rehberi

“*Bartın Rehberi*” adlı kaynak eser “*Coğrafi, Zirai, Ticari, Sınai ve İçtimai Vaziyeti Hakkında Neşr Olunmuştur*” alt başlığıyla okuyucuya sunulmuştur. Kitap halinde Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası tarafından 1927 yılında Şirket-i Mürettebiye matbaasında bastırılmıştır.¹⁶ 72 sayfadan oluşan bu eser, 16 bölümün bir araya gelmesiyle vücut bulmuştur. Eserin birinci bölümünde dönemin Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Baş Katibi İsmail Hakkı Bey’in takdim yazısı yer almıştır.¹⁷ İkinci bölümde Bartın ilinin fiziki olarak oturduğu alan,¹⁸ coğrafi yapısı,

¹⁵ *Bartın 2023 Stratejik Amaçlar ve İl Gelişme Planı, a.g.e., s. 5; N. Cansever, 1965, s. 9.*

¹⁶ Ramazan Arslan, *a.g.e., s. 1.*

¹⁷ Söz konusu eserin birinci bölümünde Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Baş Katibi İsmail Hakkı Bey tarafından kaleme alınan takdim yazısı kitabın aynı zamanda birinci bölümünü ve yayımlanış amacını anlatmaktadır. Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Baş Katibi İsmail Hakkı Bey, bu bölümde şu bilgilere yer vermiştir: “*Maarifin ve her türlü terakki ve te Feyyüzün önüne hailer çıkaran devr-i istibtadda memleketimizin iktisadi, içtimai, coğrafi, vaziyetleri hakkında bir kitap neşretmek ve bu vesile ile memleketimizi daha yakından tanıtmak imkanı yoktu. Bunun için beslediğimiz emelleri tahakkuk ettiremiyorduk. Yıllardan beri beslediğimiz emelimize milletimizin göz bebeği büyük müncimiz, dahî Gazimizin sayesinde nail olduk. Büyük bir vukufla bize terakki ve te Feyyüz yollarını gösteren, irşad ve ikaz eden Ulu Gazimizin genç, faal hükümet-i cumhuriyetimizin iktisad sahasında gösterdiği himmet ve muavenete istinaden yeşil Bartınımızın halen ve dolayısıyla atiyen parlak bir istikbale kavuşmak ve diğer memleketlerimize tanıttırarak ticaret ve sanayi-i mahalliyenin daha ziyade temin-i inkişafına ve daha doğrusu parlak bir istikbale kavuşmasına çalışmak emel-i halisanesiyle odamızca bir kitap neşri tasavvur edilmiş ve atiyen daha ziyade tekemmülüne çalışılmak üzere şimdilik muhtasar olarak şu eser meydana getirilmiştir. Kitaptaki noksanlardan odamızı haberdar edecek muhterem karilerimize şimdiden arz-ı teşekkür ederiz.*” Bk. *Bartın Rehberi, Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, Selamet Matbaası, Bartın, 1927, s. 3.*

¹⁸ Şehir yerleşmesi için son derece uygun bir yerde kurulmuş olan Bartın, yakın çevresine ve ülkenin başka yerlerine bağlanabilme açısından da coğrafi şartların kendisine bahsettiği birtakım imkânlardan faydalanmaktadır. Bunların başında Bartın Irmağı’nın özel durumundan bahsetmek gerekir. Bartın Irmağı’nın şehrin bulunduğu yerden Karadeniz’e kadar olan kesiminde çeşitli büyüklükte deniz taşıtlarının buraya kadar sokulmasına imkân vermesi, Bartın’ı Türkiye’nin yegâne nehir limanı durumuna getirmiştir. Şehir ayrıca, Karadeniz kıyı dağlarını uygun yerlerinden aşan bazı kollarla ülkenin çeşitli coğrafyalarına bağlanmaktadır. Kurucaşile-Cide-İnebolu-Sinop-Samsun üzerinden Orta ve Doğu Karadeniz’e bağlanmaktadır. Zonguldak-Ereğli-Akçakoca-Kandıra-Şile üzerinden İstanbul’a bağlandığı gibi iki farklı yoldan Türkiye’nin trafiği en yoğun olan İstanbul-Ankara karayoluna bağlanmaktadır. Bu yollardan biri Devrek-Mengen üzerinden geçerek dağlık kesimi Dorukhan Geçidi’nden aşar ve Yeniçağ’dan İstanbul-Ankara karayoluna kavuşur. İkincisi ise kıyı dağlarını Ahmet Usta Geçidi’nden aşarak Bartın’ı Safranbolu-Karabük üzerinden Gerede’de İstanbul-Ankara karayoluna bağlar. Bk. Kemal Samancıoğlu, *İktisat ve Ticaret Bakımından Bartın, Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Yayınları, Ankara, 1941, s. 11; Metin Tuncel, a.g.a.m., s. 87; Erkan Aşçıoğlu, Bartın, Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Yayınları, Bartın, 2001, s. 74; Ünal Özdemir, “Ulaşım Coğrafyası Açısından Önemli Bir Güzergâh: Karabük-Bartın Karayolu”, *Doğu Coğrafya Dergisi, Cilt 13, Sayı 19, 2008, s. 214; Bartın 2023 Stratejik Amaçlar ve İl Gelişme Planı, a.g.e.,**

Bartın ırmağı,¹⁹ Bartın isminin kaynağı ve tarihi hakkında bilgilere yer verilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde Bartın’a bağlı mahalle, nahiye ve köy isimleri ile bunların merkez kazaya uzaklıkları verilmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde nüfusla ilgili veriler işlenirken; beşinci bölümde kazanın milli eğitim durumu incelenmiştir. Altıncı bölümde kazanın ticari yapısı, ithalat ve ihracatı; yedinci bölümde sanayi durumu; sekizinci bölümde maden durumu; dokuzuncu bölümde tarımsal yapı; onuncu bölümde yol durumu hususları üzerinde durulmuştur. On birinci bölümde ormanlık alanların toplam genişliği, ormanlardan elde edilen kereste imalatı ve ormanda yer alan ağaçların özellikleri; on ikinci bölümde kazadaki hayvan sayısı ve arazi özelliğine bağlı olarak yetiştirilen hayvanlara ilişkin bilgilere yer verilmiştir. On üçüncü bölümde kazanın mali durumu; on dördüncü bölümde il özel idaresi; on beşinci bölümde kazada bulunan devlet daireleri, gümrük ve devlet arazilerine ilişkin bilgiler verilmiştir. On altıncı ve son bölümde ise Bartın’da mevcut bütün devlet memurlarının adlarına ve vazifelerine yer verilmiştir.²⁰

Ziraata Ait Malumat

Araştırmamızın bu kısmına Bartın coğrafyasında 1920 yıllarda tarım, hayvancılık ve ormancılık alanlarında yaşanan gelişmeler temel kaynak olarak tespit edilen “*Bartın Rehberi*” adlı eserin ilgili bölümlerinde verilen bilgiler çerçevesinde değerlendirmeye tabi tutulacaktır. Öncelikle eserin ilgili bölümünün transkripsiyonu verilecek akabinde bilgiler analiz edilecektir.²¹

s. 5; Yenal Ünal, *Kuruluşunun 50. Yıl Dönümünde Bartın Limanı Tarihi*, Yeditepe Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2015, s. 29-33.

¹⁹ Bartın Irmağı, küçüklü büyüklü çay ve derelerden oluşmaktadır. Bunlar Akpınar, Kozlu, Kışla, Arıt, Mevren, Göksu çayı ve dereleridir. Bu çaylardan biri Kozcağz’ın Hasankadı köyünden doğup, Ulus ilçesinin Hisar köyünden çıkan kolla Kozcağz’ın Bakioğlu köyü yakınlarında birleşerek Bartın’a yaklaştığında Kocamaz adını alır. Diğer bir kol ise Kastamonu ilinin, Bartın’ın Ulus ilçesiyle sınır teşkil eden birkaç köyünden doğar. Ulus’un Şeyhler köyü yakınlarında Eflani’den gelen kolla birleşir, sonra Amasra ilçesinin Yukarısal köyünden doğan kolun katılmasıyla büyür. Bartın düzlüğüne gelirken dik açılı bir büklüm yaparak, Bartın’ı üç tarafından sularla çevrilen bir yarım ada durumuna getirir. Bartın’a yaklaştığında Kocarmak veya Kocaçay adını alır. Bu iki büyük çay, Bartın’ın Gazhane denilen semtinde birleşerek Bartın ırmağı adını alır. Bu ırmak denize yaklaştıkça derinleşir, durgunlaşır ve Boğaz’dan Karadeniz’e ulaşır. Üzerinde tonlarca ağırlıktaki gemilerin dolaşabilmesi, suyunun bol, rejiminin düzenli olması, yöre taşımacılığında bu nehrin önemini arttırmıştır. Bk. Cevdet Yakupoğlu, *Bartın Vakıfları (1214-1514)*, Bartın Valiliği İl Özel İdaresi Başkanlığı Yayınları, Bartın, 2010, s. 4; S. Çilsüleymanoğlu, *a.g.e.*, s. 21, 22, 23.

²⁰ R. Arslan, *a.g.e.*, s. 5.

²¹ Tarım, hayvancılık ve ormancılık alanlarında ülke genelinde yapılan sayımlara göre ortaya çıkan veriler için bk. *Türkiye’de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişmenin 50 Yılı*, *a.g.e.*, s. 84-86.

“Bartın Rehberi”nin dokuzuncu faslı olan “Ziraate Ait Malumat” başlıklı kısımda şu bilgilere yer almıştır: “Bartın kazası arazisi ziraata çok elverişli ve kuvvetlidir. Buğdaydan ziyade mısır yetiştirir. Kışlık olarak vasati senede (150.000) dönüm buğday, (80.000) dönüm arpa, (50.000) dönüm yulaf, (25.000) dönüm kaplıca ve yazlık olarak (100.000) dönüm mısır, (15000) darı tohumu ekilir. Vakt u zamanında yağmurlar yağar dolu. Vesair afattan masun olduğu senelerde (4) milyon kilo buğday, (bir milyon beş yüz bin kilo arpa), (bir milyon beş yüz bin kilo yulaf, (bir milyon) kilo kaplıca, (sekiz milyon beş yüz bin) kilo mısır ve (sekiz yüz elli bin) kilo darı hasılatı olur. Bartın muhiti çiftçisi biraz atıldır. Kolaylıkla ziraat yapmasını bilmezler. Usul-u cedit alat-ı ziraiyesine alışmamıştır. Kastamonu ve Zafranbolu rençberleri gibi ziraatde sa’y göstermiş olsalar daha ziyade terakki ederler. Kastamonu ve Zafranbolu arazisinin kısm-ı azamına üç ve dört senede gübre dökerler bir senede nadası yapılarak istirahate bırakırlar. Burada gübreye dahi ehemmiyet verilmediği halde her sene ekilir, oldukça mahsul alınır.²²

Tütün ziraatı 1339 senesi 360 dönüm ziraiyattan 18.365 kilo, 1340 senesi 704 dönümden 38.216, 1341 senesi 1.110 dönümden (136.331) kilo tütün elde edilmiştir. Şu hesaba nazaran 1339 senesi bir dönümden elli bir kilo, 1340 senesi bir dönümden elli dört kilo, 1341 senesi beher dönümden (yüz yirmi iki buçuk) kilo tütün hasılatı elde edilmiş ki 1341 senesinde azim bir terakki görülmekte iken 1926 senesinde maalesef birden tedenni etmiştir. Sene-yi mezkurda yalnız otuz bir dönüm ziraiyat yapılmıştır. Bu birden bire vaki olan tedenninin nelerden ileri geldiği araştırıldığında zirai tütün fidelerinin keşfine giden memurların vukufsuzlukları hasebiyle fazla keşfiyatta bulunmuş oldukları gibi inhisar idaresinin tatbik ettiği keşfiyat kanunu sabık reji zamanındaki kanunun tatbiki ve bu yüzden keşfiyat miktarını ikmal edemeyen pek çok zirain ceza yapılarak mahkemelere düşmesi ve zirai keşfiyat miktarını doldurmak mecburiyeti dolayısıyla dib ve fena tütünleri iyi malına karıştırmak suretiyle noksanını ikmale teşebbüs etmesinden malının kıymetini düşürmekte olması ve şu vaziyette alıcı tüccarda revac göstermediği gibi inhisar idaresi de zirain ihtiyar ettiği zahmete değmeyecek derecede dün fiyatla mübayaada bulunmuş olmasından iş bu feyzli tütün ziraiyatı terakki edecek iken bilakis birden bire zevale yüz tutmuştur. Binaenaleyh şu zevailin önüne geçmek çareleri 1927 senesi martında icra kılınan kongreye üçüncü madde olarak ilave edilmiştir. Bartın’da oldukça ehemmiyeti haiz denecek derecede sebze yetiştirilir. Dahilen idare ettikten sonra Zonguldak’a bir miktar sebze ihracatı yapılır. Ve bir sebze konserve fabrikası yapıldığı suretle idare eder.²³

²² Bartın Rehberi, a.g.e., s. 47.

²³ Bartın Rehberi, a.g.e., s. 47-48.

Bartın’da ibtidai surette ve az miktarda açılan ipek böceği tohumlarından memnuniyetle şayan derecede koza alınmakta olmasına ve muhitin dut yetiştirmeğe istidatı mevcut bulunmasına binaen ipek böcekçiliğinin tamimi ve dut garsiyyatının tevsi, dutluk ve böcekthane tesisi lazımdır.”²⁴

Eserde verilen bilgilerde anlaşıldığına üzere Bartın coğrafyası tarım bakımından son derece uygun bir toprak yapısına sahiptir. Bu kaynaktan hareketle bölgede en çok üretimi yapılan tarım ürünlerinin mısır ve buğday olduğunu ifade edebiliriz. Kışlık olmak üzere yıllık ortalama olarak 150.000 dönüm buğday, 80.000 dönüm arpa, 50.000 dönüm yulaf, 25.000 dönüm kaplıca²⁵ ekimi yapılmaktadır. Yine yazlık olarak 100.000 dönüm mısır, 15.000 darı tohumu ekilmektedir. Yağışlar mevsim şartları normalinde, zamanında yağmaktadır. Herhangi bir doğal afet olayının olmadığı yıllarda 4.000.000 kilo buğday, 1.500.000 kilo arpa, 1.500.000 kilo yulaf, 1.000.000 kilo kaplıca, 8.500.000 kilo mısır ve 850.000 kilo darı üretimi yapılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte örneğin Kastamonu ve Safranbolu çiftçileriyle karşılaştırıldığında Bartın’da faaliyet gösteren çiftçiler modern ziraat araç-gereçlerden tam anlamıyla faydalanmamaktadırlar. Yine aynı şekilde adı geçen yörelerin çiftçilerine nazaran, ziraat hususunda daha az bilgi birikimine sahiptirler. Bartınlı çiftçilerin eksikliklerini gidermeleri durumunda çok daha fazla ilerleme kaydedecekleri şüphesizdir. Çünkü Kastamonu ve Safranbolu tarlalarının büyük kısmına üç, dört yılda bir gübre dökülüp, araziler senede bir nadasa bırakıldığı halde Bartın’da tarlalara gübre dökülmediği gibi araziler nadasa bırakılmadan her yıl ekilip dikilebilmektedir. Dolayısıyla esere göre, Bartınlı çiftçilere modern tarım yöntemlerinin öğretilmesi ve daha bilinçli bir çiftçilik yöntemi benimsetilmesi durumunda yörede tarımsal anlamda ciddi bir kalkınma yaşanacaktır.²⁶

Esere göre, yörede ziraatı yapılan bir diğer tarım ürünü de tütündür. 1923 yılında 360 dönüm alandan 18.365 kilo tütün, 1924 yılında 704 dönümden 38.216 kilo tütün, 1925 yılında 1.110 dönümden 136.331 kilo tütün elde edilmiştir. 1926 yılında yörede tütün hasılatı çok ciddi bir artış göstermişken 1926 yılına gelindiğinde tütün üretiminde bu sefer ciddi oranda bir azalma meydana gelmiştir. Adı geçen yılda sadece 31 dönüm tütün ziraatı yapılmıştır. Bu çok ciddi düşüşün sebepleri tetkik edildiğinde şu gerçeğe karşılaşılmıştır: Tarımsal tütün fidelerinin tespitine giden memurlar, öngörüsüzlükleri nedeniyle fazla keşifte bulun-

²⁴ *Bartın Rehberi, a.g.e., s. 48.*

²⁵ Batı Karadeniz bölgesinde bol miktarda ekimi yapılan bir buğday çeşidi.

²⁶ R. Arslan, *a.g.e., s. 11-12.*

muşlardır. Nitekim tekel idaresinin uygulamış olduğu keşif kanunu eski reji idaresi zamanındaki kanunu uygulamış ve bu yüzden keşif miktarını tamamlayamayan pek çok çiftçi cezaya maruz kalarak mahkemelere düşmüştür. Yine tütün hasılatı tespit miktarını doldurmak mecburiyeti nedeniyle çiftçinin kalitesiz tütünleri yüksek kaliteli ürününe karıştırmak suretiyle eksiğini kapatarak taahhüt ettiği miktarı doldurmaya teşebbüs etmesinden dolayı malının kıymeti de düşmüştür. Bu nedenle alıcı tüccarlar bu çeşit kalitesi düşük ürünlere ilgi göstermedikleri gibi tekel idaresi de çiftçinin verdiği uğraşa değmeyecek derecede çok alt bir fiyatla, ürünü satın almış ve bu nedenle çiftçi bu ürünün ziraatına 1926 yılında ilgi göstermemiştir.²⁷

Eserde verilen bilgilerden hareketle Bartın'da zirai manada önemli ölçüde sebze tarımı da yapılmaktadır. Yetiştirilen ürün miktarı şehrin ihtiyacını karşıladığı gibi ihtiyaç fazlası ürünler Zonguldak'a ihraç edilmektedir. Yörede üretim miktarı o kadar yeterlidir ki yetiştirilen sebze miktarı açılması halinde bir sebze konserve fabrikasının ihtiyacına cevap verebilir.²⁸

Benzer şekilde eserde, Bartın'da az da olsa ipek böcekçiliği yapıldığı belirtilmektedir. Yörenin şartları dut yetiştirilmesine son derece uygundur. Bununla birlikte bu alanda daha fazla ileri gidilebilmesi için dut ağacı ekiminin olabildiğince arttırılması, dutluk ve böcekthane tesislerinin kurulması gerekmektedir.²⁹

Bartın'ın Ormanları Hakkında Malumat

“Bartın Rehberi” nin on birinci faslı olan “Bartı'nın Ormanları Hakkında Malumat” başlıklı kısımda şu bilgilere ver verilmiştir. “Bartın kazası dahilinde hususiyeti tasdik edilmiş orman olmayıp kamilen miridir. Mesaha-yı sathiyesi takriben (yüz bin hektar) vüsatindedir. Bu ormanlardan el ve su hızarları ve kereste fabrikalar vasıtasıyla metbu kereste imal olunur. Sırf Bartın ormanları katiyat ve imarati senede (beş ila on bin) metromekab raddesinde mamul kerestedir. Eşcarın % 85'i kayın, gürgen, % 15'i meşe, çam, göknar, karaağaç, diş budak, çınar, kızılağaç, kestane ve serpmme suretiyle şimşir, kızılıcak, kayacık, sarıca boya ağacı, defne ve sair ağaçlar da vardır. Bartın iskele-

²⁷ R. Arslan, *a.g.e.*, s. 12.

²⁸ R. Arslan, *a.g.e.*, s. 12.

²⁹ R. Arslan, *a.g.e.*, s. 12.

sinden senede kereste imarati asgari (yirmi beş, azami otuz beş bin) metromekap kadardır. Zafranbolu, Araç, Damı, Devrek ormanlarının kısmen imarati da bu yekuna dahildir.”³⁰

Bartın bulunduğu coğrafi bölge bakımından tarihin en eski dönemlerinden itibaren oldukça zengin ve geniş orman alanlarına sahip olmuştur. Araştırmamız kapsamında kaynak eser olarak aldığımız “*Bartın Rehberi*”nin ilgili bölümünde de her şeyden önce bu hususa vurgu yapılmıştır. Esere göre 1927 yılında Bartın’da yer alan ormanların tamamı devlet malıdır. Ormanların kapladığı toplam alan 100.000 hektar kadardır. Bu ormanlardan el, su hızarları ve kereste fabrikaları yoluyla ciddi oranda kereste imalatı gerçekleştirilmektedir. Bölgedeki ormanlardan 5.000-10.000 m³ civarında kereste üretilmektedir. Ormanlarda yer alan ağaçların % 85’i kayın ve gürgen, % 15’i meşe, çam, göknar, karaağaç, diş budak, çınar, kızılbaş, kestane, şimşir, kızılıçık, kayacık, sarıca boya ağacı ve defne gibi ağaçlardan oluşmaktadır. Bartın iskelesinden senelik 25.000-35.000 m³ kereste işlem görmektedir. Bu rakama Safranbolu, Araç ve Devrek ormanlarından elde edilen miktarlar da dahildir.³¹

Hayvanat Hakkında Malumat

“*Bartın Rehberi*”nin on ikinci faslı olan “*Hayvanat Hakkında Malumat*” başlıklı kısımda şu bilgilere yer verilmiştir. “*Bartın kazasında bulunan hayvanat-ı ehliye, bargir,³² merkeb, öküz, inek, boğa, manda, koyun ve keçiden ibarettir. Bartın arazisinin vaziyet-i tabiyesine ve hayvanatın kesafetine nazaran üç büyük muntıkaya kabil-i taksimdir. Birinci muntika Bartın şehrine göre şimal-i şarki kısımdır ki burada hayvanat pek seyrek bulunur. Yalnız keçi ve koyun nispeten fazla miktardadır. İkinci muntika şimal-i şarki yani Arıt muntikasıdır ki burada hayvanat mutavassıt bir miktarda mevcuttur. Üçüncü muntika cenub ve cenub-u garbi kısımdır ki arazinin nispeten münbit ve sulak bulunmasından en ziyade kesafet-i hayvaniye bu noktada bulunmaktadır. Hayvanatın miktarları 1926 senesinde ki yoklama üzerine (460) bargir, (1523) kısarak (750) tay*

³⁰ *Bartın Rehberi, a.g.e., s. 50-51.*

³¹ R. Arslan, *a.g.e., s. 13.*

³² Yüz tutan, yük kaldıran, beygir, katur, erkek at. Bk. Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, İkdam Matbaası, İstanbul, (M. 1901), R. 1317, s. 262; Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, 18. bs. Aydın Kitabevi, Ankara, 2001, s. 71.

olmak üzere ceman (2733) re'stir.³³ Hayvanat-ı feresiye³⁴ umumen yerlidir. Arab ve ecnebi ırkına mensup hayvanata pek ender tesadüf edilmektedir. Yerli hayvanattan yüz kırk irtifaında oldukça mütanasib eşkal-i hayvanata tesadüf edilmekte ise de mazinin serab-ı teessürü en ziyade hayvanat-ı feresiye görülmektedir. Amasra mandasında³⁵ (dört yüzü) müteceviz merkeb vardır. Başka tarafta varsa da ehemmiyeti haiz değildir. (20.608) re's inek (18.267) re's öküz (9.670) re's dana, düve ve buzağı olup ceman (48.545) re's hayvanat-ı bakariye mevcuttur. Gölpazarı taraflarında oldukça cüsseli mandalara tesadüf edilmekte ise de umumiyetle vasat kamattedir. Hayvanatın tarz-ı maışetleri ve bakımları cihetiyle diğer tarafların manda etinde bulunan fena rayiha Bartın mandalarının lahmında yoktur. Ciltleri nisbeten ince vaziyettedir. (3.529) re's dişi (5021) re's erkek manda ve (2.800) re's malak³⁶ mevcuttur. (9661) re's koyun mevcut olup arazinin ratıp olmasından kelebek hastalığına pek ziyade maruzdur. (6.300) re's keçi mevcut olup Filyos muntikasında ki abaza keçileri yevmiye iki kıyyeye kadar süt verebilirler. Arazinin ratıp olmasından hayvanat-ı bakariyede ve ezcümle mandalarda barbuna, boğaz alma hastalıkları bazen zuhur etmektedir. Diğer hayvanat hastalıklarına pek az tesadüf olunur."³⁷

Bartın, günümüzde bütün ülke genelinde yaşandığı gibi hayvancılık hususunda ciddi bir gerileme yaşamakla birlikte 1920'lerde bu alanda ileri gitmiş coğrafyalardandır. Kaynak eserimizde verilen bilgilere göre yörede o dönemde yetiştiriciliği yapılan hayvanlar arasında beygir, eşek, öküz, inek, boğa, manda, koyun ve keçiden sayılabilir. Bartın arazisinin yapısına ve hayvan sıklığına bakarak bölgeyi üç temel kısma bölmek mümkündür. Birinci kısım şehrin kuzey doğu kısmıdır ki burada hayvancılık yaygın değildir. Sadece keçi ve koyun yetiştiriciliği yapılmaktadır. İkinci kısım Arıt muntikasıdır ki burada hayvancılık nispeten daha fazla gelişmiştir. Üçüncü kısım şehrin güney ve güney batı kesimidir ki bu bölgede toprakların verimli ve sulak olmasından kaynaklı olarak en fazla hayvancılık faaliyeti bu bölgede gerçekleştirilmektedir. At cinsi hayvan sa-

³³ Re's, her bir canlı hayvanı ifade etmek için kullanılan terimdir. Baş, uç, tepe, birinci ve ilk manalarını da ifade etmektedir. Bk. Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Lügat*, 4. bs. İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, İstanbul, 1965, s. 623.

³⁴ At, beygir. Bk. F. Devellioğlu, *a.g.e.*, s. 259.

³⁵ Eser, ciddi bir biçimde okunduğunda kimi zaman imla yanlışlarının yapıldığı tespit edilmiştir. 52. sayfada geçen "Amasra mandasında dört yüzü müteceviz merkeb vardır" ifadesini bu kitap üzerine yeni bir tetkik ortaya koyan Ramazan Arslan da bu şekilde okumuştur. Ancak kuvvetle muhtemel "Amasra mandası" ifadesi bir yazım yanlışdır. Cümlelerin gelişinden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla ifade "Amasra muntikası" olarak yazılmak istenmiştir. Metnin aslında bu nevi yazım hataları mevcuttur.

³⁶ Manda yavrusu. Bk. Şemsettin Sami, *a.g.e.*, s. 1259.

³⁷ *Bartın Rehberi*, *a.g.e.*, s. 51-52.

yıllarına 1926 yılı verileri baz alınarak bakıldığında yörede 460 beygir, 1523 kısarak 750 tay olmak üzere toplam 2733 baş hayvanın olduğu görülmektedir. Atlar ekseri yerlidir. Arap ve diğer yabancı ırklara oldukça ender rastlanmaktadır.

Amasra mıntıkasında yine 400’den fazla eşek bulunmaktadır. Yörede toplamda 48.545 adet öküz, dana, sığır türü hayvan bulunmaktadır. Bunun 20.608’i inek, 18.267’si öküz ve 9,670’i dana, düve ve buzağıdan oluşmaktadır. Gölpazarı taraflarında oldukça cüsseli hayvanlara rastlanılmakla birlikte genelde orta büyüklükteki hayvanlar yaygın olarak görülmektedir. Hayvanların bakım ve beslenme tarzları göz önüne alındığında özellikle diğer komşu şehirlerin manda etindeki fena koku Bartın’daki mandalarda bulunmamaktadır. Manda cinsi hayvanların miktarına bakıldığında 3.529 baş dişi manda, 5.021 baş erkek manda ve 2800 baş malak bulunmaktadır. Küçükbaş hayvan olarak 9.661 baş koyun mevcut olup arazinin son derece nemli olmasından kaynaklı olmak üzere bu çeşit hayvanlarda kelebek hastalığına çokça rastlanmaktadır. Yine bölgede 6.300 baş keçi bulunmaktadır. Arazinin rutubetli olmasından dolayı inek, öküz, manda, malak gibi büyük baş hayvanlarda genel olarak barbuna ve boğaz alma gibi hastalıklar görülmektedir. Diğer hayvan hastalıkları pek yaygın değildir.³⁸

Sonuç

Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası tarafından 1927 yılında tüm ülkede yapıldığı gibi Bartın’da da yapılan sayımlar sonucunda birçok sahada oldukça önemli veriler ortaya çıkmıştır. Şehrin, ticari, iktisadi, zirai, mali durumu başta olmak üzere sahip olduğu maden kaynaklarına, bölgede yapılan hayvancılık faaliyetlerine ve ormancılık çalışmalarına ilişkin birçok mühim bilgiyi bu kaynakta bulabilmek mümkündür. Araştırmamıza temel oluşturan kaynak “*Bartın Rehberi*” adıyla Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası tarafından 1927 yılında Şirket-i Mürettebiyle matbaasında yayımlanmıştır. 72 sayfadan müteşekkil olarak hazırlanan ve sayım sonuçlarını ihtiva eden bir nevi rapor niteliğindeki bu eser 16 bölümden oluşmuştur. Kitap, dönemin Bartın Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Baş Katibi İsmail Hakkı Bey’in takdim yazısıyla okuyucuya sunulmuştur. Eserin tetkikimiz kapsamındaki “*Dokuzuncu Faslı*”, “*Ziraata Ait Malumat*”; “*On Birinci Faslı*”, “*Bartın’ın Ormanları Hakkında Malumat*” ve “*On İkinci Faslı*”, “*Hayvanat Hakkında Malumat*” başlıklarını taşımaktadır.

³⁸ R. Arslan, *a.g.e.*, s. 13-14.

Eserin, “*Dokuzuncu Faslı*”, olan “*Ziraate Ait Malumat*” başlıklı bölümde 1920’li yılların Bartın’ındaki tarımsal faaliyetler hakkında doyurucu bilgiler mevcuttur. Buna göre bölgede mısır, buğday, arpa, kaplıca, darı tohumu ve tütün ekimi yapılmaktadır. Arazinin verimli olması hasebiyle ekili alanlardan bol miktarda ürün alınmaktadır. Bundan daha fazlası da elde edilebilir. Ancak bölgede modern tarım yöntemleri ve bilinçli tarım teknikleri uygulanmamaktadır. Arazi örneğin Safranbolu’dan ve Kastamonu’dan çok daha verimlidir. Bartın yöresinde çiftçilerin bazı yeniliklerle tanışması durumunda topraktan elde edecek ürün çok daha fazla olacaktır. Bölgede sebze tarımı da önemli ölçüde gerçekleştirilmektedir. Öyle ki yetiştirilen ürünlerin ihtiyaç fazlası Bartın’ın o dönemde bağlı bulunduğu Zonguldak vilayetine ihraç edilmektedir. Bu dönem kayıtlarından anlaşıldığı kadarıyla bölgede bugün hemen hemen kaybolmaya yüz tutmakla birlikte az da olsa ipek böcekçiliği yapılmaktadır. Coğrafya, dut yetiştiriciliğine ciddi manada elverişli olmakla birlikte bu sahada şuurlu bir gelişim yaşanmamıştır. “*Bartın Rehberi*” daha 1927 yılında bölgede bir dutluk ve böcek-hane tesisinin kurulması gerektiğini belirtmekle birlikte bugün bu uğraştan hemen hemen hiçbir iz kalmamıştır. Dolayısıyla o devirlerde az miktarda yapılan ipek böcekçiliği bugün tamamen yok olma noktasına gelmiştir.

Eserin, “*On Birinci Faslı*”, “*Bartın’ın Ormanları Hakkında Malumat*” adını taşımaktadır. Bu bölümde 1920’li yıllarda Bartın’da yer alan orman ve ormancılık faaliyetleri hakkında özet bilgiler verilmiştir. Buna göre Bartın’da tarihin daha eski dönemlerine gidildiğinde çok daha güz ormanların bulunduğunu kaynaklar anlatmaktadır. Ormanlardan önemli ölçüde kereste imalatı yapılmaktadır. Nitekim bölgede ormanlık alanlardan senelik 5.000-10.000 m³ civarında kereste üretilmektedir. Yörede keresteciliğin geliştiğini gösteren en önemli göstergelerden biri de Bartın iskelesinden yıllık 25.000-35.000 m³ kerestenin işlem görmesidir.

Eserin, “*On İkinci Faslı*”, “*Hayvanat Hakkında Malumat*” adını taşımaktadır. Çalışmanın bu kısmında tıpkı ziraat bölümünde olduğu gibi teferruatlı bilgiler sunulmuştur. Esere göre bölgede 1920’li yıllarda daha çok beygir, eşek, öküz, inek, boğa, manda, koyun ve keçi yetiştiriciliği yapılmaktadır. Hayvancılık bu dönemde yörede ciddi manada gelişmiş bir vaziyettedir.

Sonuç olarak çalışmada elde edilen veriler genel olarak değerlendirildiğinde bugününün Bartın ilinin 1927’nin Bartın kazasının tarihi geçmişi ve sahip olduğu elverişli coğrafi özellikleri göz önüne alındığında, şehrin hem bölgesinde hem de ülke ekonomisinde mühim bir yer işgal ettiği aşikârdır. Günümüzde olduğu gibi 1920’li yıllarda da Bartın tarım, hayvancılık ve ormancılık

faaliyetleri açısından kendine yetebilen ve ihtiyaç fazlasını diğer şehirlere ihraç edebilen bir yöredir. Modern yöntemler ve şuurlu tarım politikaları çerçevesinde hareket edilmemiş olmakla birlikte ziraatçılık, hayvancılık ve ormancılık hususlarında Bartın tükettiğinden daha fazla üretim gerçekleştirmiş mümtaz beldelerden biri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Öyle ki “*Bartın Rehberi*” adlı kaynak eserde yer alan bilgiler, bu gerçeği bir kez daha teyit etmektedir.

Eserde verilen bilgilerden hareketle Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’ün tarımın Türkiye’de geliştirilmesi için vermiş olduğu mücadelenin ne kadar da haklı gerekçelere dayandığı daha iyi gözlemlenmektedir. Anadolu coğrafyasında verimli araziler üzerinde bile modern tarım yöntemlerinin uygulanmaması usulünün, ne yörelere ne de ülke ekonomisine ciddi katkılar sağlamayacağını gören genç cumhuriyet tarım politikalarını tesis ederken bu gerçeği daima göz önünde bulundurmıştır.

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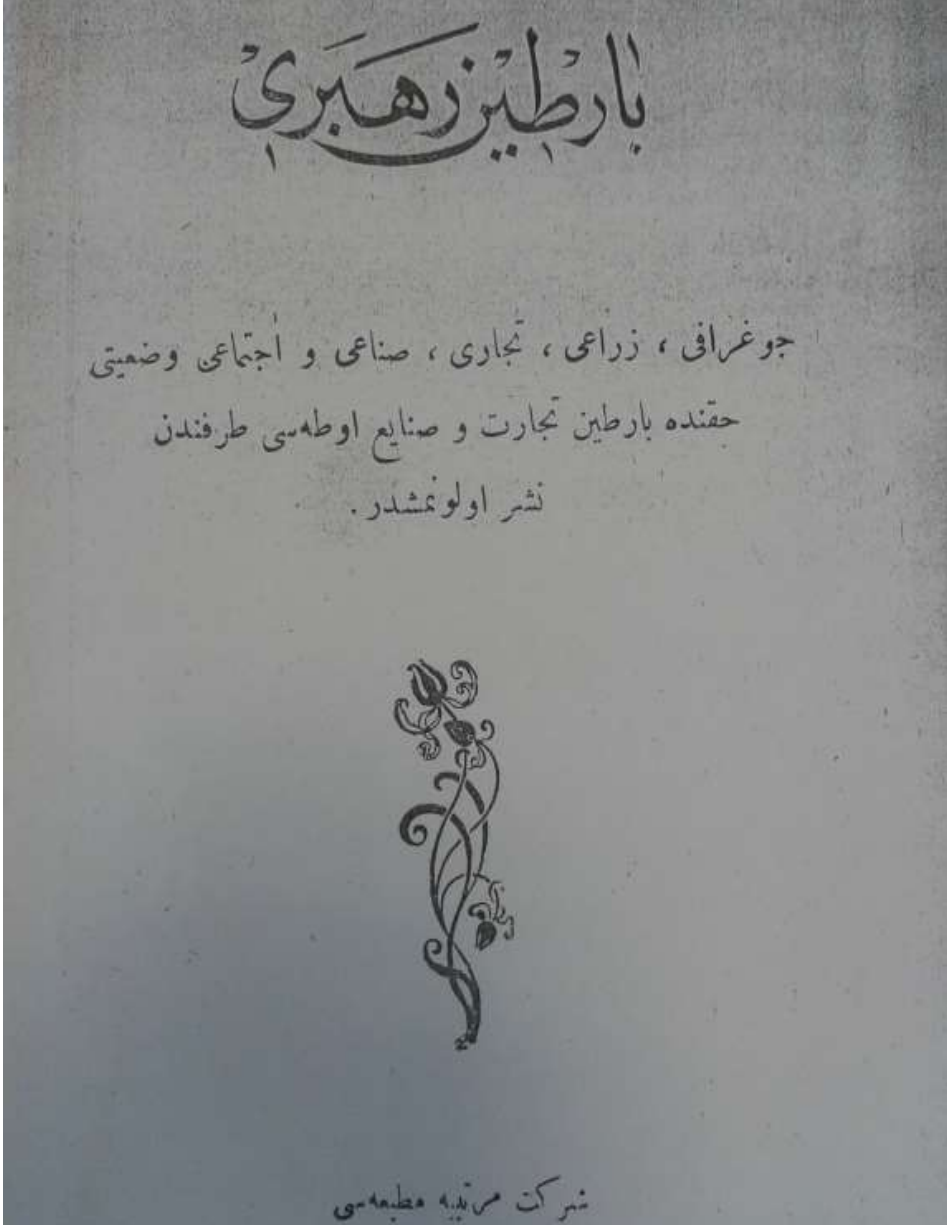
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EKLER

(Bartın Rehberi Adlı Kaynak Eserin Araştırmamız Kapsamındaki Bölümleri)



معارفك و هر درلو ترقى و تفيضك او كنه حائلر چيقاران دوراستبدادده
مملكتمزك اقتصادى ، اجتماعى ؛ جوغرافى وضعيتلى حقنده بر كتاب نشر
ايتك ونو وسيله ايله مملكتمزى دها يقيندن طابق امكانى بوقدى، بونكچون
بسلهديكمز املارى تحقيق ايندبره ميوردق . بيللردنبرى بسلهديكمز املمزه
ملتتمزك كوز بيكي بويوك منجيمز داهى غازيمزك سايه سنده نائل اولدق، بويوك
بر وقوفله زه ترقى و تفيض بولارى كوسترن، ارشاد و ايظاظ ابدن اولوغازيمزه
كنج ، فعال حكومت جمهوريه مزك اقتصاد ساحه سنده كوسترديكى همت و
معاونه استناد ايشيل بارطينمزك حالاً ودولاييسيله آتياً پارلاق بر استقباله
قاووشمق وديكر مملكتملريمزه طانتدبرارق تجارت و صنايع محليه مك دها زياده
تامين انكشافه ودها طوغرىسى پارلاق بر استقباله قاووشمانه جاليشمق امل
خالصانه سيله او طه مزجه بر كتاب نشرى تصورايدلمش و آتيا دها زياده تكملنه جاليشلمق
اوزره شيمديلك مختصر اوله رق شو اثر ميدانه كتيرلمشدر .
كتابده كي نقصانلردن او طه مزى خبردار ايده جك محترم قارئلريمزه شيمديدن
عرض تشكر ايدرز .

بارطين تجارت و صنايع
او طه سى باشكاتبى
اسماعيل مهنى

طقوزنجی فصل

زراعتہ عامہ معلومات :

بارطین قضای اراضیسی زراعتہ چوق الویریشلی و قوتلیدر . بغدادین زیادہ مصر یتیشدیرر ، قیشلق اولهرق وسطی سنده [۱۵۰۰۰۰] دونم بغدادی ، [۸۰۰۰۰] دونم آرپه ، [۵۰۰۰۰] دونم یولاف ، [۲۵۰۰۰] دونم قاپلیجه و یازلق اولهرق [۱۰۰۰۰۰] دونم مصر ، [۱۵۰۰۰] داری توخومی اکیلیر . وقت و زماننده یاغمورلر یاغار دولو . و سائر آفادن مصون اولدینی سنلرده [۴] میلیون کیلو بغدادی ، [بر میلیون بشیوز بیک کیلو آرپه] بر میلیون بشیوز بیک [کیلو یولاف ، [بر میلیون] کیلو قاپلیجه ، [سکنز میلیون بشیوز بیک] کیلو مصر و [سکنز یوز الی بیک] کیلو داری حاصلاتی اولور . بارطین محیطی چیفتجیسی براز عاطلدر ، قیرلایلقه زرعیات یاپماسنی بیلمز لر ، اصول جدید آلات زراعیه سنه آیشمه مشدره قسطمونی وزعفرانیولی رنجیرلری کی زراعتده سمی کوسترمش اولسه لر دها زیادہ ترقی ایدر لر . قسطمونی و زعفرانیولی اراضیسنک قسم اعظمه اوچ ودرت سنده کوبره دوکرلر و بر سنده نداسی یاپیلهرق استراحتہ بر اقبیر لر ، بوراده کوبره بهدخی اهمیت و برلمدیکی حالده هر سنه اکیلیر ، اولدججه محصول آلینیر .

نوتون زرعیاتی ۳۳۹ سنه سی ۳۶۰ دونم زرعیاتدن ۱۸۳۶۵ کیلو ، ۳۴۰ سنه سی ۷۰۴ دونمدن ۳۸۲۱۶ کیلو ، ۳۴۱ سنه سی ۱۱۱۰ دونمدن [۱۳۶۳۳۱]

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کیلو توتون آلدە ایدلشدیر . شو حسابہ نظر آ ۳۳۹ سنہی بر دوغمدن الی بر
کیلو ، ۳۴۰ سنہی بر دوغمدن الی دوت کیلو ، ۳۴۱ سنہی ہر دوغمدن
[بوز بکری ایکی بقی] کیلو تونون حاصلاتی آلدە ایدلش کہ ۳۴۱ سنہندہ
عظیم بر ترقی کورولمکده ایکن ۹۲۶ سنہندہ مع الاسف بردنبرہ ندنی ایتشدیر .
سنہ مذکورده یالکیز اونوز بر دوغم زرعیات پایلمشدیر ، بو بردنبرہ واقع
اولان تدینک نوردن ایلر وکلدیکی آراشدیرلدیغندہ زراع توتون فیدہ لرینک
کشفنه کیدن مأمورلرک وقوفسزلقلری حسیبلہ فضلہ کشفیانده بولمش
اولدقلری کی انحصار اداره سنک تطبیق ایتدیکی کشفیات قانونی سابق رژی
زمانده کی قانونک تطبیق و بو بوزدن کشفیات مقدارچی اکیال ایدہ میان یک
چوق زراعک جزا یایبلہرق محکمہ لرہ دوغمدن و زراع کشفیات مقدارچی
دولدیرق مجبورچی دولایسبلہ دیب و فنا توتونلری آبی مالنه قاریشدیررق
صورتیلہ نقصاتی اکیالہ نشیت ایتہ سندن مالنک قیمتنی دوشورمکده اولسی و
شو وضعیتده آلیجی نجارده رواج کوسترمدیکی کی انحصار اداره سی ده زراعک
اختیار ایتدیکی زحمتہ دکمہ به جک درجہده دون فیانلہ مباحہده بولومش اولسندن
اشبو فیضلی توتون زرعیاتی ترقی ایدہ جک ایکن بالعکس بردنبرہ زوالہ بوز
طوتمشدر . بناء علیہ شو زوالک اوکنہ کچمک چارہ لری ۹۲۷ سنہی مارتندہ
اجرا قلنان قونقرہ یه اوچنچی ماده اولہرق علاوہ ایدلشدیر . بارطینده اولدقچہ
آہمیتی حائر دینہ جک درجہده سبزہ یتشدیریلیر . داخلآ اداره ایتد کدنسکر
زونق اولداغده بر مقدار سبزہ اخراجات یایبلیر . و بر سبزہ ، قونسروہ
قاریقہ سی یایلدیغی صورتندہ اداره ایدر .

بارطینده ایتدانی صورتندہ و آز مقدارده آچیلان ایکن بوجکی تخم لردن
نمونیتہ شایان درجہده قوزہ آلمقدہ اولسنہ و محیطک دوت یتشدیرمکہ استعدادی
موجود بولسنہ بناء ایکن بوجک جیلکنک تعمیمی و دورت غریبانک توسیعی ،

سرور ایدیه بیلیر ، یوزار جهنتک یولی هنوز ا کمال اولومشدر . نقلیات تجاریه معونه و مونورلرله ایرماقدن اجرا ایدلدیکندن اشبو یوله اهمیت ویرله مکده دره .
حالبوکه اهمیتی چوقدر .

بارطینک مربوط بولندینی زولغوولداق ولایتی بارطینه ۹۰ کیلو مترو مسافه دره ، شوسه یوقدر ، آنجق ایجاب حالنده بانیقه یوللردن مشکلاتله حیوانله کیدیله بیلینیر . ولایتله بارطین آره سنده یول یا بمق هنوز تصور ایدله مشدر . بارطینک جیده قضاسی حدودنده قوریجه شیله ناحیه سنه قادر مسافه سی ۶۴ کیلو مترودر ، سرور و عبور بانیقه یوللردن اجرا اولنیور ، حتی قاغو آرابه سنک بیله مرورینه امکان یوقدر . مشکلاتله حیوانله کیدیله بیلینیر . قضانک کویدن کویله اولان کویلی بانیقه یوللاری ده منتظم دکلدر . قیش موسمنده مشکلاتلیدر . خلاصه یول اعتباریله بارطین چوق کبری قالمشدر .

اونبرنجی فصل

بارطینک اورمانلری مقنده معلومات :

بارطین قضاسی داخلنده خصوصیتی تصدیق ایدلمش اورمان اولیوب کاه هیریدر مساحه سطحیه سی تقریباً [یوز بیگ هکتار] وسعتنده دره ، بو اورمانلر

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و سو حزارری و کرکه قاریقلر واسطه سبله متبوع کراسته اعمال
بولور .

صرف بارطین اوزمانلری قطعیات و امراضاتی شده [بش الی اون بئک]
زو مکعب راده شده معمول کراسته دره اشجارک / ۸۵ شی قبن ، کورکن ،
ز ۱۵ شی مپشه ، جام ، کورکپار ، قره آفاج ، دپن بوداق ، چنار ، قیزیل
فاج ، کشتا ، سرپه سورنیه شمشیر ، قیزیلچق ، قیابوق ، صابونجه بوغ
طاجی ، دقنه و سائر آفاجلرده وارد . بارطین اسکله سندن شده کراسته
سارانی اصغری [یکرمی بش ، اعظمی اونوز بش بئک] مترو مکعب قاداردور ،
غفرانیولی ، آراج ، طامی ، دورک اوزمانلر بئک قسماً امراضاتی ده بو بکوره
اخلدر .

اون ایکنجی فصل

حیوانات مقسده معارفات :

بارطین قضاسنده بولان حیوانات اهلیه ، بارکیر ، مرکب ، اوکوز ،
بئک ، بوغا ، ماندا ، قویون و کچیدن عبارتدر .

بارطین ، اراضی بئک وضعیت طیبیه سته و حیوانانک کثافتنه نظراً اوج
ویوک منطقه یه قابل تقسیمدر .

برنجی منطقه بارطین شهریه کوره شمال شرقی قسمیدر که بوراده حیوانات
ک سیرک بولونور . بالکزیکی و قویون نسبتاً فضله مقداردهدر .

ایکنجی منطقه شمال شرقی یعنی عاریض منطقه سبدر که بوراده حیوانات متوسط
مقدارده موجوددر .

اوججی منطقه جنوب و جنوب غربی قسمیدر که اراضی بئک نسبتاً مثبت

و صولاتی بولونغاندن اڭ زیاده کثافت حیوانیه بو قلمده بولمقدور .
 حیواناتک مقدارلی ۹۲۶ سنهده کی بولقمه اوزریبه [۴۶۰] بار کیره
 [۱۵۲۳] قیصراق [۸۵۰] طای اولاق اوزره جمأ [۲۸۳۳] رأس در .
 حیوانات قریبه هموما برلی در . عرب واجنی عرفنه منسوب حیواناتیک
 آندر تصادف ایملیکده در . برلی حیوانندن یوز قرق ارتقاعنده اولدقجه متناسب
 اشکال حیوانانه تصادف ایملیکده ایسهده ماضینک سراب تازی اڭ زیاده
 حیوانات قریبهده کورولمکده در .
 آماصره منطه سنده [در نیوزی] متجاوز مرکب وارد در . بشقه طرفده
 وارسهده اهمیت حائز دکدر .
 [۲۰۶۰۸] رأس اینک [۱۸۲۶۷] رأس اوکوز [۹۶۷۰] رأس طمانه
 دوکه و بوزاغی اولوب جمأ [۴۸۵۴۵] رأس حیوانات قریبه موجود در .
 کولپازاری طرفلرینده اولدقجه چته لی ماندالره تصادف ایملیکده ایسهده
 عمومیتله وسط قامتده در . حیواناتک طرز مبعشتری و باقیملری جهیله دیگر
 طرفلرک ماندا آنده بولتان فنا رابعه بارمپن ماندالریک سلمنده یوقدر . جلدلری
 نسبة ایجه وضعیتده در . [۳۵۲۹] رأس دیشی [۵۰۲۱] رأس ارکک مانده
 و [۲۸۰۰] رأس ملاق موجود در .
 [۹۶۶۱] رأس قیون موجود اولوب اراضینک راطب اولسندن کلهبک
 خستلفه بک زیاده معروضدر .
 [۶۳۰۰] رأس کچی موجود اولوب قیلوس منطقه سنده کی آهازا کچیلری
 بومیه ایکی قبه قدر سود و بره بیلیرلر .
 اراضینک راطب اولسندن حیوانات قریبهده و از جمله ماندالرده باربونه
 بوغاز اما خستلفلری بعضاً ظهور ایتمکده در . دیگر حیوانات خستلفلریبه بک
 آرز تصادف اولتور .

Tarih ve GÜNce

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A SIGNIFICANT POINT IN TERMS OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENCE WORLD: HUNGARIAN PERIODICAL RESOURCES AND AN ACCESS METHOD TO THEM

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Abstract

Communication is a form that people use to explain their needs, emotions and thoughts and to share them. The kind of communication occurs in the society and towards the society is called as mass communication. Periodicals are the first kind of the mass media as a written source. Periodicals include newspaper, magazine, annual releases of the institution, tokens, reports and working reports publishing at regular intervals (daily, weekly, twice a month, once a month, quarterly, semi-annually, annually). Newspapers and magazines show the situation and thoughts of societies. Retrospective periodicals are important because these periodicals give clues about the historical events and thoughts for the future generations. Hungary, significant contributor to the science World, is quite rich and essential in terms of periodicals. In this study; periodicals in Hungary, access method to them, their content and their historical periods will be evaluated.

Keywords: Hungary, Periodicals, Science, Bibliography.

BİLİM DÜNYASINDA KATKILARI İLE ÖNEMLİ BİR PENCERE: MACARİSTAN'DAKİ SÜRELİ YAYINLAR VE ERİŞİM ŞEKİLLERİ

Öz

Haberleşme, insanların ihtiyaç, duygu ve düşüncelerini başkalarına anlatma, başkaları ile paylaşma şeklidir. Toplum içinde ve topluma yönelik olarak meydana gelen iletişim türüne kitle iletişimi denmektedir. Kütle iletişim araçları denildiğinde de yazılı kaynaklar için ilk akla gelen süreli yayınlardır. Süreli yayın, belirli aralıklarla çıkan (günlük, haftalık, onbeş günlük, aylık, üç aylık, altı aylık, yıllık) gazete, dergi yıllık, kurum bültenleri,

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andaçları, tutanakları, çalışma raporları vs. kapsar. Gazete ve dergiler, toplumların durumları ve düşüncülerini gösterirler. Geçmiş dönemlere ait süreli yayınların önemli tarafı da gelecek nesillere geçmişin olayları ve düşüncülerini vermesidir. Bilim dünyasına önemli katkıları bulunmakta olan Macaristan, süreli kaynaklar diğer bir deyişle periyodikler açısından da bir hayli zengin ve köklüdür. Bu çalışmamızda bu zengin Macar süreli yayınlarından, bu kaynaklara erişim şekillerinden ve kapsamlarından ve tarihi süreçlerinden bahsedilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Macaristan, Süreli Yayınlar, Bilim, Bibliyografya.

Introduction

Periodicals have an important role in the civilization of the societies. Newspapers, accepted as a kind of periodicals, inform the society about the current issues by quick info and news feed while magazines contribute to the development and education of the societies by providing philosophical, artistic and intellectual articles. Daily written newspapers are read for a single day while magazines are written within longer period of the time and these magazines are addressed a longer period of the time. Newspapers and magazines show the situation and thoughts of societies.¹

Retrospective periodicals are important because these periodicals give clues about the historical events and thoughts for the future generations. In this respect; while newspapers tell the current societies about the historical events and comments, magazines inform about the reasons behind the politic, literary and social changes by providing intellectual thoughts in the past. As a result, periodicals make people feel both what was happened in the past and the period of change and its reasons.²

Periodicals include newspaper, magazine, annual releases of the institution, tokens, reports and working reports publishing at regular intervals (daily, weekly, twice a month, once a month, quarterly, semi-annually, annually).³ Bulletin which is published in limited occupational topics, called as ruzname in Persian language, as journal in French, gazetta in Italian, as Mecelle Mecmua (also risale) and as dergi in Turkish language is a kind of periodicals that disclose the

¹ Hatem Türk, "Süreli Yayınların Yeniden Gündeme Gelmesi ve Aksu Dergisi", *Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. 2, p. 3, Giresun 2010, p. 43.

² Türk, *ibid*, p. 44.

³ Semih Yalçın, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihinin Kaynakları*, Berikan Yayınları, Ankara 2010, p. 137-141.

world of thought and art world. All thoughts and ideas are released to the public by magazines before the books.⁴

To sum up the importance of the newspaper and magazines in our cultural life, we can note the following significant notes;

- a) Periodicals are the most common sources to follow the developments in applied sciences and technology.
- b) Periodicals are the first materials which are used for the fields that have no other sources (especially in local researches).
- c) Periodicals are sources that we use to get idea from famous people in the world of thought and the art world.
- d) Periodicals inform the public opinion about the whole things that occur in their country and world.
- e) Periodicals help to make a remark and mold public opinion related to events.⁵

Periodicals that clear up the history of every single country in the world are significant science and research sources in Hungary like every part of the world. Periodicals, which have a long-standing background in Hungary, are published by significant libraries, academies of science and certain publishing house. These periodicals are also continued to publish in the Hungary.

Hungary has a more varied data table than other countries in terms of printing and printing rate. We are going to work to unroll these significant periodicals by taking a glance at detailed press history and featured newspaper and magazine publications.

Hungarian Periodical Resources⁶

When the reorganization of Széchenyi Library began in 1868, the quantity of periodicals housed there was unknown because these issues had been cataloged and stored with books. The discrete collection of newspapers, however, was

⁴ Hasan Duman, *Osmanlı-Türk Süreli Yayınları ve Gazeteleri, 1828-1928*, C.1, Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, Ankara 2000, p. 5.

⁵ Duman, *ibid*, p. 5, 6.

⁶Gün Benderli, Yılmaz Gülen, Zsuzsa Kakuk, Edit Tasnádi, *Török- Magyar Szótár*, (Turkish / Hungarian / Hungarian / Turkish Dictionary), I-II Kötet, Nemzedékek Tudása Tankönykiadó, Budapest 2013.

deemed to include approximately 3,600 volumes. Its cataloging commenced in the late 1870s when the processing of books and periodicals in the library's collection had already been finished.

In the 19th century, bibliographical processing of periodicals and newspapers on the national level was tied to the name of József Szinnyei, Sr. After publishing a retrospective index of 18th century on the columns of *Vasárnapi Újság*⁷, he continued to issue his annual current bibliography in the pages of the same periodical between 1867-1894 and later in the *Magyar Könyvszemle*⁸. Although Szinnyei and his colleague, Lajos Aigner, also made attempts to address the need for a current national repertoire of articles, such a repertoire was not put together in the last half of the long 19th century. However, current national repertoires did appear by fields of specialization in several journals like the *Századok*⁹. This particular journal also published historical survey of journals.

After Szinnyei's death, work on a current bibliography was interrupted for a long time. Nevertheless, retrospective indices appeared for the years between 1911-1920 and 1945-1954. In the meantime, the publications in *A magyar sajtó évkönyve* substituted the missing current bibliography in 1935-1943. Until 1976, there appeared only a few annual indices and annotations for the most important journals were covered in the book section of the national bibliography. As a response to a continuing need, the National Library took the responsibility to compile and publish a current bibliography of periodicals and newspapers in the late 1970s. Published in 1977 and 1978 in several volumes initially under the title *Kurrens időszaki kiadványok*, the current bibliography appeared at first annually (1977-1986) and later bi-annually under the name *Magyar nemzeti bibliográfia. Időszaki kiadványok bibliográfiája*. Starting in the mid-1980s onward, the Széchényi Library also began developing a number of databases in order to be able to respond better to patrons' demands and so as to make work on bibliographies more efficient.

Today, there are several databases (IKB, IKER, NPA, HUMANUS etc.) available online, enabling patrons to use the Library's rich resources on periodicals.

⁷Appendix 1: cited "*Vasárnapi Újság*".

⁸Appendix 2: cited "*Magyar Könyvszemle*".

⁹Appendix 3: cited "*Századok*".

Current National Bibliography of Periodicals: Precedents, 1860-1918

As in the case of other initial attempts, the publication of periodical bibliographies was inconsistent in the early period. Hungarians began the compilation and publication of current periodical bibliographies in the early 1860s in almanacs and journals. Although the preparation of a current general bibliography of periodicals by the National Library began only after World War I, the growth of scientific and public interest allowed the intermittent publication of current indices. The first detailed presentation of periodicals was edited by Ferenc P. Girókuti and appeared in Pest in 1861 under the title *Országos nagy képes-naptár*. It described 48 Hungarian newspapers and 10 journals published in the same year. Another journal, the *Magyar Tudományos Értekező*, undertook the simultaneous preparation of a complete list of journals and newspapers and published them under a separate section called „Folyóiratok” („Periodicals”) as part of their annual bibliographies entitled *1861-ki magyarországi könyvészet* and *1862-ki magyarországi könyvészet*. Edited by Lajos Aigner, these publications comprise the annotated subject-index of 222 Hungarian and non-Hungarian journals and newspapers published in the Hungarian kingdom and in Transylvania.

The *Magyar Tudományos Értekező* was discontinued in 1862, yet attempts to assure the steady publication of periodical indices continued to be made. Editing and publishing the *Irodalmi Értesítő* in 1867, József Demjén sought to register all the literary and artistic publications printed in Hungary. The first issue of the periodical entitled *Magyar időszaki irodalom* included 99 titles arranged in alphabetical order and listed separate periodical issues individually. Although the annotations point to the careful work that went into its preparation, this index remained a modest endeavor to lay the grounds for a current national bibliography of periodicals. Issued by Aigner&Rautman Co. in Pest, the next attempt was the publication of the *Magyar Könyvészet*. In this monthly Lajos Aigner published an annotated index of newspapers and journals printed in 1869 with the cooperation of the well-known bibliographer József Szinnyei. The January-March and June-August contracted issues of 1870 also included an alphabetically arranged annotated index, not only of Hungarian but also of German periodicals published in Hungary. Like so many previous attempts, however, the *Magyar Könyvészet* ceased its activities at the end of 1870. It was the publication of the *Vasárnapi Újság* and the old and new issues of *Magyar Könyvszemle*,

the official journal of the National Library, which established the basis of a current bibliography of periodicals.¹⁰

***Vasárnapi Újság, 1861-1867/1868-1894.*¹¹**

Although bibliographies of periodicals had appeared intermittently in other journals, the *Vasárnapi Újság* was unique to the extent that after publishing its first index of newspapers in 1861, it issued the current national bibliography of periodicals for three decades. In the first four years, the *Vasárnapi Újság* listed Hungarian-language newspapers issued in Hungary excluding publications from abroad since 1862. The index for journals became part of this bibliography only from 1865 onward. The bibliography appeared also in the year of the Austro-Hungarian compromise (1867). However, this moment also marked the birth of the plan to compile a complete bibliography of periodicals. Although with the compromise, Decree no.18/1848 entered into effect announcing freedom of the press and boosting the number of newspaper and journal publications, the August issue of the *Vasárnapi Újság* published only statistical data on newspapers in 1868, issuing an index from the following year. The author of the article was József Szinnyei, who had made earlier contributions to the journal with his series on the history of periodical publications in Hungary from the beginnings until 1853.

Besides containing statistical data on press publications in the world in 1826-1868, this article also included the list of Hungarian and non-Hungarian newspapers and journals published in Hungary (including Croatia) arranged alphabetically according to the place of publication. The publication of an annual bibliography underwent some important changes in 1870, when Szinnyei was commissioned to take care of their preparation. Szinnyei based the collection on the territorial principle including all periodicals published in Hungary and Croatia. Journals, arranged thematically under Roman numerals, became integral parts of the bibliography. Issuing regular request to recently established newspapers, the *Vasárnapi Újság*, based on the responses it received, published supplements to the annual indices in its column entitled 'Tárház' between 1870-1876. The structure of the bibliography underwent changes throughout its pub-

¹⁰ Éva Csáki, *Magyar-Török Szótár*, (Hungarian / Turkish Dictionary), Balassi Kiadó, Budapest 2001.

¹¹<http://epa.oszk.hu/html/vgi/kardexlap.phtml?aktev=1861&id=30>. (10.05.2018)

lication. It excluded non-Hungarian periodicals from 1871 and included Hungarian publications from abroad from 1883 onward. The compilation of the index was discontinued after 1894, since with the growth of publications and the lack of cooperation from newly published periodicals, the preparation of an index became less and less a worthwhile undertaking for the *Vasárnapi Újság*.

However, the foundation of the National Library of Periodicals in 1884, active at first as an independent section of the National Museum and subsequently as a department of the Széchényi Library, and the new issue of the *Könyvszemle* assured the continuation of the systematic collection and processing of periodicals in the coming years.

***Magyar Könyvszemle, 1876-1877.*¹²**

The *Magyar Könyvszemle*, the official journal of the Széchényi National Library, began the publication of a current national bibliography with its first issue appearing in 1876. Besides preparing an index which included all types of documents (except dross and other small printed material), the periodical also published the article entitled „Hírlapirodalmunk 1876-ban” by József Szinnyei which registered newspapers and journals based on his indices printed in the *Vasárnapi Újság*. The author had volunteered to prepare this annual bibliography as a continuation of his retrospective bibliography of journals entitled „Hazai és külföldi folyóiratok magyar tudományos repertórium,” which he was compiling under the commission of the *Hungarian Academy of Sciences*.¹³ Appearing in three segments, the bibliography of periodicals for 1876 contained no reference to bibliographical sources or mandatory printers’ copies. The first two parts contained the alphabetical title-indices of Hungarian-language journals and newspapers appearing in Budapest and the country-side, respectively. The third, on the other hand, listed German-language ones printed in the capital and

¹²<http://epa.oszk.hu/html/vgi/kardexlap.phtml?id=21> (11.05.2018)

¹³For further information: *Évszázadok Kultúrája- A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárában*, (Yüzyılların Kültürü- at Hungarian academy of sciences) MTA, Budapest 1988; György Rózsa, *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Palotája*, (palace of Hungarian academy of sciences), MTA, Budapest 1982; for detailed information about Turkish sources at Hungarian academy of sciences : seeİsmail Parlatur- György Hazai, *Türkçe El Yazmaları Katalođu* at Hungarian academy of sciences, Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Yayınları, p. 13, Ankara 2007. Appendix 4: *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*.

in the provinces, arranging them into two corresponding groups, each organized according to the alphabetical list of titles.

Annexed issues were listed as individual titles. As it is evident from the first segments of „*Hírlapirodalmunk 1876-ban*” and „*Hírlapirodalmunk 1877-ben*” available online, the separate entries included the full description of titles based on the following set format: title, subtitle, editor, publisher, year, printer, date of publication, size, price of subscription, year of establishment. These entries also show that, compared to Szinnyei’ previous lists published in the *Vasárnapi Újság*, these indices reflected the growth of titles included in the bibliography as well as the change in the format of annotations, which relied significantly on the ones used by Lajos Aigner in the monthly issues of *Magyar Könyvészet*.

The issue of a current bibliography of periodicals in the *Magyar Könyvszemle* ceased after two years probably because of the parallel publication of a more complete bibliography in the *Vasárnapi Újság*, which after 1868 also included non-Hungarian and non-German domestic publications as well.

