

**Social, Educational, Political, Economic and  
Other Developments  
Occurred in Turkey  
Between the Years of 1923-1938**



**Editors**  
**Assoc.Prof.Dr. Özkan AKMAN**  
**Asst.Prof.Dr. Mustafa Murat ÇAY**  
**Asst.Prof.Dr. Fatih BOZBAYINDIR**

**ISRES**  
Publishing

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**2018**

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*Cover Design and Layout*

**Davut Alan**

**This book was typeset in 10/12 pt. Calibri, Italic, Bold and Bold Italic.**

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*Social, Educational, Political, Economic and Other Developments  
Occurred in Turkey between the Years of 1923-1938*

**Published by ISRES Publishing, International Society for Research in Education and  
Science (ISRES).**

**Includes bibliographical references and index.**

*ISBN*

**978-605-81654-6-5**

*Date of Issue*

**December, 2018**

*E-mail*

**isresoffice@gmail.com**

**www.isres.org**

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## PROEM

Turkey in 1923 and the period between the years 1938 to think about when analyzing as Turkey, especially during and after the proclamation of the Republic is necessary to examine the period up to Atatürk's death. When we first look at the events in this process in chronological order; It is necessary to examine the revolutions made since 1923 before the establishment of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Because the decisions taken in the Parliament affected the following years. The applications show that a planned plan is carried out step by step by considering the political balances. In any case, politics is the method followed in order to reach a goal with the simplest expression. no doubt the world has also been influenced by political developments in Turkey's domestic political conditions there. This is a natural process. New Turkey since Atatürk shaping the country as much as possible by planning a modern Turkey, unlike all the institutions have been thinking about him apart from the world to integrate with internal politics and economic stability have also worked together to execute. While making these changes, radical changes have been made in many respects, Revolution movements have been implemented within a certain line of logic and these changes have been realized despite the existence of those who oppose the change. The period between 1923 and 1938 has been based on the principles of Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Statism, Secularism and Revolutionism. The changes made by taking into consideration these principles have caused the reaction of those who oppose the change and these reactions have emerged as the resistance against the ones that are often wanted to be done. This resistance sometimes occurred in the form of insurrection, and sometimes attempted to assassinate himself. However, in spite of all these difficulties, they were all overcome. This book prepared by the experts of their field; between the years of 1923-1938 in Turkey he has tried to explain the events occurring in some but not all of them.

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### 3 MARCH 1924 TEVHID TEDRISAT LAW AND REQUIREMENTS

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#### Introduction

Education and training activities in the Islamic society began with Muhammad's prophethood, shaped, variegated and has continued until today. God, the Prophet. Muhammad download it in the first verse "read the name of the Lord the Creator! God Man 'was created out of relevance. Read! Your Lord is the most generous. Allah is taught to write with a pen, do not know who has taught the people (Yazır, 2015; 95:6). "has reported that the Prophet himself in the eyes of God reveals that knowledge of the source and has commanded all believers to read.

When the Islamic State began to expand and the Muslim community began to crowded, the education began to spread out of the mosques (Atay, 1983). Due to the increase in the Muslim population, the main purpose of the mosques was to prevent the worship to be done comfortably by the crowded student groups, the emergence of new branches of science (Kırpık, 2012) and the payment of wages to the teachers (Zengin, 2002). These training activities, which can be called informal and non-formal education which has a certain space, hierarchy, curricula and continuity, which are made specific to certain areas, have assumed important functions in Islamic society during the process which will continue until the establishment of madrasahs which are organized for this purpose and which are organized for this purpose (Tangulu, Karadeniz and Ateş, 2014; Zengin, 2002).

Although it is accepted that a new era started in education with the establishment of madrasahs, Pedersen says that the madrasahs do not differ much from the mosques, and that the same educational activities were continued (Pedersen, 1979). In addition, it suggests that the cells that divide the mosques into education are called madrasahs. In addition to this, it was claimed that the madrasahs which were built separately carried out mosque services and therefore the madrasah had been walking on the same plane (Pedersen, 1979). However, Pedersen also acknowledges that the Nizamiye madrasahs were the beginning of a new era for madrasahs (Pedersen, 1979).

We can classify the educational institutions within the Ottoman classical education system as Enderun school providing education for the education of primary schools, madrasahs educating scholars and jurists, and managerial cadres (Kırpık, 2012). In addition to these, we can also include courses of public education (Özkan, 2011) carried

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out by the tarikats who undertake the education of the people who are not under the control of the state, and the courses offered publicly through the mosques and masjids as lectures (İpşirli, 1994; Şimşek, Küçük and Topkaya, 2012).

The main educational institution of the Ottoman Empire was undoubtedly madrasas. In the Ottoman Empire, the madrasa included secondary and higher education. Someone who wanted to start the madrasa had to have graduated from primary school, dâru'l-huffaz or had received special education at home (Şanal, 2003).

The Ottoman sultan and other administrators made great efforts to establish and maintain the madrasas. The Ottomans recognized the existing foundations in the land they acquired from Muslim principalities and allowed them to continue their activities in their mores (Uzunçarşılı, 1965). Thus, the foundations in the places seized and the madrasas affiliated with these foundations continued their educational activities. In places taken away from non-Muslims, a rapid reconstruction work was carried out, new madrasas and foundations were established to provide the expenses of these madrasas.

The students who were collected in the Ottoman education system were called by the names such as tüllâb, suhte (softa), musteid, and consultancy. However, it was generally called to the students of the primary school, to the students in the lower medrese students and to the students in the high school students (Kazıcı, 2011).

The student, who was included in the Ottoman education system, could enroll in a madrasa in the upper secondary school with the certificate he got from the madrasah he had finished. The so-called Temessük are important in terms of showing the students who read the courses they have read. In time, the emergence of those who wished to enter the way of the short path by not obeying the hierarchy of the madrasa along with the distortions that occurred in the madrasa education system made it necessary to have icazetnâmen being accepted to the madrasa (Uzunçarşılı, 1965). According to this, the student had to read the lessons which should be read at every medrese degree in sufficient time and amount and he had to document with icâzetnâme.

Education in the Ottoman Empire, the classical educational institutions in addition to the madrasa of Western-style education schools opened into a new process. The religious education given in the newly opened schools brought new debates and religious education in schools was criticized. It was built on religious foundations (Okumus, 2006). In the Ottoman Empire, this was a very unfamiliar situation. Tanzimat with Westernization activities have concentrated itself in the field of education, the writing, the Ottoman secularisation process has come to identify the educational system (Okumuş, 2006). This will be of particular religious courses given in the new schools in the disturbance had been the subject of complaints.

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On the other hand, the medreses, which were the educational institutions of the Ottoman period, continued to exist. However, due to neglect, the desired level did not reach the level and began to be criticized. In this period, after the occupation of Istanbul by the Allied forces, he was unable to work in a healthy manner, and he finally interrupted his works and was finally closed by the Sultan on 11 April 1920 (Akyıldız, 1919). After the Meclis-i Mebusan could not work freely and finally shut down, Mustafa Kemal Pasha had declared that a safe assembly could be held in Ankara (Kuran, 1985), and then he started his activities by opening the Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920 (Akyıldız, 1919). Thus, a new parliament was established in Ankara, and the foundations of a new state structure began to take shape. Every sector of the newly formed parliament / state had hoped for a set of hopes.

### **Regression of Madrasahs**

Ottoman Madrasahs, which had lived its golden age in the period of Fatih, Bayezid and Kanuni in parallel with the development and rise of the Ottoman Empire, started to experience the problems experienced in other state institutions with the beginning of the period of stagnation and regression of Ottoman Empire and became a target of criticism (Akyüz, 1982). In this case, we can talk about the right proportion between the development of the madrasahs and the development of the state (Sarikaya, 1999). In the same way, the state has made all kinds of scientific treatises and respects to the class when it was in Periods of strong political and financial fields (Okumuş, 2006).

The aim of establishment of madrasahs; to educate the public, to solve the problems of the people of the law and the state of lawyers to take charge in various institutions to train officials (Ihsanoglu, 1999). Therefore, the courses taught in the madrasahs are mainly aimed at providing a better understanding of the Islamic religion. In addition to these, the grammar was taught and the sciences such as sculpture were taught as auxiliary sciences (Sarikaya, 1999). In his examples, when Kâtip Çelebi stated that the science of the delegation should be taught in madrasa, he also states that these are actually auxiliary science for Islamic law (Çelebi, 1990).

This, of course, does not mean that knowledge in the field of positive sciences is not produced. However, we can say that scientific knowledge is acquired with personal curiosity and interest. Indeed, III. Takiyüddin (927-993), Who was brought to the rank of chief astronomer in the period of Murad, was allowed to establish an observatory and even the necessary support was given to the observatory. III. Takiyüddin, who also produces the instruments to be used in the observatory, made observations and calculations over his period. However, the observance of some clergy that did not last long in the observatory of this observatory in 1580 by the Sultan's decree was destroyed by Kaptan-ı Derya Kılıç Ali Pasha (Baltacı, 2005).

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XVII. century, one of the most important power in the world within the Ottoman Empire, saw himself superior to other States and civilizations (Ihsanoglu, 1999). Get the win on the battlefield, seized booty, owned trade routes, the rule has been brought against non-Muslims understanding of the Islamic faith was one of causes giving rise to this case (Sarikaya, 1999). However, as a result of the developments in Europe after the Renaissance and the Reformation, the European enrichment, the advancement in science and industry influenced the countries outside Europe. the center of the world trade began to change in favor of Europe (Açıkğöz, 2008). With this situation, the defeats in the battlefields and the loss of spoilages and land losses caused the Ottoman State to question itself and lead to the acceptance of Europe's superiority (Okumus, 2006).

The defeats in the wars, the burning of the Ottoman fleet by the Russians at the openings of Cesme and the lack of preventive measures taken by the modern measures required the establishment of an army with the equipment required by the age (Akyüz, 1982). In order to be able to fight with the enemy, the cadres were trained according to the innovations of the age (Beydilli, 2006). In this context, Humbaracı Quarry, which was founded by French General Comte de Bonneval (Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha) (1160/1747), who became a Muslim after the Tulip Era in 1934, became the first European-style military education institution (İhsanoğlu, 1999).

### **Western Style Private Schools**

II. Mahmud (1808-1839) periods along with the western economic, cultural, military, through the adoption of the rule in the field of education in almost all state institutions were born of the desire to reform (Kodaman, 1988). For this purpose, starting with a western theme has gained a new dimension with the proclamation of the Tanzimat was declared in 1839. officially started when signs of Westernization adventures in the Ottoman Empire (Kafadar, 1997) müslüm While passing matters related to the training in the Tanzimat Edict, Muslim all public life, property, the people's basic rights and freedoms as enshrined in rape security was emphasized that under the state guarantees ( Ihsanoglu, 1999). However, innovation can be said that the launch took place as the Tanzimat education area which has seen the most impact (Gündüz, 2013).

### **Correction of the Madrasas and the Newly Established Madrasahs**

Since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the madrasas, which are the basic educational institutions of the state, have been subjected to some criticisms after the Kanuni period and a number of measures have been tried to be taken against the madrasas in order to prevent them by starting to see some problems experienced in the madrasas (Baltacı, 2005). However, these measures are generally understood to be in line with the good conduct of the laws in the Fatih and Kanuni periods (Özyılmaz, 1993).

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In the Tanzimat period, although the employment areas of the madrasas narrowed with the opening of the new educational institutions, the madrasas were still able to work in the fields such as the execution of the religious services, the cadre in courts and the education in the ibtidai schools (Öcal, 2015). In the same period, the studies conducted in the field of education were generally of concern to schools and no rehabilitation work was carried out on madrasahs (Zengin, 2016).

The new era, which started with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, is an interrogation period, unlike the silent, stagnant, orphaned old period. Although this question was experienced among intellectuals, the debates on newspapers, magazines, books etc. The reflection of the people through the means of communication was effective in attracting the society to change.

Again with this period, intellectuals, when discussing the source of the problems experienced by the Ottoman society, the reason for the crisis is the education system. The Westernization movement, which had begun since the Tanzimat period, continued in this period and the people continued to waver in all areas of life between the distinction of alaturka-alafranga. So it must be the job to raise individuals who will adapt to social change. In line with this view, studies in the field of education have intensified.

When we look at the general education system of the period, we see three institutions. The first is the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Foundations. The second is the ministry of education and the third is the embassy. The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Foundations is responsible for primary schools and madrasas. The Ministry of Education is responsible for ousting, rudiments, idols and sultans, while embassies are responsible for minority and missionary schools. In short, the society consists of divided groups in the sovereignty of the generation coming from three different educational institutions. We can classify the movements of ideas that are shaped by the Tanzimat period and matured until the time of the Constitutional Monarchy period.

Religious Affairs and Endowments in the Ministry of educational institutions, reason and science with no place to give the courses are only providing religious education, the Holy Qur'an's nice to read targeted, just memorizing information provided, innovation and grown in a closed way to change, moderate or also mentioned was the subject of a sovereignty conservative Islamist views.

In addition to religious subjects in educational institutions affiliated to the Ministry of Education Although the courses offered places at the positive sciences, trying to imitate completely western, along with memorizing information based on a number of theories, society grows away from the culture, it was grown moderate or people with opinions extreme jabbing.

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Unification of Education means teaching union. Unification of law in the narrow sense of education or training is being covered from a single location. If we look at the broad sense, an enormous threat in ensuring the existence of the country, out of the dilemma with the Tanzimat period of innovation, financial, economic, spiritual and cultural dimension of possibilities is resolved. threatening elements here; the lack of a consensus on the rising generations, education allocated to three different places to be transferred to the budget, education, preferring foreign schools in the country due to the poor quality and insufficient, gender discrimination in education can be listed as the observance.

In discussing the education system of the Ottoman State, we are not talking about an education system that is actually broken from its past. The education system of the Ottoman State was largely influenced by the education system established by the Great Seljuks. Therefore, we can say that the Ottoman education system is a continuation of the educational system of Muslim societies before it.