***Magyar Könyvszemle, 1895-1913. Budapest, 1895-1914.*¹⁴**

When the *Vasárnapi Újság* discontinued the publication of its bibliography in 1894, Szinnyei, who had become the head of the National Library of Periodicals a decade earlier, continued to collect bibliographical data, hoping that the public would need periodical indices again in the near future. Relying on the invaluable cooperation of Szinnyei, Gyula Schönherr, the commissioned editor of a new *Magyar Könyvszemle*, managed to resume the systematic publication of a current bibliography in 1895 as a supplement to his journal.

Like the first bibliographical sections of the *Vasárnapi Újság*, the first index of periodicals included only Hungarian-language newspapers and journals; yet it listed separately the periodicals discontinued or established the previous year and a multivalent statistical table on domestic Hungarian and non-Hungarian periodicals entitled “Összevont átnézet.” An important change took place in 1896 when, as supplement no. 2 to Szinnyei’s traditional bibliography, István Kereszty published the index of non-Hungarian newspapers and journals under

¹⁴<http://epa.oszk.hu/html/vgi/kardexlap.phtml?id=21> (21.05.2018)

the title "Az idegennyelvű hazai hírlapirodalom 1896-ban." Until 1909 Szinnyei's and Kereszty's compilation appeared in the form of one supplement to the *Magyar Könyvszemle* under the title "A hazai hírlapirodalom."

The provisions of a new law passed in 1897 changed the deadline for the deposit of mandatory printer's copies leading to alterations in the processing of periodicals. The *Magyar Könyvszemle* and the *Vasárnapi Újság* had been preparing their annual current bibliographies based on issues published at the beginning of the year and had included subsequent changes taking place during this period in the next annual current bibliography. The new law changed not only the processing but also the function of this bibliography since it allowed the editors to register all periodicals issued during the year. Another important change in the structure of the bibliography took place with the publication of László Kováts's collection of journals and magazines entitled "Folyóiratok."

From this moment on, Szinnyei's and Kereszty's indices included only newspapers, while the coverage of other periodicals continued separately in the next couple of years. In 1899-1900 Kereszty and Szinnyei switched their format to an alphabetical index of newspapers within separate subject-groups, while the "Folyóiratok" was compiled based on language, location (metropolitan or provincial) and alphabetical order, in this sequence. It should also be noted that, because of the large quantity of periodicals, the bibliography only listed annotated titles of new and discontinued periodicals in 1906-1909 and 1910-1914. For other years, the bibliography had detailed annotations for all titles.

Current National Bibliography of Periodicals

Kurrens Időszaki Kiadványok Bibliográfiája, 1976-1980. 5 vols. Budapest: OSZK, 1977-1981.¹⁵

As mentioned previously, after Szinnyei's death, the compilation of a current bibliography of periodicals was suspended until the 1970s, when the National Library resumed work in this area. Despite the fact that, at that time, bibliographers in more developed countries described only the newly-issued periodicals, their Hungarian colleagues, wishing to have a more detailed overview, prepared annotations for most Hungarian journals and newspapers issued in 1976. In the first volume of the *Kurrens Időszaki Kiadványok Bibliográfiája*

¹⁵ U of I Library Call Number: International & Area Studies Slavic- Hungarian Reference 015.439035 K966.

(KIK), the newly-issued periodicals were summarized shortly, while those published before 1976 were described in more detail according to the requirements of the first published ISBD/S. The subsequent volumes contained the bibliographical descriptions of newly-issued periodicals and the titles of newspapers and journals printed and processed previously.

***Magyar Nemzeti Bibliográfia. Időszaki Kiadványok Bibliográfiája, 1981-1991.* Budapest: OSZK, 1983-1994.¹⁶**

Beginning with 1981, the previously described bibliography was formally included into the Hungarian national bibliography and appeared, as a result, under the title *Magyar Nemzeti Bibliográfia. Időszaki Kiadványok Bibliográfiája* (MNB IKB). Published annually at first, it appeared biannually after 1986. Its structure corresponded to that of its immediate predecessor, with the exception of the title entries of previously published journals and newspapers. From 1985 onward, these entries also contained the subtitle, the publisher's information, the heading number of the bibliographical description printed either in the KIK or the MNB IKB, the ISSN, the OSZK call number as well as the periodical's numbering information. Although feedback from patrons interested in Hungarian periodicals was very positive, the potential for further improvements depended greatly on the benefits offered by information technology. Bibliographers at the National Library began developing the first database for periodicals in the mid-1980 and the fact that today the Hungarian national retrospective and current bibliographies as well as the national repertoire of articles are accessible online through several databases speaks of their success in this area.

Current National Bibliography of Periodical – Databases

***IKB – Magyar Periodika Adatbázis/Hungarian Database of Periodicals*¹⁷**

Work on the Hungarian Database of Periodicals (IKB) started in 1986, online accessibility being made available in February 1999. This database contains the bibliographical and cataloging information of periodicals, for which mandatory printers' copies were deposited at the National Library from 1986 until June

¹⁶ *Időszaki Kiadványok Bibliográfiája, 1981-1991.* Budapest: OSZK, 1983-1994. U of I Library Call Number: Main Stacks 015.439 M2772.

¹⁷ http://w3.oszk.hu/ikb_h.htm. (22.05.2018)

2003, and is no longer updated. It does not list materials published for conferences, exhibitions and other events, which can be found in the databases for books. The IKB was updated retrospectively and it was continuously expanded to include entries on the following printed materials held by the National Library: general title, data and name indices, institutional reports, projects, product guides, publishers' catalogs, press reviews, prospecti on specialized literature, student journals, performance brochures and local advertisement leaflets.

As shown here, the interface of the IKB is Hungarian. Diacritics are not needed. The database is readily searchable with both an advanced search, 'Keresés,' and a browsing capability, 'Tallózás.' The former is suggested only in cases when the patron has exact information on the item searched such as a combination of the following pieces of information: full title, title keywords, publisher, year of first issue, year of last issue, periodicity, editors' names, ISSN, etc. Browsing is recommended when only one piece of information from above is at hand. Since the advanced search and browsing functions both have a long list of search options, non-Hungarian speakers may find the use of an informatics dictionary helpful.

The patron may also choose to display the search results for an item in one of the following three formats. The database's default display corresponds to the option 'Aktuális.' In the case of materials published in 1986 and after, it displays the periodical according to the information of its first issue. If the publication is from an earlier period, then the search results contain the data of the periodical's first issue deposited in 1986 or after.

To access information on the first issue for periodicals printed before 1986, patrons should choose 'Katalógus' as a display option. The full record of materials included in the database can be retrieved by clicking on 'Címkés.' Cross-referencing among the three formats is available and greatly improves navigation in the database.

***IKER - Időszaki Kiadványok Repertóriumá/ Repertoire of Periodicals*¹⁸**

Work on *IKER* began in 1993 and online accessibility was made available in March 2001. It contains the bibliographical entries of select articles chosen from periodicals in the social and natural sciences published in Hungary.

¹⁸ <http://w3.oszk.hu/rep.htm> (18.05.2018).

More specifically, it processes periodicals dealing with science, literature and the arts as well as almanacs and newspapers with national circulation.

However, it does not register the independent publications of exhibitions, conferences, and events; book series; publications in applied science, literary pieces, reviews, news materials, field trip reports and glossaries. It does also not contain the articles processed extensively in specialized bibliographies like the *Hungarian Bibliography of Agriculture*, the *Hungarian Medical Bibliography* and *Technical Articles in Hungarian Periodicals*.

The search interface of *IKER* is Hungarian and no diacritics are needed. Just as in the case of *IKB*, there is an advanced search and a browsing function. Both can be used by selecting the following search options: keyword, author, biography, subject, ETO(earliest title only), periodical title, year of publication, cataloging number, abbreviation of the periodical's title, ISSN.

NPA - Nemzeti Periodika Adatbázis/ National Periodical Database¹⁹

The NPA contains the location-index of periodicals which were either published abroad after 1665 or were issued in Hungary after 2005 and are housed in Hungarian libraries. Work on this database began in 1981 and it was built based on the current files of the *Külföldi Folyóiratok Központi Katalógusa* (KFKK), the previous central catalog for periodicals from abroad. According to the initial plans, the NPA was also supposed to catalog Hungarian periodicals. However, after some years the processing of newspapers and journals developed independently, as a result of which the NPA became primarily a database for foreign periodicals. Online access to the NPA is available through the main catalog of the National Library. The interface is in Hungarian and diacritics are needed. The database can be used for browsing, simple, advanced and Boolean search.

EPA - Elektronikus Periodika Adatbázis&Archívum/Electronic Periodical Database& Archive²⁰

According to the description given on the main page of the database, the EPA is the initiative of the Hungarian Electronic Library (MEK). It aims to create a bibliographic database and register of the Hungarian e-periodicals and

¹⁹http://nektar1.oszk.hu/LVbin/LibriVision/lv_search_form.html. (11.05.2018).

²⁰<http://epa.oszk.hu/>.(11.05.2018).

seeks to provide hosting services to certain ongoing resources. The main task of the EPA-services is to produce and maintain a centralized, well-organized and searchable database of the metadata and access information of the Hungarian e-journals, and to promote the publication and distribution of these resources. The development of the "Electronic Periodical Archive" started in 2003. Most items of the collection have their own web sites as well, but some of them can be found exclusively in the EPA Archive. The advantages of the hosting in the EPA services are stable access, uniform technical standards and design principles.

Further, full-text search has been successfully enabled in the majority of the HTML- and PDF-format materials. The new database of the Hungarian e-periodicals available on the web opened in summer, 2004. This register stores the bibliographic data and access information of the Hungary-related e-journals. The database resembles a library catalog, in the nature of the descriptive elements and their appearance. Useful additional information is added to each record (i.e. related resources, search URLs). Users can search through the Hungarian interface by title, available years, subject, type and access method.

MATARKA - Magyar Folyóiratok Tartalomjegyzékeinek Kereshető Adatbázisa/Hungarian Periodicals Table of Contents Database²¹

MATARKA is a database of the contents of journals issued in Hungary and covering the following fields: agricultural sciences (45), economics (21), linguistics (11), social sciences (55), law (6), general sciences (5), technology (31), and natural sciences (62). It was established in 2001 and currently works as a library consortium with 15 members. The search interface is available in English and the database can be searched in several different ways. Individual journal issues can also be browsed and if they are available online in a full-text database then the title of the journal will be marked as a hyperlink to the source. The retrospective processing of journals is in the hands of each library, as a result of which such issues are available only for some periodicals.

²¹<http://www.matarka.hu/>. (11.05.2018).

Conclusion

It is known that retrospective periodicals are important because these periodicals give clues about the historical events and thoughts for the future generations. It is obvious that the periodicals in Hungary is in a condition that enables to the researchers who bring the past to the present with its libraries and data bases. Having rich varied studies, Periodicals in Hungary were processed cataloging and recording process for a long times. Although these works got slower in certain times, a great vareity of periodicals have been reched these days.

Hungarians began to edit and publish periodic bibliographies in the almanacs and magazines in the early years of the 1860s. Although preparation of a current general bibliography started after the World War I, increasing scientific and public interests caused periodically publishing of the available indexes.

Magazines, leading newspapers, databases and especially national libraries were available not only for researchers in Hungarian but also for researchers in English language during this publishing process. In addition to the retrospective and current periodicals of Hungary, online accessibility of the national data repertoire by means of various database prove their succes in this field.

Online accessibility was provided in February,1999 for database works in Hungarian language (IKB)that had started in 1986. This database includes cataloging and bibliographic information of magazines and books stored in Nationa Library until June, 1986. NPA includes the location index of the periodicals published at abroad untill 1665 or both published in Hungary after 2005 and available in their library. Works started in 1981 on this database and based on current fieldsof, *Külföldi Folyóiratok Központi Katalógusa (KFKK)*, the catalogue of periodic publishings.

The primmary mission of the EPA services is to create a well-organized accessible database for e-magazines published in Hungary and promote publishing and distributing this sources. Development of "*Electronic Periodic Records*" has started in 2003. New database of the e-periodicals reletaed to Hungary available on the internet prepared in the Summer of 2004. This record keeps access information and bibliographic datas of e-magazines about Hungary. The database reminds a library catalogue in terms of explanatory elements and their appearance.

All of this systems keep on developing day by day and serve researchers through periodicals in Hungary, open access catalogues and library records.

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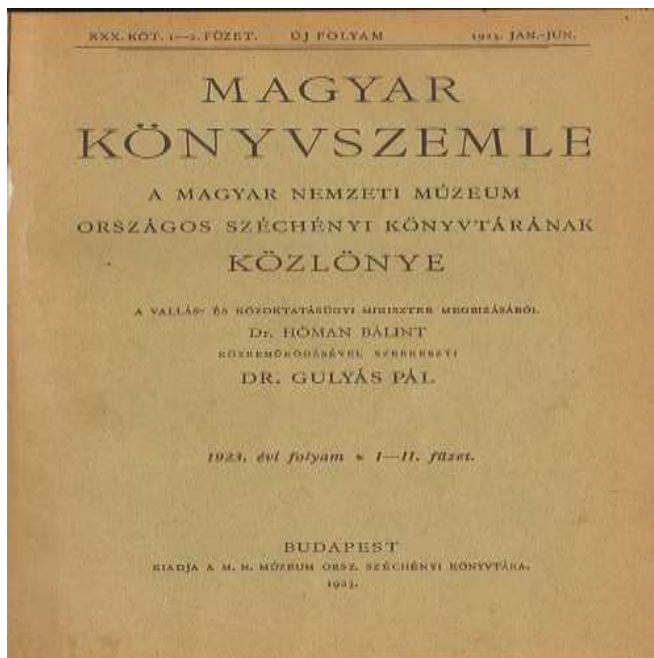
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- http://nektar1.oszk.hu/LVbin/LibriVision/lv_search_form.html NPA – Nemzeti Periodika Adatbázis/ National Periodical Database
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APPENDIX:

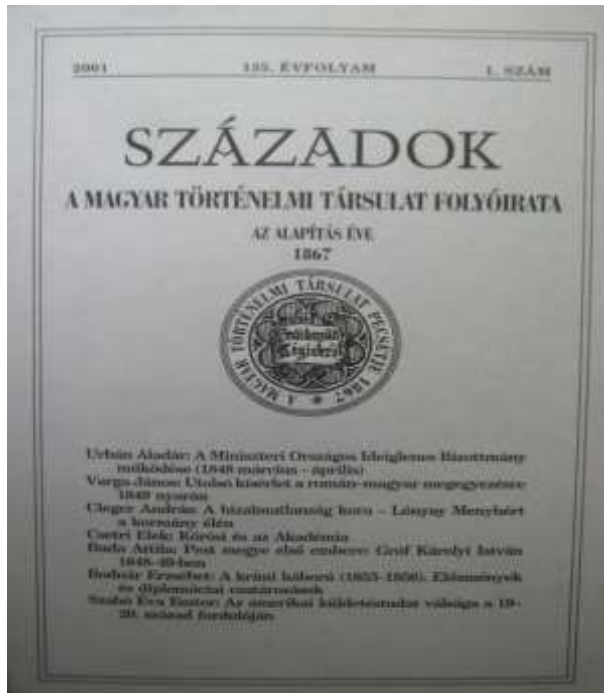
Appendix 1: Vasárnapi Újság



Appendix 2: Magyar Könyvszemle



Appendix 3: Századok



Appendix 4: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)



Tarih ve Günce

Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi
Journal of Atatürk and the History of Turkish Republic
1/3, (2018 Yaz), ss. 95-110.

INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES IN IZMIR DURING 1960'S

Şenay Savur*

Abstract

1960s were the years that Izmir was restructured and changed its spatial meaning. In the whole city, roadworks started and asphalt activities began in all streets of Izmir. Along with the industrialization, phenomenon of migration from village to city, squatting and as a result of those, growth in population, inadequacy of the infrastructure services became clear.

In this article, the infrastructure services of the period is mentioned and the issue is limited to the center of the Izmir. The current situation and shortage of water, electricity, sewage, gas, road and postal services are revealed.

Keywords: İzmir, Electricity, Water, Sewage, paving, Road, Postal Services

1960'LI YILLARDA İZMİR'DE ALTYAPI HİZMETLERİ

Öz

1960'lı yıllar İzmir'in yeniden yapılandığı ve mekânsal anlamda kabuk değiştirdiği yıllardı. Kentin bütününde yol çalışmaları başlamış, İzmir sokaklarında baştan sonra asfaltlama faaliyeti içine girilmişti. Sanayileşme, köyden kente göç olgusu, gecekondulaşma ve bütün bunların beraberinde gelen nüfus artışıyla birlikte altyapı hizmetlerinin yetersizliği de açıkça ortaya çıkmıştı.

Bu makalede, dönemin alt yapı hizmetlerinden bahsedilmekte ve konu İzmir merkez ile sınırlı tutulmaktadır. Su, elektrik, kanalizasyon, havagazı, yol ve posta hizmetlerinin mevcut durumları ve yetersizlikleri gözler önüne serilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İzmir, Elektrik, Su, Kanalizasyon, Asfaltlama, Yol, Posta Hizmetleri

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Introduction

Izmir was first established in Bayraklı in 3000 BC. The city continued its existence until 545 BC and was destroyed by the invasion of Persians in 545 BC. The second establishment of the city was in 344 BC. Kadifekale was chosen as the city centre this time. After a while the population grew, the borders expanded and the city began to reach the bay. In 1960, the population of Izmir was 405.129¹, in 1965 it was 575.839² and in 1970 it was 724.278³. The start of the industrialization movements in the 60s, the establishment of factories and the proliferation of business sectors took the city an economy based on industry. The migration from the village to the city that started in the 50s increased in the 1960s. The rapid population flow from countryside to the city was seen. When the housing needs of the migrant citizens could not be fully met, the citizens chose to build their own dwellings and squatting at a night began. While horizontal growth was observed around the city, a vertical growth started in the city center. First, the gardens and pavilions that surrounded the bay in half-moon were demolished and then high-rise apartments were being built instead of the demolished buildings. Highrise attached buildings, with no gardens were built in coastal areas starting from Karsiyaka, including Alsancak, Pasaport, Konak, Karantina, Göztepe and Güzelyalı. As a result of rapid population growth, irregular structuring, squatting and apartment buildings, infrastructure services in the city became inadequate. The mayor of the period, Osman Kibar, started an intensive work of paving the streets of the city from the beginning to the end. Water, electricity, sewage was a problem in itself. Postal services were inadequate and there were problems about communicating with relatives outside the city and abroad. 1960's were the years in which the importance of infrastructure services were understood and start off an intensive work. In the 60's, infrastructure services such as water, electricity and sewage were given to Eshot General Directorate within the municipality.

¹ T.C. Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics 1960 General Census –Final results by cities and provinces, p. 14.

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² T.C. Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics 24 October 1965 General Census Administrative Divisions –City, Province, Town and Village (Mukhtar) Population, p. 339.

³ T.C. Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistic 25.10.1970 General Census Administrative Divisions – City, Province, Town and Village (Mukhtar) Population, p. 308.

1. Electricity and Gas

In 1928, the first power plant in Izmir was established by a Belgian firm in Darağaç district of Alsancak. Two 2,500 Kw turbine alternators and three boilers were installed in the plant that year. Over the years, the power plant was increased to 40,000 KW. In 1960s, the power plant started to receive energy from the Bornova Transformer Center due to the inadequacy of meeting the energy need of İzmir. Bornova transformer center was fed by Soma Thermal, Kemer and Demirköprü hydroelectric power plants. The energy from that center was distributed to the city and its districts through various channels. The electric current between the Bornova substation and the power plant was provided through 2 transformers of 34,5 / 10,5 Kw. While the connection with Karsiyaka was provided by a contact of 34,5 / 10,5 KW, the connection between the Menemen transformer center was the continuation of the line between Karşıyaka and Bornova. Çamdibi, Kula, Mersinli, Çınarlı, Çimentaş ve Eşrefpaşa received their electricity need from Bornova substation⁴.

The electric plant worked with 0-10 millimeters of washed powder coal that was brought from Soma. In the middle of the 1960s, 400 tons of coal were burned daily to meet electricity need of Izmir. Due to the rapid increase in electricity consumption and the increasingly aging of the factory, the electricity generated could not meet the needs of the city alone and taking energy from interconnected network started. According to Süha Tarman who was the director the electrical factory, Izmir was one of the first ten steam-operated power plants in Turkey. It was described as the brain of Izmir. While meeting a great part of the city's electricity needs, İzmir continued to have electrical troubles from time to time. Especially in the fair period, electricity was cut off in some areas because a large part of the electricity was supplied to the fair. The Turyağ Factory, located in Karşıyaka, Şark Sanayi Factory in Izmir did not complain about power cut in order to help Izmir electrical factory. Factory which started to age, was sold to Etibank then moved to Turkish Electricity Administration and it was closed completely in 1987⁵.

As a result of increasing electricity demand, in 1961, high voltage lines were laid in Bornova and Mersinli districts. Electricity energy obtained from the

⁴ 1967 *İzmir City Annual*, pgs. 176-177.

⁵ Ezgi Tekerek, "48 Yıl Önce İzmir Elektrik Fabrikası", *İzmir Life Dergisi*, Volume:131, (July, 2012), p. 101.

nearby dams was given to the city network with these lines. Thus, it was planned to obtain 2,000-3,000 kilowatts of energy from the dams. In the same year, it was decided to construct a new high voltage line from Bornova to Çimentaş. With the completed voltage line, 5.000-6.000 kilowatts of electricity would be generated and that electricity would be used in industrial plants⁶. In 1962, Eshot ordered electrical equipment from Europe. With the incoming material, new facilities would be built and the city's electricity network would be supported. With the project which was carried out by Etibank and Eshot, it was planned to construct a transformator center and 35.000 volt overhead line facilities in Eşrefpaşa and Karşıyaka in 1963⁷.

Tablo: Electricity generation and consumption between 1963-1967

Years	Power Generation 10 ³ Kwh	Power consumption 10 ³ Kwh
1963	231.792	218.250
1964	243.976	226.570
1965	273.608	251.889
1966	295.034	271.129
1967	356.325	329.259

Source: 1967 İzmir City Annual, p. 178

During the 1960s, the most intensive energy consumption was in industry. The numbers showed that the industry was developing rapidly. The generated power was used for household needs and street lighting except industry. During 1960s, Eshot general manager, Faruk Ünay carried intensive works to make İzmir the best well lighted city. Fevzipaşa Boulevard, Birinci Kordon, Gazi Boulevard and Gaziosmanpaşa Boulevard were lighted with mercury vapor lamps in 1960. Some architects and engineers who had studies in Germany said that İzmir Square was brighter than Berlin Square and that İzmir had made considerable progress in lighting⁸. The road to İzmir via Gürçeşme and

⁶ *Demokrat İzmir*, 9 January 1961.

⁷ *Yeni Asır*, 8 April 1962.

⁸ *Yeni Asır*, 15 April 1960.

the Şirinyer road to Eşrefpaşa were lighted by mercurous daylight lamps⁹. In 1964, 463 lampposts were placed in the streets and 18 posts were dismantled for repair. The number of lamps used in general lighting was 11.872 in 1962, 12.530 in 1963 and 14.008 in 1964. When the data of the General Directorate of Eshot in 1964 was examined, it was seen that the total power of the bulbs used for general lighting was 1.758.690 kilowatts. 4.920 meters long underground cables while 28.637 meters long overhead lines were¹⁰. In 1967, works were carried out to lighten Halil Rifat Pasha, Hacı Ali Efendi, İşçiler, Gaziler, Yeşildere and Gürçeşme streets and Alsancak Station and the Gas Plant with mercurous vapor lamps¹¹.

In the 1960's some of the street lighting was done with gas. The gas plant that was built by the French in 1862, however, became old in 60's, it became less efficient and area of use was reduced. But the gas plant was still being used to lighten certain streets and for heating and lighting of certain buildings. The General Directorate of Eshot conducted an intensive work program for promoting the use of gas in the city in 60's. New pipelines were laid on the streets from one side, and pipelines existing from the other side were checked and necessary modifications were made. Care was taken that new pipelines would pass under the pavements. In 1964, the 0/100 mm font pipe on İkiçesmelik Street was cancelled and replaced by 732 m. 0/150 mm, 42 m.0/80 mm font pipe and 2-inch galvanized pipe. The whole installation was under the pavement. In the same year, congestion was detected in the Karsiyaka outlet pipe and the renovation was done. Pressure controls were made in Güzelyalı trolleybus deposits and Karşıyaka Bostanlı districts. Pressure controls were made in Güzelyalı trolleybus depots and Karşıyaka, Bostanlı districts. The networks were found to be decaying and needing renovations in the streets between Konak-Karantina, Basmane, Alsancak, Bornova and Karsiyaka. As a result of all those controls, 40 pipelines were repaired in the city and gas leaks were prevented. New pipelines were laid to 806, 1,398, 1,444, 1,787 streets and to the Çankaya part of Gazi Osman Paşa Boulevard. Gas pipelines were laid to certain buildings in the city. For example, in 1964, the block houses built by the Öğretmenler Bankası in İkinci Aziziye, the Ege University Microbiology Building and the Municipality Chemical Center were also furnished with font pipelines¹².

⁹ *Yeni Asır*, 1 June 1964.

¹⁰ *Izmir Municipal Council 1964 Annual Activity and Working Report*, p. 52, 54.

¹¹ *Ege Ekspres*, 9 April 1967.

¹² *Izmir Municipal Council 1964 Annual Activity and Working Report*, p. 57.

In 1968, according to the municipal gas schedule, private and public institutions paid 64 kuruş for each cubic meter. The fee for Eshot officers, employees and permanent workers was 34 kuruş. The cost of cutting or opening the gas was 500 kuruş, and the fee paid for the laying or removal of gas was excluded from this price¹³.

1. Water

The Belgian company said that drinking water could be obtained from Halkapınar Lake and the water from that source would be sufficient to overcome water shortage problem of the city. The project was then left to the Belgian company and the firm began to build Halkapınar water plants. The works were completed in 1897 and Halkapınar water plants were put into service¹⁴. Citizens also mobilized in order to ensure the healthy water consumption of the people in İzmir and to transport Halkapınar water to whole İzmir. The Belgian company completed the water installations shortly after taking money from those who wanted to install it to their houses; public fountains, fountains and water tanks with fountains were built in the streets and it made the water to be delivered whole city¹⁵. Halkapınar water provided the water need of İzmir for years. In the meantime, Vezir and Osmanağa water were used.

Table: Water consumption in houses and public places between 1963-1967 in Izmir

Years	General consumption		Consumption in houses	
	Number of Subscribers	Consumption 1000 M ³	Number of Subscribers	Consumption 1000 M ³
1963	50.253	16.496	48.768	10.510

¹³ T.C. İzmir Municipality Electricity, Water, Gas, Trolleybus and Bus General Directorate, 1968 Tariffs, pgs. This tariff was admitted at the meeting on 30.12. 1963 with 8/51 numbered decision, it was approved by the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources with the dated 19.3.1964 and numbered 3035 official writing and in 1967 it was accepted by the Municipal Council at the meeting on 16.12.1966.

¹⁴ <http://www.izsu.gov.tr/Pages/standartPage.aspx?id=174> (Date of access: 18.05.2018)

¹⁵ Hasan Karakaya, Ali Zafer Çakmakçı, "Bir Su Öyküsü-İzmir Su Fabrikası", *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi*, Volume:6, March, 2003, pgs. 227-228.

1964	54.923	18.243	53.341	11.956
1965	62.974	19.704	61.313	13.412
1966	70.352	21.427	68.594	14.873
1967	78.865	23.631	77.033	16.828

Source: 1967 *İzmir City Annual*, p. no.

In 1964, 30.721.524 m³ of water was stored in Halkpınar water factory and 214.878 m³ of water was stored in Yamanlar. Various reseaches were carried out to transmit water to the city network and to distribute. First of all, 2000 m³ / h engines of K.S.B were brought in order to transmit water in the network. As the amount of water fell below 30 cm of the lake level, an excavation study was conducted under the lake and the accumulated clay material was separated. The water could not reach the high quarters of the city. For this purpose, in 1964, 5.399.280 m³ water was stored at Selvilitepe pumping station, 741.126 m³ water at Samantepe pumping station, 1.380.319 m³ water at Yeşilyurt pumping station and 815.523 m³ water was stored at Yelkentepe pumping station. In addition, Eshot General Directorate completed the maintenance and repair of the water systems and repaired the faulty engines at the pumping stations. As a result of all those efforts, the drinking water distribution network was expanded. Drinking water distribution to Cumhuriyet Mahallesi, Şemikler, Bozyaka, Uzundere village, Altındağ village, Karabağlar and Cennetoğlu was done. In addition, 70 tons of drinking water was distributed daily in summer months to those districts. The pipelines going to those districts was renewed in order to give more water to Alsancak and Basmane. 4400 meters of cast iron pipes were installed between the Halkapınar-Alsancak-Şair Eşref Boulevard Road and the Lausanne Square. In the same year, with the extension of İkiçeşmelik Avenue, the Halkapınar network on the route had to be dismantled. Instead of that, 0/200 mms and 725 meters length cast iron pipes were installed. Thus the other side of the road had water. There were Vezir and Osmaga networks on İkiçeşmelik Avenue. Those networks were dismantled and the network line was extended. 225meters length and 0/150 mm cast iron pipes were installed¹⁶.

In 1965, drinking water was searched in 82 villages, 3 of them in the center. The pipes lenght installed in villages were 120.955 meters. 48 warehouses and

¹⁶ *İzmir Municipal Council 1964 Annual Activity and Working Report*, p. 37, 55.

254 fountains were built in order to benefit from drinking water, In 1966, drinking water researches were done in 37 more villages and in 1967, 51 more villages were searched for drinking water. As a result of the resources found, 80,280 meters pipes in 1966, 85,735 meters pipes in 1967 were installed. In 1966 43 cisterns and 105 fountains were built, and in 1967 25 cisterns and 134 fountains were built. The length of the pipes installed in the villages in the city center of İzmir in 1965 was 2,390 meters, 7500 meters in 1966 and 7000 meters in 1967¹⁷. As a result of the searches in 1966, İzmir's Guzelbahçe region got drinking water. The water coming from Kavacık Village, which is 16 kilometers away was 60 liters in a second. According to the report, water was colorless, odorless, soft and had healthy minerals. The people living in Guzelbahçe were very happy to have water¹⁸.

In the 60s, there were occasional water cuts in the city of Izmir. There were periods where water could not be given continuously for 4-5 days. Especially in the hot summer months, with the increase in the consumption of water, there was water shortage in the reservoirs. Mayor Osman Kibar, announced through newspapers and radios in which districts, which hours the water would be cut off. Citizens living in Karsiyaka and high districts were the ones most affected by water cuts. Balçova was also one of provinces with the most water-cuts during the 60's. The water was brought to Balçova from Izmir, was towed to a station located in Üçkuyular and distributed to Balçova's network. However, water shortage in İzmir also left Balçova completely without water. As a result of the researches rich water sources were found. The water from there was sufficient for Balçova. The necessary installation was established; but the people living in that area applied to Council of State claiming that the water was necessary for the gardens and the water distribution was stopped with the decision of Council of State¹⁹. The districts most affected by the water cut were Hatay, Şirinyer, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı and Balçova. The high position and the presence of high-rise apartments in the area prevented water from reaching the high floors. Especially Hatay, Yalı and Alsancak, 7-8-storey apartment buildings were built, each building had 14-16 apartments. If the first two floors left the taps open, the water would not reach the upper floors because of the lack of pressure. While İzmir already experienced water shortage, the water problem was felt with the increase of high-rise buildings. With the regulator facility planned to be established

¹⁷ 1967 *İzmir City Annual*, It is written by using Table:14.

¹⁸ K. Ormancıoğlu, "Güzelbahçe Nihayet İçme Suyuna Kavuştu", *Ege Ekspres*, 15 June 1966.

¹⁹ *Ege Ekspres*, 23 June 1968.

in Turan, it would be possible to distribute the water to the upper floors of the apartments in Karsiyaka²⁰.

3. Sewage

In the 1960s sewage was a problem in itself. The need for sewage was also evident in the city, with population growth, squatting and the rapid growth of high-rise buildings. In 1963, during Mayor Rebi Basol, sewage constructions began in various districts of the city. 205,000 liras for 7 streets in 2 districts of Karsiyaka, 58,000 liras for 9 streets in Yeşilyurt, 25,000 liras for 4 streets in Aziziyeye, 174,000 liras for 11 streets in Tepecik and 128,000 liras for 5 streets in Göztepe were spent for sewage construction. All these works were completed in 6 months and 2,120,000 liras were spent. Apart from newly constructed sewages, cleaning and repairs were carried out in existing sewages. 41,000 liras were spent from the budget of municipality for those maintenance and repair works²¹.

In the first half of the 1960's there were many buildings without sewers. The municipality did cleaning of the septic pits of those buildings without sewages in a certain order. The owners of the buildings first applied to the municipality, paid their wages, and waited for their turn by giving the receipt they received to the municipality. In 1964, 784 cesspools were cleaned²².

Besides the sewage constructions, the rapid increase in squatting, growth of population, growth of industry and construction sector caused the continuation of the sewage problem. In 1960s the lack of sewage in the city could not be completed. Especially the wastewater of the apartments located on the coastline were directly drained to the sea. In 1968, on 3 km of shoreline between Karantina and Güzelyalı, new apartment buildings were built and all of the sewage wastes were given to the sea²³.

4. Road and Pavement Works

In the second half of 1960's almost all the main streets and boulevards of the city were asphalted. The part from Eşrefpaşa Police Station to Yağhaneler,

²⁰ *Ege Ekspres*, 25, 27 June 1966.

²¹ *Demokrat İzmir*, 4 October 1963.

²² *İzmir Municipal Council 1964 Annual Activity and Working Report*, p. 37.

²³ *Demokrat İzmir*, 25 January 1968.

Gazi Boulevard, Halil Rifat Paşa Street, Yapıcıoğlu Street, Kadifekale, Ege neighborhood, Kahramanlar, all the streets in Tepecik and Fevzipaşa Boulevard were asphalted²⁴; but the deterioration of the asphalt roads after a year and the appearance of cobblestones underneath showed that the pavement works did not reach the desired result. In some districts, asphalt works done on paving stone without repairing the underground facilities. For that reason some paving stones were seen on the streets. Since the required slope was not provided, rainwater was collected in some parts of the roads. The disruptions in the pavement activities caused Osman Kibar to have nickname "Parquet Osman" or "Lake Osman"²⁵. News about the frequent corruption began to appear in the newspapers. The mixing of gravel with the soil destroyed the property of asphalt and the asphalt roads were spoiled in a short time. In fact, in most regions not only the roads were destroyed but also the asphalt was diappeared²⁶.

The Izmir-Karsiyaka coastal road was also built in the late 1960s. There was a narrow road between İzmir and Karşıyaka; but it took 1-1,5 hour to pass that 6 km road in the mornings and the evenings. The General Directorate of Highways started a new road construction called "Golden Road" to solve this problem. Golden Road was built on the loam area on seaside. 2 arrivals, 2 departures, consisting of a total of 4 lanes and it was thought that it would solve 20 years of traffic problem of Izmir. Due to the fact that the base on which the road was constructed was completely loam and there was not enough carrying power, a sand mattress was paved 1.5 meters above sea level. Then, sand dunes were made down to a depth of 10-12 meters at intervals of 3 meters. Thus, the road with increased transportation power completely relieved the traffic of İzmir-Karşıyaka²⁷. Izmir-Karsiyaka coast road that was opened in September of 1968, cost 20 million liras. It was built 4 kilometers long and 22 meters wide. Although not given the date, this road was planned to have 6 lanes after Bornova junction²⁸.

The works to expand İzmir's two most important streets, Hatay Street and İkiçeşmelik Street, was on the top of the agenda in the late 1961 and early 1962.

²⁴ *Ege Ekspres*, 10 May 1967.

²⁵ Erel Şarman, "Yolları Bozuk Semtlerdeki Vatandaşlar, Kibar'a Yeni İsim Buldu: Göl Osman", *Ege Ekspres*, 11 February 1967.

²⁶ *Demokrat İzmir*, 7 December 1969.

²⁷ *Ege Ekspres*, 31 January 1967.

²⁸ Erkin Usman, "Sahil Yolu Hizmete Açıldı.", *Ege Ekspres*, 10 September 1968.

It was planned to expropriate Hatay Street from Sirinyer junction to Hatay Pharmacy of that period, remaining faithful to the program prepared in 1961²⁹. Unfortunately, by 1968, the expropriation of Hatay Caddesi was not realized. Real estates which would be expropriated were confirmed; but payments to the owners of the houses started recently. It was planned that the Hatay Street would be built 20 meters wide and the buildings would be 18.80 gabarite. The second stage expropriation of the region between Eşrefpaşa Square and Şirinyer road started in 1968³⁰.

6. Post, Telephone and Telegraph

In the 1960s, the most intensive communication tool used to communicate was posts. Telegraph and telephone use came after the post. In 1965 there were 20,341 telephone subscribers in the city. In-city conversations were more common and also out-of-city conversations. In 1965 there were no calls from abroad to İzmir; but when we look at the statistics there were 9,481 abroad calls from İzmir. As a mean of communication, the use of telegraph was also popular both at home and abroad. In 1965, 428,118 telegraph communications were made in the city of İzmir. In the same year, there were 61,153 telegraphs from abroad to İzmir and 51,640 telegraphs to İzmir from abroad³¹.

In 1960s, telephone, telegraph and postal works were carried under P.T.T. In 1967, in the center of İzmir, there were 1 telephone directorate, 1 PTT regional directorate, 1 post office and 1 telegraph center. The PTT centers in the central district were located in Alsancak, Basmane, Bayraklı, Buca, Cumaovası, Çarşı, Eşrefpaşa, Gaziemir, Gültepe, Güzelyalı, İkiçeşmelik, Küçükyalı, Narlıdere, Şirinyer and Tepecik. In addition, Çarşı PTT center, Government PTT Center and Air training Com., PTT center were also in service. There were 16 branches affiliated to those PTT centers. 2 PTT centers in Bayındır with 4 branches and 2 agencies; 1 PTT center and 3 branches in Bergama; 2 PTT centers, Bornova center and Çamdibi center and 1 agency affiliated to Çamdibi Center in Bornova; there were 2 PTT centers and 1 agency in Cesme, Çeşme center and Ilıca; 1 PTT and 1 agency in Dikili, 1 PTT and 1 agency in Foça; 1 PTT in Karaburun; there were 3 PTT centers in Karsiyaka, Karsiyaka center, Büyükçiğli and Şemikler, 3 branches connected to Karsiyaka; 1 PTT center and 4 branches in Kemalpaşa; 1 PTT center

²⁹ *Yeni Astar*, 18 March 1962.

³⁰ *Ege Ekspres*, 10 May 1968.

³¹ 1967 *İzmir İl Yıllığı*, s.y. It is written by using Table:19.

and 2 agencies in Kınık; 1 PTT center in Kiraz; there were 2 PTT centers in Menemen and 1 branch in Menemen center; there were 1 PTT center and 8 branches in Ödemiş; 1 PTT center and 1 agency in Seferihisar; 1 PTT center and 2 branches in Selçuk; 1 PTT center and 1 branch in Tire; there were 1 PTT center and 5 agencies in Torbalı, 1 PTT center, 1 branch and 1 agency in Urla³².

The geographical growth of the city and the increase in the population increased the need for people to communicate by phone. In 1960, 296 of the 682 villages of İzmir were able to make telephone connections with the center. The number of villages without telephone connection was 378 and the number of villages with unknown connection was 8. The number of villages that had telephone connection with the district centers was 261, the number of villages without connection was 240 and the number of villages with unknown connection was 181³³. By the year 1967, the number of telephone connection in the villages rose to 520. While 25 villages of the 43 central district, Karsiyaka, Dikili, Foça, Kemalpaşa, Kinik, Menemen and Seferihisar had telephone connections with their all villages³⁴.

The number of citizens who applied to PTT for phone connection was increasing day by day. However, despite all the efforts, the PTT general directorate could meet the citizens' requests for phone calls after long waiting periods. The telephone of 100 citizens who applied in 1955 could only be connected in 1964. In 1964 the citizens who applied in 1956 still did not have their phones connected. The General Directorate of PTT was planning to connect 4,000 phones in the city center, 1000 in Karsiyaka and 2000 in Güzelyalı until the end of 1964³⁵. However, towards the end of 1964 the phone numbers of 1,500 people in the center were distributed and the installation of 1000 phones in Karsiyaka was completed and the distribution stage was about to start; in Güzelyalı, all of the applicants were informed that telephone connections could be made with a total of 4,500 subscriber requests³⁶. The reason for not connecting the phones was the lack of stations. In 1969, 1031 citizens had telephone connection with the addition to the Çınarlı station. The telephone of 228 people who were waiting in 1968

³² 1967 İzmir City Annual, p. 190.

³³ T.C. Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics(DİE) Statistics of the villages 1960 Survey Results, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, Ankara, 1963, p. 42-44.

³⁴ 1967 İzmir City Annual, s. 194.

³⁵ Demokrat İzmir, 7 April 1964.

³⁶ Demokrat İzmir, 14 August 1964.

was connected in 1969. Still, in 1969, in Karsiyaka, Şirinyer, Bornova and Güzel-yalı there were 1000 subscribers and 2800 subscribers the city center were waiting. In a statement made by Orhan Özal in 1969, working on the switchboard to meet their telephone needs of 6000 subscribers started³⁷.

CONCLUSION

The 1960s were the beginning of a new era for Izmir. The migration from villages to the city started in the 50s, increased in the 60's, and the immigrants started to create new settlement areas. The squatting was growing rapidly. The sewage, road, water and electricity needs of these houses that were built in a night were not fully met. Infrastructure services were inadequate. Infrastructure inadequacy was not limited to the squats; the city center had the same problem. There was a sewage problem in most of the houses that surrounded the bay in half moon. Wastewater from the mansions and the pavilions were poured into the sea and the sea was polluted day by day.

Moreover, apartment building construction increased, houses with gardens were demolished and high-rise apartment buildings started to be built. As the infrastructure was inadequate, sewage problems occurred in the buildings and septic pits were opened. The municipality came in certain periods and cleared the septic tank pits. There were frequent water and electricity cuts in İzmir. Those cuts sometimes lasted a few hours, sometimes up to 4-5 days. In the 60s, the water need of İzmir was met from Halkapınar water; but the Vezir and Osmanağa water were still used. In Karsiyaka there was Yamanlar water, but there were problems delivering it to the higher points. Electricity need was met from the electricity factory in Alsancak. This factory was obsolete and lost its productivity. For this reason, electricity was delivered from the Bornova transformer center.

Except the main streets, the streets of Izmir were mostly land until 1960. There was intense dust in summer and mud in the winter. When Osman Kibar became the mayor of the city in 1963, the construction of the roads and the asphalt works started. Osman Kibar declared that there would be no streets unpaved in Izmir.

³⁷ *Demokrat İzmir*, 23 October 1969.

Communication was a problem in itself. There were serious problems in communicating with people abroad and at home. Since most of the citizens did not have a phone at home, they went to PTT to make a phone call. The calls were informed and invited. For this reason, no phone calls were made for arbitrary conversations, the phone was used only for emergency. Communication was mostly through letters.

The awareness of the people and the governments, the increased sensitivity towards the environment, the desire of people to live under better conditions, the inadequacy of the infrastructure in the result of irregular and unplanned urbanization became more apparent to the late 1960s. For this reason, it seemed that the inadequacies of the early 60s were on the way to dissolve towards the end of the '60s.

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DENİZCİLİKTE YELKENLİDEN BUHARLILARA GEÇİŞ DÖNEMİNDEKİ TEREDDÜTLER VE TARTIŞMALAR

Mustafa Murat Özdemir*

Öz

İnsanlık tarihinde tüm teknolojik yeniliklerde ve icatlarda, öncelikle bir emekleme dönemi yaşanmıştır. Yeniliğe karşı eski alışkanlıkların korunması güdüsü bu durumun başlıca sebebidir. Ancak zamanla, yavaş bir şekilde de olsa ibre yeni teknolojilerden yana kayar.

Denizcilik teknolojisinde de, karada uygulanmaya başlanan buhar teknolojisinin gemilere tatbik edilmesinden sonra tarihin her döneminde görülen sıkıntılar yaşanmıştır. Özellikle XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında gerek ülkeler, ticaret ve harp filoları arasında gerekse de teknolojiyi taktik alanda bilfiil uygulayan denizciler arasında yeni teknolojinin yarattığı sancılar baş göstermiştir.

Bu yazıda da bu dönemde yaşanan tartışmalar ve tereddütler incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu konuda özellikle bu dönemde buhar teknolojisinin kaynağı olan Avrupa ülkelerindeki gazete ve bilimsel yayınlardan faydalanılmış, dönemin insanların bu konu üzerine olan fikirleri mercek altına alınmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yelkenli, Buhar Teknolojisi, Deniz Ticareti

DOUBTS AND ARGUMENTS IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM SAIL TO STEAM

Abstract

There has always been a period of infancy for all technologies and inventions in the human history. The instinct of keeping the traditional habits is the main reason of this situation. But as the time passes, although it is slowly, the indicator finally shows the superiority of new technologies.

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The same situation had been seen in maritime technology after the application of steam technology in ships, which is first used for purposes on land. Especially in the first half of XIX. century, troubles that were caused by new technology had been seen between both countries/war fleets and seamen who tests the technology personally.

The arguments and doubts has been tried to analyse in this article. While endeavoring for that, newspapers and scientific publications of Europe(where this new technology was emerged) were used and people's ideas of that period tried to fully analysed.

Keywords: Sailing Ship,steam Technology, Maritime Trade

Giriş

Tarih boyunca denizler ticaret, seyahat, keşif ve fetih gibi birçok farklı maksatlar için istifade edilen, uygarlıkları ve kültürleri birbirine bağlayan bir vasıta olmuştur.¹ İlk dönemlerden itibaren denizlerin özellikle ticaret amacıyla kullanılmasındaki başlıca sebep deniz üzerinden yapılan ticaretin karayoluna kıyasla çok daha fazla miktarlarda emtianın taşınmasına imkan tanınmasıdır. Bu yönü ile deniz ticareti yüksek kârlılığı nedeniyle insanlığın ilk dönemlerinden itibaren sürekli ilgi duyulan bir ticari faaliyet alanı olarak görülmüştür.

Denizcilik tarihinde kürek ve yelken kullanımı, neredeyse insanlığın bilinen ilk medeniyetleri kadar eskiye uzanmaktadır. Kürek kullanımı yeniçağ ve özellikle coğrafi keşiflere kadar yaygın olarak görülmüş, yeni dünyanın keşfinden sonra keşifler çağıyla birlikte yelkenli teknolojisi, kürekli gemilerden aldığı denizcilik mirasını da(rüzgarların ve akıntıların denizcilikte kullanılması, gemi yapım teknikleri, vb) bünyesine katarak bayrak yarışını devam ettirmiştir.

Medeniyetler, imparatorluklar, denizciler arasında yüzyıllar boyu süren etkileşim neticesinde, her zincirin kendinden önceki halkayı daha da kuvvetlendirmesi ile yelkene dayalı denizcilik teknikleri sanayi devrimine kadar ayakta kalmıştır.

Yelkenli gemileri kullanan insanla hırçın denizin uzun süreden beri devam eden ilişkisi; zaman zaman fırtınalı denizlerin insanın yüreğinde açtığı yaralara rağmen yine de insanın denize beslediği platonik olan aşk sebebiyle tutkulu biçimde devam etmiştir. Ancak sanayi devrimiyle beraber her tutkulu aşk gibi yelkenli gemileri kullanan insanla hırçın denizin aşkı da son bulmaya baş-

¹ Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence Of Sea Power Upon History*, Little Brown And Company, Boston 1890, s.25

lamıştır. Onun yerine teknolojinin de desteğiyle denize ve içinde yaşadığı dünyaya karşı hırçın davranan insanla bu hırçınlıktan giderek daha fazla nasibini alan ama yine de insana olan sevgisinden dolayı ona her türlü nimeti sunmaya devam eden denizin ilişkisi başlamıştır.

Buharın Sanayide ve Kara Taşımacılığında Kullanılmaya Başlaması

Buhar makinesinin icadından sonra zaman içerisinde geliştirilerek sadece madencilikte değil, üretimde de insan ve hayvan gücünün yerini almasıyla XIX. yüzyılın endüstri toplumu şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Üretimin canlı organizmalardan farklı olarak durmak, yorulmak nedir bilmeyen bu makinelerle icra edilmesinden sonra çok fazla miktarlarda üretilen mamüllerin aynı süratle pazarlara ulaştırılması sorunu ve sürekli olarak buharlı endüstriye hammadde tedariği ihtiyacı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu sebeple eski zamanlarda olduğu gibi uygun hava ve deniz koşullarını beklemek yerine; istenildiği zaman istenilen yerden istenilen yere endüstri mamüllerini ve üretim için gerekli hammaddeleri hızlı bir şekilde nakletme ihtiyacı zuhur etmiştir.

Bu ihtiyacın karşılanması için ise o dönemde mevcut olan yelken teknolojisi açık biçimde yetersiz kalmıştır. Örneğin XIX. yüzyılda dahi, koşullar elverişli olduğunda on beş günde tamamlanan Venedik-İstanbul yolculuğu elverişsiz koşullar altında seksen bir güne kadar uzayabiliyordu.² Deniz yolculuğunda her türlü bilinmezlerle ve sürprizlerle karşılaşmak son derece olası idi. Bu sebepten dolayı da kara taşımacılığında demiryollarında kullanılan buhar gücünün deniz ticaretinde de kullanılabilir hale gelmesi bir zaruret haline geldi.

Üstelik kara taşımacılığına göre buharlı gemilerin deniz ticaretinde kullanılması çok daha kolaydı. Buharlı lokomotifin ihtiyaç duyduğu demiryollarına gerek yoktu. Bu nedenle de buharlı gemilerin nakliyata uyarlanması demiryolu taşımacılığına oranla daha kolay ve hızlı bir şekilde oldu. Zira buhar makinesinin gemiye uyarlanmasından sonra tüm denizler ve okyanuslar geçiş yolu haline gelmekteydi, tek sorun geminin yaşayabileceği uygun bir liman bulabilmesiydi.³

² Donald Qataert, *Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, Cambridge University Press, Newyork 2005, s.119

³ Süleyman Uygun, *Osmanlı Sularında Rekabet*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2015, s.3

Buharlı gemilerin yapım ve teknik bakım maliyetlerinin yüksek olması, ayrıca yakıt ikmal etmeden uzun süre suda kalamaması ve tonajlarının düşük olması gibi nedenlerden dolayı deniz ticaretinde ilk dönemler yelkenlilerin üstünlüğü devam etti. Ayrıca bu dönem buharlılarının iç hacimlerinin yarısını motor ve aksamı, kazanlar ile yakıt depoları teşkil etmekteydi. Kalan bölümün dörtte biri ise gemi tayfasının kullanımına ancak yetiyordu. Tüm bunlardan arta kalan bölüm ise yolcu, yük ve posta taşımacılığına ayrılabilirdi. Limanlardaki yük indirme-bindirme altyapısı yelkenlilere göre düzenlenmişti. Dönemin şartlarına bakıldığında kumpanyalar ve gemi sahibi armatörler, aynı zamanda devlet yöneticileri, buharlıların fiziksel yetersizlikleri dolayısıyla yük ve yolcu taşımak konusunda ön planda olamayacaklarını düşünüyorlardı.⁴

Buharlı Gemilerin Deniz Ticaretinde Kullanılmaya Başlanması

Bilindiği gibi ilk başarılı buharlı gemi denemesi, Robert Foulton'un 1807'de yapmış olduğu Clermont adlı yandan çarklı tipte buharlı gemisini Hudson Nehri'nde yüzdürmesidir. Daha sonra İngilizler, 1812'de Comet adındaki ilk buharlı gemilerini Clyde nehri üzerinde yüzdürmeyi başardılar.⁵ Bundan kısa bir süre sonra Fransızların 1816'da İngiltere'den satın aldığı Elise adındaki buharlı gemi, Seine Nehri'nde işlemeye başladı. 1818'e gelindiğinde Rob Roy adındaki İngiliz buharlısı ilk defa denize açılarak Calais ile Douvres arasında seferler yaptı. Fransızların Akdeniz'e açılan ilk buharlısı ise Marsilyalı Armatör Pierre Andriel adına 1818'de Napoli'de inşa edilen Ferdinando Primo adlı buharlı gemiydi.⁶ Aynı dönemde Avusturya da ilk buharlı gemi denemelerini başarılı bir şekilde Tuna nehri üzerinde gerçekleştirmişti.

Ancak verilen örneklerden de görüleceği üzere buharlı gemiler bu ilk dönemde açık denizlerde ve okyanuslarda deniz ticaretinde kullanılmaya hiç de elverişli değildi. Bu yüzden uzak mesafeli bir deniz yolculuğunu tamamlamada hala eksiktiler.

Atlantik ötesi ilk seyir yapmış buharlı olan "Savannah" Atlantik Okyanusu'nu geçen ilk buharlı ünvanını alsa da 29 günlük seyirde sadece seksen saat

⁴ Uygun, *Osmanlı Sularında Rekabet*, s.17

⁵ R. A. Fletcher, *Steamships The Story of Their Deveopment To The Present Day*, Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., London 1910, s.62

⁶ Uygun, *Osmanlı Sularında Rekabet*, s.27,28

süreyile 66 kilowatt gücündeki makinesini kullanmıştı. Çünkü buhar makinesi henüz yeteri kadar verimli olmadığı için buharlı gemilerin uzun seyirlerine yeterli yakıt sağlanamıyordu.⁷

Bunun yanında ilk dönem buharlıları genelde yandan çarklı tipteydi ve çark donanımı geminin vasat hattında konuşlandırılarak sancak ve iskele bordasını kaplıyordu.⁸ Bu husus gemilerin yükleme boşaltma yapmalarında birtakım zorluklar teşkil ediyordu. Ayrıca çark donanımının irtibatlı olduğu şaft, geminin vasatını sancaktan iskeleye kadar işgal ediyor, şaftta hareket veren motor da geminin vasatında bulunduğundan yük taşımak için ayrılan hacim oldukça daralıyordu. Bu ve bunun gibi hususlar buharlılara geçiş konusunda birçok çekişmeler ortaya çıkartıyordu.

Tam da bu aşamada buharlıların mı yoksa yelkenlilerin mi denizcilikte daha üstün olduğu konusunda gerek denizciler gerekse bilim insanları ve devlet adamları arasında da o dönemdeki basın organlarında görülen tartışmalar yaşanmaktaydı.

Buharlı ve Yelkenli Üstünlüğü Konusunda Tartışmalar

Uzun yüzyıllar boyunca yelkenlileri kullanmaya alışmış insanoğlunun buhar teknolojisine hemen uyum sağlaması elbette düşünülemezdi. Ancak gelişmeler önceki dönemlere oranla o kadar hızlı yaşanıyordu ki, bu baş döndürücü hıza adapte olmak bir seçenek olmaktan öte bir zorunluluk haline gelmişti.

Örneğin denizcilikte kürekli kadirgallardan yelkenli kalyonlara geçiş XVI. yüzyılın sonlarında başlamış ve XVII. yüzyıldan itibaren dünya denizlerinde kalyon tipi gemiler egemenlik kurmuştur. Yelkenli gemilerin rakipsiz olduğu dönem neredeyse 200 yıllık bir periyodu kapsar ve bu süre içinde küçük, tabiri yerindeyse taktiksel uygulamalar dışında var olan teknolojiyi tümünden değiştirecek bir dönüşüm görülmemiştir. Ancak XIX. yüzyıl boyunca denizcilik teknolojisinde birbiri ardına kapsamlı, hatta devrim niteliğinde teknolojik değişimler görülmüştür. Buhar gücünün gemilere ilk uygulanma tekniği olan yandan çark donanımı, ardından gelen uskur tekniği, tahmil/tahliye sırasındaki ameliyelerin

⁷ Jorgen Lovland, "A History of Steam Power", Department of Chemical Engineering NTNU, Trondheim 2007, s.22

⁸ Levent Düzcü, "Osmanlıların Sanayi Çağına Adım Atışına Denizcilikten Bir Örnek:Buharlı Gemiyeye Geçişte Başlıca Parametreler (1828-1856)", *History Studies International Journal of History*, C. V, S.1, 2013, s.115

buhar makineleriyle icra edilmesi, iki-üç genişlemeli buhar makinelerinin gemilerde kullanılması, demirin ve ardından çeliğin gemi inşasında kullanılması, buharlı savaş gemilerinde top taretlerinin konuşlandırılması gibi birbirinden farklı birçok teknoloji aynı yüzyıl içerisinde zuhur etmiş ve sürekli bir ilerleme içerisinde olmuştur.⁹ Bu nedenle de bu ilerlemelere uyum sağlayamayanların rakipleri karşısında eriyip tükenmesi eskisi gibi on yıllar, çeyrek veya yarım yüzyılda değil sadece birkaç yılda gerçekleşmekteydi. Denilebilir ki bu dönemde merkantilizm artık vahşi kapitalizme dönüşmeye başlamıştı.

Ancak bir yandan da buharlı teknolojisi; hala arzu edilen olgunluğa erişememiş olması, sayıları az da olsa gelenekçi denizcilerin tutumları, buhar teknolojisinin yolculardan armatörlere kadar geniş insan kitleleri üzerindeki tehlikeli olduğuna dair psikolojik etkileri sebebiyle yelkenlilerin karşısında gerçek gücünü ispat etmekten uzak bulunuyordu. Buharlılar ve yelkenliler arasında kalan insanların düşüncelerini yansıtan o dönemdeki matbuat bu konuda az çok bir fikir vermektedir.

Buharlıların yelkenlilere kıyasla en önemli özelliği ticarete ve haberleşmede yelkenliler gibi doğa şartlarına bağımlılığı en aza indirmesi, dolayısıyla sürat ve tarifeli sefer konusundaki üstünlükleriydi. Bu nedenle “yükte hafif pahada ağır” olan emtianın taşınmasında üstünlüklerini ilk defa hissettirmeye başladılar ve özellikle devletlerin uzak bölgelerle iletişimini ve merkezi otoriteyi kuvvetlendirilmesine önemli katkı sağladılar.

Örneğin, buharlıların icadından önce Avrupalı bir şirketin ticari amaçlı bir mektup veya haber talimatının doğudaki bir bölgeye ulaştırılması ve cevabının alınması bir seneyi bulabiliyordu. Buharlıların taşımacılıkta kullanılmaya başlanmasından sonra ise bu süre hatırı sayılır ölçüde azalmıştı.¹⁰ Fransız Ekonomi Bakanı, Fransız posta taşımacılığındaki devrimi özetle şöyle anlatıyordu:

“Yelkenlilerle Marsilya’dan İstanbul’a yolculuk normal şartlarda 40 ila 50 gün arasında sürerdi, şu an Marsilya’dan İstanbul’a giden bir buharlı 28 günde gidiş dönüşünü tamamlamış oluyordu. Yani İstanbul’a gönderilen bir mektubun cevabı 29. günde gelmiş oluyordu. Diğer yandan posta gemilerindeki bu

⁹ John Fisher, *Memories By Admiral Of The Fleet Lord Fisher*, Hodder & Stoughton, London 1919, s. 149

¹⁰ O.P.Austin, “A Century of International Commerce” , *The North American Review*, C.171, S. 528, Kasım 1900, s.664

devrim sayesinde Levant ile diplomatik ve ticari ilişkiler de daha düzenli ve sıkı hale geliyordu.”¹¹

Buharlılar değerli yüklerin taşınmasında yeni imkanlar ortaya çıkarmış ve hızlı bir biçimde bu tür emtianın taşınmasında yelkenlilerden öne çıkmışsa da denizciler ve yolcular için bu yeniliğe alışmak hiç de kolay olmamıştır. İnsanların yüzyıllardan beri kullanılagelen yelkenlilerdeki alışkanlıklarını bir anda unutmaları pek mümkün değildi. Buharlılarda birinci, ikinci, üçüncü kaptan, kazancı, vb. deneyimli mürettebat bulunması gerektiğinden dolayı çoğu zaman ilk dönem kazanın aşırı ısınmadan dolayı patladığı ve geminin tamamen yandığı görülürdü. Bu gibi sebeplerden ilk dönem buharlılarına yürüyen krater, cehennem vs. denilirdi.

Denizcilerin de manevralarında buhar gücünden istifade etmesinde hala sıkıntılar görülüyordu. Mesela İngiliz Amiralı Moresby tarafından anılarında yer verilen bir husus zamanın kaptanlarının buharlılara alışmadaki acemiliklerine bir örnektir:

“Bir ticari gemi kaptanı hem yelken hem de buhar donanımına sahip gemisini liman açığına demirletmek için manevra yapmaktadır. Demirlemeden önce üzerindeki yolu kesmek için normal olarak yelkenlerini indirir ve karizmatik bir manevrayla demiri fundo edeceği(denize bırakacağı) noktaya doğru ilerler. Tam demirini fundo ettiği sırada makinalarını stop etmediğini fark eder ama artık çok geç kalmıştır. Sonuçta gemi demirin üstüne çıkar ve tecrübeli kaptan için utandırıcı bir netice hasil olur.”¹²

Buharlılar yolcular arasındaki korkuları da yükseltti. 1846’da yolcular Fransız Rostand Posta Vapur Kumpanyasına “Seyyar Krater” adını vermişlerdi.¹³

1844’te Siros-İstanbul hattında Fransız posta vapuru Telemak ile seyahat eden Rum bir avukat olan Paul Calligas şöyle der: “Gemiye biner binmez hemen masaya otururuz, tam dışarı çıktığımızda görürüz ki İzmir Körfezi’nin ortasın-

¹¹ *Quelques Reflexions sur le Projet de Loi Relatif a L’Etablissement de Paquebots a Vapeur Entre Marseille et Constantinople*, Marseille 1835, s. 17-18

¹² E. Keble Chatterton, *Sailing Ships*, Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., London 1909, s.263,264

¹³ Marie-Françoise Berneron-Couvenhes, *Les Messageries Maritimes: l’Essor d’Une Grande Compagnie de Navigation Française, 1851-1894*, Pups, Paris 2007, s. 59-60

dayız, burada uzun süre bekleriz, tam tatlımızı yemeye başladığımızda makineci kaptana kazanın bacasını açık unuttuk diyerek seslenir. Buharlıda üç tane baca mevcuttu ve ateşin yoğunluğundan biri patlamış durumdaydı.”¹⁴

Bu ve bunun gibi görüşlerin, daha doğrusu kararsızlıkların bir sonucu olarak yelken, yandan çarklı buharlılar ve uskurlu tipteki buharlıların hangisinin daha üstün olduğu konusunda tartışmaların ardı arkası kesilmemişti. Bu hususa bir emsal olarak yelken, çark ve uskur teknolojisinin her üçü birden 1859'lara gelindiğinde tek bir gemide kullanılmaktaydı. Amerika, Hindistan ve hatta Avustralya'ya okyanus ötesi seyir yapmak için bu tipte inşa edilen büyük buharlılar bulunmaktaydı.¹⁵

Buharlılarla yelkenliler arasındaki rekabette üstünlüğün buharlılara geçmesine etki eden bir diğer husus da personel maliyetleri idi. Kumpanyaların buharlılarla yelkenlilerin arasında tercih yapması konusunda navlunun taşınması için yapılan masraf da belirleyici bir unsurdur. Ne kadar az gemici çalıştırılırsa masraf kalemleri de o oranda düşüyor ve bu fiyata yansıyor. Fiyatın düşük olması da kumpanyaların diğer şirketlere karşı rekabet gücünü arttırıyordu. 1854 yılında buharlılarda ve yelkenlilerde tonajlarına göre istihdam edilen personel sayısı birbirine yakın durumdaydı. Buharlılardaki personel sayısının yelkenlilerdeki gibi yüksek olmasının sebebi bu dönemde gemi kazanlarında çok fazla ateşçi çalışıyor olmasıydı. Ancak makinelerin gelişmesiyle 1898'de bu rakamlar değişmiştir. Yelkenlilerde tonaj başına istihdam edilen mürettebatta fazla bir değişiklik olmazken buharlılarda önemli oranda azalma olmuştur.¹⁶

Gemicilere ödenen maaşların yanında gemilerde görev yapması için yetiştirilen personelin sağlanması da zamanla buharlıların elini güçlendiren bir unsur olmuştur. Örneğin yelkenli devrinde gemiye alınan denizciler, yirmi çeşit mesleğe ait detayı bilmeliydi. Güç ve çeviklik, ani manevra hareketi yelkenlilerin kullanımına olanak sağlamıştır. Dolayısıyla iyi bir gabyacı; uzun süreli bir deneyimi, iklim bilgisi olan biri olmalıydı. Buharlı gemilerle birlikte tüm bunlar neredeyse kayboldu. Buharlı geminin makinisti, lokomotifin makinistinden farklı değildi, kazancılar için de aynı durum geçerliydi.¹⁷

¹⁴ M.F. Berneron Couvenhes, *Les Messageries Maritimes*, s. 80

¹⁵ A. Anthoine and Barnett Blake, "Great Eastern Steamship", *Journal Of The Society Of Arts*, C.VII, S.351, Ağustos 1859, s.632

¹⁶ Ambroise Colin, *La Navigation Commerciale Au XIXe Siecle*, Paris 1901, s. 401, 402

¹⁷ Colin, *La Navigation Commerciale Au XIXe Siecle*, s. 409

Buharlılarda çalışan personel sayısının(özellikle ateşçilerin) azalmasında ve yakıt maliyetlerinin en aza indirgenmesinde kuşkusuz en önemli husus buhar makinesinde sağlanan teknolojik gelişim idi. 1880'lerde gelişen makine yapım teknolojisi sayesinde üç genişlemeli motorlar dizayn edildi ve buhar makinesinin verimliliği daha da arttı. Daha önce kullanımına başlanan bileşik/çok genişlemeli motorlara benzer şekilde bu motorlarda da yüksek, orta ve düşük basınç hazneleri/silindirleri vardı ve her üç silindirde de buhar gücünden pistonlara hareket vermesi için faydalanıldı. Böylelikle aynı miktardaki yakıttan alınan verim daha da arttı. Sonraki yarım asır boyunca düşük hızlı tüm buharlı kargo gemilerinde kullanılan, ana tahrik¹⁸ unsuru bu oldu.¹⁹

Üç genişlemeli motorlara sahip buharlıların yakıtı ne kadar ekonomik kullanıldığına ilişkin spesifik bir örneğe 1885 yılında rastlanıyordu. Düşük hızlarda kargo taşımak için dizayn edilmiş "Burgos" adlı buharlı, 160Psi(11,249kg/cm²)²⁰ basınç kapasitesinde üç genişlemeli motorlara sahipti ve tüm deniz şartlarında 10 knot sürat yapabiliyordu. Plymouth/İngiltere'den İskenderiye'ye yapılan bir seyirde, 2540 tonluk kargoyu 3380 denizmili mesafeye 126 ton kömür tüketerek taşımıştı. Bu da denizmili başına 38 kilogram, her denizmili boyunca taşınan 1 tonluk yük için 0.0146 kilogram kömür demekti.²¹ Yani 1885'te bir ton navlunu bir denizmili taşımak için gereken yakıt maliyeti 0.0146 kilogram kömürden ibaretti. Diğer bir açıdan bakılacak olursa buharlı gemilerde kullanılan iptidai buhar makinelerinin yakıt tüketimi beygir gücü başına 1.133 kilogram iken 1880'lerde kullanılan bileşik motorlarda bu oran beygir gücü başına 0.9 kilograma, üç genişlemeli motorlarda ise 0.65 kilograma kadar düşmüştü.²²

Yukarıda bahsi geçen, toplam tonajı sadece 350 ton olan Savannah'ın 1819'da ilk Atlantik ötesi yolculuğunda kullandığı buhar makinelerinin günlük kömür sarfiyatı için ambarlarda seyirde geçecek gün başına 10 tonluk bölme ayrılması ile 1885'te 2540 tonluk kargoyu günlük 8,9 ton kömür harcayarak taşıyabilen üç genişlemeli motora sahip Burgos buharlısının kıyaslaması; buhar makinesindeki teknolojik gelişimin nakliyat maliyetine etkisini ortaya koymaktaydı.

Ticari filolarda olduğu gibi savaş filolarında da zaman içerisinde buharlılar öne çıktılar. Yandan çark yerine uskurun(pervanenin) buharlı gemilere

¹⁸ Ana Tahrik: Gemilerin yol alması için faydalandıkları yandan çark,pervane,vb donanım.

¹⁹ Ian Buxton, "Enabling Technology and The Naval Architect 1860-2012", *International Journal of Maritime Engineering*, C. CLII ,S. A2, Nisan-Haziran 2010, s.54, 55

²⁰ Psi: Pound bölü inçkare (Pound Per Square Inch)

²¹ A. Woeikof, "Economy of Fuel", *Science Magazine*, C.V, S.103, Ocak 1885, s.74

²² Buxton, "Enabling Technology and The Naval Architect 1860-2012", s.51,53

adapte edilmesi savaş filolarında da buharlıların üstünlüğünü tartışmasız biçimde ortaya koydu. Özellikle Kırım Savaşı(1853-1856) sırasında uskurlu buharlıların Rus donanması karşısındaki üstün manevra kabiliyeti ve ateş gücü, dünya bahriyelerinde uskurlu buharlıların yerini sağlamlaştırdı. Osmanlı Devleti de bu savaşta edinilen tecrübelerin bir sonucu olarak donanma için uskurlu tipte buharlıların tedarik edilmesi uğruna çok çaba harcadı. Ancak teknolojik açıdan muhasım devletlerden geri kalınması sebebiyle buhar teknolojisinde kendi kendine yetecek bir seviye yakalanamadı.²³

Bunun gibi örneklerden de anlaşılacağı üzere başlangıçta yelkenlilere karşı buharlıların pek bir üstünlüğü mevcut değildi. Ancak teknolojinin gelişimiyle beraber üstünlük ibresi açık biçimde buharlıların lehine değişim göstermiştir.

Sonuç

Sanayi devrimiyle sınai kapitalizme kapılarını açan XIX. yüzyıl Avrupası, merkantilizmden sınai kapitalizme geçişin sancılarını yaşarken buhar teknolojisinin denizcilğe uygulanmasıyla devrim niteliğindeki bir yeniliğe daha şahitlik etti. Küresel deniz ticareti artık geri dönüşü olmayacak bir biçimde değişime uğruyordu ve bu yolda önünde hiçbir engel tanııyordu.

Buharlı teknolojisinin gelişerek denizcilikte giderek daha yaygın kullanılması, neredeyse tüm dünyadaki limanları buharlıların uğrak yerine dönüştürmüştü. Eski uzak mesafeler artık birkaç günde kat edilebilen kısa mesafelerdi ve bu eski "uzak" diyarlara ulaşmak için uygun deniz ve hava koşullarını bekleme zorunluluğu buharlılar sayesinde büyük oranda ortadan kalkmıştı. Tek ihtiyaç buhar gücüyle yürütülen bir gemi ve geminin ambarlarını doldurarak seyir yapmasını sağlayacak tonlarca kömür idi. Bunun için de ekonomik açıdan güçlü olmak, yani yeterli sermaye bulmak gerekiyordu. Coğrafi keşifler neticesindeki burjuvazi ve sonraki asırlarda görülen sanayi devrimi ile ülkelerinde büyük sermayeler biriktirmiş olan Batılı devletlerin ve onların bayrağını taşıyan şirketlerin buharlı işletmesini ekonomik açıdan sınırlayan herhangi bir engel yoktu. Bunun neticesinde ise öncelikle şirketlerin acente görevlileri ekonomik açıdan buharlı seferleri için potansiyele sahip bölgelere gidiyor daha sonra bunlar hem

²³ Kemal Arı, "Yelkenliden Buharlıya Geçiş", *Türk Denizcilik Tarihi: XVIII. Yüzyılın Başından XX. Yüzyıla Kadar*, C.II, Türk Deniz Kuvvetleri Yayınları, Ankara 2009, s.132

konsolosluk hem de acentelik görevini üstleniyorlardı.²⁴ Yani öncelikle buharlı şirketleri liman bölgelerinde ticari bağlantıları oluşturuyor daha sonra bu şirketlerin artan ihtiyaçları ve kıyı devletiyle olan problemlerinin çözümü için konsololar ve nihayetinde buharlıların bayrak devletleri²⁵ devreye giriyordu.

XIX. yüzyılda sanayi devriminin de tam desteğiyle Avrupa devletleri hegemonyalarını dünyanın en ücra köşelerine kadar hissettirdiler. Bu sayede sadece ticari emtialarını değil geleneklerini, kültürlerini ve hatta dinlerini dahi buharlılarının ulaştığı tüm limanlarda pazarladılar. Bu şekilde sanayi devriminden sonraki dünyaya, iki büyük paylaşım savaşına yol açacak gelişmelere kapı açılmış oldu.

²⁴ Süleyman Uygun, “Karadeniz Sularında Fransız Paquet Vapur Kumpanyası (1878-1914)”, *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi*, S.20, 2016, s.144

²⁵ Bayrak Devleti(Flag State): Bir ticaret gemisinde, açık denizde dahi kendi kanunlarını ve yaptırımlarını uygulama gücü ve yetkisi bulunan, geminin uyruğunda bulunduğu devlet. Sinan MİSİLİ, “Açık Denizlerin Serbestliği, Gemilerin Uyraklığı Ve Bayrak Devleti Münhasır Yargı Yetkisi Arasındaki İlişkinin Teamül Hukuku, Konvansiyonlar ve Mahkeme Kararları Işığında İncelenmesi”, *Gazi Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, C.XVIII, S.1, 2014, s.188

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THE ATTITUDE OF EGYPT TOWARDS BAGHDAD PACT

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Abstract

Middle East has become the attraction center of the World through the human history. It has been home to many of civilizations. A big colonial race began with the industry era in the World and the petroleum and raw material race of colonial states were accelerated vehemently. Especially, after the math of 19 century, the weakening power of Ottoman Empire resulted in a big gap in the Middle East. It caused the severe competition between the states which were eager to fill that gap. It made the region which was important from the view of strategical and having wealthy oil reserves more attractive.

The region was shared in 1st World War with secret agreements. Western countries foremost UK made the deals with tribal leaders and prominent families to organize the rebellions against Ottoman in order to collapse it. After 1st World War, The Kingdoms and the states were established based on colonial and mandate regime in place of Ottoman Empire. The colonial states which Imperial states never give up were established. Until 2nd World War, Colonial Systems and Mandate regime were led, after 2nd World War, The dipole system which was comprised of USA and USSR was dominated the World.

Until that time, USA, UK and France had been dominant in the region, USSR became the rival of them. Soviet Expansionism was reflected as a threat to the regional states by the western block and the precautions were thought in order to protect regional countries which were Turkey, Greece, Iraq, Pakistan and alongside Arab States. Regional cooperations and Defence Organization foremost NATO were supported against this threat. Baghdad Pact was one of the defence pacts which was established under the pioneer of Turkey and Iraq and supported by USA and UK in order to prevent Soviet Expansionism. In a short time, while Pakistan, Iran and UK also joined to the pact. The other Arab States were expected to join to the pact. Nevertheless, the oppositions of pacts foremost Egypt conducted a campaign that The aim of the establishing of Baghdad Pact was the other method for the western countries to control the region. Egypt which was

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led by Cemal Abdul Nasser reacted a severe opposition to the pact since they thought Baghdad Pact as a threat which would lose their leadership over the region and make Turkey to control the region. At the same time, it was propangandized that Israel would become the member of the pact and that would mean all Arab States would be supposed to recognize Israel because of that reson and that would mean the betrayal of Arab Movement. With the effects of the hampering of Egypt, Baghdad Pact couldnt reach expansions that it was aimed but it served for the sake of good relations between Pact's members, especially Turkey and Iraq relations and it contributed to Turkey's reputation due to the attitude of Turkey in terms of World peace.

Keywords: Baghdad Pact, Turkey, Egypt, Middle East, Defence Cooperation, Soviet Expansionism

Bağdat Paktı'na Karşı Mısır'ın Tutumu

Öz

Orta Doğu insanlık tarihi boyunca dünyanın cazibe merkezi olmayı başarmış, birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Sanayi Çağı ile beraber dünyada büyük bir sömürge yarışı başlamış, emperyal devletlerin petrol ve hammadde yarışı kıyasıya hızlanmıştır. Özellikle XIX. yüzyıldan sonra Osmanlı Devleti'nin zayıflaması Ortadoğu'da bir boşluk doğurmuş, bu boşluğu doldurmaya hevesli ülkelerin kıyasıya rekabetini daha da artırmış, stratejik ve jeopolitik açıdan önemli ve zengin petrol rezervlerinin bulunduğu bu bölgeyi daha da cazip hale getirmiştir.

I. Dünya Savaşında bölge gizli anlaşmalarla paylaşılmış, Osmanlı'nın bölgedeki hakimiyetine son vermek için yerel aşiretler ve bazı ileri gelen ailelerle anlaşmalar yapılarak Osmanlı'ya karşı ayaklanmaları sağlanmıştır. I. Dünya Savaşından sonra yıkılan Osmanlı'nın yerini mandaterlik ve sömürü düzenine kurulu krallıklar almış, batılı devletlerin vazgeçemeyeceği sömürü devletler kurulmuştur. II. Dünya Savaşına kadar sömürge düzeni ve mandaterlikler sürerken II. Dünya Savaşından sonra dünyada ABD ve SSCB' den oluşan iki kutuplu düzen hâkim olmuştur.

Bu zamana kadar Ortadoğu'nun kontrolünü elinde tutan ABD, İngiltere ve Fransa'ya bölgede rakip olarak görülen SSCB çıkmıştır. Batılı devletler tarafından Sovyet yayılmacılığı tehdit olarak adledilerek Türkiye, Yunanistan, Pakistan ve Irak'ın yanı sıra Ortadoğu'daki diğer Arap devletlerinin bu tehdiye karşı korumak için tedbirler düşünülmüştür. Bu tehdiye karşı NATO başta olmak üzere bölgesel savunma iş birlikleri ve ittifaklar desteklenmiştir. Bağdat Paktı'nda bu kapsamda Türkiye ve Irak'ın önderliğinde başta ABD ve İngiltere'nin desteği ile Sovyet yayılmacılığına karşı kurulmuş savunma paktlarından biriydi. Kısa zamanda pakta Pakistan, İran ve İngiltere katılırken, diğer Arap Devletlerinde katılması beklenmiştir. Ancak Mısır'ın başını çektiği muhalefet, paktın kuruluş amacının bölgenin batılı ülkelerin güdümüne gireceği olgusu olarak yansıtılmıştır. Cemal Abdul Nasser liderliğindeki Mısır, pakta karşı sert bir muhalefet göstererek, pakta

kendisini Ortadoğu'nun lider ülke konumunda olma tezini Türkiye lehine değiştirecek bir tehdit olarak görmüştür. Bunun yanısıra Pakt'ın hedefleri arasında İsrail'in de pakta dahil edilerek İsrail'in Arap dünyası tarafından tanınmasının sağlanacağı savunulmuş ve bunun Arap davasına büyük bir ihanet olduğu propagandası yapılmıştır. Mısır'ın engellemelerinin de etkisiyle hedeflediği genişliği yakalamasa da özellikle Türkiye'nin Irak ve diğer pakt üyesi ülkelerle ilişkilerine olumlu yansımış ancak hedeflenen bölgesel iş birliği ve savunma amaçlarına ulaşamadan dağılmıştır. Bu çalışmada Bağdat Paktına karşı Mısır'ın tutumu ve yaptığı propaganda üzerinde durulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bağdat Paktı, Türkiye, Mısır, Orta Doğu, Savunma İş birliği, Sovyet Yayılması.

Introduction

Gazi After the 2'nd World War, USA, France, UK and Turkey tried to establish a defence organization in the Middle East against the threat of Soviet expansionism. It was thought that Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt, Iran and the other countries in middle east would have joined that defence organization which would have been established. But, After establishment of the Israel State, The Arab countries started to see the main threat as Israel state rather than USSR. Moreover, The Arab Countries didnt count on USA, UK and Egypt and also Egypt didnt want to make a political cooperation with UK unless UK would have pulled her troops back from Suez channel.

USA thought that Turkey, Greece and Iran were shield in the middle east for preventing the Soviet expansionism. While UK was planning to establish a defence organization which she would confer very big responsibilities to Turkey, she wanted to be leader and the controller of that organization. By that way UK wanted to establish the influence over the Arab States thus She would protect the east Mediterrean and the India from the external powers. UK wanted Turkey to take responsibility of being leader of this project and she aimed to improve her image in the Middle East. Furthermore, UK tried to preserve Suez Base with the new regulations which would be made in this project.

Jeopolitical situation and the military and the economical power of Turkey had vital importance for any defence organization which would be thought to establish in the Middle East. But firstly being member of NATO was the top priority of Turkey. Turkey didnt see any advantages to join a defence organization which would be established in the Middle East. When Turkey understood

and took granted for being the member of NATO. She abondened to make opposition to the Middle East Defence Organization and she supported this idea¹. It was another effective reason for Turkey that USSR had some efforts to establish influence over some Arab countries by giving them military and economic support².

In 1952, Turkey had become a member of NATO and some sort of military bases were established in Turkey, in order to stop Soviet expansionism and also communism over the region. Afterwards Turkey began to improve her Middle East policy by caring about the stability and security of the region, finding out the solution of Arab-Israel conflict and preventing the spread out of communism in the region. Democratic party and Menderes Government had worked for re-developing of Turkish- Arab relations which were neglected before the period of single party³. At the same time Wester block which were especially USA, UK, France wanted to establish a Middle East Defence Command which would be comprised of Middle East Countries including Turkey.

However, Egypt desired to be leader of this command and she wanted to transform this command's aim to gather just Arab Countries against Israel, it was obviously clear that Western block's aim was different from Egypt's intention.

After this period, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran tried to develop good relations between each other and with western block while Egypt tried to hold herself back this kinds of cooperations because she thought that all the efforts to establish a defence cooperation serve a purpose of the benefits of western block, especially, UK and strenghten the position of Israel State.

1. Middle East Defence Command and It's transformation to Middle East Defence Organization due to Egypt.

After second World War, UK understood that she would have to retreat from Middle East because the foundation of United Nation and the development of the liberty and freedom over the World but she didnt hesitate to come up with new projects which preserve her benefits in the region. There is no doubt that one of the most important ones was "Middle East Command" As a matter of

¹ Ömer Osman Umar, **Bağdat Paktı**, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Pbl., Ankara 2013, p.4.

² Ibid., p.5.

³ Ibid., p.5.

fact, the difference between the political systems of the East and West and the irreconcilable competition between these systems made the offer of UK was attractive⁴. Moreover, after the war of Korean, the cold war which made tension and shaped a critical situation between USA and USSR and so Utilizing of the bases of UK in the Middle East for western defence ally became a necessity for USA⁵. France was not late to support this idea. And the result of this idea, UK, USA signed this joint project in 25 May 1950.

By all means, joining of Turkey to this project contributed it to earn a new essence of it's form.

- a. *The power of Turkey was remarkable and due in no small part in the region.*
- b. *Turkey was Muslim country. Joining of Turkey to the Project of "Middle East Command" excluded the Project as the western and christian form and made it regional Project.*
- c. *Joining of Turkey to the project brought new opportunities which were the getting into dialog to new Middle East countries⁶.*

Thus, The founder of the idea of establishing "Middle East Command", USA, UK, France wanted Egypt to participate to this project by giving her an offer unanimously. These are the points which were presented by UK and the allies of her.

- 1) Egypt and Middle East Countries's defence against assault from outside just can be possible with the cooperation of related countries.
- 2) The mission of Middle East Command would just be guiding to Middle East Countries and supporting them about planning.
- 3) Provided that peace and safety could be settled in Middle East. There would be progresses of economic and social fields.
- 4) Defending of Middle East was as vital importance for Middle East Countries as the freedom of the World.

⁴ Yaşar Canatan, **Türk- Irak Münasebetleri (1926-1958)**, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Pbl., Ankara, 1996, p.64.

⁵ Ibid., p.65.

⁶ Ibid., p.65.

- 5) In case that Egypt accepted the offer, she would have equal rights with the other members of the Command.

The desires of the members of the Middle East Command to make Egypt to be member of the Command was not coincidence or innocent as it was shown for World peace. Egypt had Suez Channel which was key and important place from the view of international and intercontinental aspect. Also, Egypt had influence on the other Arab states and the expectation was that if Egypt were the member of the Command, the other Arab States would follow her. Meanwhile, the idea of the command didnt neglect that Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Israel were wanted to be member of the command⁷.

Egypt government gathered for the offer of being the member of the "Middle East Command". They argued all the details and possible result of being member of the Command. The result was negative. Egypt rejected to participate to the Command⁸. It was not unexpected attitude of Egypt. Because, Egypt was just released of the invasion of UK. It was not convenient for Egypt and the expectation of the region's people to participate to this project which was the UK's leading and If Egypt had accepted the offer. The international and regional effects would have been so widely. Actually, this would have meant that UK's dominance on Egypt would have been maintained under the different appearance⁹.

The rejection decision of Egypt to participate "Middle East Command" was welcomed by the people of the region. Demonstrations were prolonged for the days. The reactions of the Arab community to "Middle East Command" could be explained with two reasons.

1. Participating of Egypt to Middle East Command would make USA, UK and France to utilize Egypt as a permanent base.
2. Arab States were not only called but also Israel was being called. At the beginning of 1948, Israel was seen as a small district of which population was just 40.000-50.000 in Arab Palestine. With the economic and military support of the founder of this project which was called "Middle East Command". Israel became a stronger and assaulter state which

⁷ Canatan, *Ibid.*, p.66.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.67.

threat the existence of the Arab states in the region. Moreover, These states planned to bring Israel together with the other Arab states under the same roof with this friendship cooperation. The aim was obvious. Israel would be recognized as a state by Arab states, further away, Israel and Arab States would become ally. This strangeness situation of course couldnt be accepted by Arab States¹⁰.

In deed, It was predicted that Suez Channel would be utilized by the Command in the offer of UK and her allies to Egypt. This meant that it would be clearly betrayal to the idea of the nationalization of Suez Channel and the martyrs for this cause. Alfred Lilental told about this subject that *“UK and her allies notified that Utilizing Suez Channel initiative would belong to themselves with the offer presented to Egypt”*. According to Egyptians, This was obviously and cleverly planned that Suez Channel would be left to UK forever.

Despite the rejection of offer by Egypt, The efforts for establishing “Middle East Command” continued. UK, USA, France and Turkey which were the countries trying to establish the Command declared a notification which was comprised of eleven articles in 10 November 1951¹¹. In this declaration, it was emphasized that that defence organization was needed for the freedom of the region and the World, all the countries would have equal rights in this organization and that organization wouldnt interfere with the domestic issues of the regional states¹².

UK was in very difficult position about renewing the agreements between Egypt and Iraq. UK would maintain the benefits about the oil, raw materials, cheap agriculture products in case of renewing the agreements with these countries but in June of 1952, the negotiations between Egypt and UK come out badly. Thus, UK offered establishing Middle East Defence Organization in place of Middle East Command. Because of this reason, negations of this subject went along with the name of “Middle East Defence Organization”, furthermore with this change, the subject was excluded from the Military Command term and transformed to Defence Organization which was wide-ranging and more political. In 26 June 1952, The foreign minister of UK, Anthony Eden and the foreign minister of USA, Dean Acheson made a compromise about Middle East Defence Organization in London. In Truman period USA and the UK stratejists had

¹⁰ Ibid., p.67.

¹¹ Umar, Ibid., p.17.

¹² Umar, Ibid., p.17.

started to work on this project and they thought Egypt would have been a key role in this project¹³. UK had planned that Middle East Defence Organization would inaugurate a headquarter in Cyprus. It didnt mean that UK would give up Suez channel, the negotiations continued between USA an UK and it was hoped that Arab countries would participate to this organization. Especially, UK had thought that The Arabs would like this organization much more¹⁴.

The other eminent author, Pirer Nedo explained the thoughts of USA about the future. *“USA thought that Planning “Arab Defence Cooperation Project” would be the extension of NATO and the sign of existence of USA in the region.”*¹⁵

Up to now, in the light of the explanations which have been made above, there were two main reasons for which “Middle East Defence Command” couldnt be realized.

1. Western countries established NATO pact based on some joint and essential benefits. They inspired from that organizattin and decided to establish a similar organization which was named “Middle East Defence Command” but situation and and the conjuncture was more complex and wouldnt be able to compare with NATO. Because Both political conflicts between Arab States and the existence of Israel which threat the existence of Arab forever prevented the cooperation with western countries.
2. The rejection of decision of Egypt by taking into consideration above mentioned made the Project dead born¹⁶.

2. DULLES Middle East Voyage

All the efforts made by western countries to establish a defence organization in Middle East and the rejection of Egypt didnt be enough for giving up the project. USA and the other western countries were still concsious and worried about the Soviet Expansionism and they had no intention to give up the cooperation in the region.

¹³ Fahir Armaoğlu, **20.Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi**, Alkım Yay., İstanbul, 2009, p.595; David Fromkin, **Ba-rıřa Son Veren Barıř**, Ppsilon Pbl., İstanbul, 2004.

¹⁴ Umar, *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹⁵ Canatan, *Ibid.*, p.67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.68.

When Eisenhower became a president of the USA, He began to be more interested in defending the Middle East. Since the region was in strategic point and having very important oil reserves, it was more attractive for USA than before. The foreign minister of USA, John Foster Dulles made a speech about the importance and the result of compulsory of keeping the region. The important parts of the speech is *"We see that Communists make efforts to prompt the Arabs to hate us, British in Middle East. This region has the largest known oil reserve in the World. The interests of USSR are seen very obviously form the statement which was made by Stalin to Hitler in 1940, he said that Middle East must be seen as the center of Soviet desire. If all the region were captured by our probable enemies, there would be very big difference in economic balance. At the same time, this region has the Suez Channel which is vital importance and is connected to Europe."*¹⁷

There was no positive result happened about the defence of the Middle East in elapsed time. Because UK didnt want to retreat from Suez Channel and so, Egypt didnt want to join to this pact. Thus, the foreign minister of USA, Dulles wanted to visit the countries of the region and to learn what the region countries think about "Middle East Defence Organization" Dulles visited 7 Arab countries and in addition that he visited Israel, India, Pakistan, Greece and Turkey¹⁸.

The most important station of Dulles voyage was Egypt. Dulles had meetings with Egypt foreign minister, Mahmud Fevzi, Prime Minister Necib and the leader of junta, Colonel Nasser and some representatives of the junta. Dulles expressed in the meetings that the aim of the visit was to learn the the attitudes and the view of Egypt to the problems of the region. Foreign Minister Mahmud Fevzi mentioned political, economical, agriculture developments, construction of the dam, radical ideas and the prevention of the socialism in his speech. Fevzi stated that USA was wanted to accept the leader role of Egypt in the defence of the Middle East and Egypt people wanted USA to be pioneer about this subject and Egypt was ready to give any kinds of supports which wouldnt be hampered of the independence of herself. Fevzi mentioned that Egypt had no concern with "Middle East Defence Organization" as for Israel conflict *"Palestine was not only shared but Arab Community was also shared by Israel. Latening of fair solutions of the problems of the Middle East was the most effective way to make the people communist. He added that for now maybe we*

¹⁷ Umar, Ibid., p.132.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.32.

werent communist and we didnt want to become but it could change in the future ¹⁹.” Mahmud Fevzi said that *As long as British Armed Forces and the people who were controlled by the British existed in our country, There wouldnt be peace and the constructive efforts in Egypt*²⁰.” General Necip stated that Palestine problem had weakened the dignity of USA on Arab Community and British invasion and stubborn hamper the independence of Egypt²¹.

After the meetings he conducted in Egypt, Dulles sent a telegram to Washington and he stated that Egypt rejected the “Middle East Defence Organization” and he expressed that Egypt wanted USA to let the Arabs to defend the region. Dulles had learned that As long as UK continued her existence in Egypt. Egypt government wouldnt paticipate any defence organization in the region. Moreover, Dulles became sure that if good relations were wanted to develop with Egypt, The bases of UK in Suez Channel must be abolished²².

After Dulles finished the voyage to Middle East. He prepared a report about his voyage. He emphasized in his report that “it was not seen available for the possibility and the condition of establishing Middle East Defence Organization. Arab States were not aware of the threat of Soviet. There were just two countries in the region which had border with Soviet and were aware of this danger. He implied Turkey and Pakistan²³.

3. Establisment of Baghdad Pact and The Reaction of Egypt

As mentioned above the efforts which had been done by western block and some regional countries like Turkey and Iraq continued to try to establish a defence organization in Middle East. Especially after the voyage of the foreign minister of USA, Dulles, volunteer countries about this subject revealed obviously like Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq , some developments happened after this period.

It was declared that Turkey and Iraq decided to establih a defence organization in Middle East after the visit of foreign minister of Iraq, Nuri es-Said but this attempt was reacted by the Arab community foremost Egypt very negatively although it was declared that Israel wouldnt be part of this defence organization. Because at that time, Egypt wanted to establish a Arab Unity under

¹⁹ Ibid., p.33.

²⁰ Ibid., p.33.

²¹ Ibid., p.33.

²² Umar, Ibid., p.35.

²³ Canatan, Ibid., p.68.

leader of herself²⁴. This attempt done by Turkey and Iraq was seen impact which was done to Arab Unity. For that reason, Egypt immediately stated that she wouldnt join that defence organization and she made pressures to other Arab States in that way. These were the hamperers to the efforts done by Turkey and Iraq. Turkish Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes made visits to Damascus and Beirut in January 1955. Syria rejected to join to the pact which would be established on the other hand Lebanon abstained from giving an exact answer. The other Arab States objected to join and forced Iraq not to join this pact. Mutual cooperation agreement was signed between Turkey and Iraq on 24 February 1955 with these political developments and Thus, Baghdad Pact was established²⁵.

According to this agreement which was made for “Defence and Cooperation” and comprised of 8 articles and would be refreshed in 5 year interval, These two countries wouldnt interfere in the internal affairs each other and they would solve their problems peacefully²⁶. The agreement would be opened to the members of Arab Unity and related countries for the regional problems and the countries which were recognized exactly by the pact members. Signing the pact of Baghdad was reacted negatively by the other Arab Countries. Egypt and Syria decided to make an agreement which would keep Iraq out of the agreement. Saudia Arabia participated to them. As a result of the reactions of these Arab Countries, it was decided that Baghdad Pact would be expanded. USA welcomed to the pact signed between Turkey and Iraq but Baghdad pact standed UK in good stand. Firstly, UK didnt like “North Belt” project but later Changing conditions approached her to Baghdad Pact in Middle East. Thus, UK became a member of Baghdad Pact on 5 April 1955²⁷.

At the same time, a special agreement was signed between UK and Iraq replaced the agreement of 1930 and So, She took the responsibility of leader of Baghdad Pact and She owned the opportunity to keep her profits in Middle East. Meanwhile Pakistan wanted to join the pact since she wanted to participate western block due to Kashmir problem. An agreement between Turkey and Pakistan which was related not to defence cooperation but close friendship was already signed on 2 April 1955. Because of this reason these two countries developed

²⁴ Rifat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih*, DER. Pbl., İstanbul, 2015, p.1031.

²⁵ Uçarol, *Ibid.*, p.1031.

²⁶ Turan Silleli, **Türkiye-İrak İlişkileri**, IQ Kültür Sanat Pbl., İstanbul, 2005, p. 81.

²⁷ Uçarol, *Ibid.*, p.1032.

good relations with each other. Thus, Pakistan's wish to join to the pact was welcomed and she joined to the pact on 23 September 1955 and so the number of the member of Baghdad Pact became four²⁸. The fifth member of pact became Iran. This state adopted the impartiality at external policy but domestic and external affairs forced her to join this pact at that time and she decided to make cooperation with western block. Consequently, Iran became the member of pact on 3 November 1955²⁹.

Thus, Baghdad Pact was established and developed although the opposition of Arab Countries but USA didn't become the member of this pact officially due to the reactions of Arab Countries. Despite this, USA declared that she would continue to give military and technical supports to the members of pact and she would also give economic support if the member of pact make a cooperation about economical project³⁰.

There was no doubt leading figure became UK for this pact. It is clearly understood from the telegrams which come from the region. It was not unexpected situation that UK was the member of Baghdad Pact. Ambassador of Baghdad reported the relation between Turkey and Iraq and suggested UK to encourage the relations between Turkey and Iraq about establishment of Defence Organization, "... The Iraqi Prime Minister is anxious to improve relations between Iraq and Turkey. Communism was a danger to them both and they ought to combine to resist it. Dr. Jamali³¹ is thinking of sending a mission to Turkey to find out how the Turks overcome the problems of relations with American Military establishments and service personnel in Turkey. They were accepting American Military aid without feeling that their sovereignty was infringed. The United States-Turkish relationship might be a pattern for the development of Anglo-Iraq relations. Both these approaches are encouraging, though the latter may also have disadvantages unless carefully handled³². It is clearly understood that UK confirmed and liked the relations between Turkey and Iraq for her own sake. Because, UK had problems with Arab Unity and Turkey was a good model for her to show these countries how you conduct a good relation with a powerful country unless you come under the influence of her.

²⁸ Ibid., p.1032.

²⁹ İsmail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasi Bağlıları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Pbl., Ankara, 2000, p.502.

³⁰ Umar, Ibid., p.33.

³¹ Dr. Jamali was the prime minister of Iraq between 1953-1954.

³² FO.371-115486, No:30, 20 January 1955

The continuence of the report, "...Relations between Iraq and Turkey have been cool since the break up of the Ottoman Empire. Iraqis were for long afraid that The Turks wished to recover the province of Mosul. This fear has diminished but, as Dr. Jamali admits, there is still a certain amount of suspicion against Turkey. The Iraqis and the other Arab League States, have felt that Turkey should have shown more sympathy with them against Israel and with the Arab "liberation" struggle in Egypt, the Sudan and French North Africa. Syria's unfriendly attitude toward Turkey has also been a complicating factor; but it appears that the Turks, despite the propaganda pin-pricks inflicted on them by the Syrians, are now taking the initiative in trying to improve relations³³.

At the end of the report Ambassador of Baghdad stated that "... We should, I think, encourage the Iraqis and Turks to strengthen their relations as much as possible. Turkey needs the active support of Iraq to defend her eastern and southern flanks against a possible Soviet attack. We want Iraq to give Turkey this support, and to give us facilities for making our own contribution in this theatre, since the Turks South eastern flank forms the exposed end of the N.A.T.O front. The Turks could, by their example and advice, help us to convince the Iraqis of the role which they should play and of the importance of our continuing to enjoy our base facilities in Iraq³⁴.

From that point, All the members of the pact were following the reactions of Arab Unity and the other figures in the region. Especially, British diplomat in the region always reported the developments about this subject to Foreign Office.

19 January 1955, the telegram was sent by Baghdad Office, the evaluations of Egyptian Ambassador was taken place in that report "... We had a long conversation which it might be dreary to record in detail. Briefly, the Ambassador's complaint was that the Iraqis, who had undertaken two months ago not to do anything of this sort, had broken Arab Unity by flagrantly departing from the policy accepted by all the Arab States. I told the Ambassador that this sort of thing constantly happened amongst allies and that the wisest course was to seek to repair the damage rather than aggravate it. The ambassador did not criticise our action, although I feel that he would like to have done so. Nor did I raise the point. So he confined himself to repeating that the Iraq Government had broken Arab Unity and so delayed the day on which the Arab league could side with the West. I for my part repeated that patience and good will were required to repair any damage which might be done. At one point the ambassador asked

³³ FO.371-115486, No:30, 20 January 1955

³⁴ FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955

me against whom the alliance was directed. I replied that it was directed primarily against Russia but that it appeared that the proposed treaty would also cover an act of aggression by Israel. The Ambassador said that he harboured dark thoughts. Turkey had designs on portions of northern Syria. It seemed to him that The treaty might well provide cover for an eventual partition of Syria between Turkey and Iraq. I dont think that I was able to dissipate the Ambassadors suspicion³⁵.

It is understood that Turkish- Iraq relations annoyed Egyptians very much and they started to produce new excuses not to join to the pact. First excuses of her not to join to the pact was UK and Israel, The Egyptian ambassador of Baghdad put forward the idea about the Baghdad pact that Turkey and Iraq wanted to shape North part of Syria together. As a matter of fact, it is main reason for Egypt to defend her idea and affect the other country not to join that pact especially for Syria, Egypt tried to show Turkey to expand her influence over the Arab Countries.

Egypt Prime Minister Nasser, after the military coup happened at 1952 and when the UK's military forces had retreated from Suez Channel, put on airs about leadership of Middle East. He endeavoured for Arab Nationalism on foreign policy and tried to follow the policy of neutrality. Because of the fact that the Arab countries recogized the Egypt's leadership as "defacto", Nasser took the resbonsibility of the leadership of "non-aligned movement" which just emerged with the prime minister of India, Nehru and The president of Jugoslavia, Marshall Tito³⁶. Since the attitudes of Nasser and the politics of his foreign policy affected Baghdad Pact³⁷. Egypt followed the policy to prevent Baghdad Pact to be expanded in the Middle East after Turkish- Pakistan Pact was established. As it was thought that Egypt would have approached the pact positively, he approached negatively and Baghdad pact became the target of Nasser. Due to Nasser influence, the other Arab countries didnt participate to the pact. Because, Nasser endeavoured anything for Syria, Jordan, Lebanon not to participate to the pact. Severe reaction of Nasser to the pact resulted in increased tension in the region³⁸.

Egypt government called the prime ministers of Arab countries for which it alleged that Turkey and Iraq agreement hit Arab Unity for six. In deed, the main resason was the worries of Nasser that his leadership over the region would be weakened. Nasser disrupted Arab Unity by making pressure to Iraq.

³⁵ FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

³⁶ Umar, Ibid., p.354.

³⁷ Ibid., p.355.

³⁸ Ibid., p.356.

Nevertheless, Neither Iraq nor Egypt took the responsibility of spoiling of Arab Unity. Nasser made effort to prevent the other Arab countries to enter the Baghdad Pact since he thought that the characteristics of Baghdad Pact was the nature of spoiling Arab Unity. Egypt made efforts to dissuade firstly Syria, Jordan and later Lebanon not to participate to the pact. There were already dynamic social opposition to Baghdad Pact in these countries such that the nationalitarians and communists in every Arab states were opposed to Baghdad Pact³⁹. Because of the Egypt reactions, most of Arab Countries didnt decide to be member of Turco-Iraq Pact and didnt be the side of anyblock. The Voice of Cairo Radio conducted a severe campaign against the prime minister of Iraq, Nuri Es-Said. Egypt began a campaign for which Arab States wouldnt make cooperations with Turkey. Egypt provoked the Arab Community by attacking the admistarators who made the deals with Adnan Menderes⁴⁰.

Egypt Government began the campaign to prevent the cooperation between Arab Countries and Turkey. Cairo Radio alleged and defended that to form the alliance with Turkey who was the friend of Israel meant that to form a alliance with Israel indirectly and this meant the betrayal of Arab Movement. It even alleged that Turkey and Israel made a deal about military cooperation⁴¹.

Egypt wanted to maintain her sovereignty by staying neutral that she neither become a part of western block nor soviet block. Thus, Egypt took part in "non-aligned movement" and the leaders of this movement respected Nasser, besides, Egyptains were happy about the fact that their young and charismatic leader was respected and accepted by the World. But, Americans werent happy for this situation. The president of USA, Eisenhower firstly rejected "non-aligned movement". USA was angry about the fact that Nasser rejected to join to regional defence pact against SSCB. Nasser was directed to the communist block since he was always rejected by western countries for his weapon demands. He made a negotiation with the president of China, Zhou ENLAI about providing modern military equipment to his armed forces⁴². ENLAI offered to negotiate this issue with SSCB in behalf of Egypt. Soviet Ambassador in Cairo demanded a meeting with Nasser and starting negotiations maintained along the summer of 1955. Even if Nasser directed to SSCB about weapon support, he didnt want to dissatisfy USA. He informed USA about the fact that he had a connection with

³⁹ Ömer Kürkçüođlu, **Türkiye'nin Arap Ortadođu'suna Karşı Politikası**, Barış Pbl., Ankara, p.62.

⁴⁰ Umar, *Ibid.*, p.365.

⁴¹ Kürkçüođlu, *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁴² Eugene Rogan, **Araplar, Bir Halkın Tarihi**, Çev.Cem Demirkan, Pegasus Pbl., İstanbul, p. 348.

SSCB. He informed the USA embassy in Cairo that he was given a very good offer about the procurement of weapon by SSCB but he was inclined to prefer USA. According the view of Muhammed Heykel, firstly, The foreign minister of USA thought that Nasser bluffed but later, they learned that Nasser was about to make a deal with SSCB and Dulles sent the deputation to prevent it. The September of 1955, Nasser declared that he would purchase the weapon from Czechoslovakia which was the satellite of SSCB. The dimensions of the weapon agreement changed the balance of power in the Middle East. Egypt owned 275 modern T-34 type tanks, 200 aircraft fleet including Mig-15, Mig-17, Ilyushin-28 types⁴³.

Egypt made a deep impact on the efforts of USA about the prevention of Soviet expansionism in the region⁴⁴. USA government was determined about dissuading Egypt to come back from that way. Britisher, French and Israelis were more demanding. They wanted the change of Egypt Government. They saw Nasser as the leader of Arab Nationalism which was very dangerous for them and they believed that he would harm the benefits of them in the Middle East. Ben Gurion was afraid that Nasser united Arab States and make a fatal blow to Israel. The Prime Minister, Anthony Eden believed that Nasser would terminate the influence of UK in Middle East. French believed that Nasser encouraged the Algerians so that The war in Algeria had been boosted and blown more⁴⁵. Western block had seen Nasser as a hamper who prevent them to shape Middle East and Arab Community as they wish.

4. The Attempt of Egypt to Form a Different Pact Against Baghdad Pact

While Iraq, signed a pact with Turkey, she was trying to form a new pact in the Middle East, Egypt also tried to form a new pact with a new group. Also, Saudi Arabia following its traditional politics that is against Hasimi, supported Egypt at the fields of economic and political. The Minister of National Defence of Egypt, Salah SALIM, went to Damascus, Syria to discuss a new pact proposal between Arabian states against non-Arabian states on 26 February 1955. According to the proposal, under a joint command, combined army, foreign policy and economic partnership would be established. Lebanon and Jordan refused the proposal. Egypt and Syria decided

⁴³ Ibid., p.348.

⁴⁴ Silleli, Ibid., p.81.

⁴⁵ Rogan, Ibid., p.350.

to form a new pact regarding political, economic and military issues to replace Arabian Union Defence Pact and take out Iraq on 2 March 1955.

After negotiations between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, a common declaration was published in Cairo, Damascus and Riad on the 6 March 1955. It was announced with the declaration that it was decided to build a new alliance to improve Arabian world in military, political and economic by Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia and these three states wouldn't join the Turkey-Iraq Pact. According to the declaration, the representatives of these three countries would prepare a frame for the mentioned alliance and then probably at the end of that month, the other Arabian states would be called to a conference to put the alliance into final form. Only Yemen agreed with the decision made by these three countries and Lebanon and Jordan avoided to be under any responsibilities and stayed away from the decision. According to Lebanon, Iraq should join the alliance proposed by these three countries but should promise not to have any other alliance with Israel⁴⁶. What the result of Lebanon offered that proposal is Egypt press made news about the fact that There was a secret part of Baghdad Pact that Iraq would recognize Israel.

Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia started to work on establishing an alternative defence pact against Baghdad Pact. The meeting started 30 March 1955 night and lasted 3 hours. At the end of these efforts, a military agreement was signed between Syria and Egypt on 20 October 1955. According to the articles of this agreement, Syria and Egypt Armed Forces would be merged under the joint command. The aim of establishing this pact was to prevent the increasing influence of Iraq by equipping with it towards to Baghdad Pact which was supported by western block⁴⁷. 27 October 1955, similar agreement was signed between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. According to agreement, it was accepted that conditions of peace and war, both countries armed forces would be under the command of joint headquarter. Thereby, there were two blocks in Middle East and some regional countries hadn't been member of these blocks. At this time, the efforts of making the countries which hadn't been members to be member started. Turkey and UK tried to make Jordan become the member of Baghdad Pact⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Umar, *Ibid.*, p.302.

⁴⁷ Behçet Kemal Yeşilbursa, *The Baghdad Pact Anglo American Defence Policies in the Middle East 1950-1959*, London, 2005, p.142.

⁴⁸ Yeşilbursa, *Ibid.*, p.143.

The presidents of Egypt, Saudia Arabia and Syria gathered in Cairo on 10 March 1956 and made the fifth meeting. They dwelt on the Baghdad Pact and the effects of this pact on the Arab Unity in the meeting. British officers and Whitehall followed these developments very carefully and warned their diplomats in Cairo to follow all the details about Arab Unity and Nasser's efforts. Immediate confidential message was sent to Cairo by Whitehall on 11 March 1955 and it was related to proposed Egyptian/Syrian Treaty. it was reported that

"Nasser's argument reported in paragraph two of your telegram No.350 is disingenuous. His proposed treaty, even if not directed against the west, precludes close western cooperation. It is not the best way of organazin the defence of the area and it certainly does not make Britain coordinating factor in the whole area defence. Nevertheless, I agree that we should try to avoid a head-on collision with Nasser. On the other hand, we must bear in mind the effect of our attitude toward his proposed defence agreement on Iraq and on Jordan and Lebonan. We must not say anything to Nasser which we can not equally say to the Iraqis, the Jordanies and Lebanese, if for no other reason because what we do say will certainly leak to them, probably in exaggerated form. At the present stage of our relations with Iraq, when we are on the point of trying to negotiate a new defence agreement under the Turco-Iraq pact, we cannot afford to say anything which will give Nuri the least reason to doubt our whole-hearted support of the pact. Nor must we say anything which might lead the Jordaians and Lebanese to think that we don't wish them to join the pact. Any indication at this stage that we migh in certain conditions regard the Egyptian proposal as a satisfactory complementary defence arrangement, might just be enough to undermine their resistance to Egyptian pressure. I can understand Egypt's reserves about joining the Turco-Iraqi Pact and we have not pressed her on thisbut I can not understand she should deliberately cut herslef off in this way from the prospect of doing so in the future; And what is worse, use all her influence to persuade other Arab States to do likewise⁴⁹.

The other report which was sent by Cairo Foreign Office diplomats to Foreign office informed about black propaganda which was conducted by Egyptian is that " The B.B.C Arabc Service have informed me that the following story was broadcast last night on the " Voice of Arabia" " It is reported in diplomatic circles in London that the secretry of state will himself take charge of talks between the Foreign Office and the Israelis concerning coordination of the Middle East Defence plans in such a way as to bring about Israelis participation in this plan (Turco-Iraqi Pact) through to adherence of Britain to the pact and the conclusion of a defence agreement between the governments of the United Kingdom and Israel. Last week an important talk took place

⁴⁹ FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

*between Israeli Ambassador in London and the Middle East Section of the foreign Office on the readiness of the Israeli government to conclude a defence pact with Britain*⁵⁰. The continuation of the report, E.E.Key who was the diplomat in Cairo Bureau commented the news and suggested what foreign office should do " *I was told that the propaganda campaign of misrepresentation and distortion which is being conducted by the Egyptians against the Turks, Iraqis and ourselves is quite unprecedented. For example the suggestion that H.M.G instigated the Gaza incident is being assiduously fostered. It may be worth considering whether an official protest to the Egyptians should be made*"⁵¹.

CONCLUSION

Baghdad Pact was established against SSCB and it was thought that it would have been welcomed by the countries in Middle East. But it was severely objected by some Arab Countries, especially, Egypt was opposed to Baghdad Pact. Because Egypt wanted to take responsibility of leadership in Arab Community and She thought that Turkey and Iraq tried to take leadership of Middle East, so She always tried to show Baghdad Pact as a defence organization which was established for the assurance of Israel existence in the region. In place of Baghdad Pact, the defence agreement was signed between Egypt, Saudia Arabia and Yemen on 21 April 1956. Thus, there was a defence block comprised of Egypt, Syria, Saudia Arabia and Yemen, which was against "North Belt Block"⁵². At the beginning of establishment stage of Baghdad Pact, it was thought that All the Arab Countries would join this pact as it hadnt happened, Middle East was divided three blocks. First block, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, second one is Egypt, Syria, Saudia Arabia and Yemen who were severely opposed to Baghdad Pact, third one is Jordan and Lebanon who abstained from approaching the other two sides. This division would make easier for USSR to enter to the Middle East. Whereas establishment of Baghdad Pact was to prevent Soviet Expansionism.

All these propanganda and campaign efforts against Baghdad Pact were made by Egypt. In addition, that Prime Minister, Nasser's attitude made Soviet affairs easier in terms of Middle East policy. Nasser wanted to reunite the Arab

⁵⁰ FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

⁵¹ FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

⁵² Umar, *Ibid.*, p.391.

community under the leadership of himself. He perceived that that leadership would be passed to Turkey by Baghdad Pact. Baghdad Pact turned upside-down Nasser's plans. For that reason, Nasser followed a policy which was opposed to western block "Suez problem" and 1956 crisis resulted from that problem pushed Nasser to direct to SSCB⁵³.

⁵³ Armaoğlu, *Ibid.*, p.597.

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THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION OVER AEGEAN GRAPES (REPERCUSSIONS)

Yeşim Ertem Yankın*

Abstract

The worldwide economic depression in 1929, as known as the “Great Depression”, is one of the results of World War I. What is meant by the word “Depression”, also referred to as “Slump”, is the destabilization of the worldwide economy. Destabilization of the economy caused many businesses to go bankrupt, many people to become unemployed and social order and life to be derailed. In the books of history and economy, “The Great Depression” is usually evaluated and interpreted by numbers but the fact that it inflicted deep wounds in people should not be overlooked. The effects of Great Depression in 1929 over Aegean Region will be analyzed. With this purpose it is researched, be it from local news or various other sources, how the Depression affected grape producers and traders of the region in terms of their well-being. Moreover, grape variations in the foreign countries and sales prices of that time are given in tables.

Keywords: Grape, depression, market

1929 Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımının Ege Bölgesi Üzümlerine Etkisi (Yansımaları)

Öz

Tarihte “Büyük Bunalım” olarak geçen 1929 Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımı, I. Dünya Savaşı’nın sonuçlarından biridir. Burada “Bunalım” yani o dönemdeki deyimiyile “Buhran” kelimesinde kastedilen dünya genelinde ekonomik istikrarın bozulmasıdır. Ekonomik istikrarın bozulması, pek çok ekonomik işletmenin iflas etmesine, insanların işsiz kalmasına, şirketlerin batmasına, toplumsal istikrarın bozulmasına ve dolayısıyla sosyal hayatın da darbe almasına neden olmuştur. Tarih ve ekonomi kitaplarında “Büyük Bunalım”, rakamlarla değerlendirilir, yorumlanır ancak, bunalımın insanlar

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üzerinde yarattığı derin yaralar tarihin sayfalarında kaybolup göz ardı edilmemelidir. Bu çalışmada 1929 Büyük Bunalım'ın Ege Bölgesi üzerindeki etkisi üzüm sektörü açısından incelenecektir. Bu amaçla öncelikle Bunalımın Ege bölgesi üreticilerine ve tüccarlarına, toplumun ruhsal durumuna nasıl yansıdığı gerek yerel basından gerek çeşitli kaynaklardan araştırılmıştır. Ayrıca yine yerel basından o dönemlerde yabancı ülkelerdeki üzüm çeşitleri ve satış fiyatları tablolar şeklinde sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: üzüm, bunalım, borsa

Effects of the Great Depression on Aegean Grapes

Turkey met with drops in sales, misbalance of import/export and increase in expenses as the world greeted the Depression of '29 in shock and panic. As a result of economic depression, prices dropped, hence the decrease in sales profit. There were still not enough buyers despite grapes, figs, cotton and olives being sold in low prices. This drop could easily be understood by comparing the numbers of the stock market of that time. For example; in Hamburg market, raisins were sold for 48 kuruş (currency subunit of Turkish Lira), while they were sold 32 kuruş in İzmir market¹. As several liberal intellectuals during the crisis claimed that the country cannot get over the crisis alone and that the country should correspond to the solutions; Turkey tried to survive regulating customs and taxation². It can be said that Turkey was affected more than the West from the Great Depression of '29 because Turkey was caught in the process without having settled its economic system. According to Gözcü, she states: "*From its establishment and until the economic depression started knocking on its door, Turkey ditched the economic policies of the late Ottoman State and started making radical changes in economy as well as other fields*"³. Western states were watching closely as Turkey struggled. Atatürk was aware how important farming and trade was, in order to overcome this crisis with minimal losses. He was working and researching for hours. Moreover, including Atatürk, high ranking state officials started using national products to encourage people to live a modest life style. Government gained public support in this matter. These developments were

¹ Alev Gözcü, "*Bir İntiharın Sosyo-Ekonomik Arka Planı: Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımının İzmir Örneğinde gündelik Yaşama Yansımaları*", ÇTTAD, VI/14, (2007/Spring), p.96.

² Melih Gürsoy, "*Dünyadaki Büyük Ekonomik Krizler ve Türkiye Ekonomisine Etkileri*", p.227.

³ Alev Gözcü, "*1929 Ekonomik Bunalımı Sonrasında Dünyada "Yeni Türkiye" Algısı Ve Türkiye'nin Ekonomik Araştırmalarına İlişkin Saptamalar*", ÇTTAD, VII/16-17, (2008/Spring-Autumn), p.277.

watched closely by countries in various regions such as Iraq and Germany and were making newspaper headlines.⁴

The effects of economic depression of that time can be seen more clearly if the sales numbers were examined:

Between the years 1929 and 1934, wheat price dropped from 12.6 kuruş to 3.6 kuruş, grape price dropped from 4.7 kuruş to 3 kuruş, fig price dropped from 5.1 kuruş to 2.6 kuruş, olive price dropped from 8.9 kuruş to 4.9 kuruş and tobacco price dropped from 62.3 kuruş to 33.1 kuruş. The fields that were affected most were international trade and farming. Particularly, heavily exported produce such as grapes and figs were affected⁵. Despite the fact that 44.400 tons of raisins were sold for 18 million TRY in 1929, 40.500 tons of raisins made only 11.6 million TRY in 1930. In 1932, 49.500 tons of raisins were sold for 10.216.090 million TRY and in 1934, 52.800 tons of raisins made only 6.9 million TRY⁶. This situation can be compared more easily in table form:

GRAPE EXPORT DATA BETWEEN THE YEARS 1929 - 1934

YEAR	AMOUNT OF GRAPES	TOTAL SALES
1929	44.400 tons	18 million TRY
1930	40.500 tons	11.6 million TRY
1932	49.500 tons	10.216.090 million TRY
1934	52.800 tons	6.9 million TRY

According to the import/export data provided by the local newspaper "Yeşil Tire", 38.375 kilograms of grapes were sold for 25.542 TRY⁷.

⁴ Gözcü, *ibid*, p.279.

⁵ Esra Polat, "Uluslar Arası İzmir Fuarının Kuruluşu Ve İlk Sergiler", (Y.L.T.), DEU, Atatürk İlk.ve İnk. T. Ens., İzmir,2008, p.89.

⁶ Melih Gürsoy, "Ekonomisi ve Bizim İnsanlarımız ile Güzel İzmir", I.b. İzmir, 1993, p. 174 - 175.

⁷ Yeşil Tire,1 Nisan 1933.

It is explained how badly Turkey was affected from the Great Depression, as it devastated the world. Columnist İsmail Hakkı, working at the newspaper "Yeni Asır" at that time, stated the reasons of the Great Depression and frequently suggested solutions.

Aegean region, enduring World War I, enemy invasion and the War of Independence, suffered in repercussion heavily. Right before the Depression, Turkey went through drought. As a result, this affected produce badly and led to famine. At the same time, heavy rain and floods in and around İzmir caused damage to frequently exported produce such as fig, tobacco and cotton⁸. Severe seasonal conditions like flood and drought also caused growing cost to go up.⁹ Prior to this, Jews, Armenians, British and Russians have fled the area after the War of Independence, which indirectly and deeply had an effect. In connection, several measures to render foreign capital ineffective led the trade in İzmir to become weaker. Another interesting example is that the shipment costs for good to İzmir were twice as bigger than the shipment costs of goods for İstanbul. This also led merchants in time to prefer İstanbul to İzmir for import/export. Hard days were ahead for Aegean region, as incorporation and capitalization was pretty much non-existent at the time. Foreign companies, which provided critical services for the city such as railway-tramway transport, telephone, water, gas and electricity, sold these services too expensive and installed them not on time, causing social and municipal services to not run properly. One of the most important problems of İzmir was the housing for immigrants that came to the city following the population exchange with Greece. Corruption and illegal housing during expropriation could not be prevented. Lots of profiteering took place over the houses left by the Greeks. At the same time, due to rumors of famine, merchants do not sell their wheat which caused prices to increase, bakers to sell bread at exorbitant prices and the people to become breadless.¹⁰

İzmir, having endured invasion, war, poverty and fire since May 15 1919 and economically devastated, had become a symbol of the War of Independence. Now, this symbol of a city was also going to be symbol of economic salvation,

⁸ Alev Gözcü, "Bir İntiharın Sosyo-Ekonomik Arka Planı: Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımının İzmir Örneğinde gündelik Yaşama Yansımaları", ÇTTAD,VI/14, (2007/Bahar), p.89.

⁹ Hakkı Uyar, "Tariş Üzüm Satış Kooperatifleri Birliği", Tariş Tarihi, İzmir 1993.

¹⁰ Nuri Poyrazoğlu, "1929 Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımının İzmir'de Görülen Etkileri", (Post Graduate Thesis) DEU, Institute of Principles of Atatürk and Turkish Revolution History, İzmir, 2008, p. 89.

transitioning from dependence on foreign capital to national economy¹¹. Production and usage of national product was encouraged during Economy Congress in İzmir, which took place between the dates February 17 and March 4 1923¹². So it was not coincidence that it took place there.

At this point, new ways of attracting foreign capital to İzmir were sought, in order to re-energize the the economically along with the new-born Republic. Products and goods that could prove İzmir's richness were supposed to be exhibited. The "*Sample Exhibition*", which took place during the Economy Congress, was the most suitable event for this. The Sample Exhibition is considered the first step towards the İzmir Expo, which would open later on¹³. Some of the product that are presented in the exhibition: Grape halva (of Ali Rıza from Kuşadası), figs and export boxes full of grapes¹⁴.

During the years of Depression, a new form of tax was introduced which was called "*Depression Tax*" (*Law of National Economy Protection*). However, since the profit was low for grape and fig producers, they were exempt from this tax. These producers have only paid income taxes¹⁵.

The value loss of Turkish Lira has affected İzmir the most¹⁶ because nearly half of the country's export was done from İzmir. One of the most important produce that contributed to city economy was grape.

Grape production was mostly done in two areas: Urla and Manisa – Alaşehir – Akhisar – Salihli. Grapes were usually grown in İzmir (in the towns of Çeşme, Foça, Karaburun, Kemalpaşa, Menemen, Urla and Seferihisar) and in Manisa: (in the towns of Akhisar, Alaşehir, Kasaba, Kırkağaç and Salihli). "*İzmir Sultanisi*" a type of grape which was grown particularly in the towns of Karaburun and Urla, was known internationally. After all, the most important type of grape was "*Sultani*" and it had no seeds¹⁷". This type of grape made its name as "*İzmir Sultanisi*"¹⁸. "*Aegean grapes have gained themselves a place in the foreign market while*

¹¹Pakize Çoban, "*İzmir'de Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımı Srasında Tüketim Kültüründe Değişmeler Ve Bunalımın Fiyatlar Üzerinde Etkileri*", (Post Graduate Thesis), DEU, Institute of Principles of Atatürk and Turkish Revolution History, İzmir, 2008, p.28.

¹² Çimen, *ibid*, p.24.

¹³ Fikret Yılmaz – Sabri Yetkin, "*İzmir Kent Tarihi*", İzmir, 2002.

¹⁴ Polat *ibid*, p.38

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.39.

¹⁶ Çimen, *ibid*., p.26.

¹⁷ *Ibid*. p.95.

¹⁸ Hasan Hüseyin Genç, "*1929 İzmir'in Sosyo-Ekonomik Ve Kültürel Yapısı*", (Post Graduate Thesis), DEU., Institute of Principles of Atatürk and Turkish Revolution History, İzmir, 2010, p.45.

competing with Californian and Corinthian grapes. The most noticeable buyers of Aegean grapes were as follows: "Germany, England, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Russia and Egypt¹⁹".

80% percent of the yield of grape in the region was made from the towns of Manisa, Alaşehir, Akhisar and Turgutlu²⁰. In 1927, the biggest grape washing, sifting and drying plants belonged to Henrico Alyoti. The most famous grape dryer among Turks was Kazım Bey. According to the general report of İzmir Commercial Chamber, starting from the beginning of the season and until October 20 1929, 25.030.347 kilograms of grapes were sold in İzmir Market²¹. Grape prices of the year 1929 were stated as below:

Aliyyülâlâ (premium quality)²² starting from 55-62 kuruş, âlâ (high quality) 48-58 kuruş, primary grapes 41-54 kuruş, secondary 1-43 kuruş, tertiary 24-32 kuruş, karaböce 20-23,5 kuruş²³.

Annual export value of grapes, which have a large popularity in the world fruit market with their taste, color and sweetness, is around 17 - 20% of the general export in İzmir, which is between 14 and 20 million TRY²⁴. It was predicted that in 1929, the yield of grape in İzmir would be about an unusual 75 million kilograms. However, heavy rains caused the grape production to decrease about 32%. Grape production and export data in İzmir between the years 1928 - 1929 are as follows:

YEAR	YIELD OF GRAPE (KG)	EXPORT (KG) (TRY)
1928	45.000.000	37.780.341 14.678.457
1929	51.000.000	42.154.339 17.435.742

¹⁹ Erkan Serçe- Sabri Yetkin, , "120. Yılında İzmir Ticaret Borsası Tarihi", I.b., İzmir, 2012, p.245.

²⁰Melih Gürsoy, "Tarihi, Ekonomisi ve İnsanları ile Bizim İzmirimiz", 1.b.Yaylacık Matbaası, İzmir, Mayıs, 1993, p. 175.

²¹ Genç , *ibid*, p. 46.

²² Premium Quality

²³Anadolu, 22 Teşrinievvel 1930.

²⁴İzmir Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Mecmuası, V/3 (Mart 1930), s.129-130.

“During the years 1929, 29.851.618 kilograms of grapes were exported from the ports of İzmir to various countries. Grapes were valued at 11 million TRY. Countries that import our grapes the most are England, Italy, Netherlands and Belgium.²⁵”

The newspaper “Ahenk” published the report provided by the İzmir Commercial Chamber in September 5, 1929. Here is the report, dated November 4, 1929:

GRAPE PRICES IN THE MARKET

ALA (HIGH QUALITY) ²⁶	55 kuruş.
1.	41- 50 kuruş.
2.	32-41 kuruş.
3.	24-32 kuruş.
KARABÖCE	20-27 kuruş.
YAĞMUR YEMİŞ	10-20 kuruş.

EXPORT TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES

GERMANY AND OTHER WESTERN PORT COUNTRIES	178.625.081 KG.
ENGLAND	69.900.075 KG.
FRANCE	500.657 KG.
ITALY	43.139.083 KG.
EGYPT	148.479 KG.
OTHER COUNTRIES	485.317 KG.

GRAPES (RECEIVED AND SOLD) IN THE MARKET

YEAR	GRAPES RECEIVED	GRAPES SOLD

²⁵ Anadolu, 14 Şubat 1929.

²⁶ High Quality

1928	30.800.000 KG.	27.274.288 KG.
1929	43.600.000 KG.	36.362.827 KG.

Again, during these days, there have been news which were spread over by various newspapers to producers and traders regarding damaged/decaying grapes being purchased by the monopoly: *“Zekayi Bey, general manager on distillery restriction, immediately visited the market and left satisfied with the grape purchase. Management on restriction imposed that we must produce from our own grapes and figs, while undergoing surveillance²⁷.”*

It is understood from the tables that, while the Depression is not yet officially existent, the sales of grapes were adequate, even though the amount of grapes received by the Market was low due to both climate and various reasons. When the Depression took place in 1929, the amount of leftover grapes was quite high, even though there was an increase in the sales. As usual, local press published news stating that heavy rains damaged crops in Kemalpaşa, Menemen, Manisa and Kasaba, as well as suggestions, including potash water to help prevent fast drying of grapes²⁸.

In 1930's, grapes made up around 7 – 10% of the export income and took second place as the “locomotive of the economy”. According to Durgun, he stated: *“Annual export value of grapes, which have a large popularity in the world fruit market with their taste, color and sweetness, is around 17 – 20% of the general export in İzmir, which is between 14 and 19 million TRY”²⁹*

In order to better understand the state of trade in İzmir between the years 1929 and 1930's, it is necessary to see how the press covered it at that time. As stated in the newspaper “Cumhuriyet”:

“According to the statistics published by the Commerce Chamber, in the first six months of this year, export to foreign countries was 68.350.055 kilograms valuing at 28.741.983 TRY. This year had a surplus of 7.649.287 TRY. Surplus for other produce in comparison with last year can be seen as follows: Olive oil – 3.937.000 TRY, Grapes

²⁷ Ahenk, 5Eylül 1929.

²⁸ Anadolu, 4 Eylül 1929

²⁹ Bülent Durgun, *“Atatürk Döneminde İzmir Ekonomisi”*, (Doctoral Thesis), DEU, Institute of Principles of Atatürk and Turkish Revolution History, İzmir, 2006, p.69.

- 1.177.400 TRY, *Opium* - 1.082.867 TRY, *Tobacco* - 986.000 TRY and *Fig* - 144.800 TRY.³⁰

It should be taken into consideration that in İzmir, where 70% of the country's export is handled, there was no exchange market. In a newspaper regarding this was mentioned the discomfort of the situation: "*In our country, where exchange market is concerned, there is a law and order. Neither of which exists in İzmir.*"³¹ At last "*Inspectors from the Department of Treasury were sent to establish the Exchange Chamber, in order to stimulate the city economy*"³².