### **Primary Education Before Second Constitutional Monarchy**

Within the framework of the reform movement in Ottoman History, Sultan Mehmet II in 1824. Mahmud published by edict is a document concerning elementary closely. This edict reads as follows: All Muslims will first learn the religion and world affairs will be dealt with thereafter. Lately 5-6 year-old children should be in school, parents are giving side veteran to run away from learning an art school. Therefore, such children remain ignorant parents. Henceforth, no one came to puberty (12 years) can not run next to the masters children. depending on where they sit with children will be given access to puberty and apprentices, Istanbul, Eyüp, Üsküdar, Galata Kaddish to be taken by parents and instructors and apprentices can be given after receiving a sealed warrant. Otherwise, if the parents will be punished. Working with orphans are forced to work to go to school is twice a day. Koran to children in this school, tecvit according to each child's ability, Ilm-1 Hal as treatises,

According to this decree II. Mahmud, came the 5-6 year old children were required to obtain a certain education. This children's education will be provided before and after puberty would be allowed to come to work. This would be punished if parents do not comply with the edict. However, studies compulsory for children who would be allowed to go to school two days a week working condition.

In the Tanzimat period, serious attention was paid to education only in 1845 with the line of Abdulmecid's Hattı Hümayun. According to this Hattı Humayun;

1. The ignorance of the public should be eliminated and education should be provided.
2. Education and vocational training should be addressed at all levels.

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3. A suitable education should be given to the world as well as to the religion.
  4. Schools should be opened in every suitable place in the country (Berker, 1945).

The important and important steps in the field of elementary education were taken in the last period of Tanzimat in the time of the Ministry of Saffet Pasha (Yılmaz, 1999) with the Regulation on Education. 3-17 articles ”of this regulation, consisting of 198 items, is divided into primary education (Özalp, 1982). Namely;

1. There will be at least one primary school in each neighborhood and village. This school will be separate for both nations where Muslims and non-Muslims live together (Article: 3).
2. The construction, repair and teacher expenses of primary schools will be covered by the society concerned (Article: 4).
3. Teachers will be assigned according to the regulations to be rearranged (Article: 5).
4. The duration of primary education is 4 years. The program to be implemented is as follows: ”New method of Elifba, Koran, Tecvit, Moral Risals, ilm-ü state, writing, Concise Fenn-i Hesap, Concise History-i Osmanî, Concise Geography, Useful Information“. In the non-Muslim schools, education will be carried out with their own religions and their own languages (Article: 6).
5. Girls 6-10, men between 7-11 years of age are obliged to continue the school (Article: 9).
6. The parents of the children who are not compulsory to the school will be punished. Only children with physical and mental defects, children who are obliged to earn a living from their families, who should attend a school at least half an hour away, etc. It is stated that those who have reasons are exempt from attendance obligation (Article: 10-13).
7. If there are two primary schools in one place, one will belong to boys and the other to girls. Otherwise, it is appropriate for girls to attend boys’ school until they are available (Article: 15).
8. In girls’ schools, teachers and sewing craftsmen will be women. If a female teacher is not found, decent male and older male teachers can be assigned to girls’ schools (Article: 16).

The reform movements in education, which started with the Tanzimat period, brought about the efforts to reform the primary schools in 1870. The study, which was started on 4 May 1870 with the commission of 4 members elected by the members of the Council

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of Ministers and the Administrative and Administrative Offices, was carried out in primary schools in İstanbul (Bilim, 1984). If we need to bring the principles outlined in the report, we can say:

1. Participation of all students should be ensured.
2. Class method should be applied in the courses, the curriculum should be made according to the level of the students.
3. The courses should be explained to the students in a clear and plain language.
4. Girls as well as boys should benefit from the right to education.
5. Education, examination and holiday times should be planned in a planned way.
6. Teachers should be trained with knowledge of quality and formation. First of all, teachers should read and write Turkish well and should be nice, knowledgeable and loving towards their students. Because the best teacher is a heaven to the student and the person who makes the lesson a source of joy.
7. The teacher should be guiding only and should implement a system that develops children's personal abilities and creative powers. In other words, memorization should move away from education to applied education.

The report prepared by Selim Sabit Efendi, one of the four-person commission, was published in *Maarife* under the name of rapor *Rehnüma-yı Muallimin-i Sıbyan* "in the following years. This work has brought some innovations to the teaching methods (Bilim, 1984). If we need to bring the principles outlined in the report, we can say:

Ottoman society was introduced to the new method of education by the application of *Rehnüma-yı Muallimin-i Sıbyan*, written by Selim Sabit Efendi in 1871, in the field of education. This new method of teaching and learning, which is called *Usûl-ü cedid*, has been modernized with lectures, tools and materials used in the course. This method found applications in schools opened in accordance with the change.

Unification of 1924 to ensure unity in teaching, as indicated in the grounds of the draft law initiatives begun in 1839 after the proclamation of the Tanzimat also not been successful in this regard. In contrast to the desired separation it has grown even more. This has been done in the first phase of improvements made to the Unification Act to madrasah reforms are considered to be accurate to start with. Second Constitutional Monarchy began to catch up with educational activities primarily made in improving the madrasahs in the new generation has emerged as the consensus creation efforts. Tanzimat period under the influence of westernization current constitutional period also increased

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the interest in foreign schools for reasons such as the low quality of the public schools of failure and drifted away from the national education community. best way to learn a foreign language in foreign schools, although most favorable conditions such as the presence of qualified educators in religious schools, students had influenced political and cultural sense. For example, in geography and history lessons, children were forced to learn the lessons of history and geography of the foreign state where they go to school (Oymen, 1969). Foreign schools recently that he had gone very far, even the cross to redeem the students were misdemeanors kick your ass. Most of the family did not show their reactions although they know it (Oymen, 1969). For this reason in particular it should be given by Turkish teachers with great care ehliyetna Turkish courses in foreign schools (Oymen, 1969).

Adopted in 1914, “ Müessesat-ı Mezhebiye and Tedrisiye ve Mekatib and Emakin-i Sıhhiye” in law Article 27 “Both individuals, fermanl and writ all foreign schools on the need institutions of Turkish language, the will read Ottoman history and geography as Turkish. Turkish teachers will be ehliyetna “(Oymen, 1969) was experiencing problems, despite the inclusion of the provision in practice.

A private Armenian school, they hear your teacher in my school now needs to Turkish lessons, but reveals only part of teacher training courses they inflicted on the specialization of Turkish teachers (Oymen, 1969). Meşrutiyetl the start of a new era, this period of national feeling, indicating that the period of nationalist formation in the opinion of the Ziya Gokalp also possible to see the first seeds of the teaching unions (Gokalp, 1913).

A nation-established as a state project Turkishness Republic of Turkey, Turkish language, Turkish culture while getting protected by the Constitution and laws, the country’s Turkish and / or non-Muslim ethnic, linguistic and no religious community were counted and were subjected to systematic discrimination in some areas. Minority protection effort was seen as interference in the affairs of other states with a residual effect from the experiences of the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law, which was accepted in 1924, was terminated by the various structures in education. Why was the law of Tevhid-i Tedrisat (unity in teaching) removed? What was the situation in the Ottoman Empire after Tanzimat? On the one hand, lodges and dungeons, religious education institutions; on the other hand, y missionary y schools providing education in a foreign language. And two different types of intellects derived from these two sources: First, the Ottoman is keen to draw back to the past, the sultan is the king, defends the illusion; secondly, he is blindly a Western fan, does not trust his own nation, looks for a foreigner in his solution, these üne mandacers ü that. These two intellectuals eat each other, the huge ship sank the Ottoman Empire, gone, lost in the water. which analyzes the collapse of the Ottoman Ataturk as a binary new measures in education in the Republic of Turkey Unification of Education Law was put into practice. It is possible to see his

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sensitivity on this subject in the following lines: “The Ottoman sovereignty, which ended in the Tanzimat period, could not have succeeded in starting the unification of education, but in contrast there was even a duality. Two kinds of education raise two kinds of people in a country, this is the feeling and thought.” it is completely contrary to its unity and solidarity purposes (Turan, 1988). As a matter of fact, one of the ministers of the former Religious Affairs. According to Lütfi Doğan (1990); In the Ottoman period, in addition to the scholastic training institutions based on memorization by repeating some of the old texts in a limited way and not bringing a new object, II. Mahmut and the scientific education institutions, in a sense, secular education institutions, with the Tanzimat following this period, began to make room for themselves in an increasingly stronger proportion. In addition to the madrassas, which had lost their effectiveness and corrupted everything, the new scientific and educational institutions continued to coexist for a period of around a century. This dual education and training, which did not have any common features among them, could not provide the desired development, change and renewal of the society, and the old classical madrasa management was further deteriorated and decayed. Great Ataturk, during the Ottoman period, preventing the development of society, the reasons for the renewal and progress to follow the reasons for what should have been the priority task of education on this issue. The reflection of the practice of two honeys in the Ottoman educational history in the Republican era was through the Law on Tevhid-i Tedrisat (Education Union Law). This law, which entered into force on March 3, 1924, aims to provide education to the Ministry of Education by means of madrasas and primary schools which have religious education and honey by the Ministry of Education. it aims to end the dichotomy between rüştiye, idadi, sultani, and iptidai schools and to connect all educational institutions in the country to the Ministry of National Education. The provisions of the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law have been implemented.

### ***THE LAW OF TEDRISI TEDRISAT***

*Law Number: 430 Date of Admission: 03/03/1340*

*Publication Location: Official Gazette*

*Date: 03/06/1340 Number: 63*

*Published in the Law: Series: Volume 3: 5 Page: 322*

*Article 1 - all institutions which Turkey is within the knowledge and Tedris appurtenant to the Ministry of Education.*

*Article 2 - It is transferred to the Ministry of Education and transferred to the Ministry of Education.*

*Article 3 - The amount allocated to the civil servant and medeval shall be transferred to*

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*the budget of the Ministry of Justice.*

*Article 4 - The Ministry of Education will establish a Faculty of Theology in Darülfünûn for the purpose of raising higher religious education facilities, and will establish separate schools for the education of the civil servants with the function of performing the sanctimonies like imamah and rhetoric.*

*Article 5 - This law has been completed by the date of the expedition and education and education until the National War has reached the National Defense and the Ministry of Public Affairs mandate to the Ministry of Education, the budget and the delegation of the Ministry of Education together with the instructions were fixed. The board of trustees and the delegates present in the petitions shall hold bonds between the Attorneys to which they belong and the members of the army shall maintain their proportions. (Annex: 22/4/1341 - 637/1 art.) Mektebi Military high schools originating from the region were transferred to the Ministry of National Defense with their budget and cadres.*

*Article 6 - This law is valid from the date of the publication.*

*Article 7 - The execution delegates of the execution of this law*

Ataturk, after installing the new Republic of Turkey, Democratic Republic of the required new social structure, open to change contemporary society, a secular state and the individual, independent and wanted to create through a strong economy, education based on our own resources. Thus, on the one hand, it was functionally approaching education in order to spread Turkish revolutions and to root them out. As can be seen, two main cases of education policy of Atatürk are discussed above:

1- Disorganization of the Ottomans is far from being national and not scientific;

2- New Republic and Turkey for the extension of the revolution rooted in a functional task training installation) formats. Thus, his two main purposes in education have emerged. These:

1- Our education should be national, scientific and united,

2- To live the Republic of Turkey, the revolution should be directed to the protection and development. While creating educational policy in order to realize these two main objectives, Atatürk has acted from the requirements and the practice of the newly established Republic. Indeed, he is neither an educator nor an educational thinker. He did not present a new education system or philosophy, nor did he propose any ideas about education in all respects. His interest in education has been in the role that education will play in changing Turkish society (Başgöz, 1995). Therefore, the basic principles of

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Atatürk's educational policy should be considered and evaluated within this framework.

### **Conclusion and Evaluation**

Tevhidi Tedrisat, "teaching unity" of modern education in the context of national and secular curricula, formal and in-formal education areas by targeting to organizational and institutional innovation, destroyed the facilities can keep alive the old institutions. the first three years of the Act's entry into force (1924-27) leaked from the madrasa religious education mainly to public schools, teaching Arabic and Persian were removed in parallel. To take the control of the Ministry of Education schools and madrasas sat vanish with a secular base. So why stifled scientific thought throughout the centuries were abolished. The modernization of the teaching of spirituality from purified with rational thought, opened paths to science.

the same idea of combining teaching, the same people who have the same thoughts and feelings were grown. Thus the ideals of unity, strong steps were taken towards cultural unity. Speed the process of nation have won the nation switches to society from nations communities. The rest of the regime and eliminate possible counter-revolutionary powers were removed. and who believe in the values of the Republic, Atatürk's generation had embraced the revolution opened the way to grow.

After the Tanzimat, the increasing number of foreign schools were under control. History, Geography, Foreign language courses, foreign or minority languages as well as Turkish were taught. Religious symbols in the colleges and other foreign schools were banned and religious doctrines whose purpose was to instill different national feelings. Then, the first parts of foreign schools were removed and primary education had to be seen in Turkish schools. Foreign schools, which insisted on providing religious education, were closed. Minority schools were also directly linked to the Ministry of Education. In 1927, only the life of Muslims in Turkey, the first on the grounds that people from other religions also found, was removed from the middle and high school religion classes.

In summary, the Education Union Law, prepared in accordance with the modern and secular state understanding, has been one of the biggest steps towards national integration and modernization by bringing education in line with modern science requirements. These breakthroughs prepared the environment suitable for the 1928 letter revolution.

In the Republican period, the regulations on primary schools had a different course in order to educate the new generations in a democratic and secular manner. The preservation of the new political system and training of teachers who will train according to the national values of the Turkish people have been reshaped as the first step of education, which is primary education. In general, the Education Union law, which will reorganize the entire educational structure, indirectly affected primary education. In this period, the

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supervision of all educational institutions was transferred to the Ministry of National Education. In 1924, the follow-up of the curriculum of the first schools in all primary schools was thus easier to achieve. The first general education law was adopted in 1926 was connected to the Republic's laws, including the functioning of all education institutions in the Republic of Turkey. In 1928, the transition from the use of the Arabic alphabet from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to 1928 was made possible by the transition from the Latin alphabet to the Latin alphabet. In this period, where the foundations of the educational infrastructure targeted by the Republic were laid down, various arrangements for primary education, new arrangements, training of primary school teachers and training of students were started. Turkish education system has a definite and unchanging structure and has become a public without losing time after having it with Tevhid-i Tedrisat. In life, for the people, together with the public principle has been the educational password of the new Turkish State.