By the way, the situation for grape producers was not very pleasant. Efforts such as reducing taxes and granting bonuses of 3 kuruş were not helping. Imported wine was sold from 12 kuruş, while the national wines started from 22 - 23 kuruş. This made the export virtually impossible³³.

Even though the value of Turkish Lira was protected with the taken measures and precautions, the expected pickup of the economy did not happen. Turkey is an important country when it comes to grape export in the world. However, the consecutive wars prior to World War I have taken their toll and Turkey had to pull out from the export. At that time, grapes still had an important share in Turkey's export. So much so, that the profit from the grape export was as high as the amount spent on importing machines.³⁴ Import of İzmir's produce by Europe decreased, further pulling down the prices. Both dry and wet produce, which were the mythological fruits mentioned in holy books, were the source of income for the local populace.

Figs were also affected in a similar manner as the grapes. In 1929, 44.400 tons of raisins were sold for 18 million TRY, in 1930 40.500 tons were sold for 11.6 million TRY and in 1932 49.500 tons were sold for 10.2 million. In 1930, the first year when the first reflections of the Great Depression show up, export price dropped from 41 kuruş to 29 kuruş³⁵. In 1930's, yıllarda several measures were taken such the *Grape Institute*, which was build in Manisa - Horozköy³⁶. Around 1932 - 1933, the severe drop at the prices during the export season led the gov-

³⁰ Cumhuriyet, 5 Teşrinievvel 1929.

³¹ Poyrazoğlu, *ibid*, p. 44.

³² Çimen, *ibid*, p.26.

³³ Yarı, 10 Kanun-i Evvel 1930.

³⁴ Çimen, *ibid*, p.54.

³⁵ Genç *ibid*, p.. 46.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.46.

ernment to take action. Government, assigned Ziraat Bank and İş Bank to prevent prices from falling by purchasing grapes from Manisa market. In the same year, grape producers in Manisa got into a cooperative association. Cooperatives were being established in Alaşehir (in 1931), number 1 and 2 of Bağcılar in Manisa (in 1932) and in Salihli and Turgutlu (in 1933)³⁷.

“From İstanbul Trade Market to İzmir Trade Market, important news were given out in 1931 in the middle of grape season. According to this; due to the damage of the fields in America, it is claimed that İzmir grape would make a lot of money.³⁸” Hopes went up as rumors spread among Turkish producers about how diseases spread in the American fields. The expectation of the rise for demand and the increase in the yield due to the friendly conditions of that season led producers to be hopeful³⁹. In 1932 however, something came up which put producers in a difficult position. Several ill-intent merchants which sought to make quick money, packed Iranian grape and sold it under the name “İzmir Grape”⁴⁰. This situation naturally stained the name of İzmir grape because the quality of the Iranian grape was lower. This may have created big problems for the Turkish economy during the Great Depression. İzmir grape was not popular only abroad but also in other parts of Turkey⁴¹.

On January 14 1932, an urgent letter No 204 was sent to the Internal Affairs, requesting urgent solutions for the problems of producers in Urla and Kemalpaşa. It is also written that in the previously mentioned areas, local producers did not have any grapes left, tobacco was not sold and this is why they have problems, not to forget that they have received support from Ziraat Bank but the timing was not right. It is suggested that the support should be provided during harvest time and the next year after that.

In the letter, it is reported that the Municipality of İzmir was notified⁴².

One of the most important rivals of Turkey in terms of grape export was Greece. *“Greek grapes, while incomparable with ours in terms of breed, look more flamboyant due to its size and hand-picked state. Merchants that fail to comprehend the breed of the produce can easily prefer Greek grapes to ours⁴³.”* The biggest rival of Sultani

³⁷Gürsoy, *ibid.*,p.176.

³⁸*Ibid*,p.55.

³⁹*Ibid*,p.56.

⁴⁰Çimen, *ibid.*,p.57.

⁴¹Durgun, *ibid*, p. 68

⁴²T.C.Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi,Dahiliye Vekaleti,p.204.

⁴³Durgun, *ibid*, p.72.

grapes are the Greek Corinthian grapes. Here is the difference: *“Corinthian Passolinas is prepared and packed like the ones in Turkey. What differs is, these grapes are placed on wooden bedsteads with high edges⁴⁴. “*

As time passed, with the increase of demand for wet grapes in Europe, merchants that wanted to make quick money made advances. Producers started to ship out grapes while unripe to meet the demand. Measures were taken to warn the producers because for export, grapes needed to be packed properly, cut into small bunches and placed correctly⁴⁵. A small possible mistake could have easily meant the loss of leadership in grape market.

CONCLUSION

Those who lived in an area where grapes grow from past to present consumed this fruit in various forms: raw grapes, vinegar, raisins, wine, grape molasse and biscuits. Grapes are one of the most important sources of income for Aegean region. Local farming populace makes a complete living from grape. Different types of grapes (in terms of color, size, taste, smell etc.) emerge from the soils of Mediterranean. Grapes have witnessed many historical events and even at some point, directly influenced the process with its economic value. Grapes have also become a symbol of hope during crises. Therefore, grapes were influential even in the first years of the Republic.

Between the years 1930 and 1934, when the Depression affected, most of the population lived in rural areas. Turks tried to make a living by selling grapes, figs, wheat and tobacco as those were the most produced in an economy based on farming. At the same time with the Lausanne conference, İzmir Economy Congress took place and according to the decision taken there, people and students were going to be encouraged to use national products by annually celebrating “national products week”. İzmir and İzmir port, regardless of the invasions during war, became the shining star of the Aegean region by producing and selling its grapes. İzmir International Expo and the Sample Exhibition became the showcase for grape and other products grown in the region with the aim of Turkey’s economic development.

It is evident that the Great Depression, which shook the world deeply, had a great effect on the weak economy of the newly-established republic. It was

⁴⁴*Ibid*, p. 71.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p.58.

not easy taking measures to struggle with the Depression while trying to maintain both the modernization attempts and the provision of the resources for these attempts. So, in such conditions, Aegean Region became the locomotive of the Turkish economy, at the time when it was dependent on farming. İzmır, a sea port and the center of trade, had tried to make up for the damage caused by the Great Depression by organizing exhibitions and expos of farming produce. As a result of these attempts, grapes had become an important source of export income not only for the Aegean Region but also for the entire Turkey. At the end, grapes have become the lifesaver that rescued İzmır and eventually Turkey from the economic crisis.

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Tarih ve GÜNce

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TEK PARTİ DÖNEMİNDE TÜRKİYE PARLAMENTOSU'NUN SÜREKLİLİK İLKESİ: 10 KASIM 1938 ÖRNEĞİ

Murat Turan*

Öz

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk 10 Kasım 1938'de vefat ettiğinde, Türkiye'nin dünyadaki algısı birçok unsurun birleşmesiyle oluşmuş bir çağrışım niteliğindedi: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Türkiye'si, Kemalist Türkiye, Modern Türkiye, Genç Türkiye, Yeni Türkiye gibi. Aralarında bazı ilgiler ve yakınlık bulunan bu kavramlar aslında tek bir kavramın ana çerçevesini oluşturmaktaydı: Parlamantonun 1920'den beri açık olması Türkiye hakkındaki tanımların temel içeriğini belirlemekteydi. Atatürk'ün vefat ettiği 10 Kasım sabahından itibaren TBMM Başkanlığı'na dünyanın her yerinden telgraf ve yazılar geldi. Bu bir anlamda, sürekli açık tutulan ve rejimin ana dayanağı olarak kabul edilen Türkiye Parlamentosu'na yönelik saygının ve övgünün belirtisiydi. Bu makalede hem TBMM Başkanlığı'na yurtdışından gönderilen telgraf ve yazılara, hem de Meclis'in süreklilik özelliğine yer verilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, Meclis Başkanı Abdülhalik Renda, 10 Kasım 1938, Tek Parti Dönemi.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SUSTAINABILITY OF THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT IN THE SINGLE PARTY PERIOD: THE NOVEMBER 10TH, 1938 EXAMPLE

Abstract

When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk passed away on November 10th, 1938, the perception of Turkey by the world was an association formed as a union of various elements: such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Turkey, Kemalist Turkey, Modern Turkey, Young Turkey, New Turkey. These concepts which have some relevancies and similarities among them formed in fact the main frame of one single concept: The parliament being open since 1920, determined the content of the definitions about Turkey. Since the morning of

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November 10th when Atatürk passed away, telegrams and letters were sent to the Presidency of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from all over the world. This was an indication of the respect and praise to the Turkish Parliament which was held open constantly and was accepted as the anchor of the regime. In this article, both the telegrams and letters sent to the Presidency of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from abroad and the sustainability of the Parliament was given place.

Keywords: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkish Grand National Assembly, President of the Parliament Abdülhalik Renda, November 10th 1938, Single Party Period.

Giriş

Cumhuriyet'le birlikte yeni devlet anlayışı belirlendi ve modern siyasi kurumlar vasıtasıyla yönetim sistemi dönüştürüldü. Bu kurumlar içerisinde TBMM'nin konumu daha özel bir nitelik taşımaktaydı. Milli Mücadele sürecinin Meclis tarafından yürütülmüş ve başarıyla neticelendirilmiş olması bu niteliği belirlemekteydi. 2018 yılının Kasım ayı, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün 80. vefat yıl dönümüdür. Atatürk 10 Kasım 1938'de vefat ettiğinde, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yeni liderinin belirlenmesinde ve bir anlamda parlamenter rejimin süreklilik kazanmasında Meclis'in çalışmaları etkili olmuştur. Bu yazıda Türkiye Parlamentosu'nun bu süreci nasıl yönettiği ve bu geçiş sürecinin dünya siyasetinde nasıl algılandığı konusu incelenecektir.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün sağlık durumu 1937'den itibaren iyice bozulmaya başlamıştı. Bu süreci en iyi takip eden isim Cumhurbaşkanı Genel Sekreteri Hasan Rıza Soyak'tı.¹ Soyak'ın anlatımına göre, 24-30 saat aralıksız çalışabilen ve yorgunluk göstermeyen Atatürk, bu tarihten sonra daha çabuk yorulmaya başlamıştı. Çankaya'daki yeni köşkte, ikinci kata çıkmak için bir asansör yapılmıştı.

¹ 1924'te Çankaya'da mutemet olarak çalışmaya başlayan Hasan Rıza Soyak, 1927'de Özel Kalem Müdürlüğü, 1932'de Cumhurbaşkanlığı Genel Sekreter Vekilliği, 1934'te ise Cumhurbaşkanlığı Genel Sekreterliği görevine getirildi ve bu görevini Atatürk'ün vefatına kadar sürdürdü. Hasan Rıza Soyak'a ait üç eser mevcuttur. Bunlardan ilki 1964'te yayımlanan **Doğumundan Cumhuriyetin İlanına Kadar Fotoğraflarla Atatürk** başlıklı eserdir. Soyak bu eserde anılarına yer vermeden, sadece Atatürk'ün hayatını işlemiştir. İkinci eser 1966'da yayımlanan **Doğumundan Cumhuriyetin İlanına Kadar Fotoğraflarla Atatürk ve Atatürk'ün Hususiyetleri** başlıklı eserdir. Soyak bu eserde Atatürk'e ait anılarına da yer vermiştir. Bu son eser Soyak'ın vefatından üç yıl sonra **Atatürk'ten Hatıralar** ismiyle yayımlanmıştır. Bugün baskısı tekrarlanan ve araştırmacıların en fazla kullandığı eser budur. Bkz. Hasan Rıza Soyak, **Doğumundan Cumhuriyetin İlanına Kadar Fotoğraflarla Atatürk**, Hayat Yayınları, Tifdruk Matbaacılık, 1964; Hasan Rıza Soyak, **Doğumundan Cumhuriyetin İlanına Kadar Fotoğraflarla Atatürk ve Atatürk'ün Hususiyetleri**, Hayat Yayınları, Tifdruk Matbaacılık, 1966; Hasan Rıza Soyak, **Atatürk'ten Hatıralar**, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1973.

Dolmabahçe Sarayı'ndaki özel dairesine de aynı şekilde asansör yaptırılmak zorunda kalınmıştı. Tarih Kurumu Kongresi'nin düzenlendiği Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nın büyük giriş salonuyla özel dairesi arasındaki mesafe 100-150 metre olmasına rağmen artık buraya bile otomobille gidip geliyordu. Sık sık ateşleniyor, burnu kanıyor ve gündün güne bitkin düşüyordu. Bu durum ileride ortaya çıkacak ağır bir hastalığın belirtileriydi. Atatürk hastalığının mahiyetini iyi bilmesine rağmen gayet sakindi ve çalışmaya devam ediyordu. Ancak 1938'in yaz aylarına gelindiğinde, hastalığın şiddeti iyice arttı ve Kasım ayında en son safhaya girildi. 10 Kasım sabahında Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nda şunlar yaşandı:

"1938 yılı Kasım ayınının 10'uncu günü saat 9.00.

Türk Vatanının Kurtarıcısı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kurucusu, Eşsiz İnkılâpçı ve beşerin Müstesna Evlâdı Büyük insanın fena âleminde ancak 5 dakikası kalmıştır; gözleri kapalıdır; göğsü mütemediyen inip, çıkmaktadır. Odada ve bütün Sarayda derin ve ruhani bir sükût hüküm sürüyor. Sağ tarafta başucunda Operatör Mim Kemal duruyor; Dr. Kâmil Berk başını onun omuzuna dayamış, hıçkırıyor...

Prof. Dr. Akil Muhtar Özden kendinden geçmiş, odanın içinde telaşlı adımlarla durmadan dolaşüyor; hem ağlıyor, hem de mütemediyen: "Aman Yarabbi!" diye mırıldanıyor.

Ben yatağın sol tarafında ayakta duruyorum; yanımda Muhafız Komutanı İsmail Hakkı Tekçe var. Her tarafım uyuşmuş, bütün duygularım donmuş bir halde, o güzel, o nurlu çehreye dalmış, bakıyorum. Hazin sessizlik içinde kulağıma yalnız Dr. Mehmet Kâmil ve Prof. Akil Muhtar'ın hıçkırıkları çarpıyor.

Saat tam 9'u 5 geçiyor. Birdenbire gözleri açılıyor, dikkat ediyorum: Gök mavisi gözlerinde hâlâ bildiğimiz çelik parıltıları ışıdamaktadır. Bir an sert bir hareketle başını sağa çeviriyor. Bana öyle geliyor ki, bu hareketiyle etrafındakilerin şahuslarında ilahî bir aşk ile bağlandığı ve inandığı aziz milletini son defa askerce selamlamaktadır.

Birkaç saniye sonra o Azametli Varlık, milletinin kalp ve idrakiyle beşer tarihindeki ölümsüz hayatına göçmüş bulunuyordu. Ben de artık hıçkırıklarımı zapt edemedim; yatağa dönüp diz çöktüm, sağ elini ellerimin içine aldım, öptüm ve yüzüme, gözüme sürdüm. Bu sırada Operatör Mim Kemal gözlerini kapatıyor, Mehmet Kâmil de çenesini bağlıyordu. Yerimden kalktım, yapılacak vazifelerim vardı; göz yaşlarımı sildim ve odadan çıktım..."²

² Hasan Rıza Soyak, **Atatürk'ten Hatıralar**, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, s.679-731.

Atatürk'ün vefat etmesi dünyanın gündemini bir anda değiştirdi.³ Vefat haberi herkesi derinden sarstı. Ancak konunun önemli olan bir başka yönü daha vardı: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurucusunun vefat etmesi, yönetim sisteminde ciddi bir krize neden olabilirdi. Çünkü 1937-1938 aralığında yönetici kadro içerisinde bir takım ayrışmalar yaşanmıştı. 1937'de Başbakanlığın İsmet İnönü'den alınıp, Celal Bayar'a verilmesi bu ayrışmaları daha belirgin hale getirmişti. İnönü bu süreçte İçişleri Bakanı Şükrü Kaya ve Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Aras tarafından siyasal yaşamın dışına çıkarılmak istenmekteydi. Öyle ki Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Aras bir ara İnönü'ye, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Büyükelçiliği görevini teklif edebilmişti. 11 Kasım'da Cumhurbaşkanı seçilen İsmet İnönü, yeni hükümeti kurma görevini tekrar Celal Bayar'a verdi. Ancak kurulacak olan hükümette İçişleri Bakanı Şükrü Kaya ve Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Aras'a yer verilmemesini özellikle istedi. Gelişmeler İnönü'nün öngördüğü şekilde neticelendi ve İçişleri Bakanlığına Refik Saydam, Dışişleri Bakanlığına ise Şükrü Saraçoğlu getirildi.⁴

TBMM 11 Kasım'da çok önemli bir mesaiye başladı. Her hangi bir erteleme durumu oluşmadan yeni Cumhurbaşkanının bir an önce seçilmesi gerekiyordu. Bu

³ Dünya basınında Atatürk'ün vefatından söz eden haber başlıklarından bir kısmı şöyleydi: "Kemal Öldü/Gazi Kemal Atatürk: Türkiye'nin En Büyük İnsanı" (**Afton Bladet**, Danimarka), "Türkiye'yi Bağımsızlaştıran ve Çağdaşlaştıran Kemal Atatürk Öldü" (**Ny Herald Tribune**, ABD), "Kemal Atatürk Öldü", (**The Times**, İngiltere), "Cumhurbaşkanı Atatürk'ün Ölümü" (**Le Figaro**, Fransa), "Modern Türkiye'nin Kurucusu Atatürk Öldü" (**Corriera Della Sera**, İtalya), "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Öldü" (**L'osservatore Romano**, Vatikan), "Mustafa Kemal: Türklerin Babası ve Yeni Türkiye" (**L'indpendance Belge**, Belçika), "Kemal Atatürk'ün 59 Yaşındaki Ölümü" (**Neues Wiener Journal**, Avusturya), "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkanı Öldü" (**Il Diluvio**, İspanya), "Kemal Atatürk Öldü" (**Pesti Hirlap**, Macaristan), "Modern Türkiye'nin Kurucusu Dün Vefat Etti" (Lietuvos Aidas, Litvanya), "Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Kemal Atatürk'ün Ölümü" (**Gazete Polska**, Polonya), "Yeni Türkiye'nin Yaratıcısı Atatürk Vefat Etti" (**Prager Tagblatt**, Çekoslovakya), "Kemal Atatürk'ün Vefatı" (**The Irish Times**, İrlanda), "Kemal Atatürk Öldü" (**Universul**, Romanya), "Türk Milletinin Büyük Reformcusunun Ölümü" (**Politika**, Yugoslavya), "Kemal Atatürk'ün Vefatı" (**Komsomolskaia Pravda**, SSCB), "Kemal Atatürk'ün Ölümü" (**Cape Times**, Güney Afrika), "Kemal Atatürk, Asker ve Devlet Adamı" (**Egyptian Gazette**, Mısır), "Türkiye'nin Güçlü Adamı Öldü" (**Toronto Daily Star**, Kanada), "Türklerin Babası Kemal Atatürk Öldü" (**Excelsior**, Meksika), "Bozkurt Ankara'da Öldü" (**Buenos Aires Herald**, Arjantin), "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kurucusu Kemal Atatürk Öldü" (**El Mercurio**, Brezilya), "Diktatör Öldü" (**The Havana Post**, Küba), "Modern Türkiye'nin Kurucusu ve Yöneticisi Öldü" (**Daily Gleaner**, Jamaika), "Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı İstanbul'da Öldü" (**The China Press**, Çin), "Modern Türkiye'nin Kurucusu Son Savaşında Yenildi" (**The Japan Times**, Japonya), "Kemal Atatürk-Diktatör ve Reformcu" (**The Statesman**, Hindistan), "Modern Türkiye'nin Yaratıcısı Öldü" (**Malaya Tribune**, Singapur), "En Asil Türk Vefat Etti" (**The Herald**, Avustralya), "İyi Diktatör" (**The Evening Post**, Yeni Zelanda). Bkz. Nuri Mehmet Çolaçoğlu, **Kasım 1938, Dünya Basınında Atatürk**, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 2003.

⁴ Hakkı Uyar, **Tek Parti Dönemi ve Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi**, Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, s.320-322.

önemli süreci yöneten kişi Meclis Başkanı Abdülhalik Renda'ydı.⁵ Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet döneminde çeşitli görevlerde bulunmuş bir isim olan Renda, aynı zamanda Cumhuriyet tarihinin en uzun süre -1935'ten 1946'ya kadar- Meclis Başkanlığı görevi yapan ismiydi.⁶ Renda, Atatürk'ün naaşının 1938'de Ankara Etnografya Müzesi'ne ve 1953'te Anıtkabir'e naklinde görev almış önemli bir siyasetçiydi.⁷ Deneyimli bir isim olan Renda'yı 11 Kasım 1938 sabahında büyük bir sorumluluk beklemekteydi: 1924 Teşkilatı Esasiye Kanunu'na göre mevcut Cumhurbaşkanı eğer ki hastalık, vefat ve istifa gibi sebeplerle görevini yapamaz olursa, bu vazife Meclis Başkanına geçmekteydi. Başkanın diğer bir görevi de Meclisi bir an önce toplayıp yeni Cumhurbaşkanı seçtirmektir. Yeni Cumhurbaşkanı'nun olabildiğince çabuk seçilmesini sağlamak aslında anayasal bir zorunluluktur. Meclis, anayasanın ön gördüğü biçimde 11 Kasım Cuma günü Renda'nın başkanlığında toplandı. Ankara Milletvekili ve Cumhurbaşkanı Atatürk'ün vefat ettiğine dair Başbakanlık tezkeresi okunduktan sonra Meclis Başkanı Renda şu konuşmayı yaptı:

“Çok sayın arkadaşlarım, Büyük Halâskârımızın ölümünden hepimizin ve bütün milletin duyduğu elemi ne kadar büyük ve derin olduğunu dünden beri gerek kendimizde ve gerek millette gördüğümüz büyük acılarla anlıyoruz. Bugün burada bunun

⁵ Abdülhalik Renda, 1881'de Yunanistan sınırları içindeki Yanya'da doğdu. 1906'da Tepedelen, 1907'de Maçova, 1908'de Pogon, 1909'da Delvine Kaymakamlıklarında bulundu. Delvine'de iken iki kez Berat Mutasarrıflığı'na, 1911'de Kavala Kaymakamı iken Çamlık ve Ergeri Mutasarrıflığına vekâlet etti. Bir süre açığa alındıktan sonra 1913 tarihinde Siirt Mutasarrıflığı'na, 1914 tarihinde Bitlis Valiliği'ne atandı. 1915'te atandığı Kastamonu Valiliği'ne başlamadan Halep Valiliği'ne tayin edildi. 1917'de Dâhiliye Vekâleti Müsteşarlığı'na, 1918'de yeniden Halep Valiliği'ne atandı. Halep'in işgali üzerine 1918'de Hüdavendigâr Valiliği'ne getirildi ve göreve gitmeden Damat Ferit Hükümeti'nce azledildi. İstanbul'a gelince tutuklanarak Bekir Ağa Bölüğü'ne kapatıldı. Burada altı ay kaldıktan sonra Malta'ya sürüldü. Malta dönüşünde sırasıyla, 1922'de İktisat Vekâleti Müsteşarlığı'na, 1922'de Dâhiliye Vekâleti Müsteşarlığı'na, 1922'de Konya, 1922'de İzmir Valiliği'ne atandı. İzmir Valisi iken, TBMM'nin II. döneminde, Çankırı'dan milletvekili seçildi. 1923'te Meclis'e katıldı ve III., IV., V. dönemlerinde Çankırı'dan milletvekili oldu. Maliye Vekilliği, Müdâfaa-i Milliye Vekili ve Bahriye Vekili gibi üst düzey yönetimlerde görevler aldı. 1935-1946 yıllarında TBMM Başkanlığı yaptı. Fransızca, İngilizce, Rumca ve Bulgarca dillerini bilmekteydi. 1957 tarihinde vefat etti. Bkz. **TBMM Albümü 1920-1950**, Cilt:1, TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Ankara, 2010, s.236.

⁶ İkinci Meclis binasının yetersiz kalması nedeniyle 1937'de TBMM'nin bugün çalışmalarını sürdürdüğü üçüncü binasının yapımına karar verildi. Ancak yeni binanın inşaatına ancak Atatürk'ün vefatından sonra başlanabildi. Meclis Başkanı Abdülhalik Renda, 26 Ekim 1939'da yeni Meclis'in temeline ilk harcı koyan isimdi. Bkz. **TBMM Binaları**, TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Ankara, 2005, s.16-18.

⁷ Alev Özbil, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlarının Cenaze Merasimleri”, **Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları**, Yıl:2012, Cilt:11, Sayı:22 İstanbul, s.23-61; Hakan Uzun, “Liderine Ağlayan Bir Ulus: Atatürk'ün Ankara'daki Cenaze Töreni”, **Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, Sayı:43, Ankara, 2009, s.531-553.

için çok söz söylemek imkânı, Teşkilâtı Esasiye Kanununun bize emrettiği bir vazife dolayısıyla yoktur. Bunun başka bir güne talikına müsaadenizi rica ederim. Teşkilâtı Esasiyenin emrettiği vazifeyi ifa etmek, o da bizim için büyük bir vecibedir.”⁸

Bu konuşmanın hemen ardından Teşkilâtı Esasiye Kanunu'nun 34. maddesine dayanılarak, Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimine geçildi. Oylamaya 348 milletvekili katıldı ve 348 oyla Malatya Milletvekili İsmet İnönü, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ikinci Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi.⁹ İnönü oylama esnasında Meclis'te değildi. Kendisine haber verilmek ve yemine davet edebilmek üzere oturuma 20 dakika ara verildi. Renda, İnönü'nün Çankaya'daki evine bizzat gidererek seçim sonucunu kendisine bildirdi. Bunun üzerine İnönü, Renda ile birlikte saat 12'de Meclis'e geldi.¹⁰ Oturum 12.10'da yeniden açıldığında İnönü, Meclis'in “çoşkun tezahüratı, sürekli ve şiddetli alkışları arasında” Başkanlık kürsüsüne gelip yemin metnini okudu.¹¹ İnönü daha sonra teşekkür konuşması yaptı. Konuşmasında devletin en yüksek vazifesi olan Cumhurbaşkanlık yetkisini kendisine veren Meclis üyelerine şükranlarını sunduktan sonra Türk milletinin en feyizli hazinesinin Büyük Millet Meclisi olduğunu, geçmişte büyük zorlukların üstesinden gelmiş olan Meclis'in gelecekte de büyük başarıların kaynağı olacağını belirtip konuşmasını sonlandırdı.¹²

İsmet İnönü'nün bazı çevrelerin engelleme çabalarına rağmen Cumhurbaşkanlığı'na seçilebilmesinde, 25 Ekim 1937'de Başvekillikten ayrıldıktan sonra devletin yönetim kadrolarında ve parti içinde büyük değişikliğe gidilmemiş olması etkili olmuştur. İnönü bu tarihten itibaren sadece Malatya mebusu olarak siyasal yaşamına devam etse de 14 yıl boyunca Başvekillik yapmış bir isim olmasından dolayı ordu ve bürokrasideki gücünü muhafaza edebilmişti. İnönü aslında 11 Kasım 1938'de yeni Cumhurbaşkanını seçecek olan TBMM üyelerini bizzat Atatürk'le beraber kararlaştırmıştı.¹³ CHF nizamnamesine göre Fırkanın mebus namzetlerinin belirlenmesinde Umumi Reislik Divanı karar verecek ve Umumî

⁸ **Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi**, V.Devre, Cilt:27, İçtima:4, TBMM Yayınları, Ankara, s.16.

⁹ İsmet İnönü, Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçilmesini günlüğüne şu şekilde not etti: “Meclis çılgın bir halde. 24 saat güc sabretti. Müttefikan beni Reisicumhur intihap ettiler, iktidarda olmayan, hatta iktidar mevkiinde fikrini sevmedikleri, korktukları bilinen bir çekilmiş adamın getirilmesi rıza ile serbest rey ile yapılmış hakiki bir intihap olarak tarihe geçecekti.” Bkz. İsmet İnönü, **Hatıralar**, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 2006, s.621.

¹⁰ Bilal Şimşir, **10 Kasım Günlüğü**, Bilgi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, s.172.

¹¹ **Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi**, V.Devre, Cilt:27, İçtima:4, TBMM Yayınları, Ankara, s.17.

¹² **Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi**, V.Devre, Cilt:27, İçtima:4, TBMM Yayınları, Ankara, s.18.

¹³ Ahmet Demirel, **Tek Partinin İktidarı, Türkiye'de Seçimler ve Siyaset (1923-1946)**, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, s.169-220.

Reis tarafından kamuoyuna duyurulacaktı.¹⁴ Bu konudaki çalışmalar 1-4 Şubat 1935 tarihinde Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nda yapıldıktan sonra nizamnamede de belirtildiği gibi Atatürk tarafından kamuoyuna duyuruldu. Beşinci Meclis'te (1935-1939) yer alan 444 kişinin % 33.1'i İkinci Meclis'te (1923-1927), % 47.5'i Üçüncü Meclis'te (1927-1931), % 61.7'si ise Dördüncü Meclis'te (1931-1935) mebusluk yapmış isimlerdi. Bu 444 kişinin % 67.3'ü ise Altıncı Meclis'e (1939-1943) yeniden seçilebilmiş kişilerdi. Tek parti döneminde mebusluk görevinde bulunan 1.037 kişi, bütün Meclis'lerde (1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939, 1943) görev alıp ortalama 2, 3 kez seçilmiş isimlerdi. 1.037 milletvekilinin % 43.8'i tek parti dönemindeki meclislerden sadece birinde yer almış, iki kez seçilenlerin oranı % 21.2, üç kez seçilenlerin oranı % 14.1, dört kez seçilenlerin oranı % 7.0, beş kez seçilenlerin oranı ise % 6.6'dır.¹⁵ Tek parti döneminde Meclis'te görev almış mebusların üçte ikisinden fazlasının her dönem Meclis'te görev almış isimlerden oluştuğu söylenebilir.¹⁶ İnönü'nün Cumhurbaşkanı seçilmesinde TBMM'nin bu özelliği etkili olmuştur.

TBMM asıl olarak yeni devleti ve Cumhuriyeti ifade eden en önemli kurumdur. Meclis'in önemine vurgu yapılması aslında devletin devamlılığı konusundaki kaygılara verilen bir yanıt niteliğindedir. Başbakanlığın yayımladığı Atatürk'ün vefatıyla ilgili tezkerede benzer biçimde Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinin sürekliliği ele alınmaktaydı.¹⁷ Aynı şekilde kürsüde konuşan birçok milletvekili de Meclis'in/Devletin devamlılığı konusunda bir takım açıklamalarda bulundu.¹⁸

TBMM'nin Süreklilik İlkesi: İstimrâr

23 Nisan 1920 tarihinde Ankara'da "fevkalâde salâhiyetli bir Meclis" kurulduktan sonra Meclis üstünlüğü, hükümet kurma zorunluluğu, Meclis'e karşı sorumlu hükümet, Meclis Başkanının hem yasamanın hem de hükümetin başı olması gibi uygulamalara geçildi. Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu'nda "Türkiye Devleti, Büyük Milleti Meclisi tarafından idare olunur ve hükümeti Büyük Millet Meclisi Hükümeti unvanını taşır" denilerek bir anlamda egemenliğin millete geçtiği ve doğrudan Meclis tarafından temsil olunduğu ifade edilmekteydi.

¹⁴ CHF Nizamnamesi ve Programı (Fırkanın 10 Mayıs 1931'de Toplanan Üçüncü Büyük Kongresi Tarafından Kabul Edilmiştir.), TBMM Matbaası, Ankara, 1931, s.6.

¹⁵ Demirel, a.g.e., s.319-332.

¹⁶ Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite*, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1965, s.186-191.

¹⁷ Soyak, a.g.e., s.730-731.

¹⁸ *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi*, V.Devre, Cilt:27, İçtima:4, TBMM Yayınları, Ankara, s.23.

Devlet sistemi üç temel üzerine inşa edilmişti: Büyük Millet Meclisi, Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanlığı, İcra Vekilleri Heyeti. 1920-1923 döneminde Meclis hükümeti sistemi uygulandı ve Meclis'in sürekli olarak açık tutulması gerektiği vurgulandı. Meclis üstünlüğü ve kuvvetler birliğinin savunulması neticesinde, devlet gücü Meclis'te yoğunlaştı ve yürütmenin alacağı kararlarda Meclis'ten yetki alması gerekliydi. Bu dönemde parlamenter rejimlerdeki gibi bir devlet başkanı elbette yoktu. Ancak Meclis Başkanı devlet başkanına ait bütün görevleri yerine getirebilmekteydi. Meclis Başkanının, Vekiller Heyeti'nin kararlarını onaylaması aslında devletin temsili manasına gelmekteydi. Meclis Başkanı Başkumandanlık yetkisini Meclis adına kullanmaktaydı. Başkumandanın yöneteceği askeri gücün adı "Büyük Millet Meclisi Orduları" adını taşımaktaydı. Bütün askeri kademelerin atamalarıyla ilgili kararlar Meclis'in görev alanı içerisindeydi.¹⁹

Milli Mücadele döneminin anayasası olan 1921 tarihli Teşkilât-ı Esasiye Kanunu, mutlak yetkilere sahip bir Meclis'in anayasasıydı. Anayasada Türkiye Devleti'nin, Büyük Millet Meclisi tarafından yönetildiği belirtildi. Büyük Millet Meclisi seçimlerinin iki senede bir yapılacağı ve yeni hükümetin göreve başlamasına kadar geçen sürede eski hükümetin görevine devam edeceği vurgulandı. Anayasada Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin "davetsiz içtima" edeceğinin ifade edilmesinin temel sebebi, Meclis heyetinin istimrâr/süreklilik ilkesini savunmasıyla ilgilidir.²⁰

Cumhuriyet kurulduktan sonra Meclis'in yönetim içindeki etkisi daha da belirginleşti. 1924 tarihli Teşkilatı Esasiye Kanunu'nda, Meclis üstünlüğü ve Cumhuriyet rejiminin sürekliliği bir kez daha vurgulandı. Egemenlik artık millettaydı ve bu gücü sadece Meclis kullanabilirdi. Anayasadaki Cumhuriyet maddesinin değiştirilmesinin teklif edilmesi dahi mümkün değildi. Meclis'in sürekliliği ve toplantıların kesintiye uğramayacağı konusundaki maddeler 1924 Anayasası'nda yer buldu.²¹ Aslında kongreler dönemi ile Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşu arasındaki gelişmelere bakıldığında, Meclis'in üstünlüğü ve sürekliliği konusundaki hazırlıkların aşamalı olarak ilerlediği görülür: Amasya Genelgesi, Erzurum Kongresi, Sivas Kongresi, Heyet-i Temsiliye, Meclis-i Mebusan, Misak-ı Milli, Büyük Millet Meclisi, Meclis Hükümeti Sistemi, Başkomutanlık Kanunu, Büyük Millet Meclisi Orduları gibi... Bir önceki rejimde en önemli meşruiyet

¹⁹ Rıdvan Akın, *TBMM Devleti (1920-1923), Birinci Meclis Döneminde Devlet Erkleri ve İdare, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, s.197-231.*

²⁰ *Düster, Üçüncü Tertip*, Cilt:1, Başvekâlet Müdevvenat Müdüriyeti, Milliyet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1929, s.196.

²¹ Ergun Özbudun, *1924 Anayasası*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, s.79-82.

göstergesi hanedan iken, Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde bunun yerini Büyük Millet Meclis'i aldı. Atatürk açısından Büyük Millet Meclisi tarihsel olarak birçok görevi yerine getirmiş önemli bir kurumdur: Türkiye'nin yazgısında tek yetki ve güç sahibi olan Büyük Millet Meclisi'ydi, Büyük milli sorunlar ancak Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde çözümlenmiş, gelecekte de yalnız oradan kesin önlemler alınabilecekti.²²

İki Savaş Arası Dönemde Parlamenter Demokrasilerin Gerileyişi

1919 Versay Antlaşması ile başlayan barış süreci, 1939'da İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın çıkmasıyla birlikte geçerliliğini yitirdi. Birinci savaşın bıraktığı miraslar, ikinci savaşın çıkışını bir anlamda kolaylaştırmış oldu.²³ Bununla birlikte 1930'lardan itibaren tüm dünyada parlamento, demokrasi ve seçim gibi kavramlar ağır eleştirilere uğradı.²⁴ Parlamenter egemenlik ve liberal kurumlar etkisini iyice yitirdi ve de Avrupa başta olmak üzere dünyanın birçok ülkesinde totaliter rejimler kuruldu. Almanya'nın 1936'da revizyonist politika izlemesi aslında farklı bir döneme geçildiğine işaret etmekteydi.²⁵

Militarizm, 1930'lardan itibaren parlamentarizme hakim geldi ve dünyadaki parlamentoların birçoğu feshedildi. Parlamentolardan ikisi 1920'li yıllarda, altısı 1920'den sonra, dokuzu da 1930'dan sonra ortadan kalktı. 1920'lerde otuz beşten fazla seçilmiş yönetim sistemi varken, bu sayı 1938'de on yediye kadar düştü. 1944'e gelindiğinde altmış dört devletten sadece on ikisi bu sistemle yönetilmekteydi.²⁶ İngiltere, Fransa, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, İsviçre ve İskandinav ülkeleri dışında parlamenter yönetimlerin sürdüğü devletler azdı.²⁷ Demokratik yönetimlere sahip ülkeler ise şunlardı: Avustralya, Belçika, Kanada, Çekoslovakya, Danimarka, Finlandiya, Fransa, İrlanda, Hollanda, Yeni Zelanda, Norveç, İsveç, İsviçre, İngiltere ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri. Otoriter yönetimlerin

²² **Atatürk'ün Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'ni Açış Konuşmaları**, TBMM Kültür, Sanat ve Yayın Kurulu Yayınları, Ankara, s.192.

²³ A.J.P. Taylor, **İkinci Dünya Savaşının Kökenleri**, Çeviren: Hakan Abacı, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, s.49-74.

²⁴ Juan Jose Linz, **Totaliter ve Otoriter Rejimler**, Çeviren: Ergun Özbudun, Liberte Yayınları, Ankara, 2012, s.240.

²⁵ "Almanya Ren Bölgesini İşgal Etti", **Ayın Tarihi**, 1-31 Mart 1936.

²⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, **Kısa 20. Yüzyıl, Aşırıklar Çağı (1914-1991)**, Çeviren: Yavuz Alogan, Everest Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, s.136-148.

²⁷ Francesco Nitti, "Demokrasiye Hücumlar", **Fikir Hareketleri**, Yıl:4, Cilt:8, Sayı:191, 19 Haziran 1937, s.130.

iktidarda olduğu ülkeler ise şöyleydi: Avusturya, Bulgaristan, Estonya, Almanya, Yunanistan, Macaristan, İtalya, Japonya, Letonya, Litvanya, Polonya, Portekiz, Romanya, İspanya ve Yugoslavya.²⁸ Türkiye'yi otoriter devletler listesine dahil etmek mümkündür.

Kolonilerden oluşan dünyanın geri kalan kısmındaki yönetimler liberal anayasalardan uzak rejimlerdi. Türkiye'nin yakın komşusu olan Balkanlar diktatörlüklerin en yaygın olduğu alanlardan biriydi. Balkan demokrasileri özellikle de 1929'dan sonra ardı ardına zayıfladı ve yerlerini otoriter rejimlere bıraktı. Örneğin Ahmet Zogu kendini 1924'te cumhurbaşkanı, 1928'de ise kral ilan etti. Yugoslavya'da 1929'dan itibaren I. Aleksandar'ın krallığında diktatörlük kuruldu. Bulgaristan, 1935'ten itibaren Kral Boris'in otoritesinde yönetildi. Romanya'da Kral Karol'un, Yunanistan'da ise General Metaxas'ın diktatörlükleri hakim oldu. 1928'de Venizelos'la birlikte demokratik bir yönetime geçen Yunanistan, 1929'dan sonra siyasal bir çöküntü yaşandı: General Kondilis parlamentoyu kapattı ve cumhuriyete son vererek rejimi monarşiye çevirdi.²⁹

1918-1939 aralığında Avrupa devletlerinde çok fazla iktidar değişikliği yaşandı. Bu devletlerin birçoğunda nispi temsil sisteminin uygulanması sebebiyle çok partili meclisler kuruldu. Bu da doğal olarak hükümetlerin uzun ömürlü olmasını zorlaştırdı. 1918'den sonra kurulan hükümetlerin ortalama ömrünün bir yılı geçtiği ülke hemen hemen yok gibiydi. Almanya ve Avusturya'daki hükümetlerin ortalama ömrü sekiz ay iken, İtalya'da beş ay, 1931'den sonraki İspanya'da ise dört aya kadar düştü. Fransa'da 1870-1914 döneminde on ay kadar olan ortalama hükümet süresi, 1914-1932 aralığında sekiz aya, 1932-1940 aralığında ise dört aya kadar indi.³⁰

Türkiye Parlamentosu'nun Algılanma Biçimi

1930'larda parlamenter demokrasilerin büyük çoğunluğu çöktü, meclisler kapandı ve yerine totaliter rejimler kuruldu.³¹ Katılımcı demokrasi sorunu tüm

²⁸ Michael Mann, **Faşistler, Faşizm İncelemeleri**, Çeviren: Ulaş Bayraktar, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, s.82.

²⁹ Zafer Toprak, **Bir Yurttaş Yaratmak: Muasır Bir Medeniyet İçin Seferberlik Bilgileri**, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998.

³⁰ Mark Mazower, **Karanlık Kıta Avrupa'nın 20. Yüzyılı**, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, s.37-40.

³¹ Murat Turan, **CHP Yönetiminin Dünya Partisiyle İlişkileri -Yaklaşım, Yöntem ve Tercihler- (1923-1950)**, Libra Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, s.27-40.

dünyada olduğu gibi Türkiye'de de yaşanmaktaydı. Uygulanan seçim yasası 1877 tarihliydi ve iki dereceli bir sistemdi. Halk ikinci seçmenleri seçiyor, ikinci seçmenler ise milletvekillerini belirliyordu. İkinci seçmenler CHP üyesi olduğundan, sadece parti üyelerine oy vermek zorundaydı. Bağımsız olarak ikinci seçmenliğe veya milletvekilliğine aday olanların seçilme şansı bulunmuyordu.³² Milletvekili adaylarını belirleyen birim CHP Genel Başkanlık Divanı'ydı. Atatürk burada alınan kararlarda etkiliydi. Seçim yasasının iki dereceli sistem olmasına rağmen, seçimler her dört yılda bir düzenli olarak yapılmaktaydı.³³ Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si, bu yıllarda seçimlerle yenileyip açık tuttuğu parlamentosuyla "otoriter-modernist" bir ülke konumundaydı.³⁴

Parlamentoyu sürekli olarak açık tutmaya özen gösteren Atatürk ve İnönü, militarizmi ülkenin yönetim sistemi haline getirmeye çalışmadı. Söylemlerinde askeri zaferlerle dolu yakın geçmişin yüceltilmesi yer bulmadı. Subay rütbesine bile sahip olmayan liderlerin üniforma ve çizme giydiği 1930'lar dünyasında, asker yetişmiş ve büyük başarılarla imza atmış bu iki ismin sivilleşmeye özen göstermesi önemlidir.³⁵ Türkiye bu yıllarda militarist yönetime geçmeyen ve parlamenter sistemini koruyan sayılı devletlerden biridir.

1920'den beri sürekli açık tutulan ve rejimin en önemli unsuru kabul edilen Türkiye Parlamentosu, yeni Cumhurbaşkanının seçilme sürecini iyi yönetmişti. Meclis'in çalışmalarına devam etmesi üç noktada önem taşımaktaydı: 1876'dan beri oluşan Türk parlamenter geleneğinin devamı sağlandı, olası bir devlet krizi engellendi, seçimin çabuk neticelenmesi Türkiye'de parlamenter sisteminin yerleştiği yönündeki genel izlenimi kuvvetlendirdi. Örneğin İngilizlerin Türkiye için hazırladığı 1938 tarihli yıllık raporda parlamenter sistemden şu şekilde söz edilmekteydi:

*"Atatürk'ün halefinin çabucak seçilmesi ve iktidar devrinin yumuşak biçimde gerçekleştirilmesi, Cumhuriyet kurumlarının istikrarına alamettir."*³⁶

10 Kasım'da Atatürk'ün vefat ettiği duyulduğu andan itibaren yurtdışındaki bazı parlamentolarda bu konuda bir takım konuşmalar yapıldı. Belçika, Macar

³² Hakkı Uyar, "Tek Parti Döneminde Seçimler", **Toplumsal Tarih**, Sayı:64, Nisan 1999, s.21-31.

³³ İhsan Güneş, **Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye'sinde Milletvekili Genel Seçimleri (1919-1935)**, İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, s.453-465.

³⁴ Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye'de 'Sol Faşizm' ya da Otoriter Modernizm 1923-1946", **Toplum ve Bilim**, Sayı:100, Bahar 2004, s.84-99.

³⁵ Murat Belge, **Militarist Modernleşme, Almanya, Japonya ve Türkiye**, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, s.609-610.

³⁶ Şimşir, a.g.e., s.502-503.

ve İran Meclislerinde yapılan konuşmalara ait metinler, Dışişleri Bakanlığı aracılığı ile Meclis Başkanlığı'na sunuldu. Meclis Başkanı Renda bu konuşmaların Meclis kürsüsünden okutulmasını sağladı.³⁷ Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın Meclis Başkanlığına sunduğu bu üç yazı dışında doğrudan Meclis Başkanı Abdülhalik Renda'ya gönderilen 10-15 Kasım 1938 tarihli taziye telgrafları ve yazılar mevcuttur. Bu telgraf ve yazılar TBMM Arşivi'nde yer almaktadır.³⁸ Bu makalede örneklerine yer verilen telgraf ve yazılar içerisinde, devlet liderlerinin gönderdikleri ağırlıktadır: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Başkanı Franklin Roosevelt, Almanya Şansölyesi Adolf Hitler, Avusturalya Başbakanı Joseph Lyons, Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Albert Lebrun, İspanya Cumhurbaşkanı Manuel Azana, Azerbaycan Cumhurbaşkanı Mehmet Emin Resulzâde, Letonya Cumhurbaşkanı Karlis Ulmanis, Hatay Devlet Başkanı Tayfur Sökmen, Estonya Cumhurbaşkanı Kostantin Paets, Polonya Cumhurbaşkanı İgnacy Moscicki, Suriye Cumhurbaşkanı Haşim el- Attasi, Meksika Cumhurbaşkanı Lazaro Cardenas, İtalyan Kralı III. Vittorio Emanuele, Arnavut Kralı Ahmet Zogu, Norveç Kralı Haakon, Mısır Kralı I. Faruk, Irak Kralı Faysal, Ürdün Kralı Abdullah, Yugoslav Kralı Paul, Südi Arabistan Kralı Abdülaziz, Bulgar Kralı III. Boris, İsveç Kralı V. Gustav, Lüksemburg Grand Düşesi Charlotte, Romanya Kralı II. Carol, Macaristan Kralı Naibi Horthy Regent, Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han, Luksemburg Kraliçesi Charlotte, Japon İmparatoru Hirohito, Japon Prensi Noboyoto Takamatsu.

Meclis Başkanlığı'na gönderilen telgraf ve yazılar içerisinde senato başkanları, belediye başkanları, meclis başkanları ve milletvekilleri de yer almaktadır: Hatay Millet Meclisi Başkanı Abdülğani Türkmen, İsviçre Konfederasyon Başkanı Baumann, Bulgar Meclis Başkanı Stoicho Mochanov, Almanya Meclis Başkanı Hermann Göring, Azerbaycan Milli Heyet Başkanı Mir Yakub Mehdiyev, İtalyan Meclisi Başkanı Kont Galeazzo Ciano, Selanik Belediye Başkanı Mercouriou.

Yurtdışında görevli elçi ve konsoloslardan çok sayıda taziye telgrafı gelmişti: Prag Elçisi Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Afganistan Elçisi Memduh Şevket Esendal, Atina Elçisi Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın, Roma Büyükelçisi Hüseyin Ragıp Baybur, Moskova Büyükelçisi Aziz Zekâi Apaydın, Bern Elçisi Hasan Vasfi Menteş, Brüksel Büyükelçisi Cemal Hüsnü Taray, Budapeşte Elçisi Behiç Erkin,

³⁷ **Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi**, V.Devre, Cilt:28, İçtima:4, TBMM Yayınları, Ankara, s.60-70.

³⁸ Kataloğu inceleme imkânı tanıyan TBMM Kütüphane ve Arşiv Hizmetleri Başkanlığı'na teşekkür ederiz. Katalogdaki telgraf ve yazıların tercümesinde Bilal Şimşir'in **10 Kasım Günlüğü** adlı eserinden yararlanmıştım. Atatürk'ün cenaze merasimine ait fotoğraflar konusunda bkz. Ramazan Çeltik, **Ebedi Şefimiz Atatürk'ün İstanbul ve Ankara'daki Cenaze Töreni Albümü**.

Belgrat Elçisi Ali Haydar Aktay, Tahran Büyükelçisi Enis Akaygen, Tiran Elçisi Hulusi Fuad Tugay, Japonya Büyükelçisi Hüsrev Gerede, Varşova Büyükelçisi Ahmet Ferit Tek, Lahey Büyükelçisi Ahmet Cevad Üstün, Filibe Konsolosu Fevzi Kortan, Frankfurt Fahrî Konsolosu Niyazi Ropal, Hamburg Konsolosu Ömer Miyman.

Dünyanın farklı ülkelerinde bulunan Türk gruplarından ve dayanışma birliklerinden birçok taziye telgrafi alınmıştı: Lozan'daki Türk öğrencileri, Geneve'deki Türk öğrencileri, Bulgaristan'daki Türk cemaati, Hayfa'daki Türkler, Finlandiya Türkleri Birliği, Danimarka Türk Hristiyanları, New York Türk Yardım Kurulu, Kıbrıs Türkleri, Kumanova Türk Gençliği, Japonya-Türk Dostluk Cemiyeti Başkanlığı, Berlin Türk Kulübü Başkanlığı, Hindistan Kızılay Cemiyeti, Helsinki-Finlandiya İslam Topluluğu, Güney Afrika Müslümanlar Birliği, Almanya Müslüman Birliği, Kenya Müslümanları, Hollanda Müslüman Komitesi, Penang Müslüman-Türk Birliği, Tanzanya İslam Cemaati, Hintliler Sosyal Reform Cemiyeti Başkanlığı, Bükreş Kadınlar Cemiyeti.

Sonuç

1938 senesi dünya tarihi açısından bir anlamda son barış yılıydı: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk 10 Kasım 1938'de vefat ettiğinde, Avrupa başta olmak üzere dünyanın birçok yerinde totaliter/askeri rejimler kurulmuş ve yakında çıkacak büyük bir savaşın hazırlıkları tamamlanmıştı. Bu süreçte sivil üstünlük zayıflamış ve devletin en üst kanun yapıcı kurumu olan parlamentolar ardı ardına feshedilmişti. Dünyada bu gelişmeler yaşanırken, Türkiye'de parlamenter sistemin sürekliliği sağlanmaya çalışılmaktaydı. Bu konu, Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinin yurtdışındaki algısını belirleyen ana noktalardan biriydi.³⁹ Atatürk sürekli açık tutulan bu parlamentoda yaptığı birçok konuşmalarda, barış ve iyi ilişkilerin içtenlikle izleneceği, uluslararası ilişkilerde dostluklara bağlı ve hiçbir ülkeyi karşısına almayan açık ve dürüstçe hareket edileceğini vurgulamaktaydı.⁴⁰

³⁹ Atatürk'ün konuşmalarında yer verdiği barış içerikli kelime gruplarından bazıları şunlardı: "Sulha nail olmak, sulhun akdi, sulhiyemiz, sulhu temin etmek, sulh müzakerati, sulh meselesi, sulh ve selâmet, sulh ve sükûn, sulh ve müsâlemet, sulhen hukukumuzu temin etmek, sulhperveriz, sulhun teessüsünü görmek, sulh ve münasebat, sulh yapmaya hazırız, sulhu imzaya hazırız, sulh için, sulhperver bir his, sulhperverane bir siyaset..."Bkz. **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, I-III, (Açıklamalı Dizin İle)**, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Baskı: Divan Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2006, s.9-555.

⁴⁰ **Atatürk'ün Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'ni Açış Konuşmaları**, TBMM Kültür, Sanat ve Yayın Kurulu Yayınları, Ankara, s.191.

Türkiye'nin 1930'larda uluslararası hukuku önemsemesi dünya siyasetindeki güvenilirliğini arttırdı. Yurtdışıyla ilişkilerin kuvvetlendirilmesi için farklı ülkelerde temsilcilikler açıldı.⁴¹ Bunun yanında birçok devletle dostluk temelinde anlaşmalar imzalandı.⁴² Atatürk'ün iç siyasette parlamenter sistemi, dış siyasette ise uluslararası barışı savunması, yurtdışındaki itibarı arttırdı.⁴³ 10 Kasım'da vefat ettiğinde, Meclis Başkanlığı'na dünyanın her yerinden taziye telgrafları ve yazılar geldi.⁴⁴ Kimisi için başarılı bir komutan, kimisi için yeni devletin demokrat lideri, kimine göre iki savaş arası dönemin en centilmen ve dostluğuna en fazla güvenilir devlet adamıydı. Anlaşıldığı üzere elde ettiği itibar sadece devlet başkanlığı ile sınırlı kalmayıp, temsil ettiği değerler bütününe hepsini birden kapsayan bir özneye dönüşmüştü: Parlamenter Modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti.

⁴¹ 1923-1950 döneminde yurtdışında açılan diplomatik temsilcilikler şunlardı: Azerbaycan 1920, Afganistan 1920, Gürcistan 1920, İtalya 1920, Sovyet Rusya 1921, Fransa 1921, Yunanistan 1923, Romanya 1923, İran 1923, İngiltere 1924, Polonya 1924, Almanya 1924, Belçika 1924, Macaristan 1924, Mısır 1925, Danimarka 1925, Çekoslovakya 1925, Japonya 1925, Avusturya 1925, İsveç 1925, Arnavutluk 1925, Hollanda 1925, Hicaz-Necid 1926, İsviçre 1926, Etiyopya 1926, Yugoslavya 1926, Suudi Arabistan 1926, Bulgaristan 1926, ABD 1927, Irak 1928, İspanya 1929, Çin 1929, Letonya 1929, Brezilya 1929, Meksika 1935, Estonya 1935, Şili 1936, Arjantin 1938. Bkz. Bilâl N. Şimşir, "Cumhuriyet'in Barışçı Dış Politikası Üzerine", **Cumhuriyet Kazanımları**, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 2014, s.81-82; Bilâl N. Şimşir, "Atatürk'ün Küresel Yönü Üzerine", **Doğumunun 125. Yılında Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri (15-18 Mayıs 2006 Ankara)**, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 2011, s.459-485; Bilâl N. Şimşir, **Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları**, Cilt:1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1993; Bilâl N. Şimşir, **Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları**, Cilt:2-4, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 2001.

⁴² 1923-1950 döneminde Türkiye'nin dostluk anlaşması imzaladığı devletler şunlardı: Afganistan 1921, Sovyet Rusya 1921, Ukrayna 1922, Polonya 1923, Arnavutluk 1923, Macaristan 1923, Avusturya 1923, Almanya 1924, İsveç 1924, Hollanda 1924, İspanya 1924, Çekoslovakya 1924, Estonya 1924, Finlandiya 1924, Letonya 1925, Danimarka 1925, Norveç 1925, İsviçre 1925, Bulgaristan 1925, Yugoslavya 1925, SSCB 1925, Şili 1926, İran 1926, Fransa 1926, İngiltere 1926, Arjantin 1926, ABD 1927, Meksika 1927, Brezilya 1927, Afganistan 1928, Uruguay 1929, Suudi Arabistan 1929, Fransa 1930, Litvanya 1930, Yunanistan 1930, İran 1932, Romanya 1933, Yugoslavya 1933, Çin 1934, Mısır 1937. Bkz. Bilâl N. Şimşir, "Cumhuriyet'in Barışçı Dış Politikası Üzerine", **Cumhuriyet Kazanımları**, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 2014, s.86-87.

⁴³ Yurtdışındaki gazetelerdeki Türkiye haberleri Mustafa Kemal'le özdeş tutularak verilmekteydi. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz. Mustafa Şahin, "The New York Times'ın Gözünden Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de Sosyal Hayat", **Journal of Human Sciences**, 13/3, 2016, s.4748-4763.

⁴⁴ Ankara'da düzenlenen cenaze törenine, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, İsveç, İsviçre, Suriye, Çekoslovakya, Finlandiya, Fransa, İngiltere, Yunanistan, Macaristan, Irak, İran, İtalya, Japonya, Letonya, Litvanya, Norveç, Hollanda, Polonya, Romanya, Afganistan, Arnavutluk, Almanya, Belçika, Bulgaristan, Çin, Danimarka, Mısır, İspanya, Estonya, Sovyetler Birliği ve Yugoslavya gibi ülkelerden gelen temsilciler katıldı. Bkz. **Cumhuriyet**, 22 Kasım 1938.

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EKLER

Ek-1



1935-1946 dneminde TBMM Bařkanlıęı yapan Abdlhalik Renda.

Ek-2



10-15 Kasım 1938 tarihli taziye telgrafları ve yazılar doğrudan TBMM Başkanı Abdülhalik Renda'ya gönderilmekteydi.

Ek-3

T. C. MUSTAFA VEKALATI F. T. Y. U. M.		TELGRAF				Yol	
Devlet telgraf müdürlüğünden Kısmi (M. 10/10) ve kısmi olarak		Adres: _____				Mevki (İspatlı)	
His excellency Sıddık Hakkı Renda Provisional President of the Republic of Turkey Ankara							
ULU MÜHÜR	NO	KELİME	YERLEŞİM	SİGNE	ORTA MÜHÜR	ALINIM	T.M.S.A.
			Tarih	Saat		Tarih	Saat
6294 the white house washington district columbia 17 54 10 2200 = 5 Eastern Standard =							
- I have learned with sincere sorrow of the death of His excellency Kemal Ataturk the president of the Turkish Republic whose devotion to his country won for him the respect of the entire world the American people join with us in an expression of the deepest sympathy in the passing of his excellency							
T. C. MUSTAFA VEKALATI F. T. Y. U. M.		TELGRAF				Yol	
Devlet telgraf müdürlüğünden Kısmi (M. 10/10) ve kısmi olarak		Adres: _____				Mevki (İspatlı)	
T.C. M. 10/10							
ULU MÜHÜR	NO	KELİME	YERLEŞİM	SİGNE	ORTA MÜHÜR	ALINIM	T.M.S.A.
			Tarih	Saat		Tarih	Saat
- franklin d roosevelt :							

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Başkanı Franklin Roosevelt'in telgrafı:
 "Ömrünü ülkesine adanmış bir kişi olarak tüm dünyanın saygısını kazanan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Cumhurbaşkanı Ekselans Kemal Atatürk'ün ölümünü derin bir üzüntüyle öğrenmiş bulunuyorum. Amerikan halkı da benimle birlikte ekselanslarının ölümünden duyduğunuz derin acıyı paylaştığını ifade etmektedir."

Ek-4



Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Albert Lebrun'un telgrafı:

“Vatanının muzafferane bir şekilde yeniden hayata kavuşturulması davasına ömrünü adanmış olan o tutkulu yurtsever ve büyük devlet adamının aramızdan ayrılmış olduğu bu anda Türkiye'nin kederini derin hislerle paylaşıyorum. Onun temkinli ve barışçı yöntemlerle gerçekleştirmiş olduğu eser, halkların tarihine damgasını vuracaktır. Türk Milletiyle samimi dostluk bağlarıyla birleşmiş olan Fransız Milleti, bugün Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin uğradığı kaybı üzüntüyle paylaşmaktadır.”

Ek-5

TELGRAF

(14. 10. 19) Yol

Adres: _____

Seiner excellenz des Präsidenten der
grossen nationalversammlung der türkischen
Republik Berlin gndel keltik rende ankara

T.C. NAFİA VAKIFLARI P.T.T.U.M. (14. 10. 19)

2382 - Berlin 2/293 74/83 10 19 KASSELAN: 1101

- tiefbewußt spreche ich fuerer excellenz der grossen
nationalversammlung aus den gesamten türkischen volk weis und
des deutschen volkes einheitsliebendes
mitgefuehlensvollende bezaehrung statuertes des praesidenten
der türkischen republik aus in ihr ist sie grosser soldat
ein genialer genialis staatsmann und eine geschichtliche
persoennlichkeit dahingedanger in der trichtung des neuen türkischen

TELGRAF

(14. 10. 19) Yol

Adres: _____

Reiches hat sich statuertes ein genwuel geschick dessen bestand sie
genationalen ueberdauernd wird - adolf hitler deutscher reichskanzler

Almanya Şansölyesi Adolf Hitler'in telgrafı:

“Ekselanslarına, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin sayın üyelerine ve tüm Türk Halkına, Cumhurbaşkanı Atatürk'ün ölümü dolayısıyla kendim ve Alman Ulusu adına en içten taziyetlerimi sunarım. Kendisi büyük bir asker, dâhi bir devlet adamı ve tarihe geçecek bir kişiliktir. Yeni Türk Devleti'nin kurulmasında büyük rol oynadı. Atatürk, eserleriyle nesiller boyunca hatırlanacaktır.”

Ek-6

Telsiz telgrafname

86

İlk nokta	No.	Kelime	Tarih	Saat	Radyo tarihi
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LEE

S WARSZAWA 107 62 10 1913 ETAT

APPREHANT AVEC UNE VIVE EMOTION LA MORT DU PRESIDENT KAMAL
ATATURK CHEF GLORIEUX DE LA NATION TURQUE ! ADRESSE A VOTRE
EXCELLENCE L ; EXPRESSION DE MA TRES SINCERE SYMPATHIE LE
PEUPLE POLONAIS TOUT ENTIER PREND UNE PART PROFONDE ET
CORDIALE A LA GRANDE DOULEUR DE LA TURQUIE = IGNACE MOSCICKI

2210/J SPL

Devlet telgraf mübaheretinden dolayı hiç bir mes'uliyet kabul etmez. N°/mübah. 220

Polonya Cumhurbaşkanı Ignacy Moscicki'nin telgrafı:

“Türk Milleti'nin şanlı komutanı ve Cumhurbaşkanı Kemal Atatürk'ün üzüntüyle haber aldığım vefatı münasebetiyle ekselanslarına taziyelerimi bildiririm. Bütün Polonya Halkı, Türkiye'nin matemine katılmakta ve acısını paylaşmaktadır.”

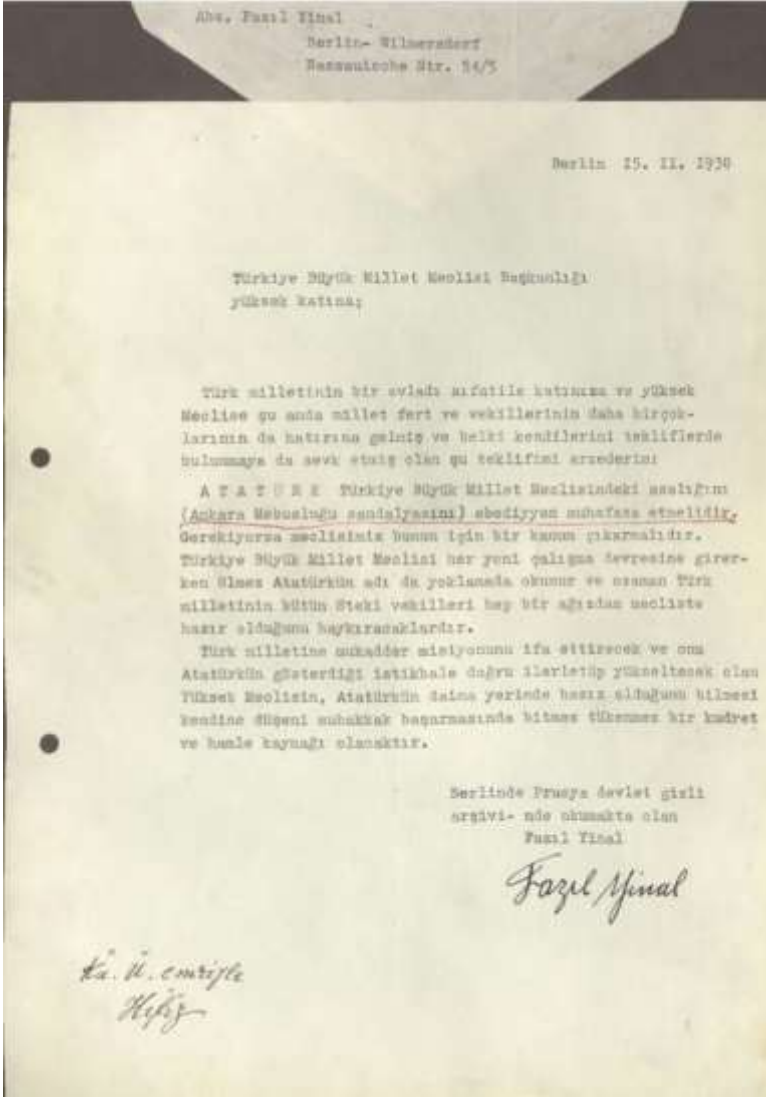
Ek-7



İsviçre Konfederasyon Başkanı Baumann'ın telgrafı:

“Çağdaş Türkiye'nin hayret verici sıçrayışını dehasına borçlu olduğu Ekselans Kemal Atatürk'ün acı ölüm haberine derinden üzülmüş olarak, Türk Milletinin büyük acısını yürekten paylaşan İsviçre Halkının da duygularına tercüman olan Federal Konsey'in heyecanlı taziyetlerini kabul buyurmanızı rica ederiz sayın başkan.”