From the Second Constitutional Monarchy to the Unity of Tevhid-i Tedrisat, both enemies of civilization and foreign enemies have been fought. The Government of Turkey, especially in the country by continuing to work in the field of education, despite the consensus of the two adversaries, has realized the teaching unions. However, in the period we worked, while innovations and innovations succeeded in the sense of idea, there were many shortcomings in its implementation. Lack of school due to lack of teachers; Although the school was opened, the unfavorable conditions for education continued for many years. In addition, the obligation of primary education cannot be applied as desired in a period of nearly 100 years and the right to free education has not been provided under ideal conditions.

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# CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY, AND THE LAW OF TEŞKILAT-I ESASIYE DATED FROM APRIL 1924

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## Introduction

The constitutional transition process and constitutional movements play a somewhat central role in the debates on the development of democracy as a concept in Turkey. Although essentially these debates dwell on the perception of a constitution as a concept, they are also related with its functionality. It is observed that in the Turkish history of politics and scholarship, debates based upon the modern rules of law and rights introduced by the French Revolution have been fed with the idea proposing that the old cannot exist within the new world order.

The classical medieval understanding that promotes the idea of “ruling on behalf of god” came to an end after the French Revolution. According to the democratic theories of sovereignty, it no longer belongs to God, but to the people<sup>1</sup>. After the dissolution of multinational empires in the post-World War I era, the number of nation states in Europe proliferated. This development means the birth of a new wave of constitutionalism<sup>2</sup>. The struggle to survive in such a new world order led Turkish scholars to consider a radical change. For this reason, constitutional movements in Turkey can be considered as a struggle for existence. It is seen that the class of the scholar-bureaucrats in the Ottoman era had absolute concern to keep up with this new order, brought by the French Revolution. Accordingly, the concept of *Kanun-u Esasi* (*the Basic Law*), which was first introduced by the Grand Vizier Mehmed Said Pasha, corresponds to the term *constitution* in French<sup>3</sup>. The Turkish equivalents of this term have been “Kanun-u Esasî”, “Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu”, and “Anayasa”<sup>4</sup>.

In brief, a constitution is defined as “a body of legal and political rules, and a social and judicial agreement”. However, this term has been used in different forms throughout the Turkish history of constitutions. These are “Ana Tüze”, “Teşkilat-ı Esasiye”, “Esasiye”, “Temel Hukuk”, “Esasi”, “Esas Teşkilat”, “Ana” (Mother Law), “Devlet Ana” (Law of Mother State)<sup>5</sup>. The dictionary of the Turkish Language Association defines the concept of constitution as “the fundamental law that identifies the regime of a state, regulates the use of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, while introducing the civil rights of citizens”<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, this definition also reveals the reason for the existence of the state.

<sup>1</sup> Kemal Gözler, *Anayasa Hukuku'nun Genel Esaslarına Giriş*, Ekin Yay., Bursa 2011, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Bülent Tanör, *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri (1789-1980)*, Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul 2005, p. 223).

<sup>3</sup> As cited from Tarık Zafer Tunaya in: Kemal Gözler, *Anayasa Hukukunun Metodolojisi*, p.132, <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/metodoloji-3-s-117-196.pdf>, Date Accessed: October 26, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Kemal Gözler, *Anayasa Hukukunun Genel Esaslarına Giriş*, p.11.

<sup>5</sup> Faruk Türinay, “Bir Kelime Olarak ‘Anayasa’nın Tarihsel Yolculuğu Üzerine Düşünceler”, s.273, [http://portal.ubap.org.tr/App\\_Themes/Dergi/2011-95-726.pdf](http://portal.ubap.org.tr/App_Themes/Dergi/2011-95-726.pdf), Date Accessed:26.10.2018

<sup>6</sup> Türk Dil Kurumu *Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, [http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_bts/](http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_bts/) “anayasa”, Date Ac-

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Between 1945 and 1952, the term Constitution was used for the 1924 Constitution, and it is used for the 1961 and 1982 Constitutions. As mentioned by Bülent Nuri Esen, the term Constitution was first used by Osman Nuri Uman in the 1930s, who was teaching fundamental law courses in a Gendarmerie School at the time<sup>7</sup>.

### Transition from the 1921 Constitution to the 1924 Constitution

After the inauguration of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in April 23, 1920, the perennial understanding of Thearchy became history. Based on a resolution taken in its inaugural session, the Assembly declared that a new state had been founded upon the ideology of total independence. This declaration also annihilated the idea of Thearchy, which could not further exist in the new world order. The Principle of National Sovereignty was introduced to the Turkish Governance System as a result of the emphasis Mustafa Kemal Pasha placed on it during his parliament speech in April 24, 1920, which was later accepted as an act of the parliament through a memorial. In regard to the 1920 memorial of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, some members of the parliament expressed that it had to be published, distributed, and analyzed before further discussions, while others argued that there was no need for discussion over this issue. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, on the other hand, stated that the Representative Committee had undertaken huge material and moral obligations, and all these responsibilities had to be transferred to the Assembly. This proposal was approved after the voting session in the parliament<sup>8</sup>.

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) also gave first signals about the new state regime, which was to be released to the public shortly afterwards. The unfavorable conditions of the armistice period, enabled the forces led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in the struggle for independence to prove that the crisis caused by the monarchy in Istanbul could only be overcome through resistance and democracy. Eventually, these forces came to actual power in the country<sup>9</sup>.

The principles emphasized an annihilation of the traditional understanding of governance, mentioned above, and indicated that TBMM was a superior power to the Sultanate, which is the rule of a single person, and the Caliphate, which represents a divine will. Through the Turkish Treason Act (Law no.: 2), which was enacted in April 29, 1920, and the Decree no. 2<sup>10</sup> of May 6, 1920, the TBMM defined itself as the only legitimate government in the country. This need for being recognized as a legitimate entity, which was addressed through the aforementioned act and decree, was a result of TBMM's

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cessed: October 26, 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Kemal Gözler, **Anayasa Hukuku'nun Genel Teorisi**, C.1, Ekin Yay., Bursa 2011, p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Ergun Özbudun, 1921 Anayasası, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi (AAM), Yay., Ankara 1992, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Tanör, p. 228.

<sup>10</sup> "Communication with Istanbul shall be cut off, all official documents sent by Istanbul shall be returned immediately. Any civil servant who accepts these documents or does not return them shall be deemed a traitor. All treaties and agreements signed and all privileges given by Istanbul without approval of TBMM after 16 March, the date of the occupation of Istanbul, shall be deemed invalid" (Decree no.: 2, May 6, 1920).

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struggle for existence and legitimacy<sup>11</sup>.

Essentially, Mustafa Kemal Pasha had already decided on a new state to be built upon the principles of democracy. However, he did not declare this decision until the end of the National Campaign, in consideration of the potential opposition within the Assembly<sup>12</sup>. He expresses his considerations about this situation in the Great Speech as below:

*“Without mentioning the name of Republic, we had been marshaling a system of governance day by day, in a way that accords with the principles of national sovereignty, and that would lead us to an actual system of the Republic. We had to prove that the state can be governed without the Sultanate and the Caliphate by continuously inoculating the idea that attributes the highest level of superiority to the Grand National Assembly”<sup>13</sup>.*

Emphasizing the non-recognition of the Sultan’s authority and the Istanbul Government as a necessity of its struggle, the TBMM did not recognize any Constitution built upon the existence of a dynasty. For this reason, the Fundamental Law of January 20, 1921, which explicitly declares the principle of National Sovereignty, was enacted (Law no.: 85, January 20, 1921). As a significant milestone for Ottoman-Turkish constitutionalism, this constitution has a significant past and future, as well as a great importance compared to its brevity<sup>14</sup>. Parliamentary meeting analyses on the constitution provides countless inputs regarding the idealism, patriotism, love for independence, political maturity, undisputable commitment to the principles of national sovereignty and the populism seen in the First TBMM<sup>15</sup>.

The provisions specified in the Fundamental Law, which is defined as the first constitution of the Republic of Turkey, are based upon the essentials expressed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in his memorial of April 24, 1920. These essentials are as follows:

1. Founding a government is mandatory.
2. It is not desirable to recognize someone as a temporary leader of a government, or to appoint a deputy to the sultan.
3. The most fundamental principle is to accept the direct seizure of the country’s future by the national will’s hand, that has intensified within the Assembly. There is no other power superior to TBMM.
4. TBMM embodies all legislative and executive powers. A committee shall be assigned by the Assembly as the authority to undertake the duties of governance. The speaker is also the president of this committee.

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<sup>11</sup> Tanör, p. 233.

<sup>12</sup> Turhan Feyzioğlu, “Atatürk ve Milliyetçilik”, **Atatürk Araştırmaları Merkezi (AAM)**, V.2, March 1985, p. 402.

<sup>13</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, **Nutuk (Söylev)**, İnkılâp Yay., İstanbul 2009, p. 659.

<sup>14</sup> Tanör, p. 225.

<sup>15</sup> Özbudun, p. 49.

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NOTE: After the Sultan and the Caliph are free from pressure and coercion, the Assembly shall determine their status by law<sup>16</sup>.

Before the *Republic* was publicly declared as the name of the new regime, Article 1 of the the Fundamental Law annihilated the understanding of sultanate which lasted approximately six centuries and gave signals of the transition to a democracy based on popular sovereignty by stating that “*Sovereignty is vested in the nation without condition. The governmental system is based on the principle of self-determination and government by the people.*” By the principles specified in Article 2, the legislative and executive powers were vested in TBMM and thus, the unity of power principle was adopted. The principles of national sovereignty and unity of power were indisputably embraced by both radical reformists and conservatives. While the reformists valued these principles as building blocks on the path that leads to a modern republic, conservatives regarded them as useful tools that could protect the existence of the caliphate and the sultanate, or at least prevent Mustafa Kemal Pasha from extending his personal authority<sup>17</sup>. Article 3 declares the transition to the Parliamentary Government system by stating that “*the Turkish State is governed by the Grand National Assembly*”. After the foundation of the Independence Tribunals, the judicial power was also controlled by TBMM. The most fundamental reason for TBMM’s control over legislative, executive and judicial powers combined was that the War of Liberation had not come to an end by that time. Therefore, the actual name of the frequently mentioned state of emergency is the National Campaign. According to its actors, survival in such a life and death struggle was only possible quick judgements and practices. This situation reveals the reason behind TBMM’s extraordinary authorities. This first constitution consisting of twenty-three articles, turned TBMM into the sole authority within the country that furthered the War of Liberation on behalf of the nation, and resulted in the abolition of the sultanate.

The First TBMM, which was founded in April 23, 1920, facilitated the victory in the National Campaign and accomplished its mission by April 1, 1923. As a result of the indirect elections, which is a method that essentially aims to pre-determine candidates beforehand<sup>18</sup>, the Association for the Defense of Rights won all seats in the Assembly, and the Second TBMM was inaugurated. The Second TBMM started to convene for the first time in August 11, 1923, and amended the 1921 Constitution within this period. These amendments laid the foundations of a new constitution for the republican era<sup>19</sup>. The Second TBMM put an end to regime discussions with the proclamation of the Republic in October 29, 1923, and concretized national sovereignty as the most fundamental principle of the new government. In addition, the clause “*The religion of the Turkish State is Islam; the official language is Turkish*” was included to the constitution (Article

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<sup>16</sup> Atatürk, p. 362.

<sup>17</sup> Özbudun, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Serap Yazıcı, *Yeni Bir Anayasa Hazırlığı ve Türkiye*, İstanbul Bilgi Ün. Yay., İstanbul 2009, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Faruk Yılmaz, *Türk Anayasa Tarihi*, İz Yay., İstanbul 2012, p. 124.

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Shortly after the proclamation of the Republic, the need for a new constitution that would replace the 1921 Constitution, which laid the legal foundation of the new state while being adopted as the constitution of a dynamic period, was brought to the agenda. All actors agreed upon the fact that the 1921 Constitution, which formed the basis of the new state, had accomplished its mission. The country was in need of a new governmental structure which governs government's relations with individuals and determines civil rights and obligations. The new constitution was drafted in 1924<sup>20</sup>.

### **Arguments and Discussions Put Forward During the Preparation of the Constitution**

After significant developments, such as the end of combat conditions, the proclamation of the Republic and the abolition of the Caliphate, a new constitution that would replace the 1921 Constitution, which had certain deficiencies due to the period it was prepared in, became a significant issue of discussion. According to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, these gaps identified in the Constitution were filled with the provisions of the Fundamental Law of 1876 (Kanun-u Esasi), which was still deemed legitimate<sup>21</sup>. For this reason, the general consideration regarding the constitutional amendments were focused more on the preparation of a new constitution, rather than amendments. It was due to the fact that certain provisions of the Fundamental Law of 1876 were still effective, and this situation caused a system governed by two constitutions. Indeed, the 1921 Constitution had annihilated all reasons for the existence of the Fundamental Law by declaring the foundation of a new country, granting the absolute sovereignty to the nation, putting all media of the government in an election-based system, and embodying legislative, executive and judicial powers within the body of TBMM. However, due to the situation, this reality was not explicitly mentioned by the 1921 Constitution<sup>22</sup>. Accordingly, Mustafa Kemal Pasha communicated to Tevfik Pasha in January 30, 1921, to inform him about the essentials of the new constitution. Due to the aforementioned situation, he also stated that: *“All provisions of the former constitution shall be effective as long as they do not contradict with the new provisions”*<sup>23</sup>.

Preparations for the new constitution, which would replace the 1921 Constitution, were initiated by establishing the Constitution Committee. This committee consisted of the following members:

Yunus Nadi	(Izmir Deputy)	President
Feridun Fikri	(Dersim Deputy)	Secretary
Celal Nuri	(Gelibolu Deputy)	Reporter
İbrahim Süreyya	(İzmit Deputy)	Reporter
İlyas Sami	(Muş Deputy)	Member

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<sup>20</sup> Tanör, p. 209.

<sup>21</sup> Atatürk, p.455-458.

<sup>22</sup> Tanör, p. 267.

<sup>23</sup> Atatürk, p. 454.