Ek-8



Atatürk'ün vefatından sonra bir takım öneriler ortaya kondu: Ankara'nın isminin Atatürk olarak değiştirilmesi, Atatürk'ün vefatıyla boş kalan Ankara milletvekilliğine yeni birinin seçilmemesi, Meclis'in her yoklamasında Ata-
türk'ün isminin okunması gibi.

Ek-9



Bugün kullanılmakta olan TBMM'nin üçüncü binasının inşa kararı bizzat Atatürk tarafından alındı ve Meclis Başkanı Abdülhalik Renda tarafından gerekli işlemler başlatıldı.

Tarih ve Günce

Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi
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FUNDAMENTALISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE EAST-WEST DIVISION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NECİP FAZIL KISAKÜREK

Mustafa Cem ÖZKAYA *

Abstract¹

This study aims to reveal the fundamentalist and anti-semitist ideology of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and to explain the East-West Division through the eye of him. It intends to show the place of Necip Fazıl, who has a meaningful influence on the Turkish Islamism gaining its present identity and in Turkish Islamist Thinking by explaining concept of Büyük Doğu-ist.

Starting from the thoughts of Necip Fazıl, who is one of the most important authors and thinkers of the Turkish Islamist world of thinking, we intend to understand better the journey which the conservative Islamist thinking has followed from the day when it rose to the present throughout the history of Turkey. Starting from the importance of the influence of Necip Fazıl, who has guided a great number of statesmen through his thoughts in the Turkish political history, on the Turkish-Islamist thinking, we intend to show the place of the concepts of religion, society, family and morale in the traditional Turkish Islamist-Conservative thinking.

Keywords: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Conservatism, Fundamentalism, Islamism

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¹ Along with the article from the previous issue of Tarih ve Günce named Authoritarianism from the Perspective of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, this article is the edited version of the Master Thesis named The Authoritarian and Religious Dimensions of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek's Conservatism prepared by myself.

NECİP FAZIL KISAKÜREK'İN PERSPEKTİFİNDEN KÖKTEN DİNCİLİK, ANTI-SEMITİZM VE DOĞU-BATI KARŞITLIĞI

Öz²

Bu çalışma, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek'in kökten dinci ve anti-semitist ideolojisini ve onun gözünden Doğu-Batı Ayrımı'nı incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Türk İslamcılığı'nın bugünkü kimliğini kazanmasında önemli bir rolü bulunan Necip Fazıl'ın *Büyük Doğu* düşüncesini de açıklayarak bir çıkarımda bulunmak amaçlanmaktadır.

Türk İslamcılığı'nın en önemli düşünür ve yazarlarından biri olan Necip Fazıl'ın düşüncelerinden yola çıkarak, Muhafazakar ve İslamcı düşüncenin Türkiye'deki yolculuğunu anlamayı amaçlamaktayız. Necip Fazıl'ın düşüncelerinin, birçok ünlü Türk devlet adamına kılavuzluk ettiği bilgisiyile, Türk siyasal hayatına ve Türk-İslamcı düşüncesine etkileri ve bu ideolojinin din, toplum, aile ve ahlak kavramlarına nasıl yaklaştığını ortaya koymak niyetindeyiz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Muhafazakarlık, Kökten Dincilik, İslamcılık

Introduction

Undoubtedly, Necip Fazıl is an Islamist and believes that Islam's order must be established in his interpretation. He tries to find its source in the History of Islam and Islamic Thinking. He places Islam in the foundation of not only his religious, ethical and social thinking but also of his ideas in all areas as well. He particularly makes it felt strongly in his articles and conferences after his thirtieth year of age which he calls the "second period of my life". And this is why we first have to try to perceive Necip Fazıl's concept of Islam in order to understand his world view. We have to try to understand his faith in which he places life and death, state and society, ethics and thinking in the base of everything so that we may cast some light on the origin of his views.³

Necip Fazıl started to learn the Quran in the mansion where he was brought up, guided by his grandfather whom he liked as if he were his father,

² Tarih ve Günce Dergisi'nin bir önceki sayısında yer alan Necip Fazıl Kısakürek'in Perspektifinden Otoriter Rejim makalesiyle birlikte, bu makale de, tarafımdan hazırlanmış olan, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek'in Muhafazakarlığının Otoriter ve Dini Boyutları isimli yüksek lisans tezinin düzenlenmiş halidir.

³ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2010. *O ve Ben*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.28

as from his early ages. This enabled him to meet with Islam and the religious education which he received from his grandmother who was one of the most influential figures in the development of his spiritual world. We can say that he was a Muslim who had faith but failed to fulfil the requirements of the religion during the period until he was thirty years old, until he met with Abdülhakim Arvasi. He was a person who took alcohol, gambled, who did not avoid having extramarital sexual relationships, who may even be taken as a womanizer within the society of poets and men of literature in which he lived and who wrote poems on the female body in some periods of his life. During and after the period when he went to Paris, he maintained this life style until one day he came across Abdülhakim Arvasi, whom he incidentally met. ⁴

It must be due to the fact that he grew up as the only male child of a deep-rooted family in luxury and was well educated. Fame, reputation, women, gaiety were determinative in his life for a rather long time. When the Bohemian lifestyle he led in Paris and İstanbul and the information transmitted by those who knew him personally is considered, this is the case. ⁵

However, whatever happened, he felt that he was not satisfied by the life he led and started to move away from his materialist life which was based on pleasure. We may possibly ascribe it to the emotional tidings he experienced. He had not yet been married when he reached his thirties and was not a person acceptable to the society in which he lived due to his sharp tongue and arrogant personality. Although he won general approval owing to his poetic identity, his sharp personality prevented him from being popular. This spiritual deficiency and feeling of emptiness which he experienced made him closer to Abdülhakim Arvasi Efendi, whom he called master, and his teacher. Their relationship which started just as a casual mysticism chat turned to a mentor-disciple relationship over time and continued until Abdülhakim Arvasi's death. Necip Fazıl explains in a very nice way how he was influenced by this person and how empty his life had been before he met him in his book entitled *Tanrı Kulundan Dinlediklerim* (What I Listened from a Human Being).

Being a person who had also knowledge about religion and mysticism before he met with his mentor, Necip Fazıl started to thoroughly study History of Islam and Islamic Philosophy once he had found the meaning of life and existence in religion. His thoughts on religion were not based on pure dogmatic faith.

⁴ Karatekeli, Hakkı. 2013. *Necip Fazıl Kısakürek*, İstanbul: Kaynak, p.22

⁵ Karatekeli, Hakkı, *ibid.*, p.23

Here, we report a section of what he wrote on time and universe: "It appears before us in all its grandeur in the structure of the universe. Time!.. What an awesome thing! The greatest evidence of Allah's supremacy... Allah has laid the time over us just like a net... Time is above all, all! For instance, Avicenna assumed the light out of time. However, it has been proven today that light runs at a speed of 300 thousand kilometers per second, depending on time... There is nothing out of the time; there is something in us, which wants to climb out of the time... A human being has something which outgrows the time, and it is the soul! For it bears the memoirs of the realm of timelessness. But we are not aware of it.

Mysticism defines the time as follows: A dance, a coherence between the existence and absence... One existence, one absence; they follow each other.

The gate of the riddle which is called "Unity of Existence" ... Just like a gateway to the unity of existence of the body... An existence is followed by an absence. Here, who knows how many times I have existed until I have uttered this sentence. But the events designed just like a film strip by time run in such a way that we see perpetuity in everything. We suppose we have seen perpetuity. " 6

Setting off from these articles of Necip Fazıl related to time, we may get the opinion that he found some Mystic meaning within the Islamic faith. This is one of the greatest evidence as to the fact that Necip Fazıl, unlike most Islamists of the period, did not consider the Islamic belief to be comprised of only traditions and faith. His efforts to question his faith in astrophysical terms and rest it on a rational framework are an indication of the fact that he did not hesitate to include his mind related to religion into the matter.

In another passage in which he states his views about religion, he says:

"The very first idea in the human beings was "There is god". And this will be the last idea as well... While mountains leap up just like the corks of bottles, humanity will scream "There is God"... This world started saying, "There is God" and will also come to an end saying, "There is God".

The most important fact which the Western system of thinking has reached, is that humanity would not even invented the wheel if it were not for

⁶ Orhan, O. 2009. *Necip Fazıl Kısakürek Kendi Sesinin Yankısı*, İstanbul: Etkileşim, pp.12-14

religions. Those who study history of religions well know: this prophet was endowed with this skill and that prophet with that, Enoch was a tailor; Noah a shipbuilder, and so on... However, these are perfunctory precepts. Prophets revealed that substance which only exists in human beings, that mentality specific to human beings. And then, this mentality found the ground on which it would attract the whole world. Therefore, religion which is an intangible breeze of thinking became an institution which made the mind and the soul in human beings. In these terms, divine religions need not be evaluated within themselves and by Islam. For religion is only Islam.”⁷

As it will be understood from these words, Necip Fazıl perceives Islam as the only real devotion and religion. He believes in the existence of Allah in the base of all and believes in Allah to whom all serve. He shaped this belief with Islamic Philosophy and started to live his life accordingly. It is interesting that his belief is so great and binding and he makes it his business to share it with all humanity. In other words, being in the trace of, as it is in the conventional Islamist discourse: the Prophet and the ideal of propagating the name of Allah all over the world. Well, how should a person whom Necip Fazıl defines as the ideal man and who lives by the Islamic faith be? Here, we can also refer to his own sentences:

“A real and deep Muslim has three aspects: *Sheriah*, mysticism and soul and mind which may achieve their wisdom... To consider these aspects as a whole and compound at the moment, the judgment is as follows: *Sheriah* which is the harmony of absolute and constant criteria being the leading one, all is nothing but fulfilling these three schemes of reality, the lower one being subject to the upper one.

Thus, a real and profound Muslim is the *Sheriah* which is the sign of endless and baseless secrets each within the framework of mathematical expressions and the basic norm of society and the criteria of reality. He will consider the mysticism which is the esoteric aspect of the former to be the treasure hiding the maturity secret of the universe and the man and mix and join them in his soul.

Thus, a real and profound Muslim who has a thorough command of the scheme of events and phenomena and a power which screens the earth in a sieve with all its tangible and intangible components consists of his mind which is a

⁷ Okay, O. 2008. *Dünya Bir İnkılap Bekliyor*, İstanbul: Yağmur, p.230

device of understanding and questioning with its wings on the left and right comprised of the *Sheriah* and mysticism when he rises to the stratosphere of wisdom and reality. However, what flies, exalts and matures is the *Sheriah* and mysticism that are the supplement and generator of each other. And what is exalted and matured is the personal soul and mind.”⁸

To interpret it, Necip Fazıl’s definition of a real Muslim is a man who has thoroughly perceived the rules of the *Sheriah* and lives with this, who has understood the mysticism which is the invisible and hidden face of the *Sheriah* and who has disciplined his soul and body accordingly. He is a person who places these two aspects in the heart of his life and walks and improves himself in their light. Necip Fazıl must have considered himself in this way, so he expected this virtue of the people before him. His ideal society and government existed in an order where everyone was a Muslim according to this definition and where the *Sheriah* prevailed. After such a definition, I am of the opinion that it will not be wrong to describe him as a follower of *Sheriah* in the deepest sense. To Burke, Coleridge, Southey, Disraeli and Newman in England or Bonald, de Maistre and Cheauteaubriand in France, the religion is preeminently public and institutional, something to which loyalty and a decent regard for form are owing, a valuable pillar to both state and society, but not a profound and permeating doctrine, least of all a total experience.⁹ So, the other conservatives we have mentioned are less fanatic about the interfering role of the religion. Despite of Necip Fazıl is a radical religious, the followers of classical conservative thinking, do not put forward their religious believes on their political ideology. This is a major difference between Necip Fazıl and the other conservatives.

1. Necip Fazıl’s Ideal Society

In this case, how would Necip Fazıl set up the *Sheriah* which was his ideal order? How would ethical society be in his opinion? Here, we will also try to understand his road map through quotations which we will take from his own articles. First, we can say that what is required to build such a society designed

⁸ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.180-181

⁹ Nisbet, R. 1986. *Conseroatism: Dream and Reality*, Buckingham: Open University Press, p.69

and idealized by Necip Fazıl is an Islamic Revolution. He defines the revolution he expects as follows:

“The picture we have drawn is of a nature which makes it clear that we definitely expect a transformation. It is certain that a reform is necessary for a nation which has not lost its power of existing under the present day conditions, if not, the case is non-existence. This transformation is not an issue which contains static and partial efforts of improvement and minor improvements within the same course at all times. It is an invigorating cause of uprising, attempt and rampancy in the most vigorous and severest sense of the term ‘dynamic’... an uprising, attempt and rampancy which will hold all roads, streets, squares and gates at a stroke, which will mess up the former order and replace it with the new one and which will clinch the new order... In this case, this movement is worthy of being referred to as a ‘revolution-transformation’.

However, this movement is only a revolution and transformation in souls and within the framework of thinking. Its tools are words and pen. Its objective is to enter the skulls through eyes and ears and to instil under the brain membranes. The staff members of this movement are the faithful and nationalist youth and the supporting class is all who recite the words of witness... The location of this revolution and transformation is Turkey with all its big cities and towns; and its time is precisely the present time.”¹⁰

As seen, the movement in Necip Fazıl’s mind is one which will embrace the whole country and instill in souls and thoughts. This movement which is nothing but an Islamic revolution and transformation may be defined as a movement which aims at taking hold of the whole society and which will not stop until it make the *Sheriah* order prevail in the country. This cause which takes faithful and nationalist young people as soldiers for itself is therefore considered to be one of the ideas which constitutes the backbone of Turkish conservative thinking.

Necip Fazıl also has a reference from history when designing his movement. He believes that the Ottoman State was established and rose under these principles and draws attention to the necessity of such a revolution so that the Turks may rise again. In his own words:

¹⁰ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.195

“If we now clearly see what has become of us due to the systematic attrition of our spiritual base and ethical root which gave us a whole world empire for a quarter, half, whole and one and a half century and if we definitely perceive that each disaster is caused thereby, then it means that we possess the essence of the transformation we expect in our hands.”¹¹

Necip Fazıl is a fanatical anti-Western orientation as we will discuss in more detail in the subsequent stages of this section. He criticizes the Ottoman institutions and society which started to Westernize under the name of modernization beginning with *Tanzimat* and identifies the recession of the Ottoman State from the 19th century as Westernization. In his opinion, it is a great mistake that the Ottoman intellectuals considered Westernization to be the only way of progress and this belief was a disaster for the state. Also, as we will discuss later, he praises the Pan-Islamist policy pursued by Sultan Abdülhamid II against that Westernization wave in his work entitled *Ulu Hakan* (The Great Khan) in which he writes the biography of Sultan Abdülhamid II, modernists in the whole history of the Ottoman State and Turkey, in his view, are such people who are copy cats and alienated to themselves and he points out such people as a cause for our underdevelopment. For him:

“The only real deliverance is to return to the self, to Islamize: In this case, it is required to see and show the necessity of embracing our essential and truest concept and accordingly lead and cause to lead to a stupendous idea movement. And this is the essence of the transformation we expect! A single word: pure and plain Islam.”¹²

As it is seen, what must achieve Necip Fazıl’s ideal order is a total Islamic Revolution and Transformation. He never stopped to show as a goal each and every aspect of the movement from its form to its cadres and from its location to its time. Well, what is this order he wants to establish, then? What is it that Necip Fazıl wants to achieve and what is it that his cause for which he has sacrificed his years? We can answer these questions by first understanding what the ideal society in his mind is.

¹¹ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, p.196

¹² Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.196

Necip Fazıl is a radical Islamist. The state, society and order which he has idealized has entirely been designed to *Sheriah*. The order he expects is the following in his own words:

An order which will enable this nation which has been living incapable of making even a pin for many centuries to make its radios, cars, tractors, sewing machines, etc... An order which will say: "Make them of tin if you wish, but do it yourself!"

An order which will not allow any single material belonging to the West to pass through Turkish customs other than those of vital importance for the state... An order which will not see any other way out until the rise of a Turkish industrial and productive power with such materials...

An order which will cease the whole Western world to be considered a charmed magician in the eyes of the Turks and all the Asians under its spiritual control... An order which will reveal that the Europeans do not have any assets worthy of imitating in a spiritual sense... And an order which will ingeniously steal the existing Western knowledge and skillfully adapt them to the Turks...

An order which will not allow any single coffee house and save a national energy of 35 million kWh all over Turkey... An order which will definitely rationalize cinema, theatre, world of thinking and even science in a national way... An order which will elevate them to an international level once they have been nationalized...

An order which will shut down all pubs, casinos and all houses of scandal... An order which will not allow the foes of the holy criteria on which we rest our souls and the raw zealots who seem to be friends but cannot understand such criteria to survive...

An order which will show what it means to be original from socks to hats, from letters to buildings and from the codes of conduct to all types of expression...

An order which will immediately kill a murderer and which will make a thief not be able to steal again and which will show the citizens shelters safer than their homes in all social disturbances...

An order which will specify how men of cause will work, which will urge its most successful surgeon to sacrifice his life at the time of the most dangerous

epidemics and which will ensure the most successful instructor to live just like a gendarmerie soldier in the remotest village...

And finally, an order which will gain Allah's consent but not the enmity of the people and which will scratch the words "Sovereignty rests with Allah!" on the great wall of the Parliament: Islam..."¹³

As it is seen in the foregoing lines which we have quoted from his own words in their entirety, Necip Fazıl expects an extremely unusual order with an extremely radical action plan. His slogan "All or Nothing" which is one of the most distinct characteristics of his personality shows its effects here as well. Necip Fazıl deems it permissible to shed blood for justice; close down to the world in order to nationalize; prohibit anything for morals and die for the cause. He also believes that the conditions required so that the citizens who are the parts of the system he idealizes will unconditionally obey this system are Islam. According to him, this order may exist only if each individual in the society from the top to the bottom is Islamized. He, therefore, places Islamic faith in the basis of his utopia.

Necip Fazıl describes the members of his ideal society when he establishes his ideal order:

"A judge who believes in the verdict he makes... A law which makes the judge believe in it... A lawyer who considers any case he undertakes is justifiable or not... A convict who may say "The sword of justice has no scabbard"... When these exist, then justice is complete.

A tradesman who knows that Allah sees it when he changes the setting of the scales and whose fingers shake for this reason... A client who considers it bad suspicion and vain trouble to look at the scales... A merchant who thinks about the probability of excessive profits to come from the profits which a number of poor people fail to earn... A government which does not feed an army of policemen to track tax evasion by merchants but sanctions this through the knowledge of Allah... When these exist, then the sanction is complete.

An employee who enjoys a sense of peace and satisfaction for any surplus labor acquired on him as if he himself saves and deposits it in the society's account... An employer who puts his pricked foot on his knee to dress it... The

¹³ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.598

criterion which determines the harmony between the employer and the employee in an orderly manner just like an orchestra... When they exist, then the business manner is complete.

An intellectual who clings to the community of the most underdeveloped, poorest and most desolate village with a sense of duty and feels responsible for them in his palace in the most advanced, richest and most crowded metropolitan city... A system which keeps open the bond of existence between the most sophisticated intellectual and the most primitive peasant... When these exist, then the order is complete!

A governor who avoids involving his weaknesses and sins in any of his administrative and social powers and who does not seek benefits... A social atmosphere which considers an infectious sin to be the greatest disaster... When these exist, then moral is complete!

A patient who knows that even if he accepts his sensual sickness, the society will not accept it and it will seek and find him wherever he hides... A heart which believes that such terms as human right, freedom, democracy, etc. before the authority of science and reality at a hospital and which is fed by such belief... When these exist, then the fact is complete!"¹⁴

What is meant here is that a person who experiences a weakness of personality, especially a person who has weaknesses which do not comply with general ethical norms, is expected to know that even if he is satisfied with himself, the society will not withstand him and make efforts to 'correct' himself. Just as science is obvious, what must be done is obvious in a hospital and such concepts as human rights, freedom, democracy may not be resorted to under such conditions; but any event is immediately intervened, Necip Fazıl considers immorality or indecency to be a 'sickness' at this point and thinks that it must be treated as soon as possible.

"A student who initially learns that failure to learn is treason... A teacher who considers it to be equal to treason to give extra grades as a favor... A family and society who have assigned all their rights to the school and the teacher... When these exist, then education is complete!

¹⁴ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.548-550

A policeman who will have the real pleasure not when he catches criminals, but when there is no criminal to catch... A thief who does not consider the policeman to be a person who is incidentally assigned to represent the opposite of his own profession but to be an official who is assigned to maintain the public order... A government which protects a policeman's rights instead of frightening the police in return for those whom it frightens with the police... When these exist, then the security is complete!

An imam who does not think how much he will get for the Quran he will recite in the evening... A congregation of millions of people each member of which is all alone with Allah when he closely stands side by side another member and enjoys the same social solidarity in each and every field... That pure knowledge which does not lower the religion down to the dark basements of blind and dumb personalities and which does not even diminish a particle from its essence and cleanliness... Then faith is complete!

The mentality which adopts the motto "Sovereignty rests with Allah but not with people!" ... People who believe that they will have power only if sovereignty rests with Allah but not with them... A government which says to the people, "You may know what is good for you; only Allah knows and shows it! And the real freedom is this submission!" ... When these exist, then democracy is complete!"¹⁵

As we will refer to in the subsequent sections, Necip Fazıl, in fact, is not a person who supports democracy. He usually used the term *Democracy* to describe those states belonging to the Western Civilization. In his opinion, it was not possible for a people to self-govern. As a product of the conventional conservative mentality, Necip Fazıl thought that it was wrong to give the choice to the people only and the order he idealized, as we will discuss later, was maintained by those authorities who would make decision on people's behalf: Sovereignty only rests with Allah and it takes morally justified deputies to maintain his order on earth. Necip Fazıl's concept of government is usually oriented in this way.

"A scholar who does not change the history and the facts just to please the statesmen... Then thought is complete!

¹⁵ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.551

A poet who believes that art is for art's and everything's sake and, in the first place, for the sake of absolute fact and society... Then feeling is complete!

A politician who is frightened to death of his own shadow for the sake of right and conscience after he has spread majesty and fear in the shadow of the illusion of principles which exceeds every one and his own self rather than everyone... Then the state is complete!

Masses of people who need you and who fill up the public squares without even calling your name... Then society is complete! Community each part of which is happy in itself and trust each other within the Divine task division and rank distribution between the brain, heart, fist and sole...

Sincerity which does not leave any distance between the truth-telling hearts which Allah does not even give to his angels and the tongues which are the voice of truth... When these exist, then all and everything which we have mentioned from the beginning is complete!"¹⁶

As it is seen, in this section, Necip Fazıl describes his ideal society in depth. Members of society with the faith and fear of Allah in their hearts and the government which regulates everything from their food to drinks and to clothing and further how they must behave. Further, unlike the conventional Western thinking, he addresses the sovereignty concept as a mystical phenomenon. The claim that sovereignty rests with Allah but not with the people is perhaps the most important of the conclusions which underlie Necip Fazıl's political ideology. He believes that an individual cannot have the skill to make a decision all by himself and that the government must be the only and strongest institution which will ensure an individual to live by the law of Allah.

The interfering role of the state is irrevocable on conservative thinking. To the conservatives, the family is the basic unit of the society and it should be protected by the state by using traditional instruments. According to Nisbet, family prevents society from atomizing, provides solidarity within the society and finally serves as one of the basic institutions of education. Family also strengthens the sense of belonging to their societies in human beings.¹⁷ Like the most of the conservatives, Necip Fazıl believes that the state has the right to interfere the family institution to keep together the society. In a broad sense, Necip

¹⁶ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, pp.551-552

¹⁷ Nisbet, R. 1986. *Conservatism: Dream and Reality*, Buckingham: Open University Press, p.24

Fazıl is unanimous with the other conservatives to regulate the society depending on their targets. Furthermore, Necip Fazıl believes that Islam is the one true way to reach the ideal state and society, this makes him intolerant against the other approaches to organize the society.

Necip Fazıl believed that Turkish society had lived in a manner which he himself described until *Tanzimat* Period. In his opinion, the Ottoman State had established an order in compliance with the principles during the period from its foundation to its rise and over to its becoming a world empire. Therefore, it managed to be such a super power. In his opinion, Turkish society's starting to degenerate and Turkish State's starting to lose prestige occurred with the reforms brought about by *Tanzimat*. Modernization movement caused the Turks to move away from themselves and gain an imitating identity. In the next section, we will discuss the eternal East-West dichotomy in Necip Fazıl's thought.

2. Eternal Division of Eastern and Western Civilizations

In Necip Fazıl's perspective, Asia and values belonging to Asia represent the Eastern Civilization and values originated from European nations represent the Western Civilization. Turks have been the principal actors of the Eastern Civilization especially as from their acceptance of Islam and their settlement in Anatolia and foundation of great empires under the leadership of Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman dynasties. Turks are an Asiatic society, i.e. one whose origins are in Asia and are Oriental but not Occidental. According to him, these people who are Oriental remained underdeveloped because they could not keep pace with such time-changing reforms as Renaissance, Geographical Discoveries and Industrial Revolution in Europe and found the solution in resembling them. This is a great mistake. Efforts to aspire and imitate the West are in vain because the East's customs and traditions are different from those of the West. What must be done is to return to self and to reform and restore its own institutions as in the golden ages of the Eastern Civilization but not to Westernize as in the period starting with *Tanzimat*. If this reformation, i.e. restoration, regulation, policy which is one of the most basic arguments of Turkish Conservatism has been being properly achieved for two centuries as Necip Fazıl puts it, first the Ottoman State and then Turkey would not have been in their present state. Therefore, he finds reformation in improving the functioning institutions of the past.

“That we find our own selves, that we catch up with the Europeans in terms of mental and material abilities and that we mature this competence in our own soul and appear before them as a new and advanced nation will only make them startled and unhappy and cause them to attack us by a myriad of methods let alone cheering them. It is because we are not a nation which the Europeans assume to be of their own family. No matter how we claim that we belong to them or disguise as them and write in their letters, the Europeans will laugh at us inwardly, will loathe us and will make any mimicry in order not to miss this game that falls into the trap in his own will while applauding this claim and even our success in this claim.

If we want to see ourselves just as the Europeans in fact see us, we have to say to ourselves and them “I am I and you are you” in terms of the whole history, religion and root of civilization. For he keeps telling it inwardly at all times and takes action according to this criterion. “I am I and you are you! I suggest you to aspire my status and imitate me blindly in order to separate you from yourself and exterminate you!..”¹⁸

As it will be understood from the foregoing lines belonging to Necip Fazıl, he does not regard the Europeans as friends. He thinks that it is a futile attempt to try to resemble the Europeans formally and mentally. He even thinks that it is a betrayal of history, religion and core origins. He argues that notwithstanding how much Turkish people try, they cannot be part of the Western Civilization for they were not part of it in the past. He thinks that the Europeans degenerate and stall the Turks and cause them to move away from themselves by assimilating them.

“All our concept of reformation since *Tanzimat* has not been anything but settling in this trap of self-denial and destruction which the Europeans put up against us now through Freemasonry and capitalism seeking international market and now directly through imperialism and armed pressure a little more and mincing false tales of liberation in that trap.

Eastern and Western civilizations that have put up the most aggravated fights against each other throughout history have been in mutual agreement since the time when the West eventually made the East a colony and reached achievement in it through mental and material control. According to this agree-

¹⁸ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.78-79

ment: the West would produce all civilized concepts and devices and the Easterners would use them as stupid consumers and cultivate their fields for the Westerners and put their raw materials at their disposal. In the meanwhile, the Easterners' way to approach the Westerners is just made up of admiration and imitation of them on condition that their masters would hold the tip of the line in hand.

And Turkish Nation fell prey to this historical trap of the West under the designation of continuous reforms and liberation recipes as a game of the heavy industries, big capital accumulation and Western imperialism under the command of the former as from the 18th century. Abdülhamid the Second, who got wind of all these crafts and displayed a unique genius in order to prevent them, was a victim of the Western Freemasonry, capitalism and imperialism just because of this nationalist front and dethroned by those people each of who had been brought up by Freemasonry guilds.

Tanzimat was a Freemason reform and the Constitutional Monarchy was directly governed by Freemasons and it was decided to enslave the Turks altogether after the First World War. To do this, they decided to make a change which would entirely cause us to move away from our historical origins in terms of regime. Thus, the real transformation which must have been done went down in flames by falling into this trap called "Transformation." ¹⁹

As it will especially be understood from these lines, Necip Fazıl is against both *Tanzimat* and the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy and the reforms of the Republic period. Even if he never openly acts as an enemy to the Republic anywhere, we can say that he is not for the republic due to his opposition to the slogan "Sovereignty Rests with the Nation" and his definition of the democracy culture far different from that we know as we have said in the previous sections. And even considering that he thinks the Turks were moved away from their traditional forms of government and alienated to their origins through regime changes, we may say of Necip Fazıl that he is for Sultanate. This is why he frequently speaks highly of Sultan Abdülhamid the Second's reign and why he considers him to be one of the greatest Ottoman sultans and why he applauds his authoritative policies and Panislamist ideology. Like conventional conservatives, he thinks that absolute monarchy is the most natural way of governing the

¹⁹ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideology Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu Yayınları, pp.79-80

society. We will discuss his views about government and authority in detail in the next section.

Necip Fazıl, in his book entitled *İdeolocya Örgüsü* which we may qualify as the map of his world of thinking, studies this phenomenon under four major headings while making a distinction between the West and the East. West's view of the East; West's view of itself; East's view of the West and East's view of itself. He evaluates the East-West distinction and division under these headings. Now, on the basis of these headings, we will try to discuss the West and the East in Necip Fazıl's mind and their eternal division.

"Above all things, it is the Westerners who first made a distinction between the East and the West. Herodotus, father of the science of history in ancient Greece, considered the Western World which he considered to be only consisted of his own people, i.e. ancient Greeks and the Persian groups attempting to invade it, to be two different communities. He limited the nucleus of sense and thought of these two communities as two different worlds basing upon climatic differences: East and West. Greeks now found an etiquette which will suit any different ones who would appear before them through the Persian raids: Barbarians... In their opinion, humanity was only Greek and anything and anyone who came to ruin it was barbarian.

Since then, the Western world has sought for a spiritual and intellectual state of mind which will separate it from them in whatever happened in the Eastern world. As far as the East is involved, the Westerners, as in Ancient Greece and Rome, have always tightly clung to a meaning which defined a fundamental and defective race thereof after the Renaissance and up to the present day. This mentality is briefly and mainly as follows: a community of stupid human beings who may not scientifically and logically comprehend and avoid comprehending the incidents, who have conceded themselves to the course of the nature within nondescript empty fancies, who do not intend to defend and improve themselves! A community of sick human beings who have so terrible a spirituality on one side but are unable to place mind into the heart of their system of thinking on the other, who have an indescribable power within but bear an incomprehensible weakness without.

As from the renaissance, the term *Orient* on the tongue of the Westerners left a mark as an inferior and evil definition in the mind of ordinary people. The Easterner is different, wrong and enemy. Even though the intellectuals of the West noticed and acknowledged the inexplicable depth and spirituality of the

East, even though they knew the primeval culture of thousands of years of the East and that it was a civilization hosting prophets, their view of the East may not go beyond a land of fantasies and fancy of "Thousand and One Nights" in the final analysis either. The most popular perception of East among the literate people of the West is comprised of this.

Finally, as defined by the middle-class intellectuals of the West: "An Easterner always lives in the past, fails to perceive what is going on and is scared of looking into the future. He has neither science nor criticism... He may be religious but may not be a thinker who goes after the cause-and-effect relationship. He believes in whatever happens but never feels concerned about researching and proving. Therefore, he knows neither what is to be believed nor what is not... He only believes but may not know! He may not reach a determinative power in order to control the nature. He may not invent anything in order to ensure the mind to have superiority over the material. He may not reconcile with sciences. You may never find something visible, tangible and provable in an Easterner's mind. Thus, an Easterner believes in every unprovable thing and is possessed by the unreal invitations of bodiless entities. He keeps living without having any control in the world of incidents and phenomena." ²⁰

As it is seen, according to Necip Fazıl, the East is inferior in the eye of the West. The West considers the East inferior and different from it and describes it distant from it in everything from its frame of mind to life style from its faith to action. They always considered the Persians in ancient Greece and Rome, Arabs in the Medieval Europe and then Ottomans to be different and inferior to them in terms of world of thinking.

According to Necip Fazıl, there are three inseparable basic elements in the Western view of itself: Ancient Greece, Rome and Christianity. Here, he makes use of the notes of the Western intellectuals in order to see the West through the eyes of the West. He mentions the following in quotations which he makes without giving names:

"A detailed operation of measuring and weighing and consequently a search for enlightenment and clarity." A Westerner believes that Ancient Greece underlies the philosophy and intellectual disciplines. Ancient Greece accommodates those disciplines which give all to the higher man, make the higher man the base of all, has the ability to knead and shape all out of higher man and put

²⁰ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.21-24

all in an extremely clear manner. A Westerner says, 'It first inspired the relation of material and spirit to the man; it drew the soul out of the unknown of fancy and dream; it elaborately cast a light on the unknown and obscure aspects of the soul, always Ancient Greece...' And science was borne out of this intellectual discipline. It is that science which is the sign of victory underlying the whole Western civilization and Western thinking.

And in the eye of the West, Rome is the greatest example of the well-organized and founded man power. State, empire, institution, law, order, organization, sense of superiority, consciousness of activation, stupendous harmony of individual and society, sense of winning and sense of domination spread all around... In short, order and movement... This is Rome.

Christianity... At this point, it is understood that the West found ethics and spirituality in Christianity besides the science and philosophy in Ancient Greece and order and organization in Rome. According to a Westerner, this religion is the representation of the need for a man's being lost deeper in his own inner world and building an inner life, an inner moral and insight. According to a Westerner, Christian faith is a resource one may refer to in the solution of all worldly and ethereal issues. It evaluates faith and mind, research and verification, work and idea, work and purpose, freedom and loyalty, principle and mercy, justice and self-sacrifice, individual and society, man and woman; and consequently, material and spiritual forces, their division and harmony between themselves with the inspiration it takes from Christianity.

What a European means is that Ancient Greece is the primary resource which clarifies the limit of the interest and relationship between nature and man through rational thinking and sense; Rome is the consciousness which displays the power of disseminating this frame of mind over the broadest area in a well-organized manner; and Christianity is the center of interpretation, approach and ethics in the innermost plan of all these conditions."²¹

That is to say, in Necip Fazıl's opinion the basis of the Western Civilization is Ancient Greece, Rome and Christianity. Science and philosophy of Ancient Greece, organization, governmental order and self-confidence of Rome and spiritual and moral aspects of the Christian faith have given the West its form and consciousness.

²¹ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.25-27

“With Islam, the East within Islam is now capable of fulfilling all material and spiritual requirements in all aspects. Islam came in the form of an invitation for humanity to the only and absolute reality, away from any and all kinds of defects and free from time and space. But the West was buried into the darkness of the Medieval Era upon the fall of Ancient Greece and Rome and could not make its presence felt other than through the Eastern Roman Empire. In this period, the West was considered to be in a fall and breakup in the eye of the East. This situation and the West’s view of the East continued in this way for 7-8 centuries until the Renaissance. The West’s view of the East is equal to the view of a man who is needy and deviant by a man who is superior in all fields. Islam represents an old and eternal order which has completed all criteria of maturity in the form of a tight ideological pattern in spirit and material. Every community which does belong to it and which is in denial and blasphemy is a single nation for it. To say of that period, it is the West.

The East’s most pathetic and most doomed view of the West is only after the Renaissance when the present-day West started to take shape. This also coincides with the time when the weaknesses of the Islamic cadre started to appear and thereafter the East only became a mere spectator of the West becoming superior step by step. The Eastern Civilization which had achieved superiority over the West in all aspects for many centuries gradually started to withdraw in itself and to submit to the superiority of the West. For the past four or five centuries, the Eastern World has been consisted of slaves and mediums who lost all mental and physical capabilities on one side and people who found consolation and development in the denial of their identity, who considered their own person to be a loser and imitated the West and sought temporary measures. This is the greatest distress.”²²

At this point, Necip Fazıl bases the East-West conflict on the conflict between Ancient Greece and Persia. In his opinion, Ancient Greece which was Western discovered itself earlier in terms of mind and scientific method and considered itself to be superior to that which did not belong to it due to these differences. But Persia, which was the principal actor of the Eastern Civilization in that period failed to benefit from Greece’s science and thought during its conflict with the latter and to provide the Eastern World in which it was the leader a consciousness which would unite it. In Necip Fazıl’s opinion:

²² Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.27-31

“The only power which united the Eastern World under a single roof was Islam during history. The rise of Islam and Europe’s burial in the darkness of the Medieval Era occurred in succession and the Eastern Civilization established superiority over the West for 7-8 centuries. It was when Europe was the stage of a *Rebirth* which started with the Renaissance that the Western Civilization started to rise and the East remained a mere spectator of it. Opening of new trade routes upon Geographical Discoveries caused the riches of the East to reduce, and the capital accumulation in the West and subsequent Industrial Revolution made the West to be thoroughly superior to the East. Moreover, due to production which increased as a natural consequence of the Industrial Revolution and in order to satisfy the need for raw material for such production, the West colonized the East stage by stage. And this appeared before us in the form of the West’s imperialism. In the last analysis, the East submitted to the West’s superiority and turned into a stupid consumer community who unquestioningly purchased and used each and every asset and material produced by the latter.”²³

In Necip Fazıl’s opinion, this is the summarized story of the East and the West.

Further, the West has started to market any kinds of thinking system, government system and value which are specific to it, which have come out of it and which have been formed in accordance with its norms to the rest of the world as if they are absolutely true and make them accept these values. In Necip Fazıl’s opinion, the so-called intellectuals of the countries other than those of the West are but stupid people who fell into that trap and accepted the Western values in their entirety, imitate them and deny their own identity.

At this point, the approach of Necip Fazıl to the division between Western and Eastern civilizations reminds us the distinction of friend and enemy is the essence of political existence by German radical conservative Carl Schmitt. Since the enemy may be an entirely imaginary one, the claim to offer a ‘realist’ version of the organic ideal is difficult to distinguish from demagogic scapegoating.²⁴ To Necip Fazıl, there is a great distinction of European and Asian civilizations and he attributes it to the eternal enmity between them. Since, the European im-

²³ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.33

²⁴ O’Sullivan, Noel 1994. *Conseroatism, Contemporary Political Ideologies*, (ed. R. Eatwell ve A. Wright), London: Pinter Publishers, p.155

perialism has begun to colonize the Eastern countries during history, the Easterners should defend their rights and independence. To him, this is a war between Western and Eastern worlds.

According to Necip Fazıl, salvation is to return to one's self as we have said earlier. There is no other way out than studying and improving the institutions and organizations merely coming from experience and history of the Ottoman Empire, which was a world empire. He believes that anything from thinking system to government system, from family to social structure, to ethics, traditions and customs must be re-organized accordingly. And the most important of all, it is required to deem Islam to be the only and true guide.

3. Fundamentalism, Racism and Anti-Semitism

First Islam and then Turkish consciousness are two important values in Necip Fazıl's emphasis on identity. In his opinion, Turks served the Islamic faith just like a victorious standard-bearer who took the name of Allah far into Europe on the prophet's track as from their acceptance of Islam. It is why Necip Fazıl is a nationalist who is proud of his Turkish origin. His Turkish Nationalism is one which is based on Islamic Civilization. He also guided the nationalism concept of the Islamist-conservative thinking following him in this respect.

"Nationalism is a device which he exploits in order to reach the principal ideal Islam rather than an objective. "In Islam, nationalism is not an institution which is chased off and abandoned. One may not be reproved because he loves his nation, he may love it. However, here, nation is not a concept to be clung to. Nation itself is clung to spirit, to the main cause. It is why love of nation is one which is useful. And its school is one which is useful." ²⁵

As it is seen, Necip Fazıl intends to set up a structure which combines the nationalist and Islamist branches of Turkish Conservative Thinking to each other as we have tried to categorize in the beginning of our thesis. Even today, the concepts of nation and religion which are two values bringing the nationalists and Islamists closer to each other are such elements which must not be separated from each other in his opinion. However, according to Necip Fazıl, a

²⁵ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2007. *Sahte Kahramanlar*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.311

Turkish consciousness which does not contain an Islamic faith may not be deemed possible.

As he frequently says, "If the objective is Turkishness, one must definitely know that the Turks became Turks once they had become Muslims." And this sharp statement perhaps caused him to fall apart from the founding cadre of the Republic on the basis of nationalism. The War of the Independence and victory gained under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal is accepted as the victory of nationalists. Afterwards, the declaration of the Republic and the subsequent reforms divided the nationalists into two main groups within themselves. First of these groups is the Western-style nationalists which gathered around Atatürk and then İsmet İnönü and which did not have religion in it. This model of nationalism which was intellectually founded by Ziya Gökalp, systematized by Yusuf Akçura, adopted and applied by Atatürk is based on the allegation that Turks were a great nation before they were Islamized. It is why the old Anatolian and Mesopotamian civilizations which were not dwelled upon at all during the Ottoman period were studied and tried to be associated with the old Turkish Civilization. What is intended is to prove the thesis that what makes the Turk was not the Islamic faith.

However, Necip Fazıl does not think of a Turkishness concept apart from Islam. To define nationality and nationalism in his own words:

"Unlike false nationalism, nationality view is not a concept which contains but is one which is contained. It is a matter of spirit but not material and time not space. It is not a nationalism based on race. It devoted itself to the spiritual unity and what desires to reach it and tries to let this teaching live is the spirit of unity and integrity. To love this spirit means to love one's race. All states of nationalism out of this criterion damage itself. A narrow and ordinary personalization is nothing but raw and fanatical idolatry... Our nationalism is one for Turkish spirit devoted to Islam to maintain the Turkish feeling and thinking characteristics within this integrated cadre!"²⁶

As it is seen, Necip Fazıl defines Turkishness as a tool serving Islam. The principal object which must be reached is Islam. Well, which group does he consider to be the greatest obstacle in achieving this principal object? What is the greatest enemy before his greatest ideal Islam's becoming the dominant power

²⁶ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolojya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri* 42, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, pp.234-236

in the world? According to him, this enemy is the Jews. One of the most important bases of Necip Fazıl's thinking system is Anti-Semitism. He has a great hatred of the Jewish communities all over the world and of the community called *Converts*, who were once Jewish but later became Muslim in Turkey.

Jews, in Necip Fazıl's view, are a treacherous and harmful community. He articulates that the Jewish community has been involved in almost all the instigations and disturbances throughout history, starting from the treachery against the prophet Moses on his way up to the Mount Sinai. He relates the Jews' destructive impact on faith, from Christ's delivery to the Romans and Islam's division into sects. In his opinion:

"Jews spread all over the world and were excluded and driven away by those societies whom exploited. They were finally driven away from Spain and took refuge with the Ottoman Empire. They laid hands on the economy of the Ottomans over centuries and started to have a say in the government as Muslim-looking Jews under the leadership of Sabbatai Sevi, who came from Salonica, to extend over to the post-Republic period.²⁷

It was they who started the French Revolution; it was also they who made a mess of the economic system of the revolution through various tricks afterwards. It was they whose principal object is to damage France by supporting the revolutionaries on one side and the royalists on the other... It was also they who requested a small piece of land in Palestine in return for the payment of the liabilities of the Ottomans in order to be able to settle in the heart of the Islamic World during the reign of Abdülhamid the Second and whose request was hatefully denied by the Great Sultan, but who eventually caused the sultan to be dethroned by the members of the *Unity and Progress* (Turkish: İttihad ve Terakki)... It was they who first discovered the money and inflated capital in the world and who destroyed it through Karl Marx and who were among the guiding elements in the 1917 communist revolution...²⁸

It was also they who claimed that we had to abandon Islam and give up our holy values and who succeeded in it in order to prevent the Western countries which intended to annihilate the Turks and, in their persons, Islam from attacking us and to ensure our perfunctory freedom once the National Liberation Movement won the victory over the Greeks in Turkey... And finally, it was

²⁷ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, p.473

²⁸ Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl. 2014. *Ideolocya Örgüsü, Bütün Eserleri 42*, İstanbul: Büyük Doğu, p.474

they who achieved their schemes everywhere, who set up the environment of prostitution, immorality and economic collapse in Turkey, who founded the tiny state of Israel which was the model of the hidden empire and who settled in the most critical point in the Islamic world and world of oil and who caused the Arab world which is far bigger than them to go bankrupt... It was they who were cursed by their own prophets and who were the target of Allah's curse in the Quran..."²⁹

Necip Fazıl further mentions the programme of deportation of the Jews entitled *Arch-Supremal Commands* (Başyücelik Emirleri), which we will discuss in more detail in the next section. According to this programme:

"Any necessary measures shall be taken so that Turkish homeland would only belong to the Muslims and Turks and it would be thoroughly cleansed of any treacherous and dark elements. The fundamental elements which must be cleansed are the Converts and Jews. They are followed by the Greeks, Armenians and other minor communities (Christians) that must be removed as they are not compatible with our religion, spirit and values. The major criterion in cleansing Turkish homeland from all treacherous and dark elements is only consisted of: "either be one of us or just leave us!" Thus, the Christian communities will be one of us if they sincerely assume the Muslim and Turkish identity and submit to our government. However, the only class whose request for becoming one of us will be denied in advance is the Judaism. In history, Converts have told that they are one of us but shown that they are not for many centuries.

In this case, the method of solution planned to apply is to deport the Jews, Converts and Armenians and Greeks, who do not accept to be one of us but want to stay Christian. The Price of the assets which the Armenians and Greeks own here shall be paid to them, but attention shall be paid that they shall not have any properties in Turkey. But the Jews shall not have such rights. It is not an acceptable situation that they hold one tenth of the total wealth although they constitute three ten thousandths of the total population in Turkey. All their assets and wealth shall be confiscated and they will be deported en masse, providing them with an opportunity to live off for one year."³⁰

As it will be understood by the foregoing article, Necip Fazıl cannot even withstand the existence of the Jews. He believed that the greatest power behind

²⁹ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, p.476

³⁰ Kısakürek, *ibid.*, pp.334-335

the underdevelopment of Turkish and Islamic World was the Jews and therefore hated them to even venture to deport all the Jewish citizens or citizens of Jewish origin in Turkey. Still more interesting, Necip Fazıl bases *Tanzimat*, Constitutional Monarchy and Republic on the Freemason organizations which he believes were backed by the Jewish communities. He believes that the West debased the Turks under the disguise of modernization and made Turkish homeland home to immorality in order to move them away from themselves and Islam and to assimilate them. He considers Salonica, which is also the birthplace of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, to be the home of the Converts and accuses all statesmen who originate from Salonica to be Converts even if he does not clearly utter Atatürk's name.

So far, we have discussed the topics constituting the outlines of Necip Fazıl's conservatism. Having thoughts which are definite and interconnected almost in all matters, Necip Fazıl developed thoughts in the form of solutions to several issues he identified as he was a man of action as well. The concept he uses to define this plan of thinking and action is *Büyük Doğu*. The East which has returned to its great and old victorious days is his greatest fancy: The East where Jerusalem, Mecca and Kaaba are located; the East which is the home of prophets. In his opinion, the East is the origin of all. And we have to seek salvation in the East where we were born. We have to return to ourselves and be our own selves. We have to perceive the West's superiority and try to surpass it. We have to be fed by history and experience and try to surpass it in science, technique, arts, thinking and all matters. And this is the thought underlying the *Büyük Doğu* movement.

Conclusion

We have examined different aspect of Necip Fazıl's thought which appears to represent the Islamist wing within Turkish conservatism. We have primarily focused on his political writing, where he encounter his conception of the religion, society, family and morale. As a result, the conclusion that Necip Fazıl's perspective has strong fundamentalist tendencies. Although we have benefited from his other articles, our most determinative resource has been his work entitled *Ideological Pattern* in which he has described his utopian state in detail. As he describes his ideology to the finest detail in this work, we have unfalteringly obtained Necip Fazıl's thoughts about religion, morality, state, obedience and authority. The new order which Necip Fazıl describes as the *Büyük Doğu* ideal

placed Islam in the center and attributed everything to it without any exception. This order designed to the finest detail illustrates a state and society order established to create and put into practice Islam in his mind. He considers the state and the regime to be an instrument to establish this new Islamic order. Concepts of democracy, freedom and equality do not mean anything for him. Those concepts might only be instruments at the very most. The only and real objective is Islam.

In his view, the Western civilization enslaved by the Jewish capital considers the other world which does not belong to it to be a domain to be exploited. The Western world expects the other world to consume the goods it produces without questioning, to aspire it and consider it to be advanced and developed and determines all the policies within the framework of this principle. This irrational consumption is supported by the Jewish capitalism and the greatest offenders are these Jewish capitalists in that the world has now become a place suffering from wars, starvation and diseases. And this is the origin of the anti-Semitism and anti-westernism which underlies Necip Fazıl's conservatism.

Necip Fazıl was a faithful man of cause. As a man of both thought and action, he was deeply interested in practical politics and made thousands of people follow him. He seems to be confident that his perspective is deeply rooted in the social and political thought of Islam and the mentality of Turkish society, and that precisely because of this he has enjoyed great popularity among Islamist and conservative circles. The conservative thinking which currently exists in Turkish politics manifests itself in almost each word of Necip Fazıl. The figure of father in the family and the local culture and the authority of the elders in the society and the unyielding and divine power of the state are among the basic foundations of Necip Fazıl's thinking. Considering from this viewpoint, Necip Fazıl wants to preserve the existing customs and traditions. He is disturbed to the point of disgust by westernization and leading a western life style. A Turk is a Turk and he must live as his ancestors and their forefathers did. Whatever his ancestors achieved must be likewise achieved by him, following the footprints of his ancestors. He must take lessons from whatever his ancestors did wrong and must return to the well-functioning institutions of the past.

His desire to reach Islam, which is his principal and only ideal, can be seen in many of his writings. In this sense, Necip Fazıl is one of the most radical Islamist of the Republic period. It is Necip Fazıl's real cause to regulate the state

according to Islam and to Islamize the society. All values and thoughts belonging to the present time will cease to exist just like those in the past. There will only remain the Quran as the words of Allah, and Islam as the whole of his commands. Regardless of the geography where they live, all the people of the world will either hearken take this reality seriously or walk in wrong paths and waste both this present life of theirs and their life after death. And this is why the greatest duty of a state is to discipline the peoples of the land where it reigns and put them onto the way of Islam. Thus it will both have them attain a real and natural happiness in this world and deliverance in the other world. The state is the symbol of Allah's will on earth. It is and must at all-time be obliged to fulfil its laws completely. This is Necip Fazıl's vision of the state. Which seems to be an excellent summary of the Islamist and authoritarian dimensions of his radical conservatism.

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SEA TRADE IN KAVALA HARBOUR AT THE BEGINNING OF 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract

Kavala that was located between two big and important harbors like Istanbul and Thessaloniki was an Ottoman seaport opposite the Thassos Island in the Aegean Sea. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, the use of steamships in maritime and the Treaty of Balta Harbour, Kavala would become more important in trade. The city would start to open to international trade with the proliferation of tobacco production and continue this in the XX. Century. The city which could not get its share of the modernization of the harbors and the ease of railway access, it would be able to become popular in foreign trade with its hinterland.

In this study, we try to reveal the sea trade of Kavala Harbor in XX century according to the countries and the products.

Keywords: Kavala Harbor, Hinterland, Tobacco, Sea Trade

20. YÜZYIL BAŞLARINDA KAVALA LİMANINDA DENİZ TİCARETİ

Öz

İstanbul ile Selanik gibi iki büyük ve önemli liman arasında bulunan Kavala, Ege Denizi'nde Taşoz adasının karşısında yer alan bir Osmanlı liman kentiydi. Sanayi devrimi, buharlı gemilerin kullanılması ve Balta Limanı Antlaşması neticesinde Kavala, giderek ticarete daha önemli bir yer tutmaya başlayacaktı. Kent, 1840'lardan itibaren tütün üretiminin yaygınlaşmasıyla uluslararası ticarete açılmaya başlayacak ve bu durumunu XX. yüzyılda da devam ettirecektir. Limanların modernleşirmeye başlanmasından

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ve demiryolu ulaşımının kolaylığından nasibini alamayan kent, yine de hinterlandıyla birlikte dış ticarete sesini duyuracaktır.

Biz bu çalışmamızda Kavala limanının XX. yüzyıldaki deniz ticaretini ülkelere ve ürünlere göre ortaya koymaya çalıştık.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kavala Limanı, Hinterlant, Tütün, Deniz Ticareti

Introduction

Kavala is situated on 24 km southeast of Drama and with a pier across the island of Thassos on the north coast of the Aegean Sea¹. It is a sheltered place in a rocky promontory that protrudes towards the North Aegean. Kavala which was built on Penaje Mountain² was under the rule of Franks for a while after Byzantine administration. It came under the rule of Byzantine in 1242-1243. The city which suffered drinking water problem during the Byzantine period did not improve. The fall of Kavala under the control of Ottoman administration took place with the conquest of Lala Sahin Pasha in 1383. Besides this, there is an idea that the city was captured in 1373-74. According to a Byzantium chronicle, Yıldırım Bayezit destroyed the city walls after the capture of the city³.

The city was a small dwelling unit during the XV century. According to Ottoman Census records dated, there were seventy-five Christian dwellings and twelve Muslim dwellings (approximately 400-500 people). In 1519, the population was constituted of sixty-one Christian and twenty-two Muslim dwellings. Drought and pirate operations affected the decrease in population⁴.

The city started to develop during Kanuni Sultan Suleyman period. The city which suffered drinking water problem until Kanuni period obtained drinking water through the aqueduct that was built by Kanuni. The castle was expanded and rebuilt⁵. Commercial places in the city were concentrated on the plain under the castle and along the harbor in the period of Kanuni Sultan Su-

¹ Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm*, C. 5, Tıpkıbasım/Faksimile, Kaşgar Neşriyat, Ankara 1996, p. 3704.

² Ali Cevad, *Memalik-i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı*, Dersaadet Mahmut Bey Matbaası, İstanbul, 1313, pp.628-629.

³ Machiel Kiel, "Kavala", *DİA*, v. 25, 2002, p. 61.

⁴ Kiel, *ibid.*, p.61.

⁵ Selim I who was on the throne between 1512- 1520 completed the construction of Kavala fort at the Byzantium fortified site that was dismantled in 1387. See: Arslan, *ibid.*, p.26.

leyman. With the conquest of Budin in 1541, some Jewish people who were captured in Hungary was brought to this city⁶. Thus the improvement of the city gained momentum. Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha had great effects on the improvement of the city. The city became increasingly prosperous with the bathhouses, caravansaries, schools and imarets for passengers that were built by Grand Vizier⁷. Besides, Kavala became a harbor where various agricultural products produced in Macedonia and Thrace region were sent internationally in the middle of XVI century⁸. The city owes its improvement to its situation being on the way of Via Egnatia (Canib-i Yesar or Left Way)⁹.

Kavala continued its improvement which began in the period of Kanuni in the XVII century. Evliya Çelebi refers to the presence of 700 dwellings, 500 of them were in Lower Fortress around Ibrahim Pasha Mosque in 1078 (1667-68). There were 200 dwellings along with Bey Mosque in Ortahisar, Alaca Mosque and Suhta Mosque in Ortahisar and there was a mosque in the small citadel. Kavala was relatively quiet in the XVIII century. In 1799 French Pilgrim Felix Beaujour recorded Kavala as a settlement with a population around 3000¹⁰. In XIX century Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha built engineer school, medresa, library and imaret in his motherland.

It is seen that in XIX century the streets of Kavala were paved. The main Street started from the foot of the Fortress. Custom house was on this Street. There were large Turkish cemeteries on both sides of the street, and the houses draw attention¹¹. In the last quarter of XIX century, the buildings were built outside the castle as well as the buildings in the Kavala Castle¹². There was a similar development in Thessaloniki. This is an important indicator of the development of this city. In 1885 a new neighborhood was established in the West of the aqueduct that was called New Neighborhood in the documents. In 1895, the town had 8 neighborhood¹³. In 1896, in the east part of the city, Hamidiye Neighborhood was established. In 1897, there was a Copt Neighborhood out of

⁶ Mustafa Rasim, *Memâlik-i Mahrûsa-i Şâhâne Coğrafyası*, Tophane-i Amire Matbaası, İstanbul, 1305, pp.59-60.

⁷ Kiel, *ibid.*, p.61.

⁸ Arslan, *ibid.*, p.29.

⁹ İsmail Arslan, 19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Bir Liman Şehri: Kavala, *History Studies*, Volume 2/3(2010), p.36.

¹⁰ Kiel, *ibid.*, p.61.

¹¹ Arslan, *ibid.*, p.29.

¹² Rasim, *ibid.*, pp.59-60; 1313(1895) *Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi*, Selanik Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, Selanik, p. 451.

¹³ 1313..., p.451.

the City Wall. Besides those, as the new locations near Ibrahim Pasha Neighborhood that was the first settlement place were added there, the city was expanded towards the West in the dock route, the settlement areas such as Çaylar, kara Orman, Küçük Orman were the suburbs of Kavala. In this way, those settlement places which were in the historical peninsula and outside the city wall in the documents became separate neighborhoods¹⁴.

In XX century the town had 25 villages with the population of 15.097. Of these 12.075 were Muslims, 1700 Greek, 1075 Romans, 212 Jewish, 32 were Armenian¹⁵. In XX Century, there were 374 workplaces, 221 shops, 29 coffeehouses, 29 bakery, 3 hotels, 6 mosques, 3 dervish convents, 5 medresas, 3 churches, 1 synagogue and 12 schools in the town¹⁶. Kavala was described as a magnificent city with the population of 22- 23.000. According to the Thessaloniki City Annual dated 1324 (1906), the city was a sanjak center and there were 3775 dwellings, 450 shops, fifty-five workplaces, sixteen inns, seven mosques, two small mosques, five medresas, three synagogues, eight Muslims and four Christians schools. According to detailed and reliable statistics of Macedonia 1900 by Vasil Kančov, there were 12,370 Turks, 2710 Bulgarian speaking Muslims, 3700 Greeks, 400 Jews, 1085 Romans and 200 other nations in a total of twenty seven settlements in Kavala, in other words there was a total of 20,465 people, of whom 74% were Muslims¹⁷ According to the Thessaloniki Annual in 1907, the number of the neighborhoods in the town increased to 11¹⁸.

Kavala which was captured by Bulgarian in 1st Balkan War was captured by the Greek in 2nd Balkan War. In the Balkan War, in the autumn of 1912 Bulgarian Army occupied Kavala region. Greece took the city and the surroundings in 2nd Balkan War in July of 1913. This situation was also registered with the Bucharest Treaty of 10 August 1913. Although Bulgarians captured Kavala and its surrounding in World War 1, it was given to Greece after the war.

1.Administrative Structure of Kavala

After Drama and its surrounding came under the control of Ottoman State in 14th century, it became town center of Pasha Sanjak of Rumelia Province and

¹⁴ Arslan, *ibid*, pp.34-35.

¹⁵ Sami, *ibid*., p. 3704.

¹⁶ Cevad, *ibid*, pp..628-629.

¹⁷ Kiel, *ibid*, pp. 60-62.

¹⁸ 1313(1895) *Selanik Salnamesi*, p.424.

it preserved its situation until 1864. After The Rumelian lands of the Ottoman Empire together with the 1864 Provincial Order had been divided into six provinces as Edirne, Selanik, Manastır, Yanya, İşkodra and Kosova, Drama Sanjak became an independent sanjak connected to Thessaloniki Province. Drama Sanjak was divided into four townships as Drama, Kavala, Yenice Karasu and Darıdere and three sub-districts as Pravišta and Çeç and Sarışaban which was connected to Kavala. After the administrative regulations, Sarışaban became a township. After the administrative regulations that continued in the second half of XX century, the territory of the sanjak took its last shape in 1913. According to this, sanjak divided into townships as Drama, Kavala, Sarışaban, Pravišta, Rapçoz, and Taşoz.



*City of Kavala*¹⁹

2. Economy of Kavala

¹⁹ <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.com/album-p2-aid,11.html#galeri>, 31.07.2018, 22:59.

The land of Kavala is mountainous terrain. The city is a harbor city, with its ridge on the mountain of Penaje, surrounded by three peaks and valleys²⁰. A small stream called Acısu flows into the marshes of the city. Agriculture, husbandry, industry, and trade, boating and fishing were done in the town²¹.

As agricultural products, especially barley, wheat, rye, maize, cotton, elf, tobacco, potatoes, vegetables were grown. There were about 25 farms in the town²². The hills were very close to each other in the Kavala area. The pebbly soil was very rich in elements and is suitable for tobacco cultivation²³. In the town sheep, goats, horses, cattle, donkey were raised. There were lots of pastures and meadows for animals.

Industry and commerce were mostly at the center of Kavala. Capitalists of the population were engaged in tobacco, salt and commodity trade²⁴. There were carpenter, mechanic, saddler, baker, shoemaker in Kavala. Domestic and foreign merchants located in the town were mostly engaged in the tobacco trade. The tobacco produced in Kavala with the Sanjaks of Drama and Siroz was mostly transported to Kavala by the merchant. Over fifteen thousand domestic and foreign workers of the merchant stores, made the tobacco into bales and packets in the tobacco manufacture and procedure. Workers were paid from 5 to 20 kuruş. These tobacco were shipped to foreign hometowns such as London, Alexandria, Trieste, Odessa, New York²⁵. In April, harvest festival was held in Kavala²⁶. That festival activated Kavala. Sericulture and vinification were not common in the town²⁷. The wine used by the people was usually from the outside. Cotton cloth production was also made in the town. There was a forest called Kara Orman which was suitable for timber production²⁸.

²⁰ Rasim, *ibid*, pp.59-60.

²¹ Cevad, *ibid.*, pp.628-629.

²² *İbid.*, pp.628-629.

²³ İsmail Arslan, İngiliz Konsolos Raporları Işığında XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Drama Sancağı'nda Tütün Yetiştiriciliği ve Ticareti, *Turkish Studies*, International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, 4/3 (Spring 2009), p. 161.

²⁴ Cevad, *ibid.*, pp.628-629.

²⁵ 1325(1907) *Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi*, Selanik Hamidiye Mektebi Matbaası, Selanik., p. 426.

²⁶ 1313 *Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi*, p.455.

²⁷ *İbid*, p.452.

²⁸ Ali Tevfik, *Memalik-i Osmaniye Coğrafyası*, Kasbar Matbaası, İstanbul, 1318(1901), p.81.



*Tobacco and Maritime*²⁹

3. Kavala Harbor

From the middle of the 16th century, Kavala became a harbor where various agricultural products produced in Macedonia and Thrace region were sent to the foreign countries³⁰. Especially in the 19th century, Kavala showed a rapid development in terms of port services provided to Turmac (Turkish-Macedonian) tobacco cultivated especially in the hinterland of Drama and Xanthi region³¹. Especially after the 1840s, tobacco cultivation in Kavala and its hinterland gained a great popularity. As a matter of fact, there were about two thousand foreigners from different nationalities such as the British, French and Austrian. When the tobacco trade was intense, the number of these foreigners was three thousand. Kavala was a harbor town that was visited by foreign merchants beside local traders. Kavala harbor was not only Kavala's but also its hinterland's. The products of Drama, Pravišta, and Zihne town in Serez region were also meet with buyers in Kavala Harbor. Thus Kavala harbor was attached to World

²⁹ <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.com/eski-kavala-p9-aid,11.html>, 30.6.2018.

³⁰ Arslan, 19. *Yüzyılın...*, p.29.

³¹ Kiel, *ibid*, pp. 60-62.

trade³². Kavala that was situated at the northern end of the Aegean Sea, was close to Izmir as it was located between two important port cities such as Istanbul and Thessaloniki. The city is important because it is on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea road.

Factors such as highway links, the availability of adequate warehouses, and the modernization of the harbor were affecting trade. Europe moved to railway technology in XIX. Century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, railway transportation started in the Ottoman Empire, in some places, in military places, and in some places in order to connect the inner cities to the ports. The construction of a railway for military purposes was considered for connecting the city of Thessaloniki to Istanbul. Gümülcine-İskece-Kavala-Siroz and Drama- Karaisalu-Thessaloniki line were considered as the route. The construction of this line would further enhance Kavala's commercial potential and facilitate trade. The concession was left to Monsieur Rene Bauday in 1892. However, during the construction of this line, it was decided that it would be appropriate to open branches from the Alexandroupolis railway to Gumulcine, Drama, Yenice, Sirozi and Thessaloniki³³. Bauday, who started his works by establishing the Salonika-Dersaadet Coherence Company completed the line in 1896. However, this way of bringing military benefit could not compete by sea for commercial purposes³⁴. As a result, a railway did not pass in Kavala. However, there was a steady road between Drama and Kavala, with 18 bridges on it³⁵. From time to time the repair of the roads from the hinterland to the harbor was also on the agenda. According to the Thessaloniki Annual in 1907; the road between Kavala and Iskele and Sarişaban was first decided to be repaired by a tender of a 1 km section of the town³⁶. However, in some places, the goods were brought from the mountain roads with a thousand difficulties on horseback and mule back. The fact that there were not enough warehouses in the city affected the trade negatively. To meet the need, inns, hotels and empty gardens were

³² Arslan, İngiliz Konsolosluk..., pp.165-166.

³³ İbrahim Yılmazçelik, Sevim Erdem, Sultan II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Selanik-Manastır, Selanik-İstanbul Demiryolları Güzergâhlarında İşletilen Madenler, *Turkish Studies*, International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, Volume 9/1 (Winter 2014), pp.168-169.

³⁴ Selahattin Bayram, *Osmanlı Döneminde Selanik Limanı (1869-1912)*, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, (İstanbul University Unpublished Doktoral Thesis), İstanbul, 2009, p.27; Özlem YILDIZ, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten I. Dünya Savaşı'na Osmanlı Devleti'nde Deniz Ticareti (1908- 1914)*, Atatürk ilkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, (Dokuz Eylül University Unpublished Doktoral Thesis), İzmir, 2012, pp.104-105.

³⁵ 1325(1907) *Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi*, p.424.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.426.

used as warehouses for many years. Finally, new warehouses were built. One of them belonged to Abbott Brothers from Thessaloniki. In 1889, the Customs building in Kavala was completed and it was a very beautiful building³⁷. There was also a harbor administration and a quarantine administration in the city. In 1907 Doctor İstefan Polidis Efendi was working in the quarantine administration that was important for sick patients to be identified and observed There were clerks and guards with him. There was an Executive Administration in the harbor³⁸. In the XX century, there were problems in Kavala such as roads, sewer network, lack of drinking water resources. However, those problems were not resolved due to resource shortage³⁹.

Thessaloniki was the center of the province of Thessaloniki, where Kavala was affiliated, in the first 5 harbors of the Ottoman Empire⁴⁰. The other city in Thessaloniki where foreign trade was done, was Kavala. The exports and imports from Çayağzı, Lithor, Katrin, Ksendire and Aynaroz ports did not have any importance. When the idea of building a modern harbor in Balkans; the idea of building a harbor to Kavala and Çayağzı beside Thessaloniki was considered. This issue was discussed between Thessaloniki and the Ministry of Finance. The Property Administration brought the Kavala option back to the agenda. The idea of constructing a dock and a harbor in the sandy beach of Kavala coast was annexed to the ransomed property and presented to the Ministry of Finance for approval. Ministry of Finance stated that the import and export capacity of the said dock was realized in a low volume, so there was no need for dock and harbor construction in such a place, but declared that the concession offers to be made for this place were still open. As a result, Thessaloniki, which had a much larger hinterland, was preferred for domestic and foreign trade for port construction⁴¹.

³⁷ 1313 ..., p.452.

³⁸ Arslan, *ibid.*, pp.25-34.

³⁹ Report For The Year 1905 On The Trade Of The Consular District Of Salonica, London, 1906, p.6. (Based on the reports of the British Consulate, which were collected under the heading of Parliamentary Papers, When we talk about these reports from now on, we will briefly refer to the A & P Thessaloniki 1906 Report.)

⁴⁰ Bakınız: Özlem YILDIZ, "20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Selanik Limanında Deniz Ticareti ", ÇTTAD, XII/24, (2012/Spring), p.27.

⁴¹ Bayram, *ibid.*, p.17, 84, 85.

In 1912 it was decided to build the Kavala Harbor. The Mayor sent a telegram to Public work Supervision through Tanin Newspaper on behalf of people of Kavala who were very pleased about the harbor construction⁴². However, the construction of the harbor did not realize.

The lack of a modern harbor in Kavala made it very difficult for the goods to be loaded and unloaded. When the goods were downloaded and loaded from time to time, they could fall into the sea, get wet and break down. Loading goods to the ship could cause time and labor loss. As a result it made the sea trade difficult.



*Kavala*⁴³

4. Kavala Harbor Traffic

Many ships, steamed and sailing arrived at Kavala harbor. In general, the numbers of steam vessels arriving in harbor caught an increase in 1907. Due to the mobility created by the Battle of Tripoli in the Aegean Sea, the number of steamships fell down but their tonnage increased. Below are the number and tonnages of steam and sailing ships entering and leaving the Kavala Harbor (1905-1911).

Years	Steam		Sailing		Total	
	Sayı	Tonaj	Sayı	Tonaj	Sayı	Tonaj

⁴² "Kavala Limanı", *Tanin*, 14 March 1912.

⁴³ <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.com/album-p6-aid,11.html#galeri>, 31.07.2018, 22.58.

1905⁴⁴	258	219.956	1.755	17.700	2.013	237.656
1907⁴⁵	630	296.305	1.791	18.973	2.421	315.278
1908⁴⁶	659	266.540	1.752	19.745	2.411	286.285
1909⁴⁷	645	273.702	1.902	19.776	2.547	293.478
1911⁴⁸	591	354.422	2.031	26.834	2.622	381.256

Table 1: The number and tonnages of steam and sailing ships entering and leaving the Kavala Harbor (1905-1911)⁴⁹

In 1905, the number of the sailing ships were seven time more than the steamships in Kavala Harbor. About 91 % of the ships belonged to the Ottoman Government. Greeks who were geographically closer to the region came to the harbor with 8,9% of the sailing ships. Arabian, Austria-Hungary ships followed this. Sailing ships had a tonnage of up to 89,4% in Ottoman territory and 8,9% in Greek ships. As the steamships arriving at harbor was the most common Austrian-Hungary with 39,9%, followed by Greeks with 31,8%, Ottoman with 20,9% and Germans with 4,3%. Austria had direct voyages to Kavala. When we consider the steamships with their tonnage; we see 66% by Austria-Hungary, 14,3% by Greece and 7,9% by Ottoman ships Below, we can see the sum and tonnage of steam and sailing vessels arriving at the port of Kavala in 1905.

States	Steam		Sailing		Total	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
Austria-Hungary	103	145.627	1	270	104	145.897
Holland	1	909	-	-	1	909
Belgium	1	1.003	-	-	1	1.003
German	11	14.774	-	-	11	14.774
British	1	1.915	-	-	1	1.915

⁴⁴ There is no information on whether the towboats are included.

⁴⁵ Towboats and coasters are also included.

⁴⁶ Towboats are included.

⁴⁷ Towboats and coasters are also included. There are 127 German, 166 Ottoman coasters and towboats. See. *A&P Thessaloniki 1909 Report*, p.44.

⁴⁸ Towboats are included.

⁴⁹ *A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report*, pp.16-18; *A&P Thessaloniki 1907 Report*, pp.40-42, *A&P Thessaloniki 1909 Report*, pp.41-44, *A&P Thessaloniki 1911 Report*, p.39.

Spanish	1	1.872	-	-	1	1.872
French	2	1.407	-	-	2	1.407
Greek	82	31.497	157	1.568	239	33.065
Italian	2	3.506	-	-	2	3.506
Ottoman	54	17.446	1.595	15.838	1.649	33.284
Arabic	-	-	2	24	2	24
Total	258	219.956	1755	17.700	2.013	237.656

Table 2: The sum and tonnage of steam and sailing ships arriving at the port of Kavala in 1905⁵⁰

By 1905, the number of ships arriving the harbor increased in 1907. Ottoman State had 93% of the number of sailing ships, and Greek ships were 7%. Sailing ships had a tonnage of 91.1% in Ottoman and 8,9% in Greek ships. The Ottoman State with a steamship attracts attention with 31,7%. It was followed by German with 29.3%, Austria with 16.8% and Russian ships with 7,5%. 52.3% of Austrian-Hungarian, 13% of Russia, 10,1% of German and 9,9% of Ottoman were in tonnage of steamship. The Ottoman state, which held the most number of steamships, was the 4th in terms of ship tonnage. This shows that the Ottoman ships entering and leaving the port in 1907 were smaller in tonnage. Below is the number and tonnage of steam and sailing ships in 1907 arriving and leaving Kavala Harbor according to the countries as a table.

States	Steam		Sailing		Total	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
Austrian-Hungarian	106	155.030	-	-	106	155.030
Belgium	3	4.434	-	-	3	4434
British	1	1.468	-	-	1	1.468
French	9	4.145	-	-	9	4.145*
German	185	30.006	-	-	185	30.006*
Greek	71	19.605	125	1.694	196	21.299*

⁵⁰ A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report, p.17.

Italian	8	13.282	-	-	8	13.282
Ottoman	200	29.369	1.666	17.279	1.866	46.648*
Russian	47	38.966	-	-	47	38.966
Total	630	296.305	1.791	18.973	2.421	315.278

Table 3: The number and tonnage of steam and sailing ships in 1907 arriving and leaving Kavala Harbor according to the countries⁵¹

It is seen that in 1908 Ottoman ships (92,4%) were mostly arriving at the harbor were sailing ships and Ottoman ships were mostly sailing. The Greek ships were more steamed, and 7,3% of the sailboats belonged to the Greeks. In terms of tonnages, 91,5% belonged to Ottoman and 8,1% belonged to Greek. When looking at the steamships arriving at the harbor, it is seen that the most Ottoman (41,7%) ships came to the harbor, it was followed by ships belonging to Greece (22,2%) and Austria (15,3%). In terms of tonnage, the number of Austrian ships (54,8%) was higher than that of Ottomans (14,7%) and Greece (14,5%). Below is the number of steam and sailing ships and their tonnage in 1908.

States	Steam		Sailing		Total	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
Austria-Hungary	101	146.075	-	-	101	146.075
Danish	1	1.646	-	-	1	1.646
French	4	5.186	-	-	4	5.186
Germany⁵²	119	17.565	-	-	119	17.565
Greek	146	38.792	129	1.608	275	40.400
Italian	7	12.530	-	-	7	12.530
Ottoman⁵³	275	39.157	1.619	18.072	1894	57.229
Russian	5	3.865	-	-	5	3.865
Arabian	-	-	4	65	4	65

⁵¹ A&P Thessaloniki 1908 Report, pp.49-51, Towboats and coasters are included..

⁵² 108 ships, 2.212 tonnage German steamed towboats and coasters are included.

⁵³ 136 ships, 3.992 tonnage Ottoman steamed towboats and coasters are included.

Britain	1	1.724	-	-	1	1.724
Total	659	266.540	1.752	19.745	2.411	286.285

Table 4: The number of steam and sailing ships and their tonnage arriving and leaving Kavala Harbor in 1908⁵⁴

In 1911 mostly Ottoman (99,5%) sailing ships arrived at the harbor. Greek, Italian and Arabic ships were a very minor issue. When we consider the steam vessels, Ottoman (24,4%), Germany (23,5%), Austria (19,3%) Ships and British (11%) Ships came to the harbor for trading. When we look at the steamship tonnages, ship tonnages were in the first place in Austria (61%), Belgium (8,4%), Britain (7,4%) and America (4,3%). Below we see the total number and tonnage of steam and sailing ships entering the Kavala Harbor according to countries in 1911.

States	Steam		Sailing		Total	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
Austria-Hungary	114	216.471	-	-	114	216.471
Belgium	44	29.940	-	-	44	29.940
Britain	65	26.333	-	-	65	26.333
French	3	5.425	-	-	3	5.425
Bulgaria	11	11.160	-	-	11	11.160
Germany⁵⁵	139	14.673	-	-	139	14.673
Greece	4	1.127	3	90	7	1.217
Italy	6	10.862	1	51	7	10.913
Ottoman⁵⁶	144	11.471	2.021	26.344	2.034	31.500
America	43	15.145	-	-	43	15.145
Denmark	4	6.584	-	-	4	6.584
Romania	1	1.426	-	-	1	1.426

⁵⁴ A&P Thessaloniki 1908 Report, p.51.

⁵⁵ 1332 steamed towboats belonged to Germany, tonnage is 3083.

⁵⁶ 131 steamed towboats belonged to Ottoman, tonnage is 6315.

Holland	2	2.969	-	-	2	2.969
Arab	-	-	6	349	6	349
Egypt⁵⁷	11	836	-	-	11	836
Total	591	354.422	2.031	26.834	2.622	381.256

Table 5: The total number and tonnage of steam and sailing ships entering the Kavala Harbor according to countries in 1911⁵⁸

5. Trade in Kavala Harbor

The most important export item of Kavala and its hinterland was tobacco. From the 1860's, all exports to the European market were from Kavala Harbor. On the other hand, all of the shipments to the internal market were made from Karaağaç Harbor⁵⁹.

When we look at the trade between 1904 and 1911, which took place at Kavala Harbor, it is seen that the export numbers were quite high in contrast to other Ottoman ports. Although only 1911 tobacco exports are available, it is encouraging to see that the export rates are 5 times higher than import. Since 1908, exports have increased markedly. In 1907 import fell down. A little higher rate of exports in 1908 was related to the increase in tobacco prices. As a result, 463 tons of tobacco was exported less than in 1907. However, an increase of 24.000 was observed ⁶⁰. Below are the import and export numbers from the Kavala Harbor between 1904 and 1911.

Years	Imports (Sterlin)	Export(Sterlin)
1904	420.540	1.034.620
1905	504.040	877.760
1907	372.076	1.000.065
1908	390.840	1.024.380
1909	447.800	1.867.200
1910	499.620	1.674.000 ⁶¹

⁵⁷ Number of steamed towboats.

⁵⁸ *A&P Thessaloniki 1911 Report*, p.39.

⁵⁹ Arslan, *ibid.*, pp.162-166.

⁶⁰ *A&P Thessaloniki 1909 Report*, p.41.

⁶¹ Belongs to only tobacco export numbers.

1911	463.600	2.440.000 ⁶²
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Table 6: The import and export numbers from the Kavala Harbor between 1904 and 1911⁶³

5.1. Trade By-Products

The most important product exported from Kavala Harbor was tobacco since the first half of the 19th century. Especially after 1840, in Kavala and the hinterland tobacco cultivation gained a great popularity. From 1860 onwards, Kavala showed a rapid development in terms of providing port services to Turmac (Turkish-Macedonian) tobacco grown in the hinterland, especially in the Drama and Iskele districts⁶⁴. The increasing demand in the European markets against the Kavala tobacco enabled many foreign merchants from the British, German and Russian to come to Kavala in person to buy tobacco after 1869. Kavala Consul of Italy was also involved in the tobacco trade. He was closely involved in the trade of the "Berlin Trade House" opened by Germany in Kavala of tobacco and tobacco products produced in the region. Because the Berlin Trade House was processing the real Kavala and Yenice tobacco in the manufacture of cigarettes and trading these tobacco⁶⁵. The constant increase in the reputation and price of Drama tobacco in European markets led farmers to lead towards this product in production. However, tobacco was a product that demands time. As a matter of fact, in order to be able to export tobacco, 18 months were required from March to the next year's month of July. When the export delay is added to this period, this time period can reach 18-19 months⁶⁶. Tobacco became almost the only product in the export of the Kavala region. Highly profitable tobacco quickly moved ahead of the cultivation of cotton, sesame, and grain⁶⁷.

⁶² Just tobacco numbers.

⁶³ *A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report*, pp.16-18; *A&P Thessaloniki 1907 Report*, pp.40-42, *A&P Thessaloniki 1909 Report*, pp.41-44, *A&P Thessaloniki 1911 Report*, p.39. (For commercial value, the currency is sterling and will not be written after that.)

⁶⁴ Kiel, *ibid*, pp. 60-62.

⁶⁵ Filiz Dıġroġlu, "Selanik Ekonomisinde Unutulmuş Bir Alan: Tütün Üretimi, Ticareti ve Reji (1883-1912)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIII (2014), p.245.

⁶⁶ Arslan, *ibid*, p.168; İsmail Arslan, *Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama(1864-1913)*, Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2010, p.262.

⁶⁷ Dıġroġlu, *ibid*, pp. 229-231.



*Tobacco Transport In Kavala*⁶⁸

When we examine the tobacco export; it is observed that exports generally increased in terms of tons and values over the years. According to the consulate reports; Austria-Hungary got the 4.626 tonnes of the tobacco export in 1908. This amount corresponds to 51,3%. America bought 15,9 % tonnes (1440 tonnes), Egypt bought 7,7 % tonnes (694 tonnes), Germany bought 5,3% tonnes (481 tonnes). In 1911, 49,2% of total kilograms were purchased by Austria-Hungary, 28,6% by America, 8,3% by Italy and 4,7% by Egypt⁶⁹. It is clear that Austria-Hungary, which had steamship voyages to the Kavala, was the main buyer of tobacco. We can also say that tobacco prices increased in 1910. Below are tons and values of tobacco export according to years.

Years	Tobacco export	
	Amount(Ton)	Value
1905	8.665	867.000
1907	9.479	985.865
1908	9.016	1.007.700

⁶⁸ <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.com/eski-kavala-p9-aid,11.html>, 30.6.2018.

⁶⁹ A&P Thessaloniki 1908 Report, pp.51,, A&P Thessaloniki 1911 Report, p.38.

1910	9.153	1.674.000
1911	11.982	2.440.000

Table 7: Tons and values of tobacco export according to the years between 1905 and 1911 from Kavala Harbor⁷⁰

When we look at the vineyards; the least vineyards were in Kavala and Sarışaban in Thessaloniki province⁷¹. In the town, wheat, rye, maize, cotton, elf, tobacco, potatoes and cereals, and vegetables were produced⁷². However, the import numbers below show that Kavala is buying flour from abroad. The people of the town probably should have turned to tobacco, which is more profitable by giving up cultivation of certain products

In 1905, tobacco export had the most important place in quantity and value (98,8%) in Kavala's export. Besides tobacco, other products were insignificant. Tobacco was sold to Austria-Hungary, the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Germany. Leather (0,5%) and cotton (0,1%) were prominent export products. Below is the table of countries and the products, their amount and value that was exported from Kavala in 1905 in value for the amount of products exported from Kavala

Products	Amount(Ton)	Value	Purchased States
Tobacco	8.665	867.000	Mostly Austria-Hungary, America, United Kingdom, Italy and Germany
Abbas	10	360	Turkey
Cotton	30	1.200	Romania
Honey	10	300	Turkey
Horn	200	500	Germany
Olive-oil	20	800	Turkey
Skins	90	4.600	Germany, Austria-Hungary
Rags and bones	-	800	Italy

⁷⁰ A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report, pp.16-18; A&P Thessaloniki 1907 Report, pp.40-42, A&P Thessaloniki 1908 Report, s.51, A&P Thessaloniki 1911 Report, p.39

⁷¹ 1318(1900) Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi, Selanik Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, p.397.

⁷² 1313(1895) Selanik..., p.451.

Salt fish	25	900	Austria-Hungary, Italy
Soap	10	340	Turkey
Wool	6	200	Turkey
White wax	6	760	Turkey
Total(1905)	-	877.760	
Total(1904)	-	1.034.620	

Table 8: Amount and Value of Export Products in 1905 at Kavala Port and the Countries they sold⁷³

It's seen that by the year 1905, tobacco exports were showing an increase in 1907, 98,6% of exports were tobacco. 0,8 skin, 0,2 wax. Kavala's export products and values for 1907 are listed below.

Products	Amount(Ton)	Value	Purchaser States
Tobacco	9.479	985.865	Mostly Austria-Hungary, America, United Kingdom, Italy and Germany, Turkey, Egypt
Fish(Salted)	-	800	Turkey
Horn	-	1.600	Turkey
Rag	-	1.400	Italy, France
Skins	-	8.000	Germany
Wax	-	2.400	Turkey
Total(1907)	-	1.000.065	
Total(1906)	-	1.123.440	

Table 9: Export Amounts and Values from Kavala Port in 1907 and the Countries they sold⁷⁴

In 1908, tobacco sales increased, while there was no noticeable increase in other products. The countries that bought tobacco were Austria-Hungary, Fin-

⁷³ A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report, p.17.

⁷⁴ A&P Thessaloniki 1907 Report, p.42

land, Germany, India, Italy, Egypt, Malta, Romania, United Kingdom, USA, Belgium, Cyprus. Below are the products exported from Kavala in 1905, the amount, the value and the countries that bought.

Product	Amount(Ton)	Value	Purchased States
Tobacco	9.016	1.007.700	Mostly Austria-Hungary, Finland, Germany, India, Italy, Egypt, Malta, Romania, United Kingdom, America, Belgium, Cyprus etc.
Fish(Salted)	-	600	Turkey
Horns	-	2.000	Turkey
Rags	-	1.680	Italy, France
Skins	-	10.000	Germany
Wax	-	2.400	Turkey
Total(1908)	-	1.024.380	
Total(1907)	-	1.000.065	

Table 10: Export Amounts and Values from Kavala Port in 1908 and the Countries they Sold ⁷⁵

According to the consular report, by 1904, imports from Kavala increased in 1905. For the Ottoman market, Germany and England were competing with cotton and wool textiles. France and Denmark were in competition with British goods in metals, Italy, Germany and France were in competition with British goods in silk⁷⁶. The products imported from Kavala city were the most flour (12,3%), ready tobacco (9,9%), woolen textiles products (6%), cereal (6,4%), sugar (10,3%) , coffee (4,4%), petroleum (3,7%), soap (3,6%), salt (2,8%) and rice (2,6%). When we look at imported products; besides flour, sugar, textile products and the products that can be luxurious like coffee were imported. Grains as mostly imported from Ottoman lands. Flour came from Bulgaria, Romania, Ottoman. Oil from America, Austria-Hungary, America, Russia; soap came from Ottoman, Greece, Italy, France. Salt came from Turkey and Greece. Woolen textiles

⁷⁵ A&P Thessaloniki 1908 Report, p.50.

⁷⁶ A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report, pp.16-18.

products came from Germany, United Kingdom. Below are the numbers for imports in 1905.

Products	Amount(Ton)	Values	Purchased Countries
Alcohol	300	7.000	Austria-Hungary, Russia, Greece, Egypt
Butter	10	600	Turkey, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece
Beer	105	1.050	Turkey, Germany, Austria-Hungary
Cereals (specially maize)	405	32.040	Turkey
Candle	50	1.200	France, Germany, Belgium
Coffee	360	22.000	Turkey, Italy, Austria-Hungary
Cement	400	1.900	France, Greece
Clothing, Ready made clothing	-	6.000	Germany, Austria-Hungary
Chemical products	-	9.000	United Kingdom, France, Germany
Chinaware	-	5.200	Italy
Cotton yarn	100	8.000	United Kingdom, Greece
Flour	6.200	62.000	Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania
Fruit	600	7.250	Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria
Furniture	-	2.600	Germany, Austria-Hungary, France
Glassware	-	6.000	Almanya, Avusturya-Macaristan, Fransa
Groceries	-	10.000	Italy, France, Germany
Ironware	1.650	13.500	United Kingdom, Belgium, Netherlands

Zinc, Copper, Lead	-	2.000	United Kingdom, Italy, France
Leather	95	11.400	France, Greece, Germany
Liquor, Cognac	-	3.600	Greece, Austria-Hungary, France
Match	-	2.000	Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece
Nail, tacks	320	3.200	Germany, Austria-Hungary, France
Oil for soap	160	3.200	Greece, Austria-Hungary, France
Olive oil	220	9.000	Turkey, Greece, Italy
Olives	160	3.200	Turkey, Greece
Petroleum	2.500	18.600	America, Austria-Hungary, Russia
Rice	1.110	13.300	England, India, Egypt, Austria-Hungary
Soap	550	18.000	Turkey, Greece, Italy, France
Salt	3.600	14.300	Turkey, Greece
Silk	-	6.300	Germany, United Kingdom, Switzerland
Sugar	3.260	52.000	Austria-Hungary, France, Russia, Germany
Tobacco (Stock)	250	50.000	Turkey
Packing canvas	-	15.000	United Kingdom, Germany, France
Woolen Textiles		30.000	Germany, United Kingdom
Wine	950	7.600	France, Greece, Turkey
Various products	-	46.000	

Total 1905	23.355	504.040	
Total 1904	-	420.540	

Table 11: Tons and Values of Imported Products Made from Kavala Port in 1905 and their Countries ⁷⁷

When we look at the products that were imported in 1908, we found that flour (18,4%), sugar (6,6%), cotton textile (6,1%), canvas (5,1%), rice (4%), salt (3,6%) were the most imported product. Sugar comes mostly from Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia. Although wheat is produced in the town, it does not meet the need. Flour was bought from Bugaria, France, Russia and Ottoman. Cotton textiles are supplied from the UK, Italy, France, Germany and Austria-Hungary. The tarpaulin comes from the UK and Germany. Rice is supplied from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Egypt. Below are the amounts and the value of imported products and the countries that purchased them in 1908.

Products	Amount(Ton)	Value	Purchased Countries
Alcohol	300	5.000	Austria-Hungary, Russia.
Butter	-	1.600	Italy, Austria-Hungary.
Beer	300	3.600	Turkey, Germany, Austria-Hungary.
Cotton yarn	140	12.400	Turkey, United Kingdom, Italy, Austria-Hungary.
Candle	65	2.560	France, Austria-Hungary, Belgium
Coffee	300	14.000	Turkey, Italy, Austria-Hungary.
Tarpaulin, canvas	-	20.000	United Kingdom, Germany.
Cement	500	2.000	France, Greece, Austria-Hungary

⁷⁷ *A&P Thessaloniki 1905 Report*, p.18

Clothing, Ready-made clothing	-	6.000	Turkey, Austria-Hungary.
Medicine		7.200	Italy, Germany, France, United Kingdom.
Earthenware	-	5.400	Austria-Hungary, Russia.
Oil, olive	250	12.000	Turkey, Italy, Greece
Metals, nails, tacks	600	6.000	Germany, United Kingdom, Italy.
Ironware	1.300	12.000	Germany, United Kingdom, Belgium.
Flour	5.500	72.000	Turkey, Bulgaria, France, Russia.
Fruit	300	5.200	Turkey, Italy.
Furniture	-	4.000	Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France
Glassware	-	6.000	Italy, Austria-Hungary.
Corn	850	8.000	Turkey
Liqueur	-	1.000	Greece, Turkey, France.
Match	-	2.400	Austria-Hungary, Italy, Germany.
Leather	75	10.800	Austria-Hungary, United Kingdom France.
Sulfur	160	3.280	Turkey
Olives	180	2.800	Turkey, Greece.
Petroleum	350	3.000	Russia, America, Austria-Hungary.
Preserves	-	6.000	Italy, France, Greece, Turkey.
Rice	1.110	17.600	Italy, Egypt, Austria-Hungary
Rope, lap	-	4.000	Bulgaria, Serbia
Salt	3.600	14.400	Turkey

Sesame	30	1.200	Turkey, Greece
Soap	150	4.800	Turkey, Greece, France
Cotton and wool textiles	-	24.000	United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary.
Stationery	-	6.400	Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary
Sugar	1.700	26.400	Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany
Tobacco (Manufactured)	-	2.800	Turkey
Jute	-	16.000	United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary, Germany.
Wine	400	3.000	Turkey, Greece, France.
Woodwork	-	16.000	Turkey, Russia, Romania, Austria-Hungary
Various	-	20.000	
Total 1908	-	390.840	
Total 1907	-	372.076	

Table 12: Tons and Values of Imported Products Made by Kavala Port in 1908 and Countries They Made⁷⁸

In 1911, flour (15,1%), cotton-wool textiles (12%), cotton rope (4,4%), wood-timber (4,3%) and coffee (2,4%) were imported. Flour was purchased from Turkey, Bulgaria, Italy, France; cotton-wool textiles were purchased from the United Kingdom, Italy, Ottoman, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Switzerland. Below are the import numbers as product basis for 1911.

Products	Amount(Ton)	Value	Purchased Countries
Alcohol	314	5.120	Austria-Hungary, Russia. Turkey
Butter	29	3.600	Italy, Austria-Hungary

⁷⁸ A&P Thessaloniki 1908 Report, pp.49-51.

Beer	1.176	16.800	Turkey, Germany, Austria-Hungary
Confectionery	59	7.200	France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, United Kingdom
Cotton yarn	216	20.240	Turkey, Italy, Austria-Hungary
Candle	78	2.882	France, Italy, Belgium
Coffee	343	11.200	Turkey, Italy, Austria-Hungary
Medicine and chemical	-	6.800	United Kingdom, Italy, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, France
Flour	6.863	70.000	Turkey, Bulgaria, Italy, France
Fruit	225	4.800	Turkey, Greece, Italy
Hardware and ironware	-	25.200	Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Belgium, Germany
Furniture	-	3.600	Turkey, Australia, Italy
Earthenware and glassware	-	5.800	Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Italy
Leather and hides	88	12.600	Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany and Italy
Liqueurets , &c.	-	2.500	France, Turkey, Serbia, Italy, Greece
Match	-	2.800	Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Turkey
Maize	147	880	Turkey
Olive	198	8.800	Turkey, Italy, Greece, United Kingdom
Cotton seed oil	10	400	
Soap Making	150	2.800	
Olives	127	2.600	Ottoman and Greece.
Metals	343	2.720	Germany, United Kingdom, France

Paper	-	7.200	Turkey, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy
Petrolium	784	6.000	Romania, Russia, United Kingdom
Provisions		7.200	Ottoman, France, Italy
Rice	1.568	19.200	Italy, Egypt, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman
Rope	-	5.600	Ottoman, Italy, Serbia
Salt	3.136	12.800	Turkey
Sesame	245	5.200	Turkey
Soap	127	4.160	Turkey, France
Cotton and wool textiles	-	56.000	The United Kingdom, Italy, Ottoman, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland
Jute	225	16.100	The United Kingdom, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey
Packing cloths	-	16.400	United Kingdom, Germany, Avustria-Hungary, Turkey
Sugar	2.157	35.200	Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany
Tabocco (Stock)	-	2.000	Turkey
Cannabis	225	16.100	The United Kingdom, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, Germany
Tobacco (Stock)	-	2.000	Ottoman
Wine	216	4.400	Turkey, Greece, France.
Wood and timber	5.539	20.000	Norway, Romania, Ottoman
Yarns(jute)	98	3.600	The United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary, Germany
Various Products	-	12.560	

Total 1911	-	463.600	
Total 1910	-	499.620	

Table 13: Tons and Values of Imported Products Made by Kavala Port in 1911 and Their Countries⁷⁹

6. Kavala Harbor in Transit of the Immigrants

Kavala has grown naturally as well as it got its share with the influence of migration in terms of growth. In the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War, some Muslims who were involved in the massacres of the Russians and Bulgarians took the roads. The people were primarily piled up at railway stations. Some people came to Kavala ⁸⁰. These immigrants influenced the expansion of the city. Muslims living in the walled city of Kavala set up new neighborhoods in the eastern part of the village for immigrants. For Muslims who came to town in 1896, the streets located in the northeastern part of the town were distributed to the immigrants with the efforts of the Governor Seyit Bey.¹ This settlement, which had a hundred households, was named Hamidiye Mahallesi ⁸¹.

Kavala Harbor that was commercially important had an important role in the return of the immigrants to Turkey after Ottoman.

The Muslims who had fallen on the roads during the Balkan Wars were trying to get away from the Ottoman territories as soon as possible, by road, rail or sea. Many people who escaped from the various pressures during the Balkan War preferred port cities like Kavala, Thessaloniki, Varna, Alexandroupolis, and Burgas, which were closest to them in order to reach the ships. Many immigrants from the cities mentioned have waited for days in a hungry, thirsty, miserable state in order to be able to cross into Anatolia. Thus, these port towns became centers that exported immigrants and a center for transmitting the immigrants.

Some of those who thought of coming to Anatolia by sea had walked towards Kavala. The roads were not safe at this time, and it was possible to be massacred of the Bulgarians. As a matter of fact, a group of people who escaped from the Bulgarian persecution during the Balkan war came to Kavala. A letter describing the persecution that was sent by a madam living in Kavala to his fat-

⁷⁹ A&P Thessaloniki 1911 Report, pp.37-38.

⁸⁰ H. Yıldırım Aġanoġlu, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makûs Talihi: Göç, İstanbul, 2012, İz Yayıncılık, p.177.

⁸¹ Aġanoġlu, ibid., p.116.

her in Vienna was published in the Vienna newspapers, the persecution of Kavala was described as follows: “The immigrants who came to villages from Kavala, the Bulgarian civil servants, gave them assurance that their lives would be preserved. Despite this, most of the refugees were massacred by Bulgarians”⁸².

Some of the people who could reach the Kavala Harbor were Muslims who migrated from Drama, Nevrekob, and Rapchoz on the Bulgarian invasion. Some Muslims who were able to secure themselves to a safe place were desperate for their Bulgarian brigadier's invasion of Kavala. On the third day of the Bulgarian invasion, most of the immigrants faced starvation. Upon receiving this news, the special steamer of Egyptian Khidivi, El-Mahruse brought 2500 immigrants to Istanbul. Later on, the same steamer moved to Kavala again to transport the other immigrants. Nearly 600 of these immigrants who were brought to Istanbul were transported to Alexandria via the Saidiye steamer of Hidiviye Company. The state reported that they would inform the Egyptian Hidiviye about the way of transport from Kavala to Egypt. Despite this, they moved to Egypt and placed on the farm of Hidiv in Dolmen. Although the number of immigrants in Kavala is not fully known, it can be said that there were not fewer than 20,000⁸³. However, the state tried to refrain from accepting refugees from Western Thrace as much as possible. Because they had hoped that this land would be taken back⁸⁴.

In 1914 a number of Muslims came to Anatolia again through the Kavala Harbor⁸⁵. The Kavala Harbor was also used for the transportation of Muslim gypsies coming from Kavala and Drama. By 1917, the State demanded that Gypsy transportation would be stopped⁸⁶.

As a result of Greece that continued their act of violence during and after World War I. Turks, Turkey' demand of exchange, moved to Lausanne Conference agenda⁸⁷. Due to the exchange issue in Lausanne, on January 30, 1923, a resolution was concluded with the Protocol on the Exchange of Turkish and

⁸² İbid., p.86.

⁸³ Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912-1913)*, Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü (Unpublished Doktoral Thesis), Ankara, 1990, pp.74-78.

⁸⁴ Eren Alkan, “Balkan savaşları ve Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri”, https://www.academia.edu/24752838/Balkan_Sava%C5%9Flar%C4%B1_ve_Rumeli-den_T%C3%BCrk_G%C3%B6%C3%A7leri, 5.7.2018, 19.13, pp.20-24.

⁸⁵ Ağanoglu, *ibid.*, p.102.

⁸⁶ Eren Alkan, *ibid.*, pp.20-24.

⁸⁷ Mustafa Sarı, “Mübadele'de Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti'nin Faaliyetleri: Kocaeli Örneği (Ocak-Haziran 1924)”, <http://www.kocaelitarihsempozyumu.com/bildiriler2/41.pdf> ,, p.481.

Greek Cypriots signed between Turkish and Greek representatives⁸⁸. The movements of refugees in the spring of 1924 were considered, but because of Greek oppression and persecution⁸⁹, transportation had to be withdrawn to winter months.

Muslims who set out from the Greek cities were gathering in port cities. These port cities were Thessaloniki, Kavala, and Hanya. On October 10, 1923, an interim committee was formed in Thessaloniki, Kavala, Hanya, and Candia for the realization of the exchange. People in Drama, Sarışaban and surrounding villagers came to Kavala Harbor. Some of those who wanted to get out of the port towards Anatolia came with their animals. The number of animals they brought was over the calculated number. This sometimes caused difficulties because they could not afford the ferry cost. The difference should be met by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing. In this case, the immigrants from Kavala and Thessaloniki would receive 600 cents instead of 400 cents for each animal if immigrants from Kavala and Thessaloniki did not have the full amount of freight with the sign of Prime Minister İsmet İnönü⁹⁰. So the issue was resolved.

People who came from Kavala sometimes had an epidemic. It was also the case that the passengers were not controlled when they had to be controlled at the Kavala embarkment pier. Five thousand measles and six smallpox cases were found among those coming from the Thessaloniki and Kavala embarkment piers⁹¹. In such cases, the measures were taken against the prevalence of the disease and the danger of spreading to Anatolia

From the beginning of the Exchange until July 1924, 43.981 people were brought from Kavala. Until October of 1924, the part of the human dispatch of the exchange was completed to a great extent. On August 1924, the Ministry of Exchange estimated that 60-65 thousand people waiting to be brought to Turkey

⁸⁸ Özlem Yıldız, "Mübadeleyle Gelen Göçmenler ve Alınan Sağlık Önlemleri", *Uluslararası Mübadele Sempozyumu ve Mübadele'nin 94. Yılı Anma Etkinlikleri Bildirileri*(30 January-01 February 2017), Tekirdağ, 2017, pp.245-260; Yücel Bozdağlı, "Türk- Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Sonuçları", *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 18/3(Special Ed.)(January 2014), p.20; Ömer Budak, "Mübadele Meselesi ve Lozan'da Çözümü", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 26(2010), p.137.

⁸⁹ Kemal Arı, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Yaşanan Göç Olayları ve Sağlık Hizmetleri", *Atatürk Dönemi Sağlık Tarihi Kongresi (1920-1938), Bildiriler (6-9 Kasım 2007/ İzmir)*, Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, İzmir, 2009, p.107.

⁹⁰ Kemal Arı, *İzmir'den Bakışla Türk Ticaret-İ Bahriyesi ve Mübadele Gemileri /Lozan'dan Kabotaja*, Deniz Ticaret Odası İzmir Şubesi Yayınları, İzmir, 2008, pp.86-185.

⁹¹ Arı, *ibid.*, p.86.

from all over Greece. Interim commissions in Kavala, Drama, Kayalar, and Kozana were removed. Transport continued from Thessaloniki Harbor⁹². Thus Kavala's population structure changed.

Conclusion

With the industrial revolution and the widespread use of steamships world trade has become increasingly popular in the 19th century. Kavala was located very close to the island of Thassos between the ports of Thessaloniki and Istanbul and was on the road connecting the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. As a result of tobacco cultivation in Kavala and its hinterland, Kavala has become an important port in foreign trade and became a secondary port city with international trade of steam and sailing ships. Despite the fact that a modern harbor was decided to be built, the city, which did not take place and did not get its way from the railways, was trying to increase its trade with merchandise arriving from the highways and the paths.

When we look at the commercial made from Kavala Harbor; in contrast to other Ottoman Harbor, export numbers were quite high. Despite the fact that only 1911 tobacco exports numbers are available, it is quite pleasant to have 5 times higher imports of the same year.

The most important product that is traded in Kavala was tobacco. Other export products were leather, cotton, wax, fish, soap, olive oil, gaberdine, wool. Tobacco accounted for 98 percent of exports. When we look at import products; it is seen that with increasing trade, people were consuming small luxury goods. Products such as coffee, sugar, textile products, cigarettes, drinks, canvas were purchased from different countries. For the Ottoman market, Germany and England were competing with cotton and wool textiles. France and Denmark were in competition with British goods in metals, Italy, Germany, and France were in competition with British goods in silk.

In 1912, the Ottoman Empire lost its crucial harbor Kavala, which marked its hinterland and tobacco trade. However, the Muslim population in Kavala and Drama were brought to Turkey as a result of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey.

⁹² Ibid., p.258.

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LANDLESS PEASANTS ISSUE AND VILLAGES IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DURING THE PROCESS FROM THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC TO LAW OF PROVIDING LAND TO FARMERS OF 1945

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Abstract

The newly established Turkish state took over social structure which consisted of oppressed community, peasants who were differentiated and became farm labourers and landlords who became wealthy by taking every opportunity from Ottoman Empire. When the twentieth century came, all the institutions that provided social order in the Ottoman Empire either lost their functions or collapsed. It was necessary to reconstruct the social structure that was deteriorated by the dysfunction and collapse of those institutions. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the new Turkish state, believed that the solution to this problem was to start with the villages, where production came to a halt.

In this article, the landless peasants issue and villages in the economic development process during the process from the first years of the republic to law of providing lands to farmers of 1945 are analysed.

Keywords: Village, Peasant, Land, Atatürk, Farmer, development

CUMHURİYETİN İLK YILLARINDAN, 1945 ÇİFTÇİYİ TOPRAKLANDIRMA KANUNU'NA GİDEN SÜREÇTE; TOPRAKSIZ KÖYLÜ SORUNU VE İKTİSADİ KALKINMADA KÖYE YÖNELİŞ

Öz

Yeni kurulun Türk Devleti, Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan, savaşların ağır yükü altında ezilmiş bir halk, farklılaşmış ve ırgatlaşmış bir köylü, her fırsatı değerlendirerek zenginleşmiş ağalardan oluşan bir toplumsal yapıyı

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devralmıştı. XX. Yüzyıla gelindiğinde Osmanlı'da sosyal düzeni sağlayan kurumların tamamı ya işlevini yitirmiş ya da çökmüş durumdaydı. Bu kurumların işlevsizliği ve çöküntüsüyle çözülen toplumsal yapıyı yeniden inşa etmek gerekiyordu. Yeni Türk devletinin kurucusu Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, bu sorunun çözümünün, öncelikle üretimin durma noktasına geldiği köylerden başlamanın gerekliliğine inanıyordu.

Bu makalede, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından 1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu'na giden süreçte topraksız köylü sorunu ve ulusal kalkınmada köye yöneliş ile ilgili olarak tahliller yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Köy, Köylü, Toprak, Atatürk, Çiftçi, Kalkınma

INTRODUCTION

Mustafa Kemal thought that the institutions that organized the social structure had started to be deteriorated as a result of land regulation since XVI century and believed that the land regulation had to be reconstructed. That meant leaning towards villages and peasants. However the villages and the peasants had very important problems such as property, transportation in the first years of the republic. First of all, the issue of property was very important. The peasants did not own the lands that they were cultivating. The owners of the lands were the landlords who became owners with opportunism during the war and poverty years. The peasants were working as farm labourers for those people and besides they were very poor. The Republic of Turkey took over institutions which lost their functions or about to collapse, sunk and indebted economy, education system dominated by bribes, patronage blind followers, a social structure that made the peasants land labourers and the landlords monopolists from the Ottoman Empire. Those were some of the problems that was left from collapsed Ottoman Government to the newly established republic. The nation had to re-surge and at first the independence had to be gained then those acquired institutions had to be either removed or replaced new ones with radical changes.

The independence was gained notably with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the determination and commitment of the Turkish nation. Nevertheless that would not make a sense unless the independence was supported economically, supported production mechanisms in the country, establishing a dynamic social structure. The independence that was gained through great sacrifice had to be crowned with radical changes in economy, social life, culture and industry so that the republic of Turkey would live forever. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the founding management who saw that, started to work towards the

acquisition of economic freedom and increase of productivity. Those works directed them to the peasants who had been ignored for a long time and seen as soldier taxes sources and turned to be farm labourers and the villages where the agricultural development would start. However, most of the lands in the villages was in the hands of those who we could consider as a landlords or gentry, taking the lands of the peasants in the times of war and absence. The peasants did not have any lands. On the contrary, although those landlords and the gentries owned the majority of the arable lands, they did not cultivate the lands.

-The issue of landless peasants and the perspective of the newly established Turkish Republic on the issue;

Since the day the new Turkish state was founded, it has been closely related to the land problem. Although the situation of landless peasants was closely known by the administrators of the period, all works to solve the issue were at local level and they were not for solving the issue in the whole country. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk mentioned the imbalances in land property in the parliamentary opening speeches. But the landlords were always opposed the laws about the issue.

The landlords, especially at the beginning of the Republic period, were influential in the suppression of local rebellions by some powerful tribes. For this reason, the landlords were very influential both in society and in the decisions taken by the state administration. The landlords had the power to prevent all the efforts towards land reform which would make a loss in their interests.

The landlords who battered on the poor peasants were influential both in their regions and in the politics of the country. The landlords opposed any project that would disturb their order, or they removed the acts in the projects that disturbed them. In 1935, in the report of Prime Minister İsmet İnönü after the investigative visit to Black Sea Region and Eastern Region to President Atatürk and Council of Ministers was a summary of the land order in Turkey. İnönü stated in his report as follows:

"...People are poor and shabby; the lands are not yet possessed; the meadows are parcelled out badly; the people are complainant. At present people are at the mercy of the landlords."

As Prime Minister İnönü stated, the people were at the mercy of the landlords in that period¹.

While the peasants who were living dependent on the landlords were becoming poor day by day, the landlords got wealth more. In addition, the landlords made the peasants more dependent on them by taking everything they possessed when they couldnot pay their debts. Every year some of the villagers who were trying to pay their debts which reached the high amounts with the interest were working for peanuts. The legal gaps and the power that the landlords had to influence the political decisions were the biggest obstacles to change this structure. In the Civil Code of 1926, there were provisions about private property and right of succession, there were not explanations about the provisions of the use of dimesne and sale of them. In addition, the provision of “not cultivating the land more than three years” stipulated by 1858 “Land Law” was removed, and the land saving was not mentioned. Heritage provisions were towards dividing of small properties more, while large properties grew through marriages. Especially in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, large property owners, most of whom were tribal leaders, took a considerable amount of lands, taking advantage of the authorities on the rural population and the fact that their cadastral work had not been done. As a result of the rebellions that started from the middle of the 1920s, the government took strict measures against the landowners involved in the rebellion and sent some of the landowners to exile to various regions of the country. Their lands were seized and large amount of them were distributed to the landless peasants. Between 1932 and 1933, 90,000 acres of land were distributed throughout the country, and in 1934, 6 million acres of land were distributed to landless farmers. However, those large property owners in exile made the necessary steps about how and by whom their lands were distributed through relatives. With the law numbered 2510 issued in 1934, the landlords and the sheikhs returning to their homeland succeeded in taking back most of the lands they had followed through their relatives².

The founding members of the newly establish state faced to villages and believed that national economical development would start with the development of the villages. That economical orientation towards villages would help the villages to develop in the social and cultural fields. The biggest indicator was

¹ Yakup Kepenek, Nurhan Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, Remzi Kitabevi, 12.edition, İstanbul, 2001, p.42.

² T.C. Resmi Gazete, Law Number:2510, Enactment date: 14.06.1934, Number 2733, 21 June 1934.

the establishment of the Village Institutes. Under favour of Institutes, the villages would be prosperous, the peasants would become conscious, the modern techniques would be tried so that the peasants and the villages that were going to be the starting point of the national development would have the desired result. In fact agricultural marches about the national development in the villages that were written by Behçet Kemal and composed by Ahmed Adnan Saygun started to be sung.

"We are the foundation of the national existence and roots

We are the real owners of the nation, we are peasants"

Besides, the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü's statement of " We are a villager government established in the middle of the Anatolia and we love peasants" showed the basic policy of the Republic established in Turkey towards villages, there were not real land reforms during their government.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk regarded the situation of the landless peasants as always a matter which had to be considered. However, due to the conditions of the period, he thought that it was not right to say that loudly in order to avoid confronting with the landlords and gentries in the years when the republic was first established. Because landlords, gentries were partially effective in winning the Independence War.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who thought that there were a lot of works to be done in the newly founded Republic, did not want to face agas and the people who had a lot of influence over the society. According to the recollection of Soviet Ambassador Aralov, it is understood that during the years of the War of Independence, Soviet Ambassador Aralov and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk talked about that³. Turkey's first Soviet Ambassador Semyan İvanoviç Aralov gave examples from Soviet Revolution in his country and claimed that the country had to be saved from the sovereignty of the landlords and gentries and the peasants had to have lands. Aralov regarded the peasants, who became stronger through owning lands, as the fortress that would fight the best with imperialism as in his own country. Aralov, thinking that there could be a revolution in Anatolia like in his own country, did not know how effective the local notables were

³ S. İ. Aralov, *Bir Sovyet Diplomatı'nın Türkiye Anıları*, Birey Toplum yay., Ankara-1985, p.,81.

in the Turkish War of Independence, nor could he imagine what the consequences of any practice to be made against them would be in the newly formed republic.

The Soviet ambassador, who saw the peasants as the most important castle to be used to fight against imperialism, shared those views with Mustafa Kemal. The ambassador told that the Turkish peasants were very heavy in their circumstances and lived under the dominance of a certain class. In the memories of Aralov describing the period in Turkey, Mustafa Kemal answered as below⁴;

“ Yes, yes it is right, the duty of the Turkish National Assembly is to save the peasants from heavy taxes and provide them other facilities. But cannot do this now. We would attract the grudge of many classes. They would move away from us and they would prevent us from doing our main duty such as expelling invaders, providing the the independence of the people and the country. After we solve the National case we can consider the peasants”

Mustafa Kemal had the open support of the Soviet Union through the good relations he established with Soviet Ambassador Semyan İvanoviç Aralov and Azerbaijan Soviet Republic Ambassador İbrahim Abilov and he used that as a threaten against the allies without putting the Turkey under Soviet dominance. Commander-in-chief Mustafa Kemal Paşa who could not control the Turkish Army that was preparing for a big attack invited Soviet Russian Ambassador Semyan İvanoviç Aralov and military attache Zvonaryev and Azerbaijan Soviet Republic Ambassador İbrahim Abilov to join him during his inspection visits to fronts and hinterlands. During those inspection visits, Mustafa Kemal who talked about the general issues, shared his experiences with Soviet Ambassador Aralov.

Land Diversity and Land Potential: Agriculture Inventory

The data about land utilization is now provided with General Agricultural Inventory results. In countries such as Turkey that the economy is based on agriculture need detailed, confidential statistics that reflect agricultural potential and the realities of agricultural structure. For this purpose, General Agricultural

⁴ Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*, Tekin yay., İstanbul, 2001, p.,352; See also., Aralov, ibid., pp.,80-83.

Inventory was applied in certain periods. There were totally 7 General Agricultural Inventory in Turkey in 1927, 1950, 1963, 1970, 1980, 1991 and 2001⁵. In this study, the results of the inventory 1927 and 1947 that is the limit of the study and 1950 will be evaluated.

The first agricultural inventory in Republic of Turkey was held in 1927. As a result of this inventory, it was seen that the Turkey had 762.737 square kilometres and the population was 13.648.270⁶. According to 1927 inventory the land distribution was as below;

Land	Decare (1 decare= 1000sqare metres.)	Percentage Share in Total Land
Arable land	213. 500. 000	% 31
Forest	139. 487. 000	% 18
Meadow	269. 409. 000	% 36
Mountain, Stone (Unusable)	102. 234. 000	% 13
Marsh, Lake	13. 629.000	% 1

Table 1 1927 Agricultural Inventory

According to the 1927 Inventory, only 43.637.727 decares of the arable lands were used. This constituted 1/6 of arable lands. The vast majority of the productive lands were not used in Turkey. The most important for that was; "The landlords" who had large amount of lands could not cultivate all the lands they had so they left some uncultivated. However, there were those who could not cultivate because they had no place to plant in their hands, but those who had the power to cultivate.

The landlords, who had lands in large amounts, left part of their lands uncultivated and dragged the country into agricultural deprivation because they could not cultivate the lands in their hands. On the other hand, there was no land to work in the hands of the peasants who would be carry out the agricultural activities. It was a contradiction between the landless peasants and

⁶Hatay, land and population that joined the homeland after the death of Atatürk was not included in this inventory. The area of Hatay is 4383 square kilometres.

those who did not use much land. The most obvious example of this is seen when the figures in Table 1 are examined⁷.

Although the 1927 inventory gave us the necessary information about the distribution of lands on the basis of the use of arable land, the social structure of Turkish Ziraat did not give necessary information about the distribution of land ownership. The statistical information concerning this type of social construction was not explained by the inventory of 1950⁸. In the years of 1940s, the population of Turkey was 18.592.000 and the area was 767.119 square kilometres⁹. The percentage of the peasants living in the villages was 70 in general population. However, the vast majority of people living in cities and in the towns lived off by farming. This share in the general population along with the population in cities were almost %80¹⁰.

Country	The ratio of general population to active agriculture population
Turkey	% 82
Bulgary	% 80.09
Hungary	% 53
Greece	% 53.7
French	% 35.70
Germany	% 28.8
England	% 6.6

Table 2 - Ratio of general population to active agriculture population by country (1940).

⁷ Şevket S. Aydemir, *İkinci Adam(1938-1950)*, Remzi Kitabevi, II. Volume, VII. Edition, İstanbul, 2000, pp. 337-341.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 341.

⁹ İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Nüfusun Mekansal Dağılımında Yaşanan Gelişmeler: (1935-2000)", *ODTÜ MFD*, 2005/1, (22/1), pp. 85-102. See also. Şevket S. Aydemir, *ibid.*, p.341.

¹⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi Toplu Eserler 1*, Gözlem yay., I. dition, İstanbul, 1980, pp., 449; Ayrıca Tablo İçin bkz., Selim Sabit Aykut, *Türkiye'de Ziraat*, Ankara İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, (1940).

When compared with the data of other countries in the rate table, it is seen that Turkey is to what extends depends on agriculture and agricultural country. In those years Turkey had seventy percentage of national income and the ninety three percentage of the export from agricultural products. When considering those numbers, it gave clues that any other works ignoring the development of the peasants would result in failure¹¹.

Operational Area	Families	%	Used Field(hectare)
1 - 20 Decare	773.00 0	30.6	836.000
21 - 50	797.00 0	31.5	2.790.000
51 - 75	336.00 0	13.3	2.097.000
76 - 100	216.00 0	8.6	1.915.000
101 - 150	168.00 0	6.7	2.108.000
151 - 200	92.000	3.6	1.648.000
201 - 300	68.000	2.7	1.712.000
301 - 500	39.000	1.5	1.520.000
501 - 700	17.000	0.7	1.015.000
701 an more	21.000	0.8	3.811.000

Table 3 The distribution of lands among families according to widths (1944).

¹¹Barkan, *ibid.*, pp.449-453; See also., *Türk Çiftçisinin İstihsal ve geçinme Vaziyeti*, Ekonomi Bakanlığı Konjonktür Servisi, No: XI, Ankara, 1938, p.,10.

When the table above is examined; the number of the families having 75 acres lands were about three quarters of all farm families in 1945. This ratio was an indicator that there was not enough land for a large majority of the country's population. That population who had enough lands were living in cities. In Turkey there were families living in the cities but live off farming. The number of families with more than 500 acres of land was 0.8% of the total number of families. This percentage shows that land distribution of land was not fair¹².

Although the village population was crowded in Turkey, Turkish peasants who were depended on agriculture economically did not have their own lands to cultivate. Some people possessed great amounts of lands by taking the advantage of the directionless of Ottoman Empire as a result of the failures in its final stage. But those people did not depend on agriculture, they left large part of the lands uncultivated. As a result, while the production decreased in the economy of the country, foreign dependency was increasing. In addition when the land that was not cultivated for two years, productivity was decreasing. On one side was a farmer who needed land but did not have his own land to work on; on the other side is the landlords who had lands unfairly and left the lands uncultivated¹³...

In some parts there were plenty of lands, in others there were enough lands. Farmers who did not have enough land, were working for landlords, as croppers, farmhands and sharecroppers to earn money to buy the products they needed. The influence of landlords on peasants was great. They were not good to the peasants working for them and they were constantly adding fortunes to their growing wealth. Those landlords were very effective on peasants and the managers of the region. They were opposed to all kinds of decisions that would take away their unfair profits from their hands and they wanted to be the leading players in every decision.

Land Reform Studies;

Before the declaration of the Republic, the Ottoman Empire had wars for about ten years. Moreover, since 1914, the burden of war has increased and since

¹² Şevket S. Aydemir, *ibid.*, pp. 341-345.

¹³ Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*, Tekin yay., İstanbul, 2001, p.489; See also., *Cumhuriyet*, (25 January 1945); see also., Erdal İnce, "1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu ve Türk Siyasal Yaşamına Etkisi" Libra Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2008, pp 85-88.

1918 there has been a period of existence. This process in the last period of Empire affected production negatively. Another loss of the war years was in the field of labor. The young population that produced came to a stopping point as they joined the war. While the population was 14 million in 1914, it was 13.6 million in 1927. A large majority of the young population that went to the fronts did not return. Thus the population of the country decreased. That decrease was particularly evident in the field of agriculture. The village population, which suffered from the loss of labor force, came to be unable to produce even for themselves. The Turkish peasants, who were remembered only during the war times, were even more deprived of that labor loss¹⁴. That impoverishment also manifested itself in the country's economic life. The decrease in the production power of the self-sufficient village population in the country brought the poverty. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who saw the situation of the peasants who worked for landlords gave the promise of the new state government would work for the situation of the landless and poor villagers with his statement "the peasant is the master of the nation" before the establishment of the republic,¹⁵.

The new Turkish state has emphasized the importance of the land issue since its establishment¹⁶. The processing of long-neglected homeland lands; Turkish nation that indigenised the identity of "Turkish" as a homogenous society having an effective role in the development of the country were the desires of the modern, dynamic and entrepreneur administrators of the new Turkey¹⁷

The newly established state did not deliberately bring about the issue of land in 1920s. Because the War of Independence was won by the support of the landlords. For this reason, the new Turkish state, which did not want to take this economically strong sector on, would break through about land reform later. Moreover, in that period, distributing lands to landless would mean a change in the social structure. That was a breakthrough that should not have been done at the beginning of the 1920s¹⁸. The first regulation concerning the distribution of

¹⁴Ahmet Yetim, "İzmir İktisat Kongresi'nin 85. Yılında Türkiye Ekonomisinin Geldiği Nokta", *İzmir Ticaret Odası Ar-ge Bülten 2008 February- Ekonomi*, pp. 18-24.

¹⁵See. 1 March 1922 Mustafa Kemal parliament opening speech; See also. Erdal İnce, " Köylüyü Topraklandırma Kanunu ve Türk Siyasal Yapısının Oluşumu Üzerindeki Etkileri" *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, volume V/15, pp. 59-79.

¹⁶Süleyman İnan, "Toprak Reformunun En Çok Tartışılan Maddesi: 17. Madde", *Journal of Historical Studies*, (2005-3), pp. 45-57.

¹⁷Kemal Arı, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikasını Belirleyen Temel Unsurlar", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Number 23, Volume: VIII, March 1992, pp. 43-45.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.46.

land mentioned in article 25 of the 1925 Annual Budget Act. According to this article; *“the existing national lands will be given to the farmers who need land, in installments in the ten years, and to the amount of the land to be given to each family together with the lands in his hands, not exceeding 200 acres”*¹⁹. This article was added to every budget act until 1934. This article was brought to a permanent position in the same year, Article 56 of the "Increase, Reduction and Procurement Law" No. 2490 adopted on 2 June ²⁰.

President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk gave the order to deal with "important in terms of providing lands to farmers who do not own land" to the government, especially in eastern provinces, during the opening speech of the Grand National Assembly in 1928²¹. As a matter of fact, the Law No. 1505 dated June 8, 1929, entitled "The Law on the Distribution of the Lands in the Eastern Region to the needed people". According to this law, those who were transported from the East to the West could give their lands to the peasants, tribes, nomads and immigrants²². At first, the arrangement that aimed changing the land ownership in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions in order to end the rebellions was adopted at the beginning of the 1930s, with the idea of application to the whole country, considering the increase of agricultural production. In 1930, the idea of distributing some parts of the state lands by deriving the "Land Privy Decree" was not successful. In the paragraph (b) of Article 12 of the "Settlement Law" No. 2510 dated 14 June 1934 that was prepared for the same purpose it is written as follows;

*“landless people or farmers who have lands and who have been from the indigenous people of the area or who have come there to settle in any manner with tribal members from the same territory for a long time will have lands of public treasury through Cabinet Decree”*²³.

Until 1935, land distribution was made according to the Settlement Law. Regional arrangements until 1935 were far away eliminating injustices in land distribution. CHP administrators seeing this added their party programs the article of *“To have enough lands for every Turkish farmer is one of the main goals*

¹⁹ Barkan, *ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

²⁰ Süleyman İnan, *ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

²¹ Kazım Öztürk, *Cumhurbaşkanlarının Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Açış Nutukları*, Baha Matbaası, İstanbul, 1969, p. 204.

²² Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *“Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta”*, İletişim yay., İstanbul, 2006, pp. 120-122. See also., Erdal İnce, *ibid.*, pp. 59-79.

²³ Süleyman İnan, *ibid.*, p.47; See also., Erdal İnce, *ibid.*, p.60.

of our Party". This decisive stance manifested itself in the draft of the "Settlement-Land Law" dated November 12, 1935, prepared by the Ministry of Interior. According to this draft, the government would be able to expropriate more than 2,000 acres of treasury lands, which were not cultivated by the owners, which were less than 2,000 acres and were not cultivated by their owners. The currency code amounts for the expropriated lands was stated to be calculated according to the 1914 tax records. This practice contradicted the requirement in Article 74 of the 1924 Constitution, which was in force, to "pay in advance on the basis of market value at the time of expropriation"²⁴. Ömer Lütfi Barkan who was a professor of economics in the period, noted his thoughts on the draft as follows ;

"This draft law could not be sent to the Assembly as a law draft in order not to cause a stir, it was kept as a secret and it was not announced to the public, it was only in the "narrow periphery" of the Assembly and the Government"²⁵.

The draft prepared by the Ministry of Interior in 1935 was criticized for the incompatibility with the Constitution of 1924 and the criticism that the interested parties of agriculture about technical and expertise was ignored and the study on this issue was taken from this ministry and given to Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Agriculture, which took over the mission, immediately began work on land reform. The Ministry of Agriculture prepared the "Draft Law on Agricultural Reform" in 1937, taking into consideration the criticism of the draft prepared by the Ministry of Interior²⁶. One year before the draft, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in his opening speech of the Turkish Grand National Assembly demanded that the land law should be made as soon as possible and no landless peasants should be left. Atatürk stated his opinions about the issue as follows;

"I expect that the law of the land will reach the conclusion from the Assembly. Every Turkish farmer must have lands to work and maintain his family"²⁷

The most intense criticism of the draft that the Ministry of the Interior had prepared was that it did not comply with Article 74 of the 1924 Constitution. It

²⁴ Suna Kili, A.Şeref Gözübüyük, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri*, Türkiye İş Bankası yay., 3.edition, p.204.

²⁵ Barkan, *ibid.*, p. 456; See also., (Adnan Menderes in his speech in Parliament on 16 May 1945 gives information about the proposed law), TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Term 7, Combination 55, session 1, volume.17, pp.115-116.

²⁶ Barkan, *ibid.*, p.456.

²⁷ Kazım Öztürk, *ibid*, p.250.

was decided to amend Article 74 of the Constitution in the opinion that the Ministry of Agriculture had the same problem in the draft. On February 5, the necessary amendment was made by adding the paragraph 1937, Article 74,

*"The expropriation of land and forests to be farmed and to expropriate forests is indicated by special laws"*²⁸.

In 1938, "Draft Law on Agricultural Rehabilitation" that was prepared the Ministry of Agriculture that was commissioned to prepare the farming law plan, was restructured. Although this law was evaluated in parliamentary commissions and other ministries, the beginning of the 2. World War caused all the works stopped. The administrators of the period were of the opinion that a radical change in the land issue could have a major impact on agricultural production and social building in a battle environment. However, even as the Second World War continued, the land issue was always on their minds. İsmet İnönü, in his opening speeches of 1941 and 1943 stated that the land issue would be solved by a law to be presented to the parliament. The government gave full authority to Agriculture Minister Raşit Hatipoğlu on the solution of the land problem. During the war, Hatipoğlu made necessary studies together with the related sub-units and proposed a law called "Provision of Law". That law draft was brought to the agenda of the parliamentary when the war was over.

Conclusion;

The issue of landless peasants continued its existence as a serious problem to be solved in every period of the Republic. Starting from the years when the Republic was first established, it has been added to the agenda in various times and places, but no steps have been taken to overcome the problem.

Land has been an important commercial value in every period of Ottoman Empire and from the establishment of the Republic to today. The land was the main element of the establishing a development unity, economic and social existence of the Turkish Republic that was trying to eliminate the bad heritage of the Ottoman Empire and keep the ignorant societ alive, functionalize the institutions. This element is very important for the continuity of existence for unindustrialized or newly established states. If a state has fertile soil and is able to use it,

²⁸ Suna Kili, A.Şeref Gözübüyük, *ibid.*, p.125.

it means that it can meet its basic needs at minimum level. This is an indicator that it can keep his existence to a minimum.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, agriculture had an important place in the pursuit of national development. It required the efficient planting and use of lands so that agricultural activities could provide national development. It can be seen in the agricultural inventory carried out in 1927 is to the point when the population of the country is taken into consideration. When Table 1 is examined, the arable and the land that could be converted into direct economic activity constituted 67 percentage of the national lands. This was the capacity to look at the population of 13,648,270 as of 1927.