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Refik Bey	(Konya Deputy)	Member
Rasih Bey	(Antalya Deputy)	Member
Refet Bey	(Bursa Deputy)	Member
(Ağaoğlu) Ahmet Bey	(Kars Deputy)	Member
Mahmut Bey	(Siirt Deputy)	Member
Ali Rıza Bey	(Kırşehir Deputy)	Member
Ebubekir Hazım Bey	(Niğde Deputy)	Member
Avni Bey	(Yozgat Deputy)	Member <sup>24</sup> .

Without receiving any advice to prepare the constitution, the Committee prepared a draft of the constitution and introduced this draft to the Parliament's General Assembly<sup>25</sup>. Considering that the regulatory rules regarding procedures to make a constitution had not yet been established, the fact that such an initiative was taken, not by the General Assembly, but exclusively by the Constitution Committee cannot be regarded as a legally improper deficiency<sup>26</sup>.

Opinions of both the members of the Committee and the representatives in the Parliament regarding the new Constitution are worth mentioning. Although the new constitution draft was directly aimed at a parliamentary system, it was criticized by some that the draft was not completely independent from the 1921 Fundamental Law. In addition, the structure of this new constitution was built upon the general framework of the 1921 Constitution as amended in 1923<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand, the commentaries suggesting that the 1924 Constitution has a paradoxical place in Turkish history can be fairly deemed. The common reference point of these commentaries was that almost all of members of Parliament who accepted the new constitution, were members of the First Group. Therefore, the Second Assembly did not have a democratic structure. Accordingly, although the 1924 Constitution was prepared by an elected assembly, it was not possible to consider it a democratic process as none of the principles required for a democratic election existed<sup>28</sup>. It was quite interesting that although the aforementioned situation was a fact, most of the suggestions from the Committee that empowered the President with a broad range of authorities were strictly rejected by majority of the representatives. Based on this characteristic of the Assembly, it can be claimed that it transformed into a legislative body with absolute and unlimited authority, as a result of the principle of majoritarian democracy, though not a pluralist approach<sup>29</sup>. However, it is also clearly understood that the 1924 Constitution was prepared exclusively for a democratic regime<sup>30</sup>. In the report submitted by the Constitution Committee to TBMM, it stated that the Committee used a modern approach of thought, and benefited from constitutions of

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<sup>24</sup> **TBMMZC(Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi)**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.3, 43<sup>th</sup> Session, October 29, 1923, p. 89-90.

<sup>25</sup> Fehmi Akın, "1924 Anayasası'nın Modernleşme Açısından Anlamı", <http://sbd.aku.edu.tr/VIII3/fakin.pdf>. p.5, Date Accessed: October 26, 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Tanör, p. 290-291.

<sup>27</sup> Cemil Koçak, "Siyasal Tarih (1923-1950)", *Çağdaş Türkiye (1908-1980)*, (Editör) Sina Akşin, Cem Yay., İstanbul 1992, p. 96

<sup>28</sup> Yazıcı, p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> For more considerations regarding to the paradoxical place of the Constitution, see: Ergun Özbudun, **1924 Anayasası**, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., İstanbul 2012

<sup>30</sup> Tanör, p. 242.

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countries who had already adopted the republic as regime, while always taking the spirit of the revolution into account<sup>31</sup>.

The President of the Committee, Yunus Nadi Bey, expressed that the First TBMM had saved the Turkish Nation, founded a new state with the Fundamental Law, and that the Constitution was an expression of the Turkish nation's movement<sup>32</sup>. He provided information about the amendments enacted in the new constitution and repeated that, as also mentioned in the report, the Committee regarded constitutions of other states as inputs for the new constitution, but that did not act contrary to the spirit of the revolution<sup>33</sup>.

Regarding the media discussions of whether the Assembly had the authority to amend the Fundamental Law or not, Konya Deputy Eyüp Sabri Efendi responded to the claims and pointed out that the Constitution Committee was formed relying on this authority<sup>34</sup>.

As for the discussions claiming that the new constitution was copied from European laws, the speaker of the Committee, Celal Nuri Bey stated that they analyzed in particular the laws of France and Poland, but did not adopt any provision thereof directly, plus, the first six articles of the new Turkish constitution was so unique that it could not be seen in any other constitution in the world. The first reason for selection of the countries examined throughout the analyses of different constitutions was that they had already adopted the principle of the unity of powers<sup>35</sup>. According to the statements of Celal Nuri Bey, they did not consider constitutions of America or Sweden at all as one was a state consisting of federations, while the other was formed by cantons<sup>36</sup>. Stating that *“the author of the Constitution, which is the proof of our victory after the five-year-long National Campaign, was the Turkish people”*, Celal Nuri Bey argued that this new Constitution would finalize the shaping process of the national revolution. Celal Nuri Bey touched upon the constitutional movements in his speech and stated that the Edict of Gülhane was issued as a result of European pressure to some extent and that the Fundamental Law did not identify the rights of people, but those of the sultan. According to Celal Nuri Bey, Article 7 of the Fundamental Law secured the rights of the sultan only. Therefore, the constitution in question was not even similar to the Fundamental Law<sup>37</sup>. Celal Nuri Bey regarded the regulations of the Second Constitutional Era as insufficient and added that those regulations could not set comprehensive and established rights and then, all the given rights were vested by Sultan Mehmed IV Vahideddin. The 1921 Constitution, on the other hand, was prepared under extraordinary conditions and this constitution, which consisted of 23 articles (he put emphasis on how short it was by mentioning the number of articles) established non-amendable provisions and gained

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<sup>31</sup> A. Şeref Gözübüyük, Zekai Sezgin, **1924 Anayasası Hakkındaki Meclis Görüşmeleri**, AÜSBF Yay., Ankara 1957, p. 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.3, 43<sup>th</sup> Session, October 29, 1923, p. 90.

<sup>33</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 91.

<sup>34</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 94.

<sup>35</sup> A. Şeref Gözübüyük, **Açıklamalı Türk Anayasaları**, Turhan Kitapevi, Ankara 2007, p. 48.

<sup>36</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, March 9, 1924, p. 227-228.

<sup>37</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 224.

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strength by abolishing the sultanate. According to Celal Nuri Bey, these developments provided a basis for the adoption of a new constitution. Celal Nuri Bey also stated that the momentum achieved during the adoption process of the Turkish Constitution was even greater than the momentum observed in the French Revolution, which lasted for around 82 years. He also added that such a momentum had not even been observed throughout the thirteen century history of Islam<sup>38</sup>.

Saruhan (Manisa) Deputy Abidin Bey addressed a speech on the constitutional draft and reminded of the following words of Mustafa Kemal Pasha “*The Turkish State is a people’s state, and the state of its people. The institutions in the past, however, served as a state controlled by individuals*”. Then, he argued that the new constitution had to be inspired by those principles and be prepared by such a committee that had the title of Constituent Assembly<sup>39</sup>.

Bursa Deputy Refet Bey stated that the bicameral legislature had already been adopted as a general rule and cited parliamentary systems of countries which had completed the democratization process, such as France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and particularly Great Britain. Refet Bey also stated that only Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia among all European states adopted the principle of unicameralism and Yugoslavia had a tendency to transition to the bicameral system. He suggested that a second assembly in Turkey could play an intermediary role in potential disputes that arise from executive procedures<sup>40</sup>.

Zonguldak Deputy Tunalı Hilmi Bey analyzed the new constitution around the ideology of Turkism. Within this regard, he criticized the Arabic and Persian phrases and concepts used in the constitutional draft, and emphasized that the whole text had to be written only in Turkish. He also emphasized that the 3rd clause included in the 104th Article of the Law regarding “*the form of the State being a Republic and it shall not be amended, nor shall amendments be proposed*” was equal to all other provisions. He congratulated the Committee for that article in the new constitution even if all other provisions were full of mistakes. He suggested to add the phrase “*the Republic of Turkey is a people’s state*” to this article. Giving examples from the Turkish history, Tunalı Hilmi Bey stated that the new constitution is not the final phase of the transition to the republic form of government<sup>41</sup>. The impact of the Turkism ideology is obviously seen in this speech of Tunalı Hilmi Bey. His criticism of the constitutional draft was also shaped around this ideology. Also he as expressed himself, his words were the reflection of the principles he had pursued for years. The impact of Turkism was not limited to opinions of Tunalı Hilmi Bey. Accordingly, Mersin Deputy Niyazi Bey expressed that the name of the state had to be “the Turkish State” instead of “Turkey” claiming that the term “Turkey” (in Turkish

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>40</sup> *TBMMZC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, March 9, 1924, p. 234.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237-238.

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“Türkiye”) was an Arabic term which had been borrowed from the Italian language and “Turkish Land” would be a better choice for the name of the country<sup>42</sup>.

Article 87 of the Constitution decreed that “*Primary education is obligatory for all Turks*”. The meaning of Turks as used in this article was explained as follows (Article 88): “*The name Turk, as a political term, shall be understood to include all citizens of the Turkish Republic, without distinction of, or reference to, race or religion. Any individual who acquires Turkish nationality by naturalization in conformity with the law, is a Turk*”<sup>43</sup>. Regarding to the aforementioned clause, Istanbul Deputy Hamdullah Suphi Bey took the floor and tried to explain this issue with his conversations with a non-Muslim, based on the Jewish communities living in France and England. According to him, the Jews living in France had the sense of being French, while the members of the Jewish communities in England had adopted the English culture. He added that the Jewish community in Turkey could also abandon the Spanish-like language they had been persistently speaking and be engaged in the Turkish community. Hamdullah Bey also emphasized that “*As long as the Jews and Armenians do not close their schools and enroll in Turkish schools, raise children in Turkish culture, keep having independent schools and languages, regarding them as Turks can be used against the real Turks in the future*”, and reproached by saying, “*You can’t support the separation of language, education, and governance, and at the same time say ‘regard us all as Turks’*”<sup>44</sup>. As a result of the discussions, Hamdullah Bey’s proposal to amend the relevant clause as “*The People of Turkey, in regards to Turkish citizenship, regardless of religion and race, are Turks.*” was approved by the Assembly. The term “citizenship” was first introduced to Turkish Law by the 1924 Constitution. This introduction is an indicator that people living in the Turkish land started to emerge against the state as individuals<sup>45</sup>.

It is seen that, although the Assembly was rather homogenous (as mentioned before, members of the Association for the Defense of Rights were predominant), the members debated over significant issues, and rejected or amended many proposed motions. The most debated article of the draft was Article 25<sup>46</sup>. This article stipulated that the President could decide to hold an immediate election, as long as they asked the opinions of the government and could justify this decision<sup>47</sup>. This article became a controversial topic of discussion as the basis of this suggestion was to authorize the President to dissolve the Assembly. A majority of the representatives objected to this proposal and stated that this authority would contradict with the principles of national sovereignty and unity of

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<sup>42</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7-I, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, March 16, 1924, p. 533.

<sup>43</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8-I, 42<sup>nd</sup> Session, April 20, 1924, p. 908.

<sup>44</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 909-910.

<sup>45</sup> Ahmet Mumcu, “Türkiye’de Anayasa Reformları –Tarihte Geriye Bakış”, **Türkiye’de Anayasa Reformu, Prensipler ve Sonuçlar**, Konrad Adenauer Vakfı, Ofset Fotomat, Ankara 2001, p. 54.

<sup>46</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8, 19<sup>th</sup> Session, March 23, 1924, p. 908.

<sup>47</sup> “*The decision may either be taken by the Assembly itself or by the President of the Republic, on the condition that the President take the Government’s opinion and communicates his rationale to both the Assembly and to the people*”.

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powers, and that the Assembly had to have an absolute superiority<sup>48</sup>. It is remarkable that, although almost all members of the parliament owed their positions to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, they were not overwhelmed by this debt of gratitude. This development once again proved the genuine and institutional value of the Assembly for the War of Liberation<sup>49</sup>. Seeing the high number of deputies asking for the floor, Yunus Nadi Bey, the President of the Constitution Committee, declared that the Committee would withdraw the proposal for the given article. However, even this proposal alone resulted in debates over the procedures<sup>50</sup>.

A reason behind the significant authority given to the President was that the members of the Committee predicted a tendency to a one-man rule and wanted to provide an appropriate legal basis for this issue. Another reason was the wish to keep the President out of, and superior to, ordinary political conflicts, while entitling a broad range of authorities<sup>51</sup>.

Saruhan (Manisa) Deputy Abidin Bey pointed to the contradiction between the dissolution of the Assembly by the government and the President for an immediate election and the principle of National Sovereignty<sup>52</sup>. Accordingly, İzmir Deputy Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt) Bey stated that this authority of the President to dissolve the Assembly weakened the principle that “Sovereignty is vested in the nation without condition”. According to him, even in the most strict constitutional monarchies, the emperor or king had to receive the assembly’s approval. Let it alone, the case herein discussed is the national sovereignty. *Mahmut Esat Bey stated that “the President’s authority to dissolve the assembly is not possible even in strict parliamentary monarchies”* and pointed to the risk of turmoil that might emerge in case the assembly was dissolved for any reason. He presented the budget discussions as an example and emphasized that any cabinet could resort to the President due to pressure and turmoil was inevitable in case of a decision to dissolve the assembly. He added that the main purpose of the constitution and the Republic was not to compel the country to revolt, and all dictatorial regimes had emerged from executive boards, not assemblies<sup>53</sup>. The fact that his speech was interrupted by applause and “bravo” cheers indicates that a majority of the representatives had similar concerns. Accordingly, Karesi Deputy Süreyya Bey did not take the floor although he was given permission as he thought that he had nothing to add to the words expressed by Mahmut Esat Bey. Against the Committee’s claim that “the constitutional draft was prepared after an analysis of the latest constitutions”, Mahmut Bey emphasized that the constitution did not comply with principles of modern law<sup>54</sup>. Like Mahmut Esat Bey, Sivas Deputy

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<sup>48</sup> Ahmet Mumcu, “1924 Anayasası”, <http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-05/1924-anayasasi>, Date Accessed: October 26, 2018.

<sup>49</sup> Tanör, p. 293.

<sup>50</sup> Cemil Koçak, *Tarihin Buğulu Aynası –Efsaneler* Çökerken-, Timaş Yay., İstanbul 2013, p. 113.