The most noteworthy feature here is that 1/6 of the the arable land was used. According to the same table, there were 213. 500. 000 acres arable lands. 43.637.727 acres of this land was cultivated. In other words 5/6 of the fertile land that would be at the point of agricultural welfare were uncultivated. This was an unbelievable contradiction. The main reason for this is that, as we have mentioned above, in the years of war and deprivation, landlords who were opportunists. These people were not able to use the lands they possessed. The landless peasants on one side and landowners who had great amounts of lands. The real contradiction was the national development expect of Turkish Republic despite the productive inequality of those two groups.

This issue has always been on the agenda since the first years of the Republic. It has been discussed many times. However, the result is a national ideal that has not been achieved and can not be realized. Until the year 1945, many attempts were made to work on this national ideal, but no results were obtained. When it came to 1945, for the first time, the issue of landless peasants was seriously taken into consideration, the previous researches and statistical information were evaluated and the draft law including the Provision of Land and farmer's Society, including the development of villages and peasants, was prepared.

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Kitap Tanıtımı

Book Review

Temel İskit, Diplomasinin Gücü, Modern Ortadoğu'nun Şekillenmesi, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., İstanbul, 2017.

Resul Yavuz*

Ortadoğu'da, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra, emperyal güçlerin müdahalesiyle sınırları masa başında çizilmiş devletlerin ortaya çıkmasının, uzun ve çetin pazarlıklarla dolu sancılı bir sürecin neticesinde gerçekleştiğinin bir göstergesidir. Bu süreç, hiç de sağlıklı olmayan bir devinimle gelişimini doğal yollarla tamamlamadığından, bugüne kadar gelen bir periyotta bölgeye bir türlü huzur ve barışın hâkim olamamasına da neden olmuştur.

Bir diplomat olan ve uzun yıllar gerek Avrupa'da ve gerekse Ortadoğu'da büyükelçilik görevinde bulunan Temel İskit, dört bölümden oluşan "Diplomasinin Gücü, Modern Ortadoğu'nun Şekillenmesi" adlı eserini kaleme almıştır. Bu eserinde; Birinci Dünya Savaşı öncesinden, Osmanlı Devleti'nin egemenliğindeki Ortadoğu'da meydana gelen milliyetçi kıpırdanmaların emperyal güçlerin müdahalesiyle Dünya Savaşı sırası ve sonrasında Modern Ortadoğu ortaya çıkarılırken diplomasi bu işin neresindeydi, sorusuyla esas olarak detaylı bir perspektifle okuyucuyu gelişmelerin içine çekmektedir.

"Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde Ortadoğu" başlıklı birinci bölümde İskit; Osmanlı egemenliğindeki Arap vilayetlerinin durumunu ele alarak, daha ziyade buralardaki milliyetçi kıpırdanmaların kısa bir tarihsel gelişimine göz atıp, gizli Arap örgütlerinin faaliyetlerine ve bunlara karşı Osmanlı istihbaratının mücadelesinin hangi kıstaslar esas alınarak gerçekleştirildiğini gözler önüne

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sermektedir. Bu yönüyle 1913 yılında Paris'te gerçekleştirilen ilk Arap Kongresi'nde alınan kararların uygulama aşamasında Osmanlı Hükümetinin, nasıl bir dizi tedbirlerle bu kararları etkisiz kılmaya çalıştığı irdelenmektedir. Ayrıca bu bölümün altında "Ortadoğu'da Yeni Bir Güç" başlığı ile Yahudi Milliyetçiliğinin doğuşuna da değinilerek başta Teoder Herz olmak üzere Yahudi liderlerin, gerek Osmanlı Hükümeti ile gerekse İngiltere ile, Yahudilere bir yurt sağlama noktasında nasıl diplomatik müzakereler gerçekleştirildiği de okuyucuya sunulmaktadır. Böylelikle Siyonizm'in doğuşunu konu alan İskit, Siyonizm'e Osmanlı Hükümet ve camiasının bakışını da okuyucunun ilgisine sunarak, buradan net bir çıkarım yapılmasına olanak sağlamaktadır. Özellikle Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Amerikan ve İngiliz kamuoyunun Siyonist davasına neden ilgi duyduğu sorusuna cevap arayan İskit, tarihsel gelişmelerin ışığında İngiltere ve Fransa'nın hemen hemen aynı tarihlerde ortaya çıkan Arap ve Yahudi Milliyetçi hareketlenmelerine bakış açısını da ortaya koymaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu yönüyle yazar, eserinin satır aralarında, savaş öncesinde Ortadoğu'nun piminin yavaş yavaş çekilmeye hazır bir bomba görünümü kazandığı yorumunu çıkarmaya, okuyucuyu sevk etmektedir. Şerif Hüseyin ve oğullarının isyanından şüphelenen, dönemin Osmanlı Hükümet yetkililerinin bu kişileri, bölgedeki Arap aşiret reislerine karşı nasıl koruduğuna, İstanbul'da nasıl tuttuğuna, her türlü hareketlerini nasıl izlemeye aldığı konusuna ayrıca değinen İskit, 1914 yılına geldiğinde, dönemin İttihatçı Hükümetinin yine de Şerif Hüseyin'in İngilizlerle temasına mani olamadığına da değinmektedir.

"Büyük Savaş Başlıyor" başlıklı ikinci bölümde İskit; Osmanlı Devleti'nin savaşa girmesi ile birlikte Ortadoğu'da Müslüman tebaasına cihat çağrısı yapmasının Almanlar ve İngilizler üzerindeki etkilerine değinerek, cihat ile birlikte Oppenheim başta olmak üzere Alman casusların, cihadı etkili kılmak için sarf ettikleri mücadeleyi analiz etmektedir. Bu başlık altında İskit; özellikle Oppenheim ve Curt Prüfer gibi Alman casusların Berlin'de oluşturulan Panislamist propaganda merkezinin hedefleri doğrultusunda nasıl bir strateji ile çalışmalarda bulduklarına dair ciddi değerlendirmeler yaparken, esasında İngiliz propaganda merkezinin bu tür faaliyetlere karşı aldığı önlemler üzerinde de çeşitli yorumlarda bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca İskit, yine bu bölüm altında, Osmanlı Devleti'nin paylaşımı ile ilgili olarak Londra'da oluşturulan "Bunsen Komitesi"nin alternatifli dört planına değinerek, bu planlar içerisinde Ortadoğu'nun paylaşılması noktasında nasıl harekete geçildiği, Mark Sykes ile nasıl bağlantı kurularak ne tür hedeflere ulaşılacak istendiği irdelenmektedir.

İskit eserinde; Kanal Harekâtı, Çanakkale Savaşı, Basra'nın kaybı, Kut Savaşı ve sonuçlarının Ortadoğu'daki İngiliz yayılmacılığı üzerindeki tesirlerini ele aldığı bu bölümde, savaşın Batı Cephesinde kilitlenmesi ile birlikte, İngiliz Savaş Kabinesinin Ortadoğu'daki casusları ve siyasi subayları vasıtası ile nasıl bir arayış içerisinde olduğu konusu üzerinde geniş bir yer ayırmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda Kahire'de bulunan siyasi temsilci Mac Mahon'un Şerif Hüseyin ile savaşın daha ilk yılı dolmadan başlayan mektuplaşması sürecine değinilerek, mektupların içerikleri hakkında analizler yapılmaktadır. Bu mektuplaşmalarda muhtemel bir Arap İsyanı'na İngiliz Hükümetinin bakış açısı ile savaşın ilerleyen aşamalarında bu bakışın nasıl değiştiği, hangi kriterlerin ve stratejik unsurların bu süreci etkilediği üzerinde de durulmaktadır. Özellikle bu aşamada Hindistan Genel Valisi Hardinge'nin, neden bu mektuplaşmaya karşı çıktığı, valinin hangi çekinceleri bulunduğu da irdelenmektedir. Ayrıca Şerif Hüseyin'in talep ve kaygıları da ele alınarak, neticede birçok vaatler içeren mektuplaşmanın Arapları bir isyanın eşiğine nasıl getirdiği masaya yatırılmaktadır. İskit, mektup diplomasisine değinirken, iki tarafın da birbirlerine karşı nasıl bir tuzak kurmaya çalıştıklarına da ayrıca değinmektedir. İskit, bu bölüme son noktayı koymadan evvel mektup diplomasinin sonucuyla gelen Şerif Hüseyin-İngiliz Antlaşması ile ilgili şu değerlendirmeyi yapmaktadır:

"Bu antlaşmanın hukuki bağlayıcılığı olmamakla beraber, tarafları belirli bir taahhüde sokan bir niyet beyanını ifade ediyor. Öncelikle İngiltere gibi bir devlet açısından, bu beyanla verdiği sözleri sonradan unutmaması hukuki netice doğurmasa da güvenilirliğine önemli darbe vuruyor. İngiltere'nin tarihe mal olmuş "Hain İngiltere" (Perfide Albion) imajına bir örnek sayılıyor. Sonuçta niyet beyanı seviyesinde olsa da bu antlaşma savaşın cereyanını ve savaş sonrasında Ortadoğu'yu şekillendirme müzakerelerini önemli ölçüde etkileyecek, Suriye, Lübnan, Filistin sınırları ve İngiltere'nin Mezopotamya'daki rolü konusunda içerdiği belirsizlikler nedeniyle, gelecekte pek çok ihtilaf ve çatışmanın kaynağı olacaktır."

"Büyük Paylaşma" adı altında ilk olarak etkileri hala günümüze kadar devam eden Sykes-Picot Antlaşması'nın hazırlanış şekline değinen İskit, bu antlaşmanın imzalanma sürecinde tarafların hangi argüman ve unsurlarla, stratejik olarak neleri hedeflediği üzerine derin bir analiz yapmaktadır. Öyle ki antlaşmanın bölgede, Fransız ve İngiliz hegemonyasına sağladığı açık kapının daha önce Şerif Hüseyin-Mac Mahon mektuplaşmalarında ortaya konan vaatlere olan tezatlığına değinilerek, antlaşmanın bir Arap isyanı hazırlığında olan Şerif Hüseyin ve taraftarlarının üzerinde yarattığı şok ve etkiler değerlendirilmektedir.

İngilizlerin Ortadoğu topraklarında Sykes-Picot Antlaşması ile Fransızlara, Mac Mahon-Şerif Hüseyin mektuplaşmaları ile Araplara verdiği sözlerin yanında, savaşın sonuna doğru, Avrupa'da Siyonist lobilerle giriştiği diplomatik müzakerelerle Yahudi toplumuna verdiği vaatlerin hangi gerekçe ve amaçla dile getirildiği üzerinde de ayrıca durulmaktadır. İskit bu bölümde; İngilizlerin, tamamen savaşı kazanmaya odaklandığı bu dönemde, farklı taraflara verdiği vaatleri savaş sonrasına olacak muhtemel etkilerini de bu bölümde ayrıca bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutmuştur. İskit ayrıca, İngiliz Hükümetinin savaşın sonuna doğru esasında Fransızlara verdiği sözlerden büyük rahatsızlık duymaya başladığına, bunun da Londra'daki etkili çevrelerde Sykes-Picot Antlaşması'nın revize edilmesi gerektiğine inanan güçlü bir kesimin, paylaşım politikaları üzerinde etkili olmaya başladığına dikkat çekmektedir. Bu bölüm altında eserinde, Arap İsyanı'na geniş bir yer veren İskit, isyanın hazırlanış ve gelişim safhaları üzerinde çarpıcı analizlerde bulunurken, isyanda İngiliz istihbarat servislerinin olası etkilerine de değinmeyi isyanın başarıya ulaşması açısından önemli görmektedir. Arap İsyanı'nın gelişim ve yayılma aşamalarında Türk tarafının, başta Cemal Paşa olmak üzere, reaksiyonuna da değinmeyi ihmal etmeyen İskit, özellikle bu noktada, Şam'da, Medine ve Taif'te Türk birliklerinin mücadelelerinin yanı sıra diplomatik kanallarla Şerif Hüseyin ve oğullarının kendilerine yönelik "Bir İngiliz aldatmasından" haberdar edilmeleri girişimlerine de ayrıca değinmektedir.

Savaşın bütün gücüyle devam ettiği sıralarda Osmanlı Devleti'ni savaş dışı bırakmak amacıyla birçok gizli diplomasi trafiği yürütülmüştü. Bu konu ile ilgili olarak İskit eserinde bu noktaya da değinerek, Fitmaurice, Marmaduke, J.R. Pilling ve ABD eski Büyükelçisi Henry Morgenthau'nun arabulucu olma rolü ile temasları hakkında doyurucu ve net bilgi ile bu temasların neticelenmemesi üzerinde de ayrıca durmaktadır.

Osmanlı Devleti için Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda çöküşün Kudüs'ün elden çıkması ve hemen arkasından Şam'ın düşüşü ile başladığını, bir aşamada bu bölgedeki Osmanlı Ordularının genel çekilişine de değinilen eserde İskit, "Bir Diplomatik Kurnazlık" başlığı altında Mondros Ateşkes Antlaşması'na giden süreci ve Mondros Müzakereleri sırasında yürütülen diplomatik girişimlere de değinmektedir.

Şüphe yok ki bugünkü Ortadoğu coğrafyasının şekillenmesinde tartışmasız en önde gelen Paris Barış Konferansı, savaştan sonra yeni bir dünya düzeninin güce değil, hukuksal eşitlik ve ulusların kendi kaderini belirleme ilkesine bağlı olması için toplanmış, görüşmeler altı ay sürmüş ve görüşmelere yaklaşık

32 devlet katılmıştır. Eserinin dördüncü bölümünde “Paris Barış Konferansı” başlığı altında bu konferansı ve konferansın etrafında dönen paylaşım politikalarını esas alan bir çizgide değerlendiren İskit, özellikle Ortadoğu’daki paylaşım müzakerelerinde İngilizlerin Fransız, Arap ve Siyonistlerle olan gizli ve aileni temaslarına odaklanmaktadır. Bu noktada Arapların kendilerine savaş sırasında verilen sözlerin tutulması için yoğun bir diplomasi trafiğine geçtikleri aşamada İngilizlerin onlarla birlikte daha kimlere de söz verdiklerini fark ettiklerinde, Şerif Hüseyin ve oğulları başta olmak üzere, diğer Arap kabile reislerinin nasıl bir hayal kırıklığı ve hüsrana uğradıkları, konunun aslında genel muhtevasını oluşturmaktadır. Faysal’ın, barış konferansı başta olmak üzere, Paris ve Londra’ya yaptığı diplomatik gezilerde dile getirdiği savaş sırasında verilen sözlerin tutulması esası temelde gittikçe artan bir korkuya dayanıyordu. İngiltere, Fransa ile imzaladığı Sykes-Picot Antlaşması’nda değişikliğe giderek, Fransızların Suriye’de daha fazla söz sahibi olmalarına imkân veriyordu. Bu durum Araplar için kabul edilemeyecek bir durumdu. İskit, Araplarda öfke ile birlikte büyük bir hayal kırıklığına neden olan bu değişikliğin Suriye ve Irak üzerindeki etkilerine değinerek, “her şeye rağmen” Arapların bu değişikliğe karşı koymak için savaşmayı bile göze almalarının etkileri ve sonuçları üzerinde durmaktadır.

ABD’nin kendi isteği ile paylaşım politikalarında dışarıda kalmayı tercih etmesi, Ortadoğu’nun paylaşımında Fransa ve İngiltere’nin danışıklı bir dövüş ile birlikte hareket etmelerine neden olmuştu. Sykes-Picot Antlaşması’nda yapılan değişiklikle Fransa’nın Suriye’ye girmesi, Mart 1920’de Suriye Kongresi’nin aldığı kararları tanımayarak, Maysalon Savaşı ile Faysal’ı Şam’dan kovması, Ortadoğu’da kısa vadede dengelerin yeniden değişmesine sebebiyet vermişti. İngiltere Şerif Hüseyin ve oğullarının kendi başlarına davranmalarını önlemekle birlikte, bu güç unsurlarının da ortada kalmasına, özellikle Filistin ve Irak üzerindeki çıkarlarından dolayı gönlü razı gelmiyordu. Her ne kadar Nisan 1920’deki San Remo Konferansı’nda Şerif Hüseyin’in oğullarının Irak ve Suriye üzerindeki krallıkları tanınmamakla birlikte, İngiltere bu sorunun daha fazla uzamaması için Mart 1921’de Kahire’de bir konferansın organize edilmesine karar vermişti. İskit eserinde; konferansın hazırlanma şekli, amacı ve hazırlayan İngiliz istihbarat temsilcilerinin ve sivil yöneticilerinin bölgeye kendi direktifleri doğrultusundaki yapay sınırlarla yapay devletçikleri oluşturma aşamalarını gözler önüne sermektedir. Özellikle konferansta Faysal’ın Irak Kralı olma süreci, kardeşi Abdullah’ın oluşturulan yeni sınırlarla Trans-Ürdün Devleti’ne kral olarak getirilmesi aşamaları üzerinde analiz ve tespitlerde bulunmaktadır. Bu noktada Filistin’de yaşanan gelişmelere de değinilirken, 1920 yılından itibaren,

bařta Suriye olmak zere, Irak ve Filistin’de meydana gelen isyan hareketlerinin sebep ve sreci de irdelenmektedir. İskit eserinde son olarak; řerif Hseyin’in 1924’te tahtan ođlu Ali lehine feragat etmesi ile İbn-i Suud ailesinin Hicaz’a kral olma mcadelesine deđinerek, řerif Hseyin’in akıbeti ile bugnk Suudi Arabistan’ın dođuř ařamasına eđilmektedir.

Emekli Bykeli Temel İskit’in kaleme aldđđ ve Birinci Dnya Savařından sonra kısa bir panorama ile Modern Ortadođu’nun nasıl řekillendiđine odaklanan bu eseri, her ne kadar yararlanılan kaynaklar dipnot kısmında gsterilmese de, bu alanda alıřan gerek akademisyen ve gerekse serbest okuyucuların olduka faydalanabileceđi bir eser olarak karřımıza çıkmaktadır.

Tarih ve GÜNce

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Kitap Tanıtımı

Book Review

**Hüner Tuncer, Atatürkçü Dış Politika, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011,
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Murat KAYA*

Hüner Tuncer, Atatürkçü Dış Politika adlı eserinde Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarındaki Türk dış politikasını ana hatları ile ele almaktadır. Kitabın kapağında Atatürk'ün İsveç veliahdı Güstrav Adolf'la 3 Ekim 1934 tarihinde yapmış olduğu görüşmeden bir fotoğraf bulunmaktadır. Kitap; önsöz, giriş, 14 ana başlık, genel değerlendirme, fotoğraflar, kaynakça ve yazarın özgeçmişinden oluşmaktadır. Yazar, kitabını "O'na bağlı olan ve O'nun izinde yürüyen Atatürkçü halkımıza..." sözleriyle Türk milletine ithaf etmiştir.

Kitabın önsözü (11-14) Atatürkçü dış politikanın temel niteliğini gözler önüne seren bir ifade ile başlamaktadır; "Onurlu bir dış politika! Atatürk'ün saptadığı ve uyguladığı bir dış politika...". Yazar, Osmanlı Devleti'nden miras kalan hasta adam anlayışına karşı, Türk dış politikasını "sağlıklı" bir politika olarak tanımlamaktadır. Önsözünde kitabı yazma amacını açık bir şekilde ifade etmektedir. Atatürk döneminin dış politikasını kaleme alırken, Atatürk'e duyduğu sevgi ve minnetten güç aldığını belirtmektedir. Önsözün sonu, Atatürk'e duyduğu sevginin büyüklüğünü gösterir niteliktedir. Atatürk'ün adının Türk ulusunun belleğinden ve yüreğinden asla silinmeyeceğini belirtmiştir.

Kitabın "Giriş" bölümü (15-20) çalışmanın genel bir özeti niteliğindedir. Bu bölümde yazar ileride detaylı olarak anlatacağı Türk dış politikasının kırılma noktalarından ana hatları ile bahsetmiştir. Türk dış politikasının omurgasını Mebusan Meclisi tarafından onaylanan Misak-ı Milli kararları oluşturmaktadır.

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Cumhuriyetin erken döneminde Türk dış politikası Misak-ı Milli’de belirtilen ilkeler üzerine kurulmuştur. Giriş bölümünde Lozan’ın öneminden özellikle bahsedilmektedir. Lozan Antlaşması’nın bugüne değin yürürlükte kalmasının önemi vurgulanmaktadır.

“Atatürkçü Dış Politikanın İlkeleri” başlıklı bölüm (21-34) Atatürk’ün dış politika anlayışının “onurlu” bir politika olduğunun belirtilmesiyle başlamaktadır. Mustafa Kemal Paşa’nın asker adamı ve devlet adamı kimliklerinin yanı sıra diplomat kimliğine de sahip olduğu belirtilmektedir. Lozan görüşmeleri sırasında Mustafa Kemal Paşa, görüşmelere bizzat katılmamış olsa da, görüşmeleri dakikası dakikasına takip ederek antlaşmanın şekillenmesinde başat bir aktör olmuştur. Yazar, Atatürk’ün dış politika görüşünü 3 unsurla özetlemektedir; Tam bağımsızlık, Ulus egemenliği, Kökten çağdaşlaşma. Atatürkçü dış politikanın ilkelerini ise şu şekilde sıralamaktadır; gerçekçilik, taktikte ustalık, diyaloga açık olmak, dünü bugünü ve yarını başarılı kavrayış, güvenilirlik, tam bağımsızlık, barışçı dış politika, güvenlik politikası ve ittifaklar sistemi, aktif bir dış politika, ulusalcılık-insaniyetçilik, çağdaşlık, akılcılık, eşitlik ve sömürgeciliğe karşıtlık. Bütün bu ilkeler doğrultusunda inşa edilen Türk dış politikası sayesinde batının “hasta adam” olarak gördüğü bir coğrafyada “sağlıklı” bir dış politika doğmuştur.

“Savaş ve Diplomasi Yan Yana (1920-1922)” başlıklı bölümde (35-66) Kurtuluş Savaşının diplomatik cephesi incelenmiştir. Türkiye ve Sovyetler arasındaki yakınlaşmanın her iki ülkenin batılı devletlerin tehdidi altında olmasından kaynaklandığı belirtilmektedir. Sovyetler ile kurulan ilişkilerde Atatürk’ün Türk milletinin çıkarlarını her zaman ön planda tuttuğu vurgulanmaktadır. Londra Konferansı sırasında Bekir Sami Bey’in bazı konularda taviz vermeye yatkın davranması üzerine, Mustafa Kemal Paşa onun yerine Yusuf Kemal Bey’i getirmiştir. Yapılan bu görev değişikliği yazar tarafından “akılcılık” ve “gerçekçiliğin” sonucu olarak görülmektedir. Kitapta, İtalya ve Fransa ile olan ilişkiler ana hatları ile incelendikten sonra Mudanya Ateşkes Antlaşması’nın önemine değinilmektedir. Mudanya Ateşkes Antlaşması Türk diplomasisinin büyük kazanımı, İngiliz diplomasisinin ise çöküşü olmuştur. Antlaşma imzalandıktan sonra Lloyd George başbakanlık görevinden istifa etmiştir.

“Lozan Diplomasisi (1923)” başlıklı bölüm (67-80) Birinci Dünya Savaşı’ndan yenik çıkan bir ülkenin, nihai barışını beş yıl sonra yapmış olmasının önemi vurgulanarak başlamaktadır. Yazar, Cumhuriyet diplomasisinin ilk defa Lozan’da uluslararası arenada gözleri önüne serildiğini vurgulamıştır. Ancak

onun yaptığı “Cumhuriyet diplomasisi” tanımı Lozan görüşmeleri için doğru bir değerlendirme değildir. Çünkü Lozan görüşmelerinin yapıldığı dönemde henüz Cumhuriyet ilan edilmemiştir. Lozan’da yaşanan tartışmalar anlatılırken, tartışma yaratan maddelerin Sevr’de ne olduğu yazar tarafından hatırlatılmaktadır. Bu durum okuyucuların Lozan’ın önemini daha iyi kavramalarına neden olmaktadır. Azınlıklar konusu üzerinde durulurken, Türkiye’nin bu konudaki kırmızı çizgisi net bir şekilde çizilmiştir. Türkiye, ülkesi içinde yaşayan Müslümanların azınlık olarak adlandırılmayacağını her zaman dile getirmiş ve bunu Avrupalı devletlere kabul ettirmiştir.

“Lozan’da Çözüme Kavuşturulan ve Kavuşturulamayan Sorunlar” başlıklı bölümde (81-93) Lozan görüşmelerinin uzun sürmesinin nedenleri sorgulanmaktadır. Yazara göre görüşmelerin uzun sürmesinin en temel nedeni, Türkiye’nin Lozan’da kırmızı çizgilerinden asla taviz vermeyen tutumuydu. Lozan’da her ülkenin önem verdiği farklı bir konu bulunuyordu. İngiltere, Musul ve Boğazlar konularına; Fransa Osmanlı borçları ve kapitülasyonlar konularına; İtalya ise kapitülasyonlar, adalar ve kabotaj konularına büyük önem vermektedir. Her ülke kendi önem verdiği konuda taviz vermeme stratejisini izliyordu. Türkiye ise, kırmızı çizgilerini bir bütün olarak koruyup, diğer ülkeler arasındaki olası anlaşmazlıkları kullanma stratejisini izledi. Türkiye; Batı Trakya, Musul ve İstanbul’un askersizleştirilmesi konularında bazı tavizler vermiştir. Bu tavizler barışa bir an önce duyulan arzudan kaynaklanıyordu. Söz konusu meselelerin sulh ortamında çözülebileceği düşüncesi hâkimdi. Lozan’da Yunanistan ve Irak sınırı gibi konuların neden ilgili ülkeler arasında çözülmediği yazar tarafından açıklanmaktadır. Türkiye’nin bu ülkeler ile yapacağı antlaşmaların kalıcı olması beklenmiyordu. Bu yüzden tartışmalı konular uluslararası bir ortamda çözüme kavuşturulmak isteniyordu.

“Lozan Ertesinde Türk Dış Politikası (1923-1930) başlıklı bölümde (94-117) bazı yazım yanlışları bulunmaktadır. Bu hatalar yayınevlerinin editörlük konusunda daha dikkatli olması gerektiğini göstermektedir. Bu bölüm Türkiye’nin stratejik öneminin vurgulanması ile başlamaktadır. Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinin 1930 yılından sonra oldukça iyi bir hale geldiği vurgulanmaktadır. 10 yıl önce yaşanan iki ülkenin kalıcı bir barışa kavuşması, Atatürk ve Venizelos’un yoğun çabalarına bağlanmaktadır. Türk İngiliz ilişkileri ile ilgili cumhuriyetin erken döneminde en temel mesele Musul sorunuydu. Bu konunun çözümü Türkiye’nin istediği gibi gerçekleşmemiştir. Musul sorununun aleyhimizde sonuçlanmasının nedenleri yazar tarafından irdelenmektedir.

Ortadoğu ülkeleri ile Türkiye'nin ilişkileri "Atatürk Türkiye'sinin Ortadoğu Devletleriyle İlişkileri" başlıklı bölümde incelenmiştir. Türk-Afgan, Türk-İran ve Türk-Arap ilişkileri ayrı ayrı ele alınmıştır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kurulduktan kısa bir süre sonra Ortadoğu ülkeleriyle arasındaki çeşitli sorunları aşarak, yapıcı bir işbirliği ortamının oluşmasını sağlamıştır.

Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyeti'ne üye olma süreci "1930'larda Türk Dış Politikası" başlıklı bölümde (124-128)" incelenmektedir. Bu bölümde Atatürk'ün "yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh için çalışıyoruz" sözüne açıklık getirilmektedir. Atatürk'ün barış anlayışının pasif, hareketsiz sessiz bir tutum olmadığı vurgulanmaktadır. Milletler Cemiyeti'ne üyelik sürecinin kısa ve öz bir şekilde üzerinde durulmuştur. Üyelik sürecinde Türkiye'nin üyelik başvurusu yapmayıp, üyelik daveti ile Milletler Cemiyeti'ne girmesinin önemi açıklanmaktadır.

1930'lu yıllarda Türkiye'nin diğer devletlerle ikili ilişkileri "Türkiye'nin İkili İlişkileri (1930-1938)" başlıklı bölümde (129-143) ele alınmıştır. SSCB, Fransa, İtalya, Almanya ve İngiltere ile olan ilişkiler ayrı başlıklar altında incelenmiştir. Bu bölümde İtalya ile olan ilişkilerin titizlikle üzerinde durulmuştur. Türkiye Balkanlarda bir birlik oluşturmak için çaba gösterirken, İtalya bu birliğin oluşmaması için elinden gelen bütün çabayı gösteriyordu. Bu gelişmelerden dolayı Atatürk Mussolini'ye asla güvenmiyordu. Yazar, bu konu hakkında son derece ilginç bir bilgi vermektedir. Atatürk'ün Mussolini'yi "soytarı" olarak gördüğünü söylemektedir. Atatürk ,Recep Peker'e tam olarak "İtalyan halkının bir gün bu soytarıyı bacaklarından Roma sokaklarında sürükleyeceğini" söylemiştir. Mussolini'nin idam edilme şekli, Atatürk'ün ileri görüşlülüğünün kanıtlandırındandır. 19 Mart 1934 tarihinde Mussoli'nin yapmış olduğu bir açıklama Türk-İtalyan ilişkilerinin ince bir ipliğe bağlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Mussolini açık bir dille Asya ve Afrika'daki hedeflerinden bahsetmiştir. Her ne kadar Türkiye'nin hedefinde olmadığını söylese de, genç cumhuriyet diplomasisi İtalyan tehlikesinin farkına varmış durumdaydı.

Balkan ülkeleri ile Türkiye'nin ilişkileri ayrı bir başlıkta ele alınmıştır. "Balkan Devletleriyle İkili İlişkiler (1930-1938)" başlıklı bölümde (144-148) Yunanistan, Romanya, Yugoslavya ve Bulgaristan ile olan ilişkiler ayrı başlıklarda ele alınmıştır. Türk-Bulgar ilişkileri incelenirken Türkiye'nin nasıl aktif bir dış politika izlediği somut bir örnekle açıklanmaktadır. Yunanistan ve Bulgaristan arasındaki sorunlarda Türkiye arabulucu olmak için faaliyet göstermiş, bizzat İsmet İnönü ve Tevfik Rüştü Aras'ın içinde bulunduğu heyet Bulgaristan'ı ziyaret etmiştir.

1930'lu yıllarda izlenen Türk dış politikasının iki önemli sonucu bulunmaktadır. Bu sonuçlar "Balkan ve Sâdâbad Paktları" başlıklı bölümde (149-157) incelenmiştir. Balkan Pakti'nin oluşum süreci anlatıldıktan sonra bu paktın Avrupa'daki ilk bölgesel ortak güvenlik ittifakı olduğu dile getirilmiştir. Ayrıca paktın oluşumu sürecinde İtalya'nın tutumuna ilişkin detaylı bilgiler verilmektedir. Ancak İkinci Dünya Savaşı ortamında pakt çok fazla başarılı olamamıştır. Yazar, bu noktada tarihi referans alarak bir varsayımda bulunmuştur; "Eğer Balkan Pakti, Atatürk'ün hedeflemiş olduğu gibi güçlü bir örgüt olmuş olsaydı, bir yandan, Avrupa'da oluşmakta olan bloklar arasında bir denge ögesi olabilecek; öte yandan da, herhangi bir saldırı karşısında, Balkan devletlerinin teker teker ortadan kalkmasını önleyebilecekti". Bu varsayımın gerçek olup olmayacağına ilişkin kesin yargı vermek mümkün olmasa da, yazarın düşüncesini yansıtmaya bakımından aktardığımız ifadeler önemlidir.

Lozan'da kesin olarak çözülemeyen sorunlardan birisi olan boğazlar meselesi 1936 yılında Türkiye'nin istediği şekilde sonuçlandı. Kitapta bu süreç "Montrö Sözleşmesi (1936)" başlıklı bölümde (158-163) incelenmiştir. İtalya'nın dış siyaseti Montrö sürecine de damgasını vurmuştur. Türkiye; Bulgaristan, Fransa, İngiltere, Romanya, SSCB, Yugoslavya ve Yunanistan ile boğazlar konusunda anlaşmaya varıp, antlaşma metnini imzalamıştır. İtalya ise bu metne yaklaşık 2 yıl sonra imza atmıştır.

Misak-ı Milli'den önemli bir taviz olan Hatay meselesi 1939 yılında çözülmüştür. Hatay meselesi kitapta "Hatay Sorunu 1930-1939" başlıklı bölümde (167-170) incelenmektedir. Hatay sorunu Atatürk'ün ölümünden sonra çözülmüş olsa da, çözüm süreci tamamen Atatürkçü dış politikanın eseridir. Atatürk çeşitli konuşmalarında Hatay'ın 40 asırlık Türk yurdu olduğunu dile getirmiş ve buranın elbet günün birinde anavatana katılacağını söylemiştir. 29 Haziran 1939 tarihinde Hatay Meclisi tarafından oy birliği ile alınan karar ile birlikte, Hatay yenden Türkiye'nin toprağı olmuştur.

Akdeniz'de 1937 yılında denizaltı korsanlığı olayları yaşanmaktaydı. Bu soruna çözüm üretmek için Nyon Konferansı toplandı. Kitapta yer alan "Nyon Konferansı (1937)" başlıklı bölümde (171-174) bu süreç ele alınmıştır. Türkiye'nin kendi karasularını ilgilendiren bu konferansa özel önem verdiği belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca bu bölümde Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ile İsmet İnönü'nün arasındaki bozulmasına da değinilmektedir.

Kitabın son bölümü (175-195) “Cumhuriyet Diplomasisi” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu bölüm Atatürk’ün diplomatlar için kullandığı “Diplomatlar, barışın kurmaylarıdır” sözü ile başlamaktadır. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından itibaren Avrupa’ya bürokrat gönderilme süreci burada ele alınmıştır. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında genellikle meslekten diplomat olmayanların elçilik görevine getirildiği ifade edilmektedir. Atatürk döneminde görev yapan büyükelçilerin listesi kitaba eklenmiştir.

Yazar, sonuç bölümüne “Atatürkçü Dış Politikanın Değerlendirilmesi” adını vermiştir (196-200). Bu bölüm tarihi referans olarak günümüz Türkiye’sinin değerlendirilmesi olarak ifade edilebilir. Yazar 2004 yılında Kıbrıs’ta kabul edilen Annan planını büyük bir gaflet olarak tanımlamaktadır. Türk dış politikasında yapılan yanlışları ise Atatürkçülükten uzaklaşmış olmaya bağlamaktadır.

Kitabın sonunda yer alan fotoğraflar bölümünde (201-231) Türk dış politikasını yansıtan 30 adet fotoğraf yer almaktadır. Fotoğraflar arasında Atatürk’ün yabancı devlet adamları ile yaptığı görüşmeler ön plana çıkmaktadır. Fotoğrafların dışında bu bölümde 1 adet karikatür ve 1 adet harita yer almaktadır. Karikatürde Lozan’da İsmet Paşa’nın diplomatik dehası tasvir edilirken, haritada ise Türk milletinin idam fermanı olan Sevr antlaşmasının ülkemizi getireceği durum yer almaktadır. Fotoğraflardan sonra kaynakça, kaynakçadan sonra Hüner Tuncer’in yaşamöyküsü bulunmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak; “Atatürkçü Dış Politika” isimli eser 1923-1939 yılları arasındaki Türk politikasının portresini bizlere sunmaktadır. Hüner Tuncer’in Atatürk’e duyduğu sevgi kitabın sayfalarında kendisini göstermektedir. Hüner Tuncer; Atatürkçü dış politikanın günümüze de ışık tutmasını istemektedir. Kitabın sonunda yer alan görseller ve eserin içinde yer alan büyükelçi listeleri bu çalışmanın değerini arttırmaktadır.

Tarih ve Günce

Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi
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Kitap Tanıtımı

Book Review

Prof. Dr. Kemal Ari und seine Arbeiten im Ausland über die Armenienfrage mit

Halil Fehmi DAĞ*

Die armenische Lobby gehört im Ausland zu einer der mächtigsten Lobbys. Ihr momentanes Hauptziel ist es, den angeblichen „Völkermord am Armenischen Volk“ der Weltöffentlichkeit glaubhaft zu machen. Die Türkei wird beschuldigt einen Völkermord an den Armeniern im Jahre 1915 verübt zu haben. Damit soll auch erreicht werden, dass die Türkei Entschädigungen zahlen soll an das Armenische Volk. Um diese Ziel zu erreichen arbeitet die Armenische Lobby in vielen Ländern gezielt in der Politik und in politischen Vereinigungen. Denn durch die Unterstützung der Politik kann dieses Ziel erreicht werden. Der Erfolg dieser Taktik ist zu sehen. Die Armenier sind als Bevölkerung viel weniger im Ausland vertreten wie die Anzahl der Türken. Laut einem Bericht der Zeitung „DIE ZEIT“ würden in Deutschland um die 60.000 Armenier leben. Die österreichische Zeitung „DIE PRESSE“ berichtet im März 2017, dass die Anzahl der in Deutschland lebenden Türken zwischen 3-3,5 Millionen Türken liegt. Auch in ganz Europa ist die Armenische Bevölkerung weniger vertreten als andere Volksgruppen. Dennoch gehört die Armenische Lobby zu den einflussreichsten in ganz Europa. Sie sind in den jeweiligen Ländern größtenteils in der Politik oder anderen einflussreichen Vereinigungen tätig. Durch dieses bekommen sie viel mehr Macht und können die Zwecke ihre eigene armenische Politik durchzusetzen. Es sind auch viel mehr Armenier in wichtigen Positionen und Vereinigungen vertreten wie die Türken, dies ist unter anderem ihrem mächtigen Kapital zu verdanken.

* Tarih ve Günce Almanya Temsilcisi.

Was ist eigentlich das Geheimnis dieses Erfolges? Wir wissen, dass die Armenier in der Wirtschaft, öffentlichen Vereinigungen, Sozialen Netzwerken, Medien, Kunst, Kultur und vor allem in der Politik sehr gut vertreten sind und daher auch sehr gute Verbindungen haben zu berühmten und wichtigen Persönlichkeiten. Einer der wichtigsten Faktoren dabei ist es, vor allem in der Öffentlichkeit zu stehen und den angeblichen „GENOZID an den Armenier“ weiter zu verbreiten und sich Unterstützung zu holen. Durch ihre mächtige Lobby können sie viel schneller voranzukommen. Sie können die Entscheidungen der Länder viel einfacher steuern und kontrollieren. Eines der besten Beispiele ist es, als in Köln, wo über 100 000 Türken leben, eine kleine Gemeinschaft mit 5000 Armeniern es geschafft hat, am 14.03.2017 einen Genozid-Gedenkstein aufzustellen. Die türkischen Vereine und Organisationen in Köln und Umgebung haben sich gegen die Aufstellung gewehrt und haben es versucht zu verhindern. Jedoch durch die schlechte Organisation der Vereine, sind sie gescheitert und konnten es nicht verhindern. Die Armenische Gemeinschaft möchte in allen deutschen Großstädten ein Denkmal für den „Genozid“ aufstellen. Der in Deutschland gegründete Verein „Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker, GfbV“, macht sich stark für den „Genozidvorwurf“ und unterstützt diese auch bei der Aufstellung von Denkmälern in europäischen Städten. Dieser Verein verteidigt die Armenier und Assyrer und beschuldigt die Türkei des „Völkermordes“ im Jahre 1915 mit 2 Millionen ermordeter Opfer. . Dernek, aynı zamanda adı In einem ihrer Leseausgaben mit dem Titel „100 Jahre Völkermord-100 Jahre leugnen“, wird davon berichtet, dass der „Armenien Genozid“, der erste Völkermord im 19. Jahrhundert war.

Um die Weltöffentlichkeit zu überzeugen, dass die Türkei den „Völkermord“, an den Armeniern verübt haben soll, arbeitet die armenische Lobby zielstrebig mit Dokumentarfilmen, Büchern, Theateraufführungen, Reportagen und Veranstaltungen daran, die Türkei in ein schlechtes Bild zu stellen. Aktuelles Ziel der armenischen Lobbys ist es den angeblichen „Völkermord“ an den Armeniern in deutschen Schulbüchern aufzunehmen. Alle Schüler, jeder Volksgruppe und vor allem die türkischen Kinder. Die türkischen Kinder sollen lesen, dass ihre Vorfahren Mörder sind! Diese Verleumdung wäre für die Kinder schockierend. Für die in Deutschland lebenden Türken ist diese Vorstellung, dass ihre Kinder diese Lüge über den angeblichen „Genozid“ in Lehrbüchern lesen müssen, einfach undenkbar. Die Verantwortung, das Leid und die Sorge über die Zukunft der Kinder wird immer größer.

Die Armenischen Lobby ist dafür bekannt den angeblichen im Jahre 1915 verübten angeblichen „Völkermord“ nicht nur in Deutschland sondern auch in ganz Europa angeblichen zu verbreiten. Es ist ein durchdachtes politisches Machtspiel. Sie halten diese Beschuldigung aktuell immer in den Medien. Mittlerweile akzeptieren 33 Ländern den „angeblichen“ Völkermord an den Armenier. Im Februar 2018 hat sich auch Holland angeschlossen, nachdem Deutschland am 02.06.2016 den „Völkermord“ an den Armeniern anerkannt hat. Es schließen sich immer mehr Länder dieser These an. In einem Land wie Deutschland, wo über 3 Millionen Türken leben ist es unverantwortlich einen durch die Türken verübten „Völkermord“ anzuerkennen und das ohne Beweise. Die deutsche Regierung wusste, dass die Türkischen Mitbürger in Deutschland keinen Einfluss auf ihre Entscheidung haben, denn die Türkische Gemeinschaft hat kaum Einfluss auf die politischen Entscheidung. Sie sitzen nicht in einflussreichen Positionen und haben auch keine einflussreichen Organisationen, die türkische Gemeinschaft wird einfach ausgeblendet und bewusst ignoriert. Die deutsche Politik weiß ganz genau, dass die türkischen Mitbürger in Deutschland geteilt sind. Geteilt durch die verschiedenen Religionen, Glaubensgemeinschaften und politische Denkweisen. Sie bilden keine gemeinsame Einheit und unterstützen sich auch nicht gemeinsam für eine Sache. Die Politik kann sich gegenüber dieser geteilten Gemeinschaft sehr leicht widersetzen und ihre Entscheidungen realisieren. Keine große einheitliche türkische Gemeinschaft, heißt keine große Gegenwehr. Somit haben die kleineren Gruppierungen, die sich dagegen wehren, werden nicht beachtet. Würden sich die türkischen Vereine und Organisationen sich als eine große Gemeinschaft wehren, hätte es die deutsche Regierung in ihren Entscheidungen viel schwerer.

Was hat die türkische Gemeinschaft und die türkische Politik nach dieser Entscheidung gemacht? Es sind leider sehr wenige Menschen und Organisationen, sich gegen diese Verleumdung einsetzten. Obwohl es eindeutige Beweise gibt, das es diesen „Genozid an den Armeniern“ nicht gegeben haben kann, werden diese Beweise von der Politik nicht beachtet.

Die türkische Gemeinschaft hat Schwierigkeiten zusammenzukommen um sich gegen dieses Unrecht an ihrem Land und Volke zu wehren. Die Türken in Deutschland und in Europa sind in vielen kleiner Vereinen und Gemeinschaften vertreten und haben kaum Macht sich gegenüber der Politik zu wehren und vor allem durchzusetzen. Jeder dieser Vereine und anderen Vereinigungen handeln alleine und stehen sich mit den anderen eher im Konkurrenzkampf, es gibt kaum einen Zusammenhalt.

Viele der in Europa und Deutschland lebenden Türken kennen auch ihre eigene Kultur und Geschichte nicht. Auch der Bildungsstand der Türken ist viel niedriger als die von den Armeniern und anderen Volksgruppen. Türken mit Akademischen Statuts sind weniger vertreten als an andere Volksgruppen in Deutschland und Europa. Die in Europa und Deutschland lebenden Türken werden auch hauptsächlich durch religiöse Vereinigungen und Gemeinschaften auseinandergebracht. Sie sind in verschiedene Gruppierungen geteilt, somit verlieren die Türken als eine Gemeinschaft an Stärke.

Die religiösen Vereinigungen wirken sich auch auf die junge heranwachsende Generationen negativ aus. Die neue Generation ist gespalten und in ständiger Konfrontation mit den Kulturen. Auch hier ist das Bildungsniveau nicht hoch. Deswegen ist die Jugend auch beeinflussbar, vor allem durch religiöse Vereinigungen. Auch wird die Jugend von vielen türkischen Vereinen beeinflusst, die sich gegenüber der Türkei feindselig verhalten. Die Armenische Lobby profitiert von dieser großen Schwäche der Türken. Somit können sie weiterhin ihre Lüge über den „Armeniengenozid „weiterhin ausbauen und verbreiten.

Einer der großen Namen der Armenischen Lobby ist Prof. Akcam,, der vor allem in Deutschland Reden über den angeblichen „Völkermord“ an den Armeniern hält.

Seine im Jahre 2018 gehaltenen Reden wird unter anderem gestützt und bestärkt durch die Anerkennung des „Völkermord“ durch Deutschland im Jahre 2016.

Die Zielgruppen seiner Reden sind hauptsächlich Türken aus Deutschland. Unter diesen wiederum hauptsächlich die Alevitischen Gemeinden.

In den Reden von Prof. Akcam wird auch die von Adam Adonian im Jahre 1921 geschriebene Buch „ Naim Efendis Erinnerungen“ als Beweis aufgeführt, die den „Völkermord“ bestätigen soll. Jedoch wurde dieses Buch schon vor einiger Zeit mit Beweisen widerlegt. Doch Prof. Akcam hält in seine Reden weiterhin dieses Buch als Nachweis des Genozides. Besonders die türkischen Mitmenschen, die leider sehr wenig über ihre eigenen türkischen Wurzel und Geschichte wissen, werden durch diese Propagandamittel so sehr beeinflusst, dass sie diesem schon Glauben schenken. Die Armenische Lobby versucht die Türkische Gemeinschaft noch weiter zu spalten und vor allem die junge Generation psychisch zu ihren Gunsten und ihrem Vorhaben zu beeinflussen. Die türkische Jugend ist mit dieser Lüge über den Völkermord überfordert und durch ihre

Unkenntnis über die eigene türkische Geschichte in Zwiespalt. Diese Jugend soll glauben, dass ihre Vorfahren Mörder waren. Es gibt einfach zu wenig Menschen und Organisationen, die diese Lüge des Völkermordes entlarven und zu unterbinden. Es muss mehr Menschen geben, die vor allem die Türkische Gemeinschaft, insbesondere die türkische Jugend über die Geschichte ihrer eigenen Vorfahren aufklärt. Die Aufklärung mit Beweisen und Belegen soll den „Völkermord“ widerlegen. Jedoch im Gegensatz zu der türkischen Gemeinschaft, die hauptsächlich aus kleineren Gruppierungen besteht, ist die Armenische Lobby in ihren Handlungen viel stärker.

In Diskussionen und Gesprächen haben Prof.Dr.Kemal Ari und Halil Fehmi Dag die Völkermordthese im Einzelnen recherchiert, durchforscht und interpretiert. Es wurde darüber nachgedacht ein Buch zu schreiben sowie Konferenzen zu halten, um die Menschen darüber zu informieren und den Vorwurf des „Völkermordes an den Armeniern „zu widerlegen. Zusätzlich sollte eine Bildergalerie aus den Archiven der Türkei ausgestellt werden. Dieses Buch sollte verständlich für jeden und in vereinfachter form geschrieben werden. Die „Völkermordfrage“ sollte in einfacher Sprachweise und neutral erklärt werden.In diesem Buch sollten alle vorhandenen Thesen, Recherchen, Informationen und Fakten über die „Genozidfrage“ im Jahre 1915 zusammengelegt und ausführlich diskutiert werden. Am Ende des Buches sollte festgestellt werden, dass es keinen Völkermord an den Armeniern je gegeben haben kann.

Aus diesen Gründen entstand das gemeinsame Buch“ Die Armenische Frage, in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft“ von Prof.Dr.Kemal Ari und Halil Fehmi Dag, das am 04.12.2017 veröffentlicht wurde.Das Buch beinhaltet die wichtigsten Fragen und Antworten zu der „ Armenischen Frage“.Ein Punkt der Diskussion ist es, dass die Türkei keinen Grund hatte sich je mit der „Armenischen Frage „ zu befassen. Das Buch beinhaltet auch die Erzählungen und Erläuterungen von Frank Werfels Buch aus dem Jahre 1933 mit dem Titel „40 Tage am Moses Berg“ . Frank Werfel beschreibt und erklärt, wie die Armenische Lobby schon damals ihre Propaganda betrieben hat. Im Buch wird über die im Osmanischen Reich, vor allem in Anatolien lebendenden Türken und Armeniern erzählt. Auch welche Stellung die Armenier im Osmanischen Reich hatten. Sowie die Entstehung und Verbreitung des armenischen Nationalismus. Einer der Gesprächspunkte ist das versuchte Attentat von den Armenier an Abdülhamid dem II. Hier werden Details der Vorbereitung des Attentates erläutert. Im Buch wird in einer Diskussion festgestellt, dass die Armenische Lobby kein Interesse hat , um eine Lösung des Konfliktes zu finden. Statt dessen

wird die eigene Völkermordthese weiter aufgebaut. Auch wird beschrieben, dass die Armenische Lobby immer wieder Änderungen an ihrer Völkermordthese vorgenommen hat, wie z.B. die Anzahl der Opfer. Diese wurden immer wieder nach oben aufgestockt, so dass am Ende die Zahl der Ermordeten auf 1,5 Millionen beliefen. Ein ganz wichtiger Punkt bei der „Armenien Frage“ ist die sogenannte „Umsiedlung“, warum eine Umsiedlung und die Maßnahmen unter Talat Pasa im Osmanischen Reich notwendig waren. Die Leser werden über die historischen Ereignisse, über den aktuellen Stand der Beziehungen von Türkei und Armenien sowie über die armenische Terrorereinheit „ASALA“ aufgeklärt. Diese Terrorereinheit war vor allem an der Ermordung von türkischen Diplomaten verantwortlich. Dieses Buch ist reichlich an Information und soll vor allem Aufklärung schaffen.

Nach der Veröffentlichung des Buches, wurde daran gearbeitet, dieses Buch in Deutschland der Öffentlichkeit vorzustellen. Zuerst wurde versucht eine gemeinsame Konferenz mit Prof. Dr. Kemal Ari und Prof. Akcam abzuhalten. Es sollte bei einem Zusammenkommen, gegenseitige Diskussionen mit den eigenen Ansichten stattfinden. Jedoch wurde für eine gemeinsame Konferenz von der Gegenseite keine Beachtung geschenkt und auch nicht wahrgenommen. Denn der Vorwurf des „Völkermordes“ von Prof. Akcam hätte durch Beweise widerlegt werden können. Somit war es zu erwarten, dass Prof. Akcam nicht auf eine gemeinsame öffentliche Diskussion eingeht. Daraufhin wurde beschlossen, in den Städten Konferenzen und Reden zu halten, wo auch Prof. Akcam seine Konferenzen abgehalten hat. Die Menschen sollen über die tatsächlichen Ereignisse im Jahre 1915 ausführliche Informationen bekommen.

Am 07.12.2017 fand in Lübeck die erste Konferenz statt. Hier wurde das Buch zum ersten Mal vorgestellt. Die Vorbereitung und das Ziel dieses Buches über die „Armenische Frage“ wurde von Halil Fehmi Dağ vorgestellt. Gleichzeitig das von Prof. Kemal Ari geschriebene Buch „Warum Atatürk, warum die Republik?“ vorgestellt. Es wurde über Atatürks Weltanschauung, Visionen und der Wichtigkeit der Türkei sowie dem Nahen Osten gesprochen. Diese Veranstaltung in Lübeck wurde von der Türkischen Gemeinde Kiel organisiert. Einen Tag später am 08.12.2017 wurde auch in Kiel eine Konferenz abgehalten.

Am 10.12.2018 war in Hamburg auf Einladung der Türkischen Gemeinde Hamburg die nächste Veranstaltung. Auch hier wurde über das Buch „Warum Atatürk, warum Republik?“ diskutiert. Die Fragen der Besucher wurde

beantwortet. In diesen 3 Städten wurde auch die Bildergalerie über den Befreiungskrieg in der Türkei mit dem Titel „Die Geschichte von Mehmet „ präsentiert und vorgestellt. Diese Bildergalerie lässt einblicken in die Geschichte und wurde von den Besuchern voller Begeisterung gelobt.

Im Januar 2018 wurden viele Konferenzen abgehalten, in denen auch die Bildergalerien präsentiert wurden. Die erste fand am 19.01.2018 in Bremen statt, hier wurde das Thema der heutigen Situation der „Armenien Frage“ ausführlich diskutiert. In dieser Veranstaltung wurden aus den Archiven der Türkei eine Spezielle Bildergalerie mit dem Titel „die blutende Wunde, Armeniens Massaker an den Türken“ vorgestellt. Diese Arbeit und Präsentation wurden von Halil Fehmi Dag, Ercan Yalcim und Yildiz Sen organisiert. Die zweite Veranstaltung fand am 21.01.2018 wieder in Hamburg statt. Diese Veranstaltung wurde vom Hamburger Sivas Verein organisiert. Prof. Kemal Ari und Halil Fehmi Dag haben die „Armenien Frage „ ausführlich erklärt um das Wissen der Besucher zu erweitern.

Am 11.02.2018 wurde in Dortmund auf Einladung vom Vereines zur Förderung der Ideen Atatürks in Dortmund eine Veranstaltung mit dem Titel „Die Armenische Frage in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft“ abgehalten. Hier wurde ebenfalls die Bildergalerie „ Blutende Wunde, das Armenische Massaker an den Türken in Hodja (Hodja Holocaust)“ präsentiert. Prof Kemal Ari und Halil Fehmi Dag haben die Besucher über das „Hodja Holocaust „ausführlich informiert. Nach der Veranstaltung haben Prof. Kemal Ari und Halil Fehmi Dag ihre Bücher unterschrieben.

Zu diesen Veranstaltung hat Prof. Kemal Ari zusätzlich am 12., 13., und 14. Februar 2018 bei der ADD Duisburg (Verein zur Förderung der Ideen Atatürk in Duisburg) ein Seminar über den „Kemalismus und die Geburt der neuen Türkei“ durchgeführt. Für dieses Seminar war jeder willkommen. Es wurde ausführlich darüber berichtet, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten und enormer Kraft ,die neue Türkei aufgebaut wurde. Den Teilnehmern wurde ein Zertifikat für die erfolgreiche Teilnahme ausgehändigt. Am 15. und 16. Februar 2018 wurde bei der ADD Siegen (Verein zur Förderung der Ideen Atatürk in Siegen) ein 2 tägiges Seminar über den „Kemalismus „ durchgeführt.

Durch die Teilnahme vieler Menschen sowie das enorme Interesse an diesem Seminar, gab uns Hoffnung für die Zukunft.

Am 17.02.2018 fand in Düsseldorf das 25-jährige Jubiläum der AADDB (Verband der Atatürk Bildungs- und Kulturzentren in Europa) statt. Auf Einladung des Verbandes, hat Prof.Kemal Ari eine Bildergalerie in Form von Karikaturen mit Original Belegen über das Thema „ Atatürk und die türkische Revolution „ ausgestellt und auch ausführlich über dieses Thema diskutiert.. pti. Ari, Atatürk ve Türk Devrimlerinin gerçekleşme aşamalarını gerçek belgelerden, bilgiler vererek davetlilerin ilgisine sundu.

Auf Einladung des Azerbaidshanischen-Türkischen Freundschaftsvereines Berlin, wurde am 24.02.1018 in Berlin eine Konferenz über das „ Hodja Holocaust „ und „ die Armenische Frage in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft“ veranstaltet.In dieser Veranstaltung wurde auch an die Opfer gedacht, die von den Armeniern ermordet wurden.Am 04.03.2018 wurde auf Einladung des Türkischen Vereines in Duisburg ebenfalls eine Veranstaltung über das „Hodja Holocaust und die Armenische Frage „ abgehalten.Am 29.04.2018 wurde Prof.Kemal Ari nochmals von der ADD Siegen (Verein zur Förderung der Ideen Atatürk in Siegen) eingeladen.In dieser Veranstaltung hat Prof.Kemal Ari über das aktuelle Problem „ Türkei und die tatsächliche Afrin Politik „ berichtet.

Zu dieser Veranstaltung war eine sehr wichtige Persönlichkeit eingeladen, der Historiker Dr. Christian Johannes Henrich eingeladen. Seit 2005 arbeitet Dr. Henrich an der Armenien Frage und verteidigt es, dass es einen keinen Völkermord von den Türken an den Armeniern im Jahre 1915 gegeben hat..

In seiner Doktorarbeit und in anderen Publikationen hat er sich stets gegen die Bezeichnung Völkermord in der Armenienfrage ausgesprochen.Auch seine langjährige Mitgliedschaft bei der CDU gab er auf, da er die Haltung der CDU zur Armenienfrage nicht mittragen konnte.“ Warum vor allem die weitaus höherer Opferzahlen auf muslimischer verschwiegen wird?“ Im Interview mit der Internetzeitung „nex24.news“erzählt Dr.Henrich: „Das eine internationale Historiker-Konferenz, wie sie die Türkei schon seit über 15 Jahren vorschlägt, von der Regierung in Eriwan bisher abgelehnt oder nicht beantwortet wurde-, Armenien hat ja bereits den Westen hinter sich, warum sollten die den wissenschaftlichen Weg der Wahrheitsfindung gehen? Deshalb hält Armenien auch die Archive verschlossen. Nach der Veranstaltung in Siegen, haben sich Prof.Kemal Ari und Dr.Henrich bei einem gemeinsamen Abendessen mit Informationen und Ideen ausgetauscht. Für die nächsten Jahren wurden Zusammenarbeiten geplant.

Die ADD Mainz (Verein zur Förderung der Ideen Atatürk Mainz) hat am 19.5.2018 dem Atatürk Sport und Jugend Gedenktag , Prof Kemal Ari als Redner eingeladen. An diesem besonderen Tag hat Prof.Kemal Ari über den 19.05.1919 und über Atatürk Erkenntnis ausführlich berichtet. Dieser Gedenktag wurde mit Erfolg und Begeisterung gefeiert.

Alle diese Veranstaltungen und Aktivitäten wurden im Namen des Magazins „ Tarif ve Günce „ durchgeführt. Es wurden tausende Kilometer zurückgelegt um tausenden von türkischen Mitmenschen in Deutschland über die Wahrheit der „Armenienfrage „ und die tatsächliche Geschichte der Türkei im Jahre 1915 mit Beweisen und Belegen zu informieren.

Tarih ve Günce

Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi
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Söyleşi

Interview

ARMENIAN TERRORISM IN AMERICA AND TURKISH-AMERICANS

Interviewer: Erkan Demirağcı

Interviewee: Ergün Kırlikovalı

Location: Irvine, California, USA,

Date: June 20, 2018

Mr. Kırlikovalı, you have been involved in the United States, for 40 years without interruption, in the struggle against defamation of all thing Turkish by the Armenian lobby. Can you please briefly introduce yourself to our readers first?

Gladly. I was born in Izmir, Turkey, in 1952. I went to Namik Kemal Lisesi Orta Kismi in Izmir for junior high school and Robert Academy in Istanbul for high school. Then I graduated from Bogazici University Chemistry department and went to Manchester University in England for postgraduate studies in polymer science. I did my industrial internships in Austria (1973) and Holland (1974). I got married in 1978 and moved to the U.S. After working at several chemical companies in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York, I returned to California to start my own business in 1985. I am currently the founding president of my company engaged in research and development of IPN-based advanced materials for aerospace. I have one son who is getting his PhD in chemistry next year. We live in Southern California.

Why do I see nothing in your background that would explain your principled fight against the Armenian lobby?

You are right, there is nothing there to explain my behavior or motivation, as I was nothing like the person I am today when I set foot in the United States more than 40 years ago. The deceptive, dishonest, and racist Armenian lobby made me what I am today and now they have to live with their creation (laugh-ter.)

Can you expand on that?

Three events changed me completely. The first one was a troubling welcome by some hateful Armenian I never met. It was my first or second day in America. I went to a store to buy some groceries. When I was going through the bread section, I was drawn to a bread that looked very much like the Turkish bread I grew up with. While I was buying it, though, I noticed a strange label at the back of the bread that read: "The grandparents of the baker of this wonderful bread were ruthlessly murdered by barbaric Turkish soldiers." I immediately complained to the manager saying the message was offensive to me. He apologized profusely saying it is against their company policy to place political message on merchandise. I accepted the apology and asked what he would do. He promised to remove that brand of bread from all the shelves. I said I wanted to wait and see that happening. A few minutes later, he came back with an empty shopping cart, and indeed, cleaned up the shelves from that brand of bread baked by a racist Armenian. I thanked the manager and drove home. On the way, though, I was still uneasy and could not help but ask myself: "What is this? Am I going to have to check now all the labels on my groceries, milk, eggs, cereals, chocolate, etc., to see if another insult is hurled at my culture and heritage? Is this some kind of a new trend? What kind of country have I come to?" Some time later, though, I have found out that Armenians are the only ones who resort to such under-handed tactics to put racist messages on commercial products. I found no examples of such deep-seated hatred in any other community in America. Unpleasant, that was the first welcome-to-America message to me by the hateful Armenian lobby and it did change me somewhat. That was strike one.

What was strike two?

It was an Armenian bomb threat placed via phone to a public hall in San Francisco where a prominent Turkish folk dance group visiting from Turkey was going to perform colorful Turkish dances. I was so excited that I bought tickets for all my American friends at work. I was living on the peninsula at the

time and San Francisco was a 45 minute drive from my work. 10-12 of us, coworkers, formed a convoy of three cars and drove to San Francisco. When we arrived at the location, we were met with a police cordon. Due to a bomb threat by Armenians, the performance was cancelled. Armenians, thus, not only prevented me from enjoying my civil rights, but also violated the civil rights of about 10 Americans in our group. I tried to reason with the police suggesting maybe we could wait until they finished their search and then go in. He refused to let us in. He said if I had an issue with the police cordon, I should take it up with the police chief or the mayor. Disappointed and angered by Armenian terrorists, we had to return home. That was the first letter I wrote in America – one of some 5,000 to follow in the next 36 years – protesting Armenian terrorism. I was not going to take this lying down. That was strike two.

And what is the third event that shaped you?

The third event was the assassination of Kemal Arikan, the Turkish Consul general to Los Angeles. On January 28, 1982, two Armenians from Lebanon, both members of the JCAG, ambushed Arikan, as he was waiting in his vehicle at a traffic light in Westwood, California. Hampig Sassounian was 19 at the time, and his accomplice Krikor Saliba, 20. The JCAG telephoned the United International Press in Los Angeles shortly after the murder, claiming responsibility. Luckily, an American witness took down the plate of the car escaping the crime scene and immediately informed LAPD (Los Angeles Police Department.) Sassounian was arrested at his home hours after the killing. LAPD searched Sassounian's car and found a .357 caliber bullet and a one-way airline ticket from Los Angeles to Beirut. In Sassounian's home, LAPD found a gun receipt, pistol targets and a proclamation by AYF, the Armenian Youth Federation. Saliba escaped to Lebanon thereafter. Sassounian and Saliba's crime was planned ahead of time and the two terrorists even scouted the intersection where they knew Mr. Arikan would cross and where they would shoot him. Nothing was left to chance.

I heard the news on the radio while driving to work in the morning. I was shocked as I had known the victim. He was a gentleman with a pleasant personality and even had offered me a cup of tea when I had visited the consulate last, a few weeks prior to the killing, as he routinely did to many visitors to show the legendary Turkish hospitality. I pulled into a gas station to listen to the developments unfold. In the meantime, station after station, those interviewed

about the assassination were, curiously, mostly Armenians. They would say things like the victim deserved his tragic end as he was representing Turkey which denied the alleged Armenian genocide. I drove back home and checked the TV stations where the one-sided coverage was even worse. Only Armenians were being interviewed and the Armenians were using this solemn occasion as a chance to defame and demonize Turkey and Turks. Everytime I tried to call the TV and radio stations to present the other side of the story, they would ask who I was. Was I the president of some local organization? When they heard that I was an ordinary citizen, they would hang up. This pattern continued with all TV and radio stations. No matter what I said, I could not get on TV or radio. Enough was enough! This was strike three.

I booked the first available slot at the Los Angeles Pres Club the next morning and left a voice mail message to the joint media line:

“ Hi, my name is Ergün Kırıkıovalı and I am the president of **Turkish News & Views** (TNV.) Tomorrow morning at 8 am, I will be presenting the Turkish side of the story on the Arıkan assassination at the Los Angeles Press Club.”

I established the organization called TNV in a few seconds and only in my head. The media wanted a president and they got one. One of the TV reporters later asked when TNV was established. I said “Last night”. He was startled and followed with “How many members do you have?” I said: “One. Just me. If I can convince my wife, though, we will experience a 100% growth in membership this year.” He started laughing. I continued also with smiles: “It is the message, not the messenger.” Amused, he nodded and played the entire press conference at his TV station many times that day.

Back to the press conference. I read a short statement and then took questions. I remember saying:

“Here is a human being, collapsed in a car seat, soaked with blood, a victim of a dastardly assassination , and all you did was interview the perpetrators’ community members. What about the victim? Doesn’t the victim have a family, a wife and children? Doesn’t he have co-workers, friends, and compatriots? Doesn’t he have a country, a culture, and a history? You left half the story out. Is that what you call objective journalism? ”

The press conference hall was packed with many reporters and TV cameramen were busy taping. In spite of the huge crowd, the silence was so intense that you could hear a fly buzzing. I continued:

“ I am a polymer scientist. I got a day off from work, rented this facility with my own money, prepared a press release, so that I could convey to you the other side of the story, the Turkish side. It was your job to seek out and find me, instead, I found you. Are you comfortable with that lack of fairness on your part?” Total silence.

Then I told them that events of 100 years ago some 8,000 miles away should not be used today to kill innocent victims. History should not be turned into a weapon for brain-washed assassins. If there are disagreements in interpretations, then we should have a civilized dialogue and discuss all of them. If we still cannot agree, then we should, again in a civilized manner, agree to disagree. Those Lebanese-Armenian terrorists should pack up their bombs and guns and go back to Lebanon where they came from. We want peace and dialogue in America, not guns and bombs.” Still total silence.

I continued: “As far as history is concerned, we have a different view on the 1915 events. Armenians, considered a loyal nation until the end of 19th Century, changed their stance drastically, staging massive armed revolts, resorting to terrorism and siding with the invading enemy armies. Turks only defended their home in the face of such a supreme treason. Armenian community in eastern Anatolia was mostly supporting Armenian terrorists, by design or default, and there was no way of separating guilty from innocent. Wartime conditions did not help. The Ottoman Empire felt the military necessity to remove those Ottoman-Armenians involved in fifth column activities away from war zone to safer parts of the Ottoman Empire, like Northern Syria and Iraq at the time. Armenians of Istanbul, the capital, were mostly untouched because they presented no threat. Most Armenian in Western cities were also not moved. Those in government service, doctors, nurses, crafts people, Protestants, Catholics were also not moved. As one can see, there is no one-size-fits-all approach aimed at systematically exterminating Armenians, as deceptively claimed. About 700,000 Armenians were moved in the nine months from June 1915 to March 1916, and more than 500,000 were known to have arrived at their Syrian destinations safely, according to American records. New housing was arranged for them. Those who wanted to start a business in the new territories were also helped by

the Ottoman state. The loss of around 200,000 are deaths due to wartime conditions like epidemics, starvation, climactic conditions, and less than 10,000 were actually killed by bullets. The latter were in retaliation for Armenian terrorism that claimed the lives of many Turks, Kurds, Circassians, Arabs, and other Muslims. No matter how one interprets it, the claim of genocide cannot be supported by historical facts and has no legal basis. If you want further information, facts, figures, books, sources, and more, please contact me separately, as I cannot go into details here."

What were the reverberations of your press conference?

The press conference was an absolute hit. The news was played from noon onwards that same day, every hour, on every channel, until midnight, even the next day. The Armenian lobby was stunned. Who was this Ergün Kırıkocalı fellow? He must have been a shameful Turkish government spy or a highly paid lobbyist or a Nazi-sympathizing genocide denier or a crypto fascist. All kinds of insults and threats were hurled at me in the media. Turkish-Americans, on the other hand, were equally startled. Who was this guy? Anyone knew him? Let's find him and make him the president of ATASC (the Association Turkish Americans of Southern California.) They, indeed, found me the next day and, with a quick vote of the board of directors, declared me the new president of ATASC for the 1982-1983 term. Being elected the new president, I requested from ATASC to stage two more press conferences. In the first one, we fielded a strong team of six Turkish-American scholars, all with PhD degrees: Orhan Gurbuz, Bulent Basol, Tulin Mangir, Metin Mangir, and two more scholars whose names escape me right now. This was a perception management step to change the usually negative public image of Turks and Turkey. They drove home the points raised above and then took questions. The second press conference was also unique: we fielded a 16-year-old high school girl, a beautiful Turkish-American young lady, born and raised in the US. With her accent-free speech, she made it clear that Turkish-Americans wanted peace, dialogue, and progress, not hostility, polarization, and violence. She said Armenian hate for all things Turkish is, unfortunately, deliberately taught to young Armenian children by their parents and grandparents, which is, as we all see, leading to Armenian terrorism. She wanted such madness to stop. She finished her speech with the wonderful wish: "Teach the children well."

These three press conferences took Southern California by storm. With the momentum generated, we easily collected, in small donations from many in the Turkish-American community, the required \$20,000 for a Los Angeles Times advertisement that was published on April 25, 1982. That ad was a masterpiece unequalled to this day. We had bought the media rights to a beautiful American baby and hired a professional speech writer from Hollywood for that ad. The result was spectacular. Turkish message was heard loud and clear. 1982 turned into a year of awakening for the entire Turkish-American population in the US. Turkish-American communities from coast to coast were asking how we did it in Southern California. Most of them then emulated those efforts later on. All of a sudden, Turkish-American voices were heard all over America. More importantly, media started searching for Turkish-American leaders to get insightful comments on matters related to Turkey and Turks. I can say that the Turkish-Americans have truly arrived in America that year and became part of the American social fabric. Even politicians started taking note of the Turkish Americans. It was an awakening that came about purely by chance, a tragic event, owing to Armenian terrorism. Yes, there were double killings by another Armenian extremist, Gourgen Yanikian, of Turkish diplomats in Santa Barbara in 1973 and some in the Turkish-American community did try to speak up. But I do not know of any press conference designed to wake up the big media back in 1973. While 1973 reactions were soon forgotten, 1982 reactions were not. That 1982 spirit is still with many of us in the Turkish-American community today.

What would be a good summary of Armenian terrorism since 1973?

Between 1973 and the present, avowed Armenian terrorists committed over 230 acts of terrorism, murdering more than 70 and wounding 524 innocent people. Armenian terrorists took 105 innocent hostages, executing 12, one of whom was an American. The Armenian terrorists waged a bombing campaign with more than 160 attacks committed in crowded public areas such as airports, city squares and shopping malls, to cause maximum damage. For instance, the New York UN Plaza bomb was exploded as some 200 people at the nearby B'nai B'rith building were about to leave a conference hall to exit into the Plaza area. The Armenian bombing campaign destroyed more than 160 properties around the world (mostly in the United States, Europe, Middle East and Australia) costing nearly a billion dollars in damages. The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) are the two Armenian groups that are directly responsible for

most of these acts of terrorism. JCAG is the militant wing of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, an ultra-nationalist political party in Armenia. ARF's foreign agent in the United States is the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA). ARF recruited from its offices in Boston members to the JCAG from the Armenian Youth Federation (AFY). Between 1980 and 1986, Armenian terrorism accounted for 24.1% of all terrorist incidents in the United States, according to the FBI.

Can you dwell a bit on Armenian terrorism in the United States and Canada? How serious is it?

Very serious. Let me put it this way. There are at least 23 American and Canadian Armenians that have been convicted of terrorist crimes and most of them were members of JCAG. Here a list I often refer to in my writings: In the United States: Hampig Sassounian, Los Angeles, California JCAG; Mourad Topalian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG; Dikran Berberian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG ; Vartan Chirinian, Van Nuys, California; ASALA; Steven John Dadaian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG ; Viken Hovespian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG; Hratch Kozibioukian, Van Nuys, California, ASALA; Siranouche Kozibioukian, Van Nuys, California, ASALA; Suzy Mahseredjian, San Francisco, California, ASALA; Monte Melkonian, Dinuba, California, ASALA; Krikor Saliba, Los Angeles, California, JCAG; Arnig Sarkissian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG; Harout Sassounian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG; Vicken Setrag Tcharkhutian, Hollywood, California, ASALA; Viken Vacoubian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG; Gourgen Yanikian, Los Angeles, California, JCAG. And in Canada: Haig Balian, Ottawa, ASALA ; Melkon Karakhanian, Ottawa, ASALA; Haig Karkhanian, Ottawa, ASALA; Haroutium Kevork, Ottawa, ASALA ; Kevork Marachelian, Ottawa, JCAG ; Ohannes Noubarian, Ottawa, JCAG; Rafi Panos Titizian, Ottawa, JCAG .

I understand at least one of those terrorists, Hampig Sassounian, still has not condemned Armenian terrorism by the JCAG or ASALA in his published interviews, although he is seeking parole. What are his chances of getting one?

The Turkish-American community is very sensitive on this issue. Almost every other year, we are faced with a renewed effort by the Armenian lobby to have him released. The Armenian lobby, backed by most in the Armenian community, support this blood-thirsty terrorist's release from prison. We find that

to be a sad contradiction coming from a community claiming a massive wrongdoing had been imposed on them 100 years ago, as most Armenians see nothing wrong with openly promoting one today. Sassounian's seemingly perpetual hatred for all things Turkish and Muslim is still clearly conveyed in his messages to the Armenian youth (AYF), ARF, and JCAG.

Why do Armenian resort to terrorism?

Violent extremism in Armenian political culture and history dates back to the second half of the 19th Century. Armenian historian Nalbandian starts Armenian terrorism with the first Sassoon revolt in 1862. More terror groups were formed in 1860s and 1870s. Armenakan (1885), Hunchak (1887) and ARF (1890) followed these. That is considered the first wave of Armenian terrorism.

Some historians place the dark origins modern Armenian terrorism in the Armenian network, Nemesis, which, in the early 1920s, planned, pursued, and murdered six former Ottoman officials living in Western Europe. This is considered the second wave of Armenian terrorism.

Why did the Armenians establish Nemesis in 1920s?

The mission of Nemesis was to seek vengeance for massacres of Armenians committed by Ottoman forces and others, ignoring the fact that most of those killings, though sad and unacceptable, were actually carried out by irregulars in retaliation for Armenian cruelty and massacres in Turkish and Kurdish villages in eastern Anatolia during World War I. Nemesis, headed by an Armenian American by the name of Hagop Der Hagopian, was the terrorist cell of the ultra-nationalist Armenian political party, ARF, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation ("Dashnaks"), which led the Armenian nationalist movement against the late Ottoman Empire (1890-1922). Their aim was to create an ethnically, religiously, and political homogenous Armenian state in areas of eastern Ottoman Anatolia where Armenians were in minority, no more than one-third the population at best. ARF formed the short-lived Armenian Republic (1918- 20), before the territory was added to the Soviet Union in the Bolshevik Revolution (1917-19.) Der Hagopian assigned two young Armenian recruits, Soghomon Tehlirian and Arshavir Shirakian, to carry out the Nemesis assassinations in Europe. Tehlirian was brought to Boston, Massachusetts, for training. Soon after, Tehlirian traveled to Germany where he assassinated his first Ottoman official, Interior Minister Talaat Pasha on March 15, 1921. Tehlirian was tried and acquitted by a

German court, rather a Kangaroo court. Decades later, in 1973, another Armenian American, Gourgen Yanikian, reignited Armenian passion for terrorism by assassinating two Turkish diplomats in Santa Barbara, California. It was Yanikian's dream to be another Tehlirian and to bring world attention to the Armenian community's re-formulated and cleansed allegation that the 1915 incidents constituted genocide against the Armenians. In the mind of Yanikian, Armenians died not because they engaged in a revolt and civil war to secede from the Ottoman Empire, but because they were ethnically Armenian, which of course, could not be farther from the truth. The California court convicted Yanikian of two counts of first-degree murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Yanikian served 10 years of his life sentence. In a blaringly partizan move, Yanikian was ordered released by California's then- Governor George Deukmejian, another Armenian-American. When Yanikian died at the age of 88, an Armenian American newspaper, The Armenian Reporter, declared that he had "opened [a] new era of political struggle" and "changed the course of Armenian history." Yanikian became an Armenian role model for Sassounian. Both of these terrorists are still considered heroes in the Armenian community.

What about current day ASALA and JCAG?

Current day Armenian terrorism and violent extremism, re-invigorated by Yanikian's double assassinations in 1973, has been implemented by two militant Armenian organizations: The Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia ("ASALA") and the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide - Armenian Revolutionary Army ("JCAG - ARA"). ASALA, an anti-American group with Marxist-Leninist goals, was formed in the late 1960s by four Armenian intellectuals/militants: Rev. James Karnusian, Simon Simonian, Kevork Ajemian, and Hagop Hagopian. JCAG-ARA, also an anti-American group, but with ultra-nationalist objectives, is linked to the right-wing Dashnak party, like its predecessor Nemesis. JCAG-ARA was created to keep the young Armenians from joining the left-wing ASALA. All told, Armenian patriotism is largely measured by these groups on their "success" to conduct anti-Turkish violence; the larger the scale of devastation, the more patriotic these Armenians consider themselves.

ASALA and JCAG-ARA represent the third and latest wave of Armenian terrorism against people of Turkish heritage and scholars who reject the Armenian allegation of genocide. The first wave, which started in 1862 and ended in

1919 peaked during World War I (1914-1919) and was led by ARF. Historian William Langer documented that the ARF (Dashnak) militants worked “to incite disorder, bring about inhuman reprisal, and so provoke the intervention of the powers.” By the term powers, ARF extremists meant Russia, Great Britain, France and/or America. Thus, the Dashnak party would be able to carve out an Armenian state from the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

What about the third wave of Armenian terrorism?

The third wave emerged in the mid 1970s to punish Turkey, the successor state to the Ottoman Empire, for denying the alleged genocide. The aim of obtaining international recognition that the 1915 events in the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide was added later along with demands for reparations and land. This is what the Armenian radicals refer to as the “Armenian Cause” or Hai Tahd; to get recognition of the alleged genocide, payment of reparations to Armenians and to have Turkey cede eastern Turkey to Armenia.

Why then did ASALA split?

ASALA’s leader was Armenian American Monte Melkonian of Dinuba California, working in concert with French Armenian Ara Toranian and Lebanese Armenians Hagop Hagopian and Hagop Darakjian. In 1983, ASALA split into ASALA and ASALA-RM (ASALA-Revolutionary Movement). ASALA was taken over by Hagopian and Darakjian, with bases in Greece, Syria and Lebanon, and continued its terrorism against anyone in its way including civilians and non-Turkish targets. ASALA-RM, on the other hand, was led by Melkonian and Toranian, directed its terrorism against Turkish targets only, again civilian or not. Hagopian was assassinated on April 28, 1998, in what can be described as settling of an inter-organizational account, by a four-man hit team made up of professional ASALA killers Kovsep Artinian and Garabed Kazazian of Beirut, Vartan Gozuboyokian of Damascus, and Albert Abreus of Teheran.

And why did JCAG split?

None of the above, i.e. ASALA and ASALA-RM split, should be confused with JCAG and JCAG-ARA split. According to the FBI, JCAG-ARA was created by the right-wing Dashnak party in order not to lose young Armenians to the ASALA leftists, reporting that Dashnaks constantly supplied JCAG-ARA with new recruits through the Armenian Youth Federation.

When did the intense lobbying of the US Congress by the ARF start?

In 1984, at the Dashnak party's international convention in Munich, Germany, Dashnaks announced a new campaign to promote the Armenian Cause by lobbying the U.S. Congress and UNCHR (UN Commission on Human Rights.) The ARF, in the convention's closing statement, made its intentions clear: "We will continue to pursue the Armenian people's legitimate rights and demand recognition of the Genocide by Turkey, reparations for human, economic, and cultural losses and for the restitution of the millennial Armenian homeland." In summary, the ARF wanted the 3R's: recognition, reparations, restitution.

Did ASALA go along with these goals?

While ASALA may not have objected to the goals, ASALA did not believe that the ARF's "lobbying" was the way to achieve them. ASALA criticized the Dashnak party's strategy most severely. Here is a direct quote: "...the solution of the Armenian Cause cannot be found in false international tribunals, as our people have been made to believe over the years. The Armenian Cause can only be realized through armed struggle and by liberating Armenian lands from Turkish fascism. Is it possible to expect the liberation of our lands with the help of the West when imperialist military bases exist on these territories?" In other words, they are saying, the Armenian cause cannot be advanced through lobbying the people who maintain military bases in Turkey, meaning NATO and the U.S. bases.

Did ARF succeed in its new plan to lobby the US and the UNCHR?

Not, really. Neither the US, nor the UNCHR supported the claim that 1915 events constituted genocide. For example, the powerful Armenian lobby has forced the introduction of 14 resolutions in the US House of Representatives and Senate; six that passed used the word "massacre", not "genocide". Of the eight that did not pass, some were rejected, others died of inaction, because they all insisted on using the term "genocide". The Armenian lobby also failed to persuade the UNCHR.

How does Sassounian parole hearings fit into this picture?

Sassounian's parole hearing was important to the Armenian Cause. For example, the year 2015 marked the centennial of 1915 events that ARF and the

nationalist Armenians consider genocide. As 2015 approached, the Armenian lobby desperately needed a grand gesture to symbolically mark this occasion. Sassounian's release, if it could be obtained, would have made such an impact.

Did ASALA go along with ARF's lobbying policy?

No. For example, on January 20, 2000, ASALA during its 25th anniversary observations, stated, "The acknowledgement of genocide is a political question, and this kind of question is resolved according to the balance of power. Turkey is much stronger now than in the 1970s and 1980s. Our goal is to liberate western Armenian territories in Turkey. We intend to keep a strong fight for our lands." In a separate but related development, authorities within the government of the Republic of Armenia reinstated ARF, the ultra-nationalist, right-wing Dashnak Party. As you might remember, the former Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrossian had suspended ARF in 1994, alleging that it was harboring a terrorist cell within Armenia. Combined, these two developments were interpreted as ominous signs of an approaching new (fourth) wave of Armenian political violence.

How did the Armenian elite view this new threat by both ASALA and ARF? Did they oppose ASALA and ARF?

Far from it. Some of the political violence, in fact, has been inspired, if not also directed, by the elite of the Armenian American community. Take Mourad Topalian, for example, former chairman of ANCA, the US agent of the foreign political party ARF and a member of the Armenian elite, who made his way all the way into President Clinton's White House. The Government's indictment of Mourad Topalian in 2000 cites eight counts in which he led three bombings in the United States, two in Los Angeles and one in New York. Moreover, Topalian led an attempted assassination of the Philadelphia Honorary Turkish Consul. Each of these bombings was claimed by JCAG-ARA of the ARF. Topalian was later caught, tried, convicted, imprisoned, and served his years in prison. Imagine that! A notorious bomb-supplier and ruthless assassination organizer, rubbing elbows with a US president! Of course, the US president had no idea that at least one in the group of deviously smiling Armenian elite visiting him at the White house is a crypto-terrorist with blood on his hand. How could he know? All this is interpreted as the Armenian elite, having failed in peaceful ways to obtain recognition for their genocide claims, has endorsed terrorism once again, leading the way to the fourth wave of Armenian terrorism.

Was the Armenian youth used in this fourth wave of Armenian terrorism?

Of course. Whether the young Armenians commit ahead of time to acts of terrorism that may be asked of them in future, allegedly during the armed-training at an AYP summer camp, or keep this commitment at heart, as in secret sleeping terror cells, to act years later, we cannot be sure. One thing is certain, though: Armenian terrorism uses Armenian youth. Recruitment of youth is done by the AYP, the youth branch of ARF. For example, several connections were made with respect to Sassoonian's affiliations with the ARF and AYP summer camp training. It should be no surprise, therefore, that shortly after Mr. Arıkan was shot, the JCAG phoned United International Press in Los Angeles and claimed responsibility for Arıkan's murder. There are many more examples like that in the more than 200 acts of terror committed by Armenians around the world since 1970s, suggesting systematic use of Armenian youth in Armenian terrorism.

Looking back, where did Armenian terrorism lead the Armenian cause?

When the third wave of Armenian terrorism start in 1970s, the terrorism staged by ASALA and JCAG-ARA were based on the conviction that the Armenian Cause (Hai Tahd) could be achieved at a moment of weakness of the Turks. Armenian terrorism clearly failed to achieve that. What's more, Armenian terrorism caused the world to lose sympathy for the Armenians.

What is the PKK connection all about?

The sudden slow down (but not termination) of Armenian terrorism in 1986, curiously, coincided with the start of Kurdish terrorism under the name PKK (Parti Kurdistan Karkarani, the Marxist-Leninist, Kurdistan Workers Party). This switch in source of terrorist campaign directed against Turkey, through documented and serious cooperation between the JCAG, ASALA and the PKK, with support from Hafız Assad's Syria, caused Turkey to look at global terrorism in a much different light:

- 1) terror was universal, not regional or local;
- 2) terror was integrated, systematic, and deep-rooted, not compartmentalized, disorganized, and shallow;

- 3) terror required a professional force of elite soldiers and police equipped with sophisticated weapons to fight effectively, not regular soldiers and police equipped with conventional weapons;
- 4) Some NATO members, along with some ex-Soviet countries were, unfortunately, financing, arming, training, and/or otherwise supporting the terrorists named above through clandestine ways. While some politicians and diplomats of the “allies” of Turkey were smiling at Turkey’s face in international meetings, some were dastardly and shamelessly helping avowed terrorists, spilling the blood of innocent civilians. Terrorism being nothing less than a survival issue for Turkey, these revelations, facts, and/or realizations caused Turkey to re-examine its relations with most countries. Turkey is relying more on itself now, rather than neighbors or allies, and Turkey’s defense industry is now developing, designing, and manufacturing its own sophisticated weapons, surveillance systems, and communication platforms. One can say that the recent impressive successes scored by Turkish Armed Forces and Police against PKK in Turkey, Northern Syria and Northern Iraq are a result of this awakening.

As a footnote to the above, I can add that in 1999, the PKK’s leader Abdullah Ocalan was captured, tried, convicted of multiple murders, and his death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment after Turkey invalidated the death penalty. Another footnote would be that the Janes Intelligence Review reported in September 1998, that ASALA members from Beirut and South Cyprus traveled to Teheran to meet with Iranian intelligence officials. ASALA met with the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security (VEVAK) to revive ASALA terrorist cells in order to exert pressure on Turkey in case political tensions develop between Turkey and Iran. Once again, one can clearly see, that ASALA is not dead yet, terror is universal, and so is the support for terrorism.

What is the current status of Sassounian?

Sassounian, as you know, had pled not guilty and was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Superior Court of California for the County of Los Angeles in 1984. In 2002, though, faced with the possibility of being retried under special circumstance for killing Mr. Arikian because of his Turkish heritage – an added dimension which makes the crime and its punishment more severe – Sassounian finally confessed, not only escaping from a retrial but also

obtaining the chance to apply for parole every four years. Both at his first hearing in 2006 and second one in 2010, Sassounian was deemed unsuitable for parole and an unreasonable risk of danger to society and public safety.

It is interesting to note that while Sassounian denied that the killing of Mr. Arikan was conceived and planned with the influence or assistance of any Armenian terrorist organization, his claim contradicted the massive government evidence that refuted him. It is quite clear by now that the JCAG and the ARF are closely affiliated with each other. ARF recruited Armenian youth for JCAG and recruits were trained within the AYF. This fact has been confirmed by the FBI. The evidence supporting Sassounian's ties with the ARF and connection between his crime and the AYF is substantial. He was a member of the AYF when he murdered Arikan and, in fact, wearing clothing with AYF emblem on it at the time of the killing. Pictures of him and other young men holding machine guns were taken alongside a flag depicting the ARF symbol. He admitted that there was a shooting range at the AYF camp which he frequented with other AYF members. He even bears a tattoo of the ARF symbol on his chest, over his heart. It was none other than the JCAG who called the United International Press in Los Angeles, taking full credit for the assassination of Mr. Arikan. What's more, AYF has never condemned Sassounian's murder or expressed regrets that a cold-blooded killer like Sassounian was a member of the AYF for many years, which is understandable as AYF has never condemned any Armenian terrorist act.

Evidence compels us to conclude that Arikan's murder was not an isolated event, and occurred as a part of the long string of Armenian terrorist activity that has been present since the 1860s, i.e. for more than 150 years. These obvious threads of continuity between first, second, and third waves of Armenian terrorism, as explained above, created traumatic effects on the Turkish American community. This is why emotional anti-parole campaigns were launched instantly by the latter, participated enthusiastically by many in the community, resulting in the rejection of Sassounian's parole by the parole board. The net result today is that he continues to be behind bars for at least another year or two, until he qualifies for yet another parole hearing. When that happens, we will be ready to extinguish is hopes. He will rot behind bars which should be a lesson to potential Armenian terrorists and those Armenian youth who aspire to be terrorists. It is also a lesson to those Armenian leaders who teach hatred to Armenian

children. I base this assertion, of course, on the testimony of relatives of Sassounian and Saliba, during Sassounian's trial, that Armenian children were raised with hatred against Turkish people. Moreover, Sassounian admitted to harboring such hatred against people of Turkish heritage and the Turkish government, adding that Arikian was targeted because of the Arikian's statements rejecting the Armenian allegation of genocide.

In your view, when did the third wave of Armenian terror end?

I am not sure it ever ended. ASALA and JCAG and their spinoffs may be in their sleeper-cell mode, to be awakened by a moment's notice. Members of such terror organizations disguise themselves well and may appear to us today to be respectable Armenian neighbors, laughing at our face, just like Topalian did hobnobbing with President Clinton. Most scholars consider the terror act of November 23, 1986 in Melbourne, Australia, where a bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Consulate General, killing one person, perhaps the perpetrator, and injuring an Australian national, to be the end of the third wave of Armenian terrorism. I beg to differ.

What is your evidence to support that conclusion?

Here is my evidence for thinking the third wave has not ended yet:

On April 28, 1988, in Athens, Greece, the leader of ASALA, Hagop Hagopian was assassinated by other ASALA members Hovesp Artinian and Garabed Kazazian of Beirut, Vartan Gozuboyokian of Damascus and Albert Abreus of Teheran. Then on December 19, 1991, in Budapest, Hungary, an Armenian gunman attempts to assassinate Turkish Ambassador Bedrettin Tunabash, causing damage to property. The "ASALA Sassoon Unit" claimed responsibility. These sound to me like ASALA is alive and well.

Continuing with evidence, on September 5, 1992, the Armenian Reporter, an Armenian newspaper in New York, published a statement which said the JCAG "will resume its activities" by the application of revolutionary traditions against representatives of the government of Turkey. And this sounds to me like JCAG is not dead yet, either.

Continuing with evidence, on August 22, 1993, in Beirut, Lebanon, ASALA issued a threat to U. S. petroleum firms AMOCO (Standard Oil of Indi-

ana), Penzoil, Unocal, and Dermot, as well as the firms British Petroleum, Norway's Statoil, Turkey's Botas Pipeline, Turk Petroleum, and Azerbaijan's SOCAR company. In it, ASALA stated that it would use all means to bar the passage of oil from Azerbaijan to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Ceyhan, calling it a "Pan-Turkic international pipeline". The threat also stated that "the occupying Turkish regime and its supporters are responsible and therefore face the consequences of their acts." Whether they can do it or not is not the issue here. The fact that there are ASALA members out there issuing ominous threats means acts of terror can also restart in the near future.

In December 1995, in Moscow, Russia, ASALA issued various statements that it is preparing to launch a new phase of terrorist attacks against Turkish targets. On December 30, 1995, The Armenian Reporter, printed an article stating that it had received a statement threatening Turkish targets.

The U. S. Department of State 1997 Terror Report stated that a new terror group by the name of "Gourken Yanikian Military Unit" appeared but that the title was a cover name used by ASALA. And on June 20, 1998, in Brussels, Belgium, a bomb exploded at the Turkish Embassy causing damage and threatening the lives of civilians. A group calling itself "Gourken Yanikian Military Unit" claimed responsibility. These developments make you think, don't they?

On September 18, 1998, in Yerevan, Armenia, ASALA exhibited its "records" in the National Library, when it was claimed that ASALA had carried out more than 350 terror acts since 1975. The exhibition was to educate the Armenian youth about ASALA's mission. On June 20, 2001, in Armavir, Armenia, another exhibition titled "The ARF and the Armenian Cause" opened at the Sardarabad Ethnographic Museum, reportedly "the first of a series of exhibitions dedicated to the national liberation struggle of the Armenian people" and "the decades-long efforts of the ARF at the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide." The exhibit included pictures, documents and publications depicting "heroes-martyrs," as well as a coat of arms of the Armenian Republic that was hand-made by Raffi Titizian – one of the Armenian terrorists of the "Ottawa Three". Terrorists are treated like heroes and they exhibit their "merchandise" in national museums. Can a dead ASALA do all this?

On July 27, 2008, in Paris, France, the ARF commemorates and honors the "Lisbon Five" terrorists.

Canada does not help the efforts to fight global terrorism by granting parole and the permission to return to their families and reintegrate into Canadian society to Kevork Marashelian and Ohannes Noubarian, two of the "Ottawa Three" terrorists who were sentenced to life imprisonment. And on March 19, 2010, the third of the "Ottawa Three" terrorists, Rafi Titizian, who was sentenced to life imprisonment, was granted conditional release and deported to Lebanon, an award not punishment, for this terrorist.

Since 1990s, Armenian youth in American colleges and universities have become more aggressive, in that even cultural nights organized by TSAs (Turkish Students Associations) are raided violently, causing campus police to cancel the event. What even more ominous is that almost all of Armenian American professors and their non-Armenian colleagues who support the Armenian cause have become more antagonistic, belligerent, and destructive to things Turkish. Maybe we can dwell on this in yet another interview, but for example, even an Ataturk lecture, which would have nothing to do with the 1915 events would be raided by violent Armenian youth, interrupting a scholarly lecture and trampling upon the freedom of speech of other scholars and students. When I say Armenian terror did not end, it just change form, I mean this kind of academic terrorism. This unacceptable behavior by the Armenian lobby shows its face in media and politics, too. I will dwell on those in another interview.

How can you summarize all this for our readers?

The third wave of Armenian terrorism, spearheaded by ASALA, JCAG and their spinoffs, started in 1973 with Yanikian murders but did not end in 1986. In fact, it is still continuing as you read these lines. Armenian terrorists seem to have turned over the job of harassing Turkey to the PKK terrorists, with considerable help from some NATO countries, allies, and former Soviet republics. Turkish-American community is aware of these developments and fights back using the American legal system.

Thank you.

My pleasure.

Gençlik Binası

Temmuz, Eylül 2018 Sayı 1 33

Terrorism: Will it turn his American dream into a nightmare?

He's a little shaver, as the expression goes. Knee-high to a grasshopper, but a real tiger. He plays hard, sometimes just his bed-time. Long past knowing what he is doing. This time he was through a bath like James III. Puts his way into his pajamas like a prince. Sugar Ray. Vacation on his back like John Wayne on his recent landing out for a show-down. And just when he's ready for the next adventure, his real little body betrays him into sleep. Into dreams of the boundless American boyhood.

He's at Disneyland with his Mom and Dad. Whirling like a little Darvish through dark tunnels and brilliantly lighted skyways and all the agiles and sounds and smells as a blur. Suddenly, a shudder runs through the scene. His parents' faces are grim. People are rushing for the exits. In the confusion his hands slip out of his parents' grip and he is lost. He hears shouts of "Bomb!", "Turks!", "Armenian terrorists!" He is being mangled. He screams himself awake.

The little shaver comes in all shapes, colors, and ethnic backgrounds. He could be yours, your neighbor's, your grandchild or



someone else's. He could be dreaming of terrorism, seeing it on TV or caught up in an actual shootout with terrorists at a school crosswalk. A hostage of a terrorist group or a potential victim of the next terrorist strike bomb.

Bomb threats, actual detonations, and assassinations are becoming alarmingly routine in Los Angeles and throughout the world. With ghastly pride, terrorist groups calling themselves "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia" or "The Justice Commanders of the Armenian Genocide"

claim responsibility for these heinous acts in certification against Turks.

This new nightmare of terror that lies in store for our children, or all of us for that matter, is new only in its language and methods. But, sadly, it is an old, old story of a misdeed, blind Armenian vendetta against Turks, Turkish-Americans and even non-Turkish friends of the Turkish people and their ancient culture.

It is a vendetta that thrives on ignorance, on the brainwashing of Armenian children into hatred of Turks and all things Turkish. On the indoctrination of great many students and their instructors in colleges and universities who together seek to exploit Turkish history and culture in the spirit of open-minded scholarship.

Thus the Armenian vendetta has become more sinister as each succeeding generation perpetuates it by more and more violent means.

It is time to "tell it like it was and as it is." We are doing so because we firmly believe that only the truth can defuse this explosive threat to the American dream.

Is there a clear and present danger from Armenian terrorist groups?

How much clearer and more present can you get than a typical Saturday night at Disneyland?

HEAUNES — Los Angeles Times — June 4, 1981

TURKISH SHOWS CALLED IN WAKE OF BOMB?

The story goes on and on of the incidents of two U.S. State Department sponsored performances of the Turkish Folk Dance Troupe — one at Disneyland that very night — because of a recent bombing and planned demonstration. The reference is to a paper headlined by the Arabian Crescent in Cairo the previous Wednesday that caused the evacuation of 5,000 people.

The little boy in our story had good reason to dream his Disneyland nightmare.

And it is here we begin our summation of the facts that have led us to these assumptions of Turkish terrorism within the last decade in the Los Angeles area alone. And each possibly stirred by Armenian terrorism. To us, a string of coincidences rather than, dispirited acts of Turkish fanatics and Catholics in Vietnam, Paris, Beirut, Madrid, the Hague, Ankara, the Holy See of Rome. And several of what has been wrong with us in seeing these headlines and head lines by Turkish cultural spokesmen, film shows, and talk shows recurrent to the hearing of an American audience of Turkish history from a newspaper column after he had been threatened with murder. Not to mention a prominent frontpage of Turkish and American business establishments and physical attacks on Turkish youths.

In August we see the Armenian agencies to discuss the truth that they have succeeded in preventing Turkish history and culture — a procedure because few of mankind have back more than a thousand years — from being taught.

In many they have made legends of all Americans — from George Washington to Lyndon B. Johnson — as well as American Agencies of good will. And all the blame of historical issues based on real dimensions of the historical facts.

How did it all begin?
How and when can it end?
Armenian terrorism and mass political conspiracies with their clear have tried to justify their campaign of violence and terror by misrepresenting and distorting facts concerning an event that occurred close to 70 years ago.

Armenian terrorism direct and seriously mismanagement historical facts on a pretext for violence against Turks.

At the end of the 19th century most of the ministers of the Ottoman Empire were able to establish their independence due largely to population expansion in the lands they claimed. Armenians were considered any majority in any part of the Ottoman Empire at any time. This was because over the centuries they had been scattered throughout Anatolia and Russia.

Without the support of advanced industrialism, the Armenians resorted to large scale propaganda and terror, in any dimension, their financial and political nationalistic movements. "Agitation and terror was needed to stimulate the spirit of the people. — The most opportune time to instigate the general will was when Turks were engaged in a war. — Christian Nightingale, The Armenian Revolutionary Movement, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983, pp. 110-111.

This particular policy was employed during World War I. Starting in 1914, arms and ammunition were shipped to various Armenian bands organized as Eastern Anatolia by Russia to

enable the Russian army to invade the lands claimed by Armenians. As the Russian occupied Eastern Anatolia the Armenians and those also concerned by the Armenian "volunteers" were to create that they had to be established by the Russians to strip Armenians against Turks and other Ottoman subjects.

In response to the open Armenian result in 1915, the acts of barbarism committed by Armenians, the Ottoman government exterminated all Armenians from the area threatened by war action to create a buffer zone.

As a result of war time conditions, famine, and epidemics over 2 million Turks died, as did 300,000 Armenians. **There was no genocide committed against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during this period, as is often claimed by Armenian Extremists.**

No genocide was planned or achieved by the Ottoman government and to genocide was carried out. Armenians actually march but established that the series of large scale massacres were, in fact, largely instigated by Armenians in London Paris and London during World War I by their self serving interests.

The conflict between Armenians and Turks was resolved when the Armenians abandoned all of their territorial claims on Turkey with the Treaties of Garmy (December 1920), Moscow (March 1921), and Karaköy (October 1921).

In 1919 Mustafa Kemal ATATURK founded the Turkish War of Independence which resulted in the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. **To put the genocide matter to rest for good and all —**

Send Ancestral sources: Dr. C. Cengiz, Istanbul Institute of Washington, on Lord Curzon, 11 July 1921, Foreign Office, FO/3524-81181 show that after

years of deliberation, British and American investigation failed to find any evidence to substantiate the charge of genocide; in fact, as American historian and traveler against the leading Ottoman Turks as well as the Ottoman government in 1921.

The Turkish-American Community wishes to live free from violence and hatred directed at us in our chosen country.

Turkish-American and friends of Turkey believe that a more honest expression of hatred and detestation of all things Turkish by Armenian propaganda and the meddling of Turkish diplomats by Armenian terrorism, are to continue except to destabilize an already beleaguered world.

Above all, nobody has the right to bring ancient hatreds to this blessed land.

Further, we realize that having American arms to be lying in the United States are put into hostile countries from the larger world. Our neutral land is an important feature of the NATO defense of Western democracy. We recognize that Armenian terrorism have committed such work international terrorism and terrorist organizations. As such they are toxic to the health of those who seek to establish the peace and justice of the Middle East and beyond.

We all agree Armenians of good will do not

consider the use of terrorism that place into the hands of aggressive international adventures.

Turks do not believe we all belong toward the Armenians. Hundreds of thousands of Turks living today, whose parents or grandparents perished at the hands of Armenian terrorism during World War I (1914-1918) have forgotten and forgiven. They have chosen nonviolence as a way of life. We hope and pray the Armenians who today are being not blind, misguided hatred will see the light of reason and believe we may have lives peacefully lost.

We appeal to all Americans, including American-Americans, to join us in putting an end to terrorism.

Together, we can stop it.

What can you do about it?
First, learn more of the facts about Armenian Extremist terrorism. Fill in the coupon below and we will be happy to send you a copy of "Living the Royal Road" — a richly illustrated, pocket-size book on the history of Armenian nationalism, Turkish terrorism and its violent expression past and present. This — or another issue — with your elected representatives from President Reagan on down to your State and local officials. Tell them they must do something in their power to halt the spread of terrorism too.

And perhaps one day soon there will be no terrorism for our sleeping children.

I am interested in receiving a copy of "Living the Royal Road" — Armenian Extremism — Terrorism included.
 I am interested in receiving a copy of "Living the Royal Road" — Armenian Extremism — Terrorism included.
 Please send me a free copy of "Living the Royal Road" — Armenian Extremism — Terrorism included.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Assembly of Turkish American Associations - USA
P. O. Box 14121, Washington, D.C. 20050

Tarih ve GÜNCE

Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi
Journal of Atatürk and the History of Turkish Republic
1/3, (2018 Yaz), ss. 309-318.

Temsilciliklerimizden Haberler

İTALYA TEMSİLCİMİZDEN:

A short insight in Italian historiography

Fabio L. Grassi *

As in the report concerning 2017 and as it could happen regularly in the future, I will concentrate on the books which have raised interest outside classic academic circles among the works concerning Ottoman Empire, Turkey and the area of the Turkic peoples and countries.

In the second half of 2018, two topics are likely to be on stage: the end of WWI and the racist laws issued by the fascist regime in 1938. But in the first half of 2018 Italian academic historians had to concentrate mainly on formal questions. One of them directly affects the studies concerning Ottoman Empire and Turkey. Indeed, Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research has long time ago decided to abolish the little particular research sectors so to create giant groups. One of the consequences is that History of Eastern Europe is doomed to disappear, more exactly to be definitively absorbed by Contemporary History. Until now, a scholar of History of Eastern Europe has felt him/herself free to publish about medieval or modern history - my last work concerns early Ottoman Balkans - just like about recent topics. In the future, who and why? With the pools and the new government a break has occurred, somebody thinks that is still possible to stop this trend before definitive decision.

Regarding Turkic world, I deem worth being mentioned the following book:

Franco Cardini, *Il Sultano e lo Zar. Due imperi a confronto* [The Sultan and the Tsar. Two empires facing each other], Roma, Salerno, 2018. Franco Cardini is an aged prominent scholar of medioeval history who in the last decades has gained large popularity with books stretching beyond his natural fields of researches. It is correct to add that he has always showed serious interest for Eastern Europe, for the relations between Christian and Muslim powers in Modern age and for Ottoman Empire. In the last decades Cardini has become a brand, rivalling non academic historians in a frenzy divulgative production, including a book on Istanbul. I happened to look up this new book and immediately found some mistakes, so I quit reading. I suppose this book is selling well and on the whole will provide a balanced orientation to the readers.

To conclude, let me inform that my book on the Circassians, that had been published by a Turkish publishing house and had already been translated in Turkish, has been translated in English thanks to a Turkish institution, the Istanbul Aydın University. To summarize:

* Dr., Tarih ve GÜNCE İtalya Temsilcisi

Fabio L. Grassi, *Una Nuova Patria. L'Esodo dei Circassi verso l'Impero Ottomano*, Istanbul, ISIS, 2014, pp. 281;

- *Yeni bir Vatan. Çerkeslerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna zorunlu Göçü* (1864), İstanbul, Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2017 (Turkish version);

- *A New Homeland. The massacre of the Circassians, their Exodus to the Ottoman Empire, their place in modern Turkey* (English version), Istanbul, Istanbul Aydın University Publications, 2018.

MACARİSTAN TEMSİLCİMİZDEN:

MAGYARORSZÁGON LEGFRÍSSEBB HÍREK

Alev Duran*



Prof. Dr. Hamza Gabor magyar író (jobbra) az Oszmán birodalom és Törökországnak Magyarországgal jogi területen való kapcsolatait megvizsgáló " Török-Magyar Jogi Kapcsolatok" nevű könyve a budapesti Hazai György könyvtárban szervezett rendezvényen volt bemutatva. Az eseményen a volt magyarországi nagykövet Hovari János (középen) is részt vett.

Prof. Dr. Hamza Gábor magyar író, Törökország jogrendszerét, az Európai Unió (EU) országainak jogrendszerével ugyanazon szinten van mondta. Prof. Dr. Hamza-nak " Oszmán Birodalom és Törökországnak Magyarországgal való jogi területen való kapcsolatait vizsgáló "Török-Magyar Jogi Kapcsolatok" című könyvét a budapesti Hazai György könyvtárban szervezett eseményen volt bemutatva. Hamza az adott nyilatkozatában, nagyon hosszú ideig Törökország jogrendszeréről kutatást végzett határozta meg ; Törökország jogrendszerének Európa Unió tag országoknak teljesen ugyanazon szintjén van jegyezte meg.

Törökország és Magyarország közötti, jogi kapcsolatok évszázadokkal ezelőtt alapuló , az Oszmán Birodalomnak 150 év Magyarország uralma idején , a két nép közötti erős kapcsolat létrejöttét kifejező Hamza "az Oszmán és Magyar népek abban az időben békésen éltek. Valójában erre mint példa nincsen. Ez az együttélés , még ma is példaként szolgálhat

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számunkra mondta. A könyvében " az Oszmán birodalomnak Magyarországon széles körben alkalmazott jogrendszerére figyelmet felhívó Hamza , abban az időszakban az iszlám jognak nemcsak Magyarországon, ugyanakkor az Oszmán birodalomnak autonóm régiójában Erdélyben is alkalmazták mondta.

Hamza ezenkívül arra is rámutatott, hogy Magyarország az első európai ország, amely elismerte az iszlám hivatalos vallását. Hovari János Magyarország volt ankarai nagykövete is Hamzát nemzetközi téren elismert és elfogadott kutatónak, a könyvét bemutató " török - magyar jogviszonyoknak" fontos forrása lesz -magyarázta.

A programra Törökország budapesti nagykövete Şakır Fakıl, valamint Azerbajdzsán budapesti nagykövete Vilayet Guliyev, az Észak-Ciprusi Török Köztársaság (KKTC) magyarországi nagykövet képviselője Selda Çimen és nagyszámú vendég vett részt.



MACARİSTAN'DAN SON HABERLER

Macar Yazar Prof. Dr. Gabor Hamza'nın, (sağda) Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'nin, Macaristan ile hukuki alandaki ilişkilerini ele alan "Türk-Macar Hukuk İlişkileri" isimli kitabı Budapeşte'deki György Hazai Kütüphanesi'nde düzenlenen etkinlikte tanıtıldı. Etkinliğe Macaristan'ın eski Ankara Büyükelçisi Janos Hovari (ortada) de katıldı.

Macar Yazar Prof. Dr. Gabor Hamza, Türkiye'nin hukuk sisteminin, Avrupa Birliği (AB) üye ülkelerinin hukuk sistemi ile aynı seviyede olduğunu söyledi. Prof. Dr. Hamza'nın, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'nin, Macaristan ile hukuki alandaki ilişkilerini ele alan "Türk-Macar Hukuk İlişkileri" isimli kitabı Budapeşte'deki György Hazai Kütüphanesi'nde düzenlenen etkinlikte tanıtıldı. Hamza, yaptığı açıklamada, çok uzun süredir Türkiye'nin hukuk sistemi üzerine araştırmalar yaptığını belirterek, Türkiye'nin hukuk sisteminin AB üyesi ülkelerdekilerle tamamiyle aynı düzeyde olduğunu kaydetti.

Türkiye ve Macaristan arasında hukuk ilişkilerinin yüzyıllar öncesine dayandığını, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 150 yıllık Macaristan hâkimiyeti döneminde iki halk arasında güçlü bir ilişki kurulduğunu dile getiren Hamza, "Osmanlı ve Macar halkları, o dönemde barışçıl şekilde yaşadı. Bunun aslında bir örneği daha yok gibi. Bu birlikte yaşam, bugün bile bizim için örnek alınabilecek bir durum." dedi. Kitabında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Macaristan'da uyguladığı hukuk sistemini de geniş şekilde işlediğine dikkati çeken Hamza, o

dönemde İslam hukukunun sadece Macaristan'da değil aynı zamanda Osmanlı'nın özerk bölgesi olan Erdel'de de uygulandığını söyledi.

Hamza ayrıca Macaristan'ın İslam'ı resmi din olarak tanıyan ilk Avrupa ülkesi olduğuna işaret etti. Macaristan'ın eski Ankara Büyükelçisi Janos Hovari de Hamza'nın uluslararası alanda tanınan ve kabul görmüş bir araştırmacı olduğunu, tanıtımı yapılan kitabının Türk-Macar hukuk ilişkilerinde önemli bir kaynak teşkil edeceğini anlattı.

Programı, Türkiye'nin Budapeşte Büyükelçisi Şakir Fakılı'nın yanı sıra Azerbaycan'ın Budapeşte Büyükelçisi Vilayet Guliyev, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin (KKTC) Macaristan Temsilcisi Büyükelçi Selda Çimen ve çok sayıda davetli katıldı.

İRAN TEMSİLCİMİZDEN:

Mansumeh Daei*

Tanıtım:

Kitabın adı: Hamaseye Yeprem (Efrem), Cavidan yayınevi, Tebriz 2535

Konu : Efrem'in faaliyetleri, savaşları ve ek olarak Guguniyan (Gogoyan), Taşnakıyon Partisinin kuruluşu, Osmanlı, Rusya ve İran'da ettikleri faaliyetleri hakkındadır.

İçindekiler:

Birinci bölüm: Mekenas'dan (Makanas) kısa söz- ĞUKAS KARAPETYAN

Mütercim notu- Herayer Halatiyan

İsmail Rainden giriş (İran ünlü tarihçilerden dir)

Girişi- A. Amuriyan

Önsöz - Andre Amuriyan

Ermeniler ve İran'in Meşrûte devrimi- Herayer Halatiyan

İkinci bölüm: Yeprem hamasasi

Kadim Tebriz

Kars'a taraf

Satıcılar

Sınırın ötesi

Malazgerd ve Bulanık

Dönüş

Yeprem Beygiyanin elinde esir döşmüş

Abraham Karabağının ölümü

* Doç. Dr., Tarih ve Günce İran Temsilcisi.

Medrese ve Fen bilimler okulu yerine zindan

Yargılama

Sefer hazırlıkları

Tiflis

Sahaline taraf

Vapur güvertesinde

Sahalin adasında

Kaçış hazırlıkları

Sahalinde son gece

Sahalinden İran'a firar planı

Albüm

Üçüncü bölümde, İran'ın çeşitli yazırları Efrem ve bu kitap hakkında fikirlerini söylemişler ve değerlendirmişleridir.

Sonra, kitabın içinde Efrem hakkında yazılmayan bazı sözleri, Efrem arkadaşları tarafından denilen sözler not almışlardır.

Albüm

Meşrûte savaşında Ermeni ölenleri

İsimlerin fihristi ve fotoğrafları

Kaynaklar

Kitap aslında, Gogonıyan grubunun hatıralarıdır ki Yeprem hamasası isminde yazılmıştır.

Hosp Musesıyan (Mosesıyan), Gogonıyan grubunun kalan bir kaç kişiden birisidir ki, bu grubun kuruluşundan ta tutuklama, Sahaline sürgüne gittiklerinde ve Rusya Sahalin'den İran'a firar ettikleri zaman Yeprem'in yanındadırlar, o yüzden yazdığı hatıralar özel değeri ve Türkiye tarihi için de önemlidir.

Kitab'da özellikle İran'da Rostom ismiyle tanınan Taşnakşyon lideri Estepan Zorıyan ve yaptığı faaliyetler hakkında, özellikle İran Meşrûtesinde olan rolunu yazmıştır.

Gugonıyanın grubunun tek hayatta kalanlarından Hosp Mosesıyan, bu grubun kuruluşundan ta tutuklama, mühakime, sürgün, Sahalin ve Sibırya'dan Yefrem'le birlikte İran'a büyük firarlarında her zaman Yefrem'in yanında olup, bu yüzden Hosp'un hatıraları benzerisi olmadığını kanaatındayım.

Bu kitap hakkında İran'ın çeşitli önemli yazarları tarafından fikirler söylenip, Ermeniler tarafından da, örneğin Taşnakşyon Partisinin baş liderlerinden Ruben Terminasyan, Ermenistanın eski adalet bakanı ve ünlü politikacı Rubendar Biniyan, Ermenistanın Kültür bakanı Nikol Akbaliyan, Leon Şant, Samson Tadlosyan, Simon Voratsıyan Aram Sahakiyan tarflarından da kitabın önemini vurgulamışlardır.

Hamaseye Yeprem isminde bu kitap Gugoniyenin grubunun hatıralarıdır diye diyebiliriz.

İRAN TEMSİLCİMİZDEN:

Naile Asker*

Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti - 100: Müslüman Doğusunda İlk Parlamentolu Cumhuriyet

1919 yılında Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti döneminde kurulmuş Bakı Devlet Üniversitesi, Kafkas Müslümanları İdaresi ile beraber Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti - 100: Müslüman Doğusunda İlk Parlamentolu Cumhuriyet konulu uluslararası sempozyuma ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Üç gün devam eden sempozyum Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulduğu 28 Mayıs günü açılışını yapmıştır. ABD, Türkiye, Rusya, Gürcistan, Moldova, Kuveyt, Polonya, Kazakistan, Özbekistan ve başka ülkelerden 70'in üzerinde bilim insanının bulunduğu sempozyumun açılış töreninde yurt içi ve yurt dışı bilim insanlarıyla yanı sıra, Azerbaycan'ın bilim ve eğitim camiasının ileri gelen temsilcileri, milletvekilleri, devlet ve hükümet resimleri katılmıştır.

Bakı Devlet Üniversitesi'nin rektörü Prof. Dr. Abel Meherremov açılış konuşmasında sempozyumun Müslüman Doğusunda ilk parlamentolu cumhuriyetin - Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasının 100 yıllığı ile bağlı olarak Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin 100. Yıl Dönümü Hakkında Cumhurbaşkanı İlham Aliyev'in serencamına uygun olarak düzenlendiğini, Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti döneminin Azerbaycan tarihinin parlak sayfalarından biri olduğunu, bağımsız Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti'nin AHC'nin mirasçısı olduğunu söylemiştir: 28 Mayıs 1918'de kurulmuş, toplam 23 ay yaşamış Azerbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti zengin devlet kuruculuğu deneyimi ile milli devletçilik tarihinde silinmez izler bırakmış, milletin kalbinde istiklal duygularını güçlendirmekle cumhuriyetin gelecek bağımsızlığı için güvenilir zemin hazırlamıştır. Konuşmasında cumhuriyetin tarihi hizmetleri hakkında geniş bilgi veren rektör, özellikle 1919'da Bakı Devlet Üniversitesi'nin kurulmasına dikkat çekmiş ve Üniversitenin AHC'nin evlat yadigarı olduğunu bildirmiştir.

Kafkas Müslümanları İdaresi'nin başkanı, Şeyhülislam Hacı Allahşükür Paşazade Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin milletin devletçilik tarihinde geçtiği yoldan bahsederek Cumhuriyeti'nin kabul olunmuş bayrağının üç renkli olmasını ve İslami değerlerin burada yer almasını vurgulamıştır: Devlet bayrağı onu göstermektedir ki, cumhuriyet din-devlet ilişkilerinin dengelenmesi için elinden geleni yapmıştır. Maalesef, Nisan 1920'de XI Rus ordusu Azerbaycan'ı işgal etti ve 23 aylık varoluştan sonra AHC sukut etti. İşgalden toplam iki hafta sonra Bolşevik hükümetinin Halk Maarifi Komiserliği vicdan azatlığı hakkında kararname (decret) verdi. Kararnameye göre özel ve devlet okullarında dini eğitim ve her hangi bir dini ayinin icra edilmesi yasaklandı. Bolşevikler ruhanileri halk düşmanı ilan ederek mal varlıklarını müsadere etti, Sibiry'a sürgün etti ve çoğunluğunu kurşuna dizdi.

Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti Milli Meclisi başkanının birinci yardımcısı, milletvekili Prof. Dr. Ziyafet Esgerov Halk Cumhuriyeti döneminde tarihi önem arz eden ve bugün milletin kaderini büyük ölçüde etkileyen kanun ve kararların kabul edildiğini, Cumhuriyetin Müslü-

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man halklara sömürgeci kurtulmağın yolunu gösterdiğini, onlar için örnek olarak Avrupa'nın birçok ülkesinden önce kadınlara seçmek, seçilmek hakkı vermekle bunu bütün dünya demokrasisine armağan ettiğini söylemiştir.

Azerbaycan Milli İlimler Akademisi Kafkasşınaslık Enstitüsünün müdürü, milletvekili Prof. Dr. Musa Gasımlı, ABD'nin Princeton Üniversitesinin hocası Prof. Dr. Michael A. Reynolds Halk Cumhuriyetinin tarihine bir bakış atmış, 2018. yılın Cumhuriyet yılı ilan olumasını yüksek değerlendirmişler.

Açılış konuşmalarından sonra ev sahibi Bakı Devlet Üniversitesinin kuruluş tarihini yansıtmış film gösterilmiş, sonra toplantı küçük bir açılış konseriyle son bulmuştur. Üç gün boyunca sempozyum işini devam ettirmiş, oturumlarda yaklaşık 30 ülkeden gelmiş katılımcılar tarafından 300'ü aşkın bilimsel sunumlar gerçekleştirilmiştir.

İNGİLTERE TEMSİLCİMİZDEN:

Tuncay İnan*

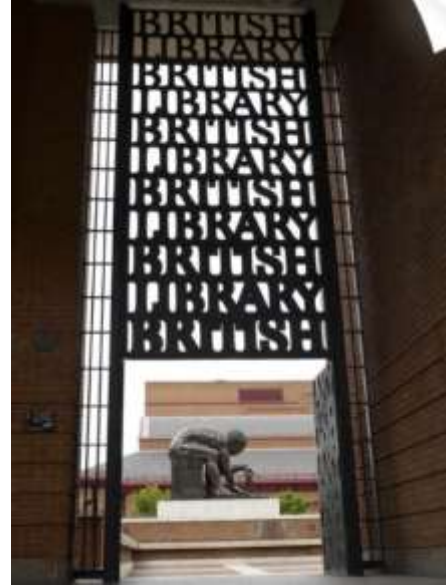
THE BRITISH LIBRARY

The British Library is the national library of the United Kingdom. The origins and foundations of this significant Library which was established in 1753. A donation was given to the library from the Royal book collection of King George III to the library in 1827 and housed in this first public museum for over 200 years collection was added to end kept as British museum library

The British Library in the Center of London covering more than 12 million item for this reason, the library has an additional storage unit in Yorkshire. Also additional security has its own internal atmosphere, low oxygen environment is ideal for preventing fires, protecting from book worms and other pests, the environment is kept under control to protect the collection. This Library is one of the most advanced book storage systems in the world

I'm learning something new every aspect of the British Library Karl Marx, Lenin, Charles Dickens have read a book here until the Library closes There is also beautiful statue of Isaac Newton in the British Library garden

All researchers academicians can be confident that they will spend a good time here and they will get inspiration from the mysterious books.



* Tarih ve Günce İngiltere Temsilcisi.

**« Le Père turc » par Lelio Bonaccorso et Loulou Dédola /
Türk Baba, Editions Glénat-Paris-mars 2018**



Atatürkün yaşamına ilişkin duygusal göndermeler, Mustafa Kemal'i ararken ;

Afife, İzmirde yaşayan bir entellektüeldir, endüstrisi bitirilmiş bir şehirde yaşayan kız yeğenini aramaya gider. Bu kısa ziyarette, 15 yaşındaki Mehmet adındaki ,yetim, radikal dincilikle ve düşük çaplı suç işleyen kişilik arasında bocalayan, küçük yeğeniyle de karşılaşır. Mehmet'in, memleketin tarihiyle alakalı tam bir cahil olduğunu farkedene, Afife, O'nun, yapacağı eğitim yolculuğuna gelmesini ister : Atatürk adıyla tanınan, ilerici Türk, Mustafa Kemal'in hayatı üzerine bir anket yapacaktır. Teyzesini tanımaya başlayan Mehmet, yavaş yavaş bu kişiliği de tanımaya ve keşfetmeye başlar... Acaba, hiç sahip olmadığı babasının yerine geçecek midir, Mustafa Kemal ?

Afife'nin Mehmet'e anlattığı biraz abartılı, Mustafa Kemal'in hayatı ve Lelio Bonaccorso ve Loulou Dédola (Türk dostu ve Kemalist devrim hayranı) tarafından, çizgi roman olarak hazırlanmış bu kitap, halk tarafından verilen adıyla, Atatürk'ün, çocukluk ve askeri hayatı üzerine yaptığı git-gel ve daha sonraki siyasi döneme değin tespitler içeriyor. Kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkının Avrupa'da pekçok ülkeden önce tanındığı (1934 yılında- Fransa'da 1944) Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kurucusu, bu büyük, laik ve kadın hakları savunucusu, Osmanlı imparatorluğunun bitişiyle beraber, insancıl aydınlanma döneminden esinlenerek, Türkiye'yi dünyaya açtı. Çağdaş dünyamızda sıkça cemaatçi içe kapanışa karşılık, açılım ve toleransla dolu bir laiklik dersi veriyor bu kitap.

* Tarih ve Günce Fransa Temsilcisi.

Dergimiz Tarih ve Günce nihayet ikinci sayısına kavuştu. İkinci sayımızın editörlüğünü Dr. Derya Genç Acar yaptı. Sayın Acar dergimizin amacını belirtirken şöyle demişti: "Biz Mustafa Kemal Atatürk önderliğinde evrensel ilkelere dayandırılarak kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin, devraldığı miras ile birlikte yaşadığı çağdaşlaşma sürecini toplumsal, siyasal, kültürel ve ekonomik gibi çok boyutlu yönleriyle ortaya koymayı amaçlıyoruz."

Dergimiz, çok yoğun ve yine heyecanlı bir çalışma döneminden sonra siz tarih severlerin huzuruna çıktı. Makalelerimiz, bir önceki sayımızda olduğu gibi titiz çalışmalar sonucunda yayına girdi. Dergimizin ikinci sayısında editörden sunuş yazısı, geçtiğimiz dönemdeki gibi beş İngilizce ve yedi Türkçe olmak üzere toplam on iki makalemiz, biri İngilizce, biri Almanca ve biri de Türkçe olmak üzere toplam üç adet kitap tanıtım yazımız bulunmaktadır.

İkinci sayımızda ilk sayımızdan farklı olarak temsilciliklerimizden haberler kısmını da ekledik. İtalya'dan Fabio L. Grassi, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden Timur Kocaoğlu, Almanya'dan Halil Fehmi Dağ, Azerbaycan'dan Naile Asker, Fransa'dan Yüksel Çelgin, İngiltere'den Tuncay İnan, İran'dan Mansumeh Daei, Macaristan'dan Alev Duran, İstanbul'dan Zaur Gasimov, Bartın'dan Yenal Ünal, Nevşehir'den Hüseyin Kalemli ve Tarih ve Günce'den benim kaleme aldığım haberler dergimizde yer aldı.

Dergimizin kapak tasarımı yine benim tarafımdan ve dizgisi ise yine sevgili Murat Kaya arkadaşımız tarafından yapıldı.

Dergimizin çatısı altında yurtiçi ve yurtdışı olmak üzere yine birçok etkinliklerde bulunduk. Bunların çoğunluğunu sayın hocamız Prof. Dr. Kemal Arı'nın yurtdışı faaliyetleri oluşturdu. Almanya'da gerçekleşen bu faaliyetler daha çok "Sözde Ermeni Soykırımı" üzerinde yoğunlaştı.

Sayın Arı, Almanya'da yine dergimiz çatısı altında bir dizi çalışma içerisinde bulundu. Bu çalışmaların bir kısmında hem kitap imza törenleri yapıldı hem de çeşitli şehirlerde halkı aydınlatma etkinliklerinde bulunuldu. 11 Şubat 2018'de Almanya'nın Dortmund kentinde, 24 Şubat 2018'de Berlin'de, 4 Mart 2018'de ise Duisburg'da, 29 Nisan 2018 tarihinde Siegen'de ve son olarak da Mainz şehrinde konferanslarımız gerçekleşti.

15-16 Şubat'ta Siegen'de "Atatürkçülük", 12 - 13 - 14 Şubat tarihlerinde Duisburg'da "Atatürkçülük ve Yeni Türkiye'nin Doğuşu" başlıklı eğitim semineri verildi. 17 Şubat'ta Düseldorf'ta 'Karikatürlerle Atatürk ve Türk Devrimi' isimli bir fotoğraf sergisi açıldı.

Sergi, konferans ve seminerlere katılım ve ilgi oldukça yüksekti. Bu etkinliklerin geniş bir tanıtımını dergimizin Almanya'da Kiel temsilciliğini yapan arkadaşımız Halil Fehmi Dağ'ın Almanca olarak kaleme aldığı tanıtım yazısında bulabileceksiniz.

Bütün bu yoğun çalışmanın ardından yayın hayatına kavuşan dergimizin üçüncü sayısını hazırlamak için tüm heyecanımızla başladık. Bu amaçla 29 Mayıs 2018 tarihinde Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde dergimizin var olmasında ana rol üstlenen hocamız sayın Prof. Dr. Kemal Arı olmak üzere, sevgili Dr. Derya Genç Acar, Dr. Resul Yavuz, Özlem Yıldız, Nimet Avcı, Fehmi Kurtulmuş, Şenay Savur ve Murat Kaya arkadaşlarımızda Yönetim Kurulu olarak bir araya geldik.

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Burcu burcu kokan çaylarımız ve kahvelerimizi yudumlarırken üçüncü sayımızın nasıl olacağına dair kararlar aldık. Hemen ardından da çalışmalarımıza başladık. Böylelikle de şu an elinizde bulunan dergimizin üçüncü sayısının, nasıl bir biçimde karşınıza çıkacağına dair kararlar aldık.

Bunun devamında dergimiz etkinliklerine hız kesmeden devam etmemiz gerekiyordu. Her bir sayıda daha fazla heyecan ve arzu ile hem etkinliklerimize hem de dergimize çalışmak bizi sizle buluşturan çok önemli bir durum idi.

İşte tüm bu heyecanla bu sayımızda da editörden sunuş yazısı, dokuzu İngilizce olmak üzere on iki adet makalemiz, biri Almanca olmak üzere üç adet tanıtım yazımız, bir adet söyleşimiz, İtalya, Macaristan ve İran temsilciliklerimiz ile Tarih ve Günce'den haberlerimizi sizlerle buluşturmanın mutluluğunu yaşıyoruz.

Bu dönemin diğer bir etkinliği de 9 Haziran 2018 tarihinde Didim Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği ile ortak düzenlemiş olduğumuz; "Atatürk, Milli Egemenlik ve Türkiye" başlıklı konferansımızı Prof. Dr. Kemal Arı verdi. Konferansımızı yüzlerce kişinin katılımıyla şenlik havasında gerçekleştirme fırsatı bulabildik. Etkinliğimiz ikinci gün yani 10 Haziran 2018 tarihinde Akbük'te sona erdi. Her iki konferansımıza da katılım oldukça güzeldi.

Bizden haberler şimdilik bu kadar... Yeni sayımızda tekrar buluşmak üzere hoşçakalın...

FOTOĞRAFLAR