<sup>51</sup> Özbudun, *1924 Anayasası*, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *TBMMZC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, March 9, 1924, p. 232.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240-241.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

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Halis Turgut also reminded the members that the President could not dissolve, or be superior to the Assembly, and underlined the principle of National Sovereignty. He also stated that the issue was not about Mustafa Kemal Pasha but it was directly related to the future of the country. Referring to the Malta exiles, he stated that the authority could be seized by malevolent people after Mustafa Kemal Pasha<sup>55</sup>. Similarly, İzmir Deputy Şükrü (Saraçoğlu) Bey emphasized the existence of one power and one nation, as well as the only National Sovereignty and declared a republic as the best form of government for a nation<sup>56</sup>. In addition, Niğde Deputy Ebubekir Hazım (Tepeyran) Bey said the following words about the controversial presidential authorities:

*“A constitution cannot be relied solely on the unique existence of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who is known by us and the world. While extending our endless respect to him, we have our own considerations. It is beyond our power to gift him an eternal life. For this reason, it is inevitable to consider every possibility when preparing the constitution”*<sup>57</sup>.

As a result of the protracted discussions, the constitutional draft was rejected by the assembly with 126 votes from 130. The approved amendment is as follows: *“When the Assembly, by absolute majority, votes to dissolve before the expiration of its term, the session of the new Assembly must begin the first of November following”*<sup>58</sup>.

Discussions over the President’s term of office can also be seen. Yunus Nadi Bey, the President of the Committee, argued that the term of office had to be 7 years to assure stability in the country. As a result of the negotiations, the Assembly decided that the President would be elected among the members of and by the parliament, and the term of office would be reduced to 4 years<sup>59</sup>. Another topic of discussion regarding the Presidential authorities was the veto power, which meant the limitation of the Assembly’s executive power in a sense. The authority was regulated as a right of the President to return the law or laws to the Assembly, for a second time<sup>60</sup>. The Assembly’s term of office was also included in the constitutional draft. The amendment increased the term from 2 years, as adopted in the 1921 Constitution, to 4 years. Some representatives argued that the already elected deputies had to be exempt from this provision and a four-year term of office would not even be politically appropriate. The representatives, who supported this opinion mentioned above, suggested that the Assembly’s self-effort to extend its term of office would contradict with the principle of National Sovereignty. However, the Assembly agreed on 4 years after the negotiations. Opposing to this decision, Gaziantep Deputy Zeki Bey responded to the members by saying, *“What happened to the National*

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>56</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7-I, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, March 16, 1924, p. 244.

<sup>57</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8, 24<sup>th</sup> Session, March 30, 1924, p. 105-106.

<sup>58</sup> **Official Gazette**, May 24, 1924, V.71, p.5. ( 20 Nisan 1924 Tarih ve 491 Sayılı Teşkilât-ı Esasîye Kanunu) <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/default.aspx#>. Date Accessed: October 26, 2018.

<sup>59</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8, 19<sup>th</sup> Session, March 23, 1924

<sup>60</sup> Koçak, **Tarihin Buğulu Aynası**, p.115.

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*Sovereignty?*”<sup>61</sup>. Giresun Deputy Hakkı Tarık (Us) Bey stated that he found the clause “*The Turkish State is a Republic*” too brief. He expressed that the form of the state could not be explained with republic alone and it had to be detailed with the information regarding territories, nation and political power. Hence, he suggested to amend the clause as “*The form of the Turkish State is a Republic*”<sup>62</sup>.

Another discussion regarding to the constitutional draft was over women’s suffrage. The clause “Every Turkish citizen possesses the right to vote at legislative elections” sparked interesting debates within the Assembly. Celal Nuri Bey suggested that the discussed clause was about the Election Law and according to the Law, every man had the right to vote and stand for election and the “*Every Turkish citizen*” phrase had to be interpreted as the men exclusively. Thereupon, Recep Bey addressed the question, “*Aren’t women considered as Turks?*”, to all representatives. When they responded “*Yes*”, he added, “*then the mentioned articles apply to them as well*”. Yahya Kemal Bey’s proposal to replace the phrase “every Turkish citizen” with “every Turkish citizen regardless of gender” was rejected. Recep Bey responded to the applauses by saying, “*You didn’t give the right to women. At least, don’t applause this decision!*”<sup>63</sup> Bayezid Deputy Şefik Bey expressed his opinions about Article 11 of the constitution<sup>64</sup> and addressed a question to the members. His question was responded by Dersim Deputy Feridun Fikri Bey and Kütahya Deputy Recep Bey. Both of the members pointed to the fact that women had the right to vote and that had to be the interpretation of the absolute meaning of “*every Turkish citizen*”<sup>65</sup>. Accordingly, Karesi Deputy Ahmet Süreyya Bey also emphasized the need to amend the given article and stated that the current form did not grand the right to women. During the discussions, Recep Bey stated that “*We say that Turkey is a people’s state and people’s republic. Gentlemen; aren’t Turkish women at least half of the Turkish people?*” As a response to this question, Afyonkarahisar Deputy İzzet Ulvi Bey offered the members to change the clause as “*Every Turkish citizen, regardless of gender*”<sup>66</sup>. Urfa Deputy Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) expressed the same proposal. However, the suggested amendment was not accepted and the article was approved as “*Every Turkish man over the age of thirty is eligible for election to the Grand National Assembly*”<sup>67</sup>.

Niğde Deputy Ebubekir Hazım (Tepeyran) Bey pointed out that direct quotations from foreign laws would not bring any benefit<sup>68</sup>. Malatya Deputy Reşit Ağa took the floor for this discussion and stated that it would not be a problem to follow European countries in economy, industry and commerce but directly borrowing from their laws would create problems. According to him, if it was a necessity to follow Europe in every legislative

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<sup>61</sup> Koçak, p.118.

<sup>62</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7-I, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, March 16, 1924, p. 532.

<sup>63</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7-I, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, March 16, 1924, p. 542.

<sup>64</sup> “Every Turkish citizen over the age of thirty is eligible to election to the Grand National Assembly”.

<sup>65</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7-I, 13<sup>th</sup> Session, March 16, 1924, p. 540.

<sup>66</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 541.

<sup>67</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 543.

<sup>68</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8, 24<sup>th</sup> Session, March 30, 1924, p. 105-106.

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activity, there was no need to discuss the proposal within the Assembly and they could come to solutions by translation of the laws<sup>69</sup>. In his previous speech, Reşit Ağa had pointed to the fact that some articles of the constitutional draft reflected a kind of “fear of the Sultanate”<sup>70</sup>. By this argument, he was trying to discuss some concerns and reservations regarding the Presidential authorities.

In April 20, 1924, the Second TBMM adopted the new constitution proposed by the Committee of 12 members after discussions initiated in March 9, 1924. Therefore, the 1924 Constitution was put into effect with 105 articles as the Law no. 491<sup>71</sup>.

### **The Fundamental Law of April 20, 1924, and Its Characteristics**

TBMM adopted the new constitution<sup>72</sup> in April 20, 1924, after protracted discussions and brought the two constitutional terms (the Fundamental Law of 1876 and the Fundamental Law of 1921), which corresponds to the period starting in 1921. Although the 1921 Constitution had already been repealed, the new constitution continued the constitutional tradition of the country, as it was based upon the principle of unity of powers. In general, this tradition was perceived as the reason for the Assembly’s existence and its persistence in the framework of unity of powers was adopted as a fundamental principle<sup>73</sup>.

The 1924 Constitution consists of six sections and 105 articles. The first section of the Constitution includes fundamental provisions. Article 1 establishes the form of government as a Republic. This provision is secured by law<sup>74</sup>. Article 2 states that the religion of the state is Islam and its official language is Turkish. Also, the seat of government is Ankara. Just as its antecedent, the 1921 Constitution, the 1924 Constitution also adopted the principle of National Sovereignty as the most fundamental and significant essential of the Turkish State (Article 3). The Constitution authorized TBMM as the sole lawful representative of the nation and the sole authority to exercise sovereignty in the name of the nation. (Article 4). This article aims to ensure sustainability of the TBMM’s authorities within the process when the reforms were put into effect. TBMM exercises the legislative power directly. Elections were decided to be held once every 4 years and the elected members of the Assembly have parliamentary and legislative immunity. All regulations adopted by the Assembly shall be approved by the President of the Republic. As mentioned above, the President’s veto power was not absolute and the President could enjoy this power by returning any law to the Assembly “to be discussed over” only once. The President had to approve the given law if submitted for a second time<sup>75</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>70</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, March 9, 1924, p. 238.

<sup>71</sup> **Official Gazette**, May 24, 1924, V.71, p.4. ( 20 Nisan 1924 Tarih ve 491 Sayılı Teşkilât-ı Esasîye Kanunu) <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/default.aspx#>. Date Accessed: October 26, 2018.

<sup>72</sup> Gözübüyük, Sezgin, p. 80-100.

<sup>73</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8, 19<sup>th</sup> Session, March 23, 1924

<sup>74</sup> “No proposal to alter or amend Article I of this Constitution, specifying that the form of government is Republic, shall be entertained” (Article 102/3).

<sup>75</sup> **Official Gazette**, May 24, 1924, V.71, p.5., (Article 35).

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Within this regard, it is possible to say that the understanding which centers the legislative and executive powers within the body of the Assembly (Article 5) was continued. Accordingly, the Assembly exercises the legislative power (Article 6) through the intermediary of the President of the Republic, whom it elects, and through a government appointed by him. This government appointed by the President is defined as Cabinet (Council of Ministers). In this way, the President of the Republic was granted limited authority and a symbolic status without any political responsibility. The Council of Ministers, however, were deemed responsible for policies of the government and its own activities.

According to the essential provision specified by Article 7, the Council was authorized to monitor and overthrow the government if necessary. The difference between this amendment and the 1921 Constitution was the separation of the executive power in practice, by granting the power to the government. This separation gives regards to executive power and therefore it is not possible to claim any separation of powers in this case. Within this regard, the principle of unity of powers was sustained. In addition, the 1924 Constitution was also an effort to further the transition to a parliamentary system, which had been pursued since the proclamation of the Republic<sup>76</sup>. The fact that the executive body was not granted the right to dissolve the Assembly indicates an understanding that upholds its superiority. As a requirement of the parliamentary system, the political power was attached to the Prime Minister and the Government, but not the President<sup>77</sup>. Although the governmental system established by the 1924 Constitution looks complex when looked at from this perspective, it is possible to interpret the system as both a parliamentary system and a parliamentary government in certain aspects. This system can be defined as a “unity of powers and separation of duties” in terms of operational activities. Therefore, it was named as the Mixed Government System. In theory, legislative and executive powers are vested in the Assembly but the Assembly could only exercise its executive power through an intermediary of the President of the Republic and the Council of Ministers<sup>78</sup>.

Another significant aspect of the 1924 Constitution is the absence of a guarantee for judicial proceedings and the right to defense in general. The amendment in judicial power is explained with the provision that this power is exercised in the name of the nation, by independent tribunals (Article 8). The fact that judicial power is executed by the courts in the name of the nation, contradicts with the principle that TBMM is the sole representative of the sovereignty. This contradiction would be resolved by the 1961 Constitution<sup>79</sup>.

On the other hand, the foundation of emergency courts, as seen in the case of the Independence Tribunals, was not prevented by the constitution. Independence Tribunals were founded despite being against the constitution and it was considered as a coup d'état as TBMM exercised its judicial authorities after 1950s when parliamentarism

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<sup>76</sup> Tanör, p. 296.

<sup>77</sup> Koçak, “*Siyasal Tarih (1923-1950)*”, p.96

<sup>78</sup> Gözler, p.40

<sup>79</sup> Cem Eroğlu, *Anatüzeve Giriş (Anayasa Hukukuna Giriş)*, İmaj Yay., Ankara 1995, p. 193.

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was stronger than before, in a fairly weaker manner than the Independence Tribunals<sup>80</sup>.

The reason for establishing emergency courts was explained by the fact that the constitution authorized the legislative body to interpret its articles, instead of judicial authorities. According to the relevant article, *“The Grand National Assembly itself executes the holy law; makes, amends, interprets and abrogates laws; concludes conventions and treaties of peace with other states; declares war; examines and ratifies laws drafted by the Commission on the Budget; coins money; accepts or rejects all contracts or concessions involving financial responsibility; decrees partial or general amnesty; mitigates sentences and grants pardons; expedites judicial investigations and penalties; and executes definitive sentences of capital punishment handed down by the courts”* (Article 26).

Section 2 of the Constitution consists of Articles 9-30. These articles explain the organization of the Assembly and eligibility criteria for deputies. Electoral rights are regulated by Articles 10 and 11. According to these articles, every Turkish man over the age of eighteen possesses the right to vote at legislative elections and every Turkish man over the age of thirty is eligible to election to the Assembly. As mentioned above, within this period, the Assembly did not grant the women the right to vote or stand for elections. Members were involved in protracted debates over this issue<sup>81</sup>.

Section 3 includes Articles 31-43. This section explains the way in which executive power is used, establishes the electoral procedure for the office of the President and his responsibilities, as well as the operations and duties of the government. For each electoral period, the President of the Republic is elected by TBMM and exercises his functions for 4 years (Article 31). The President of the Republic is the head of the State and politically not responsible to the Assembly. It is understood from the relevant provisions that the Assembly tried to limit the President’s authority. Attributing such symbolic authorities to the President is not among characteristics of ideal parliamentary systems.

Section 4 is named as “The Judicial Power” and includes Articles 53-67. Duties and procedures of judicial authorities are regulated by these articles. According to these provisions, the decisions of courts are final and cannot be subject to confirmation or adjournment by the Assembly. This section includes provisions regarding the High Court as the relevant authority to judge members of the Cabinet, the Council of State, the Supreme Court, and the public prosecutors because of their exclusive duties and statuses.

Section 5 consists of Articles 68-88, which were compiled in a separate law called “the Public Law of the Turks”, and defines general rights and freedoms afforded to the Turkish people, which were not included in the 1921 Constitution. Although this section was incomparably shorter than the previous ones and superficial, most of the

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<sup>80</sup> Eroğlu, p. 198.

<sup>81</sup> See: Arguments and Discussions Put Forward During the Preparation of Constitution.

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proposed provisions were accepted without the need for serious discussion<sup>82</sup>. However, the 1924 Constitution did not attach sufficient importance to fundamental rights and freedoms in general. The reason behind this indifference it that the legislators expected that these rights would be efficiently safeguarded by the representatives of the nation through legal measures in such an order where TBMM is the sole and real representative of the nation. Therefore, a general and abstract freedom and equality was stipulated by the constitution<sup>83</sup>. Article 68 was directly adapted from the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in accordance with the needs of the Turkish society. This article emphasizes the principles of liberalism and individualism. According to these provisions, *“All citizens of Turkey are endowed at birth with liberty and full right to the enjoyment thereof. Liberty consists in the right to live and enjoy life without offence or injury to others. The only limitations on liberty - which is one of the natural rights of all - are those imposed in the interest of rights and liberties of others. Such limitations on personal liberty shall be defined only in strict accordance with the law”*.

The 1924 Constitution in particular established a social system and included articles that aimed to ensure public order in accordance with modern approaches. As a necessity of this understanding, the constitution established the principle of equality before the law. Also, it prohibited any kind of discrimination. Inviolability of personal liberty, life, property, honor and home (Articles 71-76), prohibition of torture and corporal punishment (Article 73), freedom of private property and the relevant rights (Article 70), freedom of religion and belief (Article 75), freedom of press within the limits of the law, freedom of conscious, thought, expression, press (Article 77), movement (Article 78), work (Articles 70 and 79), freedom of assembly and association (Article 70) and similar other classical rights and freedoms were safeguarded by the new constitution. Another remarkable aspect of this issue is the status of political parties. Pursuant to the constitution, political parties were associations. This means that any political party can be closed by a decision of a court of first instance<sup>84</sup>. The reference of the term *“Turk”*, which is frequently mentioned in the constitution, was explained by Article 88. *“People of Turkey, in regards to Turkish citizenship, regardless of religion and race, are Turks”*. According to this explanation, the nationality was identified based on political loyalty, rather than race. In other words, being a Turk does refer to any religious or ethnic identity, as the term is regarded as a geographical and political concept.

It was decided that the aforementioned rights and freedoms, which were involved and highlighted in the Constitution, could only be limited by law. However, the extent of these limitations were not clearly identified. This uncertainty became a topic of discussion, especially with criticism against arguably over-broad authority given to the governments in power. Leaving the issue of limitations unmentioned was a

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<sup>82</sup> Tanör, p. 256.

<sup>83</sup> Eroğlu, p. 196-197.

<sup>84</sup> Mumcu, *“Türkiye’de Anayasa Reformları”*, p. 45.

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result of the understanding of the majoritarian democracy which argues that the majority is always right and representatives of a nation can never be harmful for the rights of individuals.

Section 6, the last section of the Constitution, includes Articles 89-105. Articles 89-91 define the provincial administrations and states that the territory is divided in smaller parts in administrative and economic terms, namely, provinces, counties, townships, and villages. It is remarkable that this provision adopted a centralist approach. Articles 92-94 regulate the eligibility of civil servants, while Articles 95-99 establish procedures for financial affairs and budgeting. Articles 100-105 define the procedures and principles regarding to the Commissioner of Finance, which was responsible to TBMM and authorized to conduct audits and accounts of the state's income and expenses. The final section of the Constitution establishes the procedure in which amendments to the constitution may be presented<sup>85</sup>.

### Amendments in the 1924 Constitution

Five major amendments were made in the 1924 Constitution during its 37 years of effect: These amendments are listed below:

1. The Law no. 1222 of April 14, 1928
2. The Law no. 1893 of December 10, 1931
3. The Law no. 2599 of December 5, 1934
4. The Law no. 3115 of February 5, 1937
5. The Law no. 3272 of November 25, 1937<sup>86</sup>.

The 1928 and 1937 amendments in the Constitution were relatively more important and essential in terms of political understanding and concepts. Together with the Law no. 1222, Articles 2, 16, 26, and 38 of the Constitution were amended and all references to Islam were extracted from the text<sup>87</sup>. The provision that defines the state's religion as Islam (Article 2) and the article about the responsibility of TBMM to "fulfill religious provisions" (Article 26) were removed from the original text after the adoption of the Civil Law and the other new regulations. In addition, the term "*I promise by God*" (*Wallah*), a part of oaths of the representatives and the President, was replaced by the phrase "*I swear to dedicate myself*" (Article 38)<sup>88</sup>. These amendments were necessities of the secular state. In order to ensure a radical judicial and social transformation, Turkish women's suffrage and right to stand for elections were included in the new Constitution, which was a topic of protracted discussions within the Assembly. In December 5, 1934, Law no. 2599 was put into effect and amended the clause of Article 10, which was "*Every Turkish man over the age of eighteen*", as "*Every Turkish woman and man over the age of twenty*" and therefore granted the women's suffrage and raised the voting age from eighteen to twenty. The amendment in Article 11 also granted women the right to stand for elections<sup>89</sup> and thus

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<sup>85</sup> TBMMZC, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.8-I, 42<sup>nd</sup> Session, April 20, 1924, Text of the Law: p. 365-372.

<sup>86</sup> Özbudun, **1924 Anayasası**, p. 5.

<sup>87</sup> Özbudun, p. 8.

<sup>88</sup> **Official Gazette**, April 14, 1928, V.863, p.12.

<sup>89</sup> **Official Gazette**, December 11, 1934, V.2877, p.1. (Law no.: 2599, Date of Enactment: December 5, 1934).

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discussions over this issue came to an end. However, at the same time with such a revolutionary amendment in the Constitution, it is interesting that the parliament moved backwards by raising the voting age from twenty to twenty-two<sup>90</sup>.

It is seen that Article 95 of the Constitution, which was about financial affairs, was amended on December 10, 1931<sup>91</sup>. Just as the 1928 Constitutional amendments laid the foundation for secularization of the regime, so did the Law no. 3115 on February 5, 1937, was important as it concretized the authoritarian characteristics of the regime. With these amendments, Atatürk's principles were included in Article 2 of the Constitution and adopted as the state's fundamental principles<sup>92</sup>. The essence of these amendments was adopting the internal principles of the Republican People's Party (CHP) as principles of the state's constitution. In this way, the party-state consolidation was taken a step further<sup>93</sup>. The outcome obtained after the parliamentary discussions over the relevant article was the idea that even thought had to be forbidden if contrary to these principles. For instance, İzmir Deputy Halil Menteşe expressed his concerns saying, "Statism, for example, refers to the form of the state. If now a supporter of the liberal economy takes the floor and propagandizes the situation... Will the police detain him and send to the court for arrest with allegations of attempting to change the form of the state?" Antalya Deputy Rasih Kaplan responded, "We'll say 'let him give up the ghost'"<sup>94</sup>. After the adoption of Law no. 3272 on November 29, 1937, the previously established offices of undersecretary were abolished<sup>95</sup>.

Another expected amendment in the Constitution was the language of its text, as mentioned above within the section regarding parliamentary discussions. The language, which was regarded as strange and expressed as "a language called pure Turkish" by Ali Fuat Başgil during the discussions over the 1945 amendment, is the premise of the legal and constitutional language adopted in 1960s<sup>96</sup>. The Fundamental Law of 1924 (Constitution) was translated into pure Turkish with the Law no. 4695 of January 10, 1945, without any manipulation of meaning. However, the original text of the constitution was adopted once again with the Law no. 5997 of December 24, 1952, together with the amendments<sup>97</sup>. For example, with the amendment of January 10, 1945, the terms "Vekil" (Minister) and "Mebus" (Deputy) were replaced with "Bakan" and "Milletvekili", respectively, but after the amendment of December 24, 1952, the language of the Constitution was turned back into its previous version used before 1945<sup>98</sup>.

It is seen that no structural change was made in the 1924 Constitution within the period of Turkey's transition to the multi-party democracy in 1945. The longevity of this constitution was

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<sup>90</sup> Eroğlu, p. 199.

<sup>91</sup> The regulation that obliged relevant actors to introduce the budgetary proposals to the Assembly at least three months before the first day of each financial year (**Official Gazette**, 15 December 1931, V.1976,p.1. (Law no.:1893, Date of Enactment: December 10, 1931).

<sup>92</sup> **Official Gazette**, February 13, 1937, V.3533, p.1. (Law no.: 3115, Date of Enactment: February 5, 1937).

<sup>93</sup> Özbudun, p. 9.

<sup>94</sup> **TBMMZC**, 5th Term, v.16, 33rd Session, February 5, 1937, p. 62.

<sup>95</sup> Law on the Division of Government Offices into Departments (**Official Gazette**, December 1, 1937, V.3773, p.1. (Law no.: 3271, Date of Enactment: November 29, 1937).

<sup>96</sup> Tanör, p. 323.

<sup>97</sup> Gözübüyük, A. Şeref, Kili, Suna, **Türk Anayasa Metinleri – Sened-i İttifak'tan Günümüze**, Türkiye İş Bankası Yay., Ankara 1985, p. 136-137.

<sup>98</sup> After publishing, the amendment in the Official Gazette no. 8297 of December 31, 1952, Article 1 of the Law no. 5997, which consists of two articles in total, read as follows: "The Fundamental Law no. 491 of April 20, 1340, was adopted again with all amendments effective within the period until the adoption of the Law no. 4695, and the Law no. 4695 of January 10, 1945, which was adopted to replace the former, was repealed" (Necmi Yüzbaşıoğlu, **Anayasa Hukukunun Temel Metinleri**, Beta Yay., İstanbul 2012, p. VIII).

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associated with its libertarian and democratic essence, and amendments were not considered necessary due to this characteristic.

### Conclusion

The 1924 Constitution has been one of the most significant cornerstones in the History of Turkish Law. The law reforms initiated with the 1921 Constitution as an antecedent enabled a national, democratic and secular state organization together with the 1924 Constitution. When it came into force, the Constitution granted Assembly, which was regarded as the sole authority, the opportunities required to facilitate reforms. In order to place the reforms on solid grounds in terms of political and social lives, the Assembly adopted the majoritarian principle of democracy, instead of a pluralist approach. As put forward by Rousseau, this is known as the will of the majority, and represents the national will in this model. In this regard, it has an indivisible and inerrant character that aims to protect the benefits of the nation in general. The concepts particularly underlined throughout the parliamentary discussions over the constitutional draft were the national will and the superiority of parliament. Even this situation alone indicates that the ultimate target and wish was to create a democratic order.

The fact that the transition to a multi-party system was postponed due to the case of the Progressive Republican Party (TpCF) experienced just after the Constitution was adopted does not mean that the Constitution created an authoritarian regime. Accordingly, the 1924 Constitution adopted and revealed the modern principles of its time. From this aspect, it did not have any potential to cause a One-Party governance in the country. Above all, the One-Party regimes were realized despite the Constitution.

The most obvious deficiency identified in the 1924 Constitution was that it did not stipulate any mechanism that might prevent dominance of the majority. However, this can be explained with the lack democratic institutions and organizations, rather than the lack of principles. The Constitution's insufficiency in terms of fundamental rights and freedoms became more evident after the transition to the multi-party system in 1946 and the situation indicated that the Constitution could no longer be used. This non-functionality continued until 1960. Particularly the laws enacted by Democrat Party, thanks to the parliamentary majority, exacerbated the political polarization together with the tensions between the ruling and opposition parties. The following developments drove the country, which had been pursuing a democratic system, into the 1960 Turkish coup d'état, when the Constitution was abolished by the military junta.

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# THE CLOSURE OF THE SHARIA COURTS

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## Introduction

Among the practitioners of Islamic law, the Ottoman Empire has a more important place in history than other states. The main reason for this is that the empire was able to sustain itself for a long period. Moreover, the importance given by the Islamic Ottoman Empire to the justice mechanism led to the development of its own legal system based on classical Islamic law. This development left important traces both in the legal system of the state and in the Islamic law which was subjected to it.

On the one hand, the fact that the Ottoman Empire was a long-standing state led the judicial system to flourish on solid foundations, while on the other hand it also forced the system to adapt to the requirements of the age. So much so that, in the historical process, the great reform movements experienced by the Ottoman Empire either brought innovations predominantly to the legal system, or led to other reforms of the judicial system which was failing to respond to the needs after these changes.

There is evidence to say that, particularly from the Tanzimat period onward, the Ottoman Empire, which was able to successfully apply Islamic law in its classical meaning in accordance with its own specific rules, was seeking to improve and revitalize through radical changes. The office of qadi (Sharia Courts), which was the basis of the judicial mechanism, was also the institution most affected by these changes and innovations. As a general overview, in the 19th century when efforts were made to keep pace with developments, the concept of the judicial unity of the state was at times broken, at times attempts were made to return to the old system, and at times, while there was a modern judicial system, it was aimed to continue the office of qadi, which had functioned perfectly in the classical period at the same time.

However, when the failures in the process of modernization combined with defeat in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire, which had lasted for about 700 years, was brought to an end. The mobilization, which began on May 19, 1919, for the liberation of Anatolia from its occupation, reached its aim with the proclamation of the republic on October 29, 1923.

In place of the state system based on governing the people through absolutism under a religious structure, the Turkish Republican era was shaped by the principle of secularism. Successfully bringing about such a sharp transformation necessitated radical changes in every field that was related to the state and the nation. The most important of these

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revolutionary movements was seen in the judicial sphere. Thus, the Sharia Courts, which had existed for centuries on the basis of Islamic law, were closed and an independent judicial mechanism was established based on a European-centered secular law system.

The following chapter of this study will examine the closure of the Sharia Courts. Firstly, by providing information about the legal system of the Ottoman Empire it is aimed to address the important aspects of the structure and characteristics of the Sharia Courts, which were the most important element of this system. Subsequently, the reforms that were introduced with the proclamation of the republic will be discussed and the changes that were made to the judicial mechanism will be examined.

### I. A History of the Sharia Courts

The Ottoman Empire was representative of a state whose theocratic features were in accordance with its structure. The corner stones of the state were shaped around Islamic religion and law. It is also necessary to remember that while it had a basis in the Islamic religion, the state was a traditional Turkic one in nature. In this respect, it is noted that among the states which combined the Turkic state structure with the Islamic religion, the Ottoman state was more complex and had more highly developed features (Halaçoğlu, 1986).

Some examples of how the Ottoman state system was shaped by religious principles can be seen in the classification of state subjects as Muslim and non-Muslim, the organization of the tax system, and the establishment of groups of professions based on religion in its economic structure. As in other areas of the state, it is observed that the Ottoman Empire favored Hanafi philosophy in the judicial sense (Aydın, 2003; Akman and, Patoğlu, 2016)

In Islamic Law, judges, known as *qadi*, were appointed by the head of the state to resolve disputes in certain conflicts. This practice continued in the Ottoman Empire too. Judges were appointed during the reign of Osman I and subsequently a judicial structure was formed in which *qadis* were appointed and a superior court structure was established (Ekinci, 2004:23-24).

The Ottoman *qadi* system functioned in both a judicial and administrative sense. The country was divided into administrative departments called *qaza* and a *qadi* was assigned to each *qaza* dealing in both judicial affairs in his settlement and undertaking administrative duties such as the tasks of a mayor, notary public and the municipal police (Aydın, 2003: 343). The courts in which *qadis* judged were called the Sharia Courts (Atalar, 1980:304).

While the Ottoman Empire adopted Islamic Law as its legal system, it practiced it within its own structure by making it suitable for the needs of specific issues. A distinction tends

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to be made between Ottoman law in the period before the Tanzimat, called the “Classical Period”, and the period that followed. The main reason for this distinction may be that reformist movements started as a result of the Tanzimat caused the breakdown of the Islamic law understanding that had dominated the classical period and that attempts were made to adopt the Western legal system. This is why it is appropriate to examine the Sharia Courts of the Classical Period from a general perspective and to evaluate the court structure that appeared as a result of the reformist movements that were organized during and after the Tanzimat Period.

### **A. General Characteristics of the Sharia Courts in the Classical Period**

According to the generally accepted principle of property in the Ottoman legal system, everyone living in the Ottoman territories had the same rights and responsibilities following the same legal order, while certain issues, especially the private legal conflicts of non-Muslim subjects, were dealt with outside of the Sharia Courts (Aydn, 2012: 79-82). In this respect, it would not be wrong to say that, despite there being some exceptions, the application of Ottoman law in the Classical Period was monopolized by the Sharia Courts. Therefore, it should be noted that the Sharia Courts held a very important place in the classical Ottoman legal system.

The Sharia Courts were judicial institutions in which juridical power was wielded by the qadis at their head. For this reason, it is necessary to take into consideration the basic issues related to the office of qadi in terms of the nature and importance of the courts.

Just as with all monarchies, the authority to resolve legal disputes among persons in Islamic jurisprudence was given to the ruler. (Ekinici, 2008:368) The ruler used this jurisdiction through judges appointed by himself and called “qadi” in his name. This practice, seen widely in Islamic law, was applied in the same way in the Ottoman judicial system, however with some differences.

An Ottoman qadi acted as judiciary and proprietor and held a unique place in the Islamic states. A representative and a spokesperson of the people, as well as a central government official due to his power to apply sharia law, the Ottoman qadi was part of a more developed office than that of the qadis in other examples of Islamic law (Ortaylı, 2003:69-70; Tangulu, Karadeniz and Ateş, 2014).

As mentioned above, in the Classical Period when the monarchical style of administration was adopted, the appointment of qadis who could wield juridical power in the name of the ruler was also considered as the main symbol of state authority. Thus, the appointment of Dursun Fakih, a famous scholar of his day, to Karacahisar by Osman I made a clear statement that the Ottoman State was establishing itself officially in that area (Ekinici, 2008:369).

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The Ottoman Empire followed the practice of appointing new qadis to the lands that it conquered. These settlements were called *qaza* meaning “place managed by the qadi” and this term has endured until the present. They were also called *hakimü’şşer* or “judges of the sharia law” because they had just as much of a judicial function as they did an administrative function as practitioners of the law.

In the Ottoman legal system, the appointment of a qadi was considered to be a symbol of state authority and was arranged thus. Issues such as who could be a qadi, what the functions of the qadis were, and their rights and obligations were set out in detail. Briefly, to become a qadi one had to be mentally sound, an adult, and a free Muslim man. Besides these conditions, one had to possess “fairness” (the superiority of good over evil), be a scholar and have full use of the five senses (Ekinçi, 2008: 369-370; Ortaylı, 2003:71).

Selected individuals who met these conditions were appointed to the office of qadi with the decree of the padishah. As qadis were chosen from among the scholarly class they began to be classified according to their level of academic experience. These classifications led to a certain hierarchical system, taken as a basis for the profession of the qadi (Üçok et al., 2011: 242-245).

The courts in which the qadi fulfilled their judicial duties were known as the Sharia Courts. However, it should be noted that the place where the qadis passed judgements was called *meclis-işer* and the use of the term “court” corresponds more to the later periods of the Ottoman Empire (Ekinçi, 2008: 369). Although the place where judicial affairs were conducted sometimes had its own name, the qadis often fulfilled their duties in their homes or in the qaza’s mosques. Besides, it is said that even when somebody was walking along the road, he/she could appeal to the qadi and present his/her case (Ekinçi, 2004: 24-25).

The Sharia Courts became a place of jurisdiction where all kinds of legal disputes were resolved from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire right until the Tanzimat Period (Aydın, 2012:78). It is observed that in addition to cases arising from Islamic law, disputes related to customary law were also dealt with in these courts. Furthermore, the qadis and the Sharia Courts dealt with both criminal and civil lawsuits.

The importance given by the Ottoman Empire to upholding the law had been evident since its foundation. As a matter of fact, Osman I invested great importance in the Sharia Courts in order to protect the rights of the whole of the nation without giving preferential treatment. The sultans who reigned after him also retained this reverence and took care to develop and protect the office of qadi and the Sharia Courts (Atalar, 1980; Şimşek, Küçük and Topkaya, 2012). This eminence was not limited to the Classical Period and important efforts were made to maintain the justice mechanism during times of legal reform, even during periods of stagnation, regression and disintegration. However, as

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with other elements of the state structure, legal reforms, especially after the Tanzimat Period, aimed to prevent the collapse of the existing system by adapting it to the conditions of the times. The next section of the paper will explore the place of the Sharia Courts in the Ottoman legal system during and after the Tanzimat period.

## **B. Reforms Made in the Tanzimat Period and General Characteristics of the Sharia Courts**

From the second half of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire initiated radical reform movements in almost every area in order to keep pace with European-centered change and developments. In this period, when the running of the country came under question, the primary goal was to return to the old bright days known as the Classical Period. In the context of this basic objective, various factors, such as preventing European states from interfering in internal affairs and increasing the welfare level of subjects, are suggested as real reasons for the radical reform movements (Akça and Hülür, 2007: 304-306).

The Edict of Gülhane opened the door to state law. So much so that with this imperial decree the Ottoman state's subjects were made equal before the law regardless of their religious and sectarian differences. The principle of equality made it necessary to carry out fundamental changes in the Sharia Courts, which issued prosecutions according to the laws of the Hanafi sect. More clearly than the Edict of Gülhane, regardless of religious distinction, the principle that everyone is equal before the law was also expressed in the Imperial Reform Edict. The implementation of the principle of equality mentioned in the edicts forced the state to make radical changes in the field of legislation. Great changes were also made to the judicial mechanism whose basis was in the Sharia Courts in order to avoid the negativities that the legal system, which had functioned almost perfectly in the Classical Period, was coming up against day after day and to prevent the mistrust against the judgments brought about by these negativities.

These changes made in the judicial sense were based on the restriction of the duty and jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts by the establishment of the *Meclis-i Vâlâ-i Ahkâm-i Adliye* just before the issuing of the Edict of Gülhane. The *Meclis-i Vâlâ* (Assembly), whose main task was to preserve and maintain the system that the Tanzimat had introduced, conducted both administrative and criminal lawsuit proceedings order to fulfill this duty. Crimes such as theft, murder and brigandage, whose judgement was one of the duties and powers of the Sharia Courts under normal conditions, were now handled by the Assembly. Later, in response to the weighty and intense workload of the Assembly, such as the preparation of new legislation and the implementation of the Tanzimat, these proceedings began to be carried out in local courts again. From then on the *Meclis-i Vâlâ* continued to serve as an appeal authority.

In the Tanzimat Period, this assembly was equipped with important duties and powers,

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such as preparing new laws and supervising the implementation of the Tanzimat, as well as some judicial duties and powers. This task and authority was mostly related to administrative jurisdiction. The Meclis-i Vâlâ would pass judgement over officers and solve disagreements between the state and its people. Thus, the judicial authority of the Sharia Courts became limited (Durhan, 2008: 70-71).

However, it is observed that there was a tendency for resolving conflicts between European traders with customary law because these merchants were not willing to solve their disputes according to Islamic law. In the assemblies gathered in this context, commercial conflicts had started to be resolved according to customary law. This situation, which did not inherently constitute a contradiction to the law, was formalized in the Tanzimat Period, when the assemblies were turned into courts (Durhan, 2008: 63).

Besides the commercial courts, the *Meclis-i Muhasebe* (Accounting Assembly), in which disputes between bankers were resolved, the *Meclis-i Tahkikat* (Inquiry Assembly), which met in Istanbul at first and then was organized in other provinces and proceeded over criminal cases, and the mixed criminal courts in which all the proceedings of non-Muslims were conducted, are accepted as innovations which led to the restriction of the Sharia Courts' duty and authority in the judicial field (Durhan, 2008: 72-78).

During the Tanzimat Period, these assemblies acquired a court identity. These newly created courts were named the Nezamiyeh Courts (Üçok et al., 2011: 362; Durhan, 2008: 78; Ekinçi, 2008: 547; Aydın, 2012: 425). The Nezamiyeh Courts were modeled on the French judicial system. Serving on the basis of customary law, the creation of these courts was met by criticism that the law of sharia would not be applied and that the law would become secularized.

But while these courts were presided over by the qadi in the Ottoman legal system and had a very constitutional structure, the closure of the Sharia Courts was not preferred. The Sharia Courts continued to resolve conflicts in personal, family and inheritance law, and all matters outside the sharia issues were transferred to the newly established courts of justice. The criticism of the previously mentioned secularization of the law also played a part in this. As a result, the Ottoman judicial system was transformed into a dyadic<sup>1</sup> structure formed by the Nizamiye and Sharia Courts. (Durhan, 2008: 80; Ekinçi, 2008: 547-548).

As can be seen, the Tanzimat Period oversaw fundamental reforms in the field of law. The main reason for these reforms was to prevent the state from interfering with the internal affairs of European nations, as well as a desire to return to the golden days of the state. However, although there had been an attempt to prevent the relapsing of

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<sup>1</sup> Üçok suggests that the structure was a triadic structure in the form of Trade, Nezamiyeh and Sharia Courts (Üçok et al., 2011: 363-365).

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the state in general by introducing innovations more radical than the Tanzimat reforms, unfortunately the expected goal had not been achieved. Efforts were made to overcome the complex and dyadic structure that emerged in the legal system after the Tanzimat Period with a series of reforms. The next section of the paper will deal with the judicial reforms carried out in the post-Tanzimat Period and the impact that these reforms had on the Sharia Courts.

### **C. The Sharia Courts in the Post-Tanzimat Period: The Beginning of the End**

It can be seen that the powers and duties of the qadis and the Sharia Courts were restricted gradually by the regulations made after the Tanzimat (Ekinci, 2008: 550-553). On the one hand, while the Sharia Courts were restricted, there was a desire to break the influence of the ulama (scholarly) class.

With the issue of the edicts *Hükkâm-i Şer'* and *Memurîin-i Şer'iyye Kanun-i Muvakkat* in 1913, detailed regulations were made regarding the Sharia Courts and qadis. Among these regulations, it was agreed that qadis would be appointed according to their level of competence rather than reputation. It was decided that each province, *liva* or *qaza* would have a Sharia Court and sub-districts at least six hours away from them would have a regent who was the deputy of these qadis. Besides this, the qadis' responsibilities regarding sharia law were accepted. The Shaykh al-Islam deemed it necessary to conduct an inquiry into the office of the qadis (Ekinci, 2004: 277-286).

It can be seen that the reforms related to the law and the judiciary became more acute with the Declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. It was even claimed that the Shaykh al-Islam was a spiritual personality who should be removed from the cabinet. The idea of the Shaykh al-Islam being a spiritual leader was met with suspicion, especially in conservative circles. In his article on the subject, Elmalılı Hamdi Efendi stated that the position of spiritual leader was incompatible with the religion of Islam, and that the Shaykh al-Islam was only delegated by the head of state to carry out certain affairs (Ekinci, 2004: 285-292).

Besides this, he predicted that the Sharia Courts would become subsumed under the Ministry of Justice. Finally, these predictions became true and of the two important institutions connected to the Shaykh al-Islam, the Sharia Courts was absorbed into the Ministry of Justice and the madrasas into the Ministry of Education (Ekinci, 2004: 292). This arrangement caused eyebrows to raise. It would not be wrong to say that criticisms of the secularization of the legal system were voiced for the first time under this regime. It is clear that this arrangement was not a fully adopted reform and after the fall of the Party of Union and Progress in 1920, the oversee of the Sharia Courts was predictably returned to the Shaykh al-Islam.

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## II. The Closure of the Sharia Courts

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, fundamental reforms were instigated immediately in all areas. Undoubtedly, the revolutionary reforms in the field of law had an important place among these changes. The era of sharia law was brought to a close and modern law was introduced on the basis of the civil law system. In this context, the closure of the Sharia Courts may also be expressed as a natural result of the revolution. This part of the study aims to give a general overview of the Republican Revolution in the context of the closure of the Sharia Courts.

### A. An Overview of the Republican Revolution

After its defeat in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was brought to its knees. With the Armistice of Mudros signed on October 30, 1918 (Erim, 1953: 519-524) and the Treaty of Sevres signed on August 10, 1920 (Erim, 1953: 525-691) the Allies, under the leadership of Britain and France, aimed to divide and share the Ottoman lands out between themselves. The state administration and the Istanbul government did not have the will to refuse to sign these agreements or to show any resistance.

Mustafa Kemal explained the attitudes and behaviors of the Istanbul government and the reigning authority after the First World War with the following words: “Enemy states have attacked the Ottoman state and country materially and spiritually, and they have decided to destroy and demolish them. The Sultan and the Caliph do not think of anything but saving their own lives and comfort. The government is also in the same situation. A nation that is unaware that it is leaderless awaits what these uncertainties will amount to (Atatürk, 2018: 6)”. Thereupon, under the leadership of the General Inspector of the Ninth Army, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the nation’s patriots instigated a resistance movement from Anatolia. This resistance, which started with the departure of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his fellow patriots to Samsun on May 19, 1919, is called the War of Independence. During this period success was achieved with a series of congresses, the establishment of Grand National Assembly of Turkey in Ankara, which would serve as a manifestation of the sovereignty of the nation, the Mudanya Armistice Treaty, signed at the end of the War of Independence, and the Treaty of Lausanne (Akşin, 2018: 127-182).

After many years of struggle both via military and political channels, the resistance was finally victorious and a new Turkish state was built on Anatolian lands. In this new state, the sovereignty of the people was taken as a basis and a republican style of administration was adopted on the basis of a secular system. The accepted new system necessitated the abolition of the authorities of the sultanate and caliphate, the two main elements of Ottoman administration.

The rule of the Sultan had actually been brought to an end with the first and second articles

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of the 1921 Constitution (*Teşkilat-i Esasiye*). In these articles, it was clearly laid out that sovereignty would rest unconditionally with the nation and that this authority would be wielded by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on behalf of the people. Following the success of the War of Independence, both the Istanbul government and the Ankara government were invited to the peace conference in Lausanne. This would damage the ability of the Ankara government to be the sole proponent of the new state formation and lead to the reigning authority and government in Istanbul being legitimized. The British also intended to use the role of caliph for their own interests by patronizing it under the Sultan. As a matter of fact, this was clearly stated in a telegram sent by Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha to Mustafa Kemal.

The greatest problem in abolishing the sultanate was the idea that the titles of sultan and caliph could not be separated from each other and could be held by the same person. Serious discussions were made on this issue and the situation reached a deadlock in a meeting of the Constitution, Sharia and Justice Commissions due to the very idea that the sultanate and the caliphate were inseparable. This deadlock was only overcome when Mustafa Kemal took to the stand and stated that the sultanate had already been abolished and that the problem was nothing more than explaining this fait accompli (Atatürk, 2018: 464-466).

Mustafa Kemal's speech was regarded as important from an academic and historical context in that it proved that the caliphate and the sultanate were separate authorities during negotiations in parliament. In the vote made after Mustafa Kemal Pasha's statements about Turkic state tradition, the birth of Islam, and the office of caliphate after Muhammed, only one objection was heard and it was suppressed by cries of "No objections". The abolition of the sultanate was thus decreed unanimously by the Grand National Assembly on November 1, 1922 ([www.tbmm.gov.tr](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr)).

With the abolition of the sultanate, it was ruled that the caliphate belonged to the Ottoman family and that the most appropriate person in terms of wisdom and character would be named caliph by the Grand National Assembly on behalf of the Turkish nation. Thus, the rule of the Sultan was officially abolished, and the caliphate was subjected to parliamentary supervision, preventing the British from using the caliphate for their own interests. Accordingly, Abdulmecit Efendi, a member of the Ottoman family, was elected Caliph by the parliament. However, in the period that followed, supporters of the sultanate and caliphate acted against the new government on the basis of the idea that "the caliphate is the state" and some statesmen who held important positions revived the idea of preserving the sultanate by expressing loyalty to the caliph, rendering the caliphate unacceptable according to the new understanding established on the axis of secular state principles. On March 1, 1924, the President of Turkey, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, emphasized three major points in the Assembly's opening speech and touched upon the

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nation's expectation that the Republic had to be protected from all future attacks and based on previously tried and tested principles. Nevertheless, Mustafa Kemal considered the unification of the education and training system, finally stated that it was essential to glorify Islam by ending the use of religion as a political means, and emphasized that the principle of secularism must be fully implemented. In the session held two days after this speech, proposals for a law regarding the dissolution of the caliphate, the expulsion of any remaining members of the Ottoman family, the abolition of the Directorship of the Sharia, the *Evkaf Vekalet* and the *Erkan-i Harbiye Vekalet*, and the unification of education and training were added to the agenda. On March 3, 1924, the caliphate was abolished and it was decided that members of the old dynasty would be exiled abroad by returning their properties to the nation and withdrawing their citizenship ([www.tbmm.gov.tr](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr)).

When considered in context of the historical process, it would not be wrong to say that there had never before been such a sharp change in administration in any Turkic state. Previously, while establishing a state based on religion, the monarchy that existed in the previous state tradition was maintained, or the monarchy and religion-based management understanding was adopted, but neither of these changes occurred on this occasion. When the Republic of Turkey was established, the monarchy was transformed into a republic based on the sovereignty of the people and the Sharia administration which had lasted for centuries also gave way to the secular state model. Such a sharp change brought with it great revolutionary movements and necessitated major reforms in almost every field such as law, politics, economics, culture and education. The revolutionary movements initiated with the aim of making Turkey a modern civilization were sometimes adopted immediately, but some led to great debates among the population (Ortaylı, 2018: 300).

The Republic Revolution was generally carried out by means of secularism and the goal of elevating Turkey to a modern civilization (Turan, 2005: 161-177). Accordingly, the units of measure, length and weight were adapted to those of Europe and the calendar preferred by Europe was adopted. Besides this, some regulations in clothing were brought in, and the people were prohibited from using titles such as *Shah*, *Shish* and *Dervish* and told to adopt surnames instead.

Meanwhile, much more radical changes were made in the field of education. The Latin alphabet was used instead of the Arabic alphabet, the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Institution were established, and possibilities for conducting research and development in the fields of history and language were opened up. The merging and nationalization of education was another innovative movement considered one of the important reforms in the field of education and training.

In addition to these reforms which shaped social life, revolutions which were closely

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related to the state's future were also carried out. Among the reforms made in the political scene, undoubtedly the removal of the Sultan and the caliphate constituted a far more important place than other movements. Furthermore, the establishment of the new constitution, the adoption of the principle of secularism, and the closing of the Sharia Courts were also principal revolutions in the legal system.

As can be seen, the goal of becoming a modern civilization was at the forefront of social reforms.<sup>2</sup> It was aimed to adapt to European conventions, more developed in terms of science and technology than other parts of the world, and in this way to develop friendly relationships with European states. It would not be wrong to say that the reforms made in the political and legal field were mainly driven by the principle of secularism. In order to separate religious and state affairs, the caliphate was abolished, the Sharia Courts that had been the judicial bodies of Islamic law were closed, and the civil legal system adopted by modern law was acquired.

## **B. Events in the Process of the Closure of the Sharia Courts**

In the last few years of the Ottoman Empire, a dual authority emerged with the creation of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which began to become active in Anatolia. The occupied sultanate and the Ankara government were signing decrees that were opposed to each other on most issues. In this respect, it was important for the Ankara government to invalidate any decisions made by the Istanbul government after March 16, 1920, the date of the beginning of the occupation of Istanbul. This is because it invalidated the decision to reassign the Sharia Courts to the Shaykh al-Islam.

The Republican Revolution revealed the necessity to rebuild most of the mechanisms of the Republic of Turkey, which differed greatly from the Ottoman Empire. Especially the transition from an Islamic administration to a secular state had led to the realization of great reforms in most fields. In this context, the main reason for the closure of the Sharia Courts arose from the understanding of a secular state.

In the Republican era, systems in which a dyadic approach dominated, such as law and education, were inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The need to remove this dyadic nature and to revise the country's mechanisms in accordance with the basic principles of the new state led to comprehensive and deep-rooted reforms. In this context, the European legal system, based on the principle of secularism, was taken as the reason to abolish Sharia Law in line with the goal of becoming a modern nation. In order to bring a civil legal system to the country as soon as possible, the method of incorporating foreign state laws into the Turkish legal system with the technique of appropriation was adopted (Üçok et al., 2011: 375-378). However, the Sharia Courts as direct practitioners of

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<sup>2</sup> Although becoming a modern civilization was the main concern of the social revolution, particularly attaining the principle of secularism, the young Republic also employed other watchwords. These factors are not ignored, however, in this paper we emphasize that the idea of becoming a modern civilization was the most influential of these. Likewise, the same is true in the political and legal reforms.

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Islamic law were closed by the Decree of the Abolition of Sharia Courts in 1924 and the “Amended Law on Court Organization and the Legal System”, known as the foundation of today’s legal structure, was adopted. A School of Law was opened in Ankara in order for practitioners to meet the requirements of the new legal system (Turan, 2005: 215-227).

Theoretically, although their influence still continues today, the Sharia Courts, which had maintained their existence for centuries, were officially brought to an end. Along with these reforms, the legal system and the judiciary were made functional in accordance with the principle of secularism, one of the basic principles of the new state model.

### **Conclusion**

The courts of the qadis, which were the office of jurisdiction for Islamic law, in other words, the Sharia Courts, were active in almost all of the Islamic states which had adopted sharia. The Ottoman Empire, which is accepted as one of the most mature examples of traditional Turkic state organization using the Islamic state model, applied this system with a certain level of success for centuries, adding some special features of its own over the years. However, developments experienced in the understanding of law in a universal sense in particular moved the judiciary beyond the realm of religion and led to the development of a new humanist legal system. It was inevitable that these developments and changes would affect the Ottoman Empire, one of the largest powers of the age. This intellectual revolution in the law had made itself felt in the Ottoman Empire, and reforms of the legal system in the context of modern law had begun to be seen.

However, the regression of the state became evident in the legal system as well and caused the qadis, who were practitioners of the law, to move away from principles of merit and justice and to corrupt the law. Bribery and nepotism, which are now considered criminal, had become major issues in the Ottoman judicial structure. Indeed, the empire’s subjects had lost confidence in the judicial system. When the judicial system is considered as one of the building blocks of the state, it is also easily understood that distrust among a state’s subjects poses a serious danger in terms of survival of the state.

The period of regression had also caused European states to intervene frequently in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire with the pretext of protecting minorities and to take privileges from the state in their favor. The European states often acted in a manner that infringed the state’s sovereignty, with the idea that the judicial body in which the Sharia legal system was dominant was illegal when it came to non-Muslims.

When all these factors are considered together, it is understood that the reform of the judicial mechanism was inevitable. Hence why the judicial mechanism saw the most reforms during the Tanzimat Period. When all these reforms are considered as a whole,

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nostalgia for the empire's golden age, restoration of the confidence in the judiciary, and, most importantly, prevention of the interference of European states within internal affairs, played significant roles.

While the aim of the judicial reforms was positive, we can actually see that each reform movement further complicated the system. As a matter of fact, the old system could not be removed completely, and a new judicial mechanism was added beside it, causing the legal system to come to a deadlock. Although well-intentioned, the fact that subsequent reforms were merely reinstating the previous amendments stopped the system from functioning and even unintentionally led to regression.

Another issue to be addressed with regard to the judicial reforms carried out during the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat periods was the aim of acting in accordance with the understanding of human rights in a universal sense. In other words, the trend of secularizing the Ottoman legal system had come into prominence. The fact that secularism was perceived in the judicial reforms carried out on a sharia-based state model can be argued as the second reason for the failure of these reforms.

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the Republic of Turkey was established, secularization of the law was less controversial as the state was being secularized as a whole at any rate. It would not be wrong to say that in a revolution in which there is an attempt to establish an entire secular system, the judicial secularization process is normal. Perhaps it can be said that the innovations required since the Tanzimat Period were only made possible with the complete abandonment of the idea of a religion-based state.

As a result, the office of the qadi and the Sharia courts, whose former glory the empire had attempted to restore in the Tanzimat Period, faced absolute extinction when it was understood that these efforts were fruitless. The closure of the Sharia Courts, decreed for the first time with the Declaration of Second Constitutional Monarchy, was realized through the Republic of Turkey which replaced the Ottoman Empire, a religion-based state. Assuming that the first appointment of a qadi took place in the 13th century, these courts, which had served as a judiciary office for about six centuries, were officially erased from the Turkish legal scene in 1924. Works called "Sharia Reports" in which qadis recorded their notes and which are similar to today's court archives, containing key information on a legal system that lasted six centuries, have survived to this day. The law, however, has only changed shape and will remain forever.

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## MULTI-PARTY LIFE TRANSITION EXPERIMENTS IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC (1925-1930)

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### Introduction

Parliament, known as the First Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), was opened on 23 April 1920, and was vested with extraordinary powers which laid the foundations for the Republic of Turkey. The first TBMM was composed of members of the last Ottoman Chamber of Deputies who had travelled to Anatolia to join the national struggle, and of those who had been elected after Mustafa Kemal Pasha's circular of 19 March 1920. The deputies who travelled to Anatolia were selected by the Defense of National Rights Society (Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Milliye Cemiyeti). For this reason, the Defense of National Rights movement held the majority in the National Assembly and therefore was in a position of power. The Defense of Rights Society managed to maintain this majority after the elections of 1919 and 1920.

In terms of its composition, the First TBMM has been described as the most democratic parliament in the history of Turkish democracy. Belonging to vastly different ideologies, the deputies varied greatly in terms of their educational and professional backgrounds. It was mainly this social and intellectual variety that kept the parliament debates lively<sup>1</sup>. Ideologically, the parliament had deputies who had formerly been part of the CUP, those who supported the Freedom and Accord Party, Turkish nationalists, Socialists, Islamists and Bolsheviks. The sole aim of this parliament was to successfully fight the battle for survival<sup>2</sup>. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, this parliament set out with the sole aim of saving the motherland, and it succeeded in bringing together people of differing and even conflicting ideologies around this aim.

The composition of TBMM changed greatly after the national struggle had ended successfully. After 1922, TBMM witnessed the political struggle between conflicting ideologies that were contained within itself. During this period, different groups within the parliament entered a power struggle to establish themselves as the superior authority. It is well known that opposing ideas, sometimes targeting Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself, were expressed for the first time during the peace talks in Lausanne. Latent opposition made itself clear over time, and even developed into an attempt to revoke the Pasha's right to be elected<sup>3</sup>. Although ultimately unsuccessful, this

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<sup>1</sup> The professional make-up of the Parliament in 1920 was thus: those in official positions, 43%; self-employed, 18%; economics, 19%; others, 21%

Official positions: Military officers, civil servants, teachers

Self-employed: Lawyers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists and veterinarians

Economics: Agriculturalists, traders, bankers

Others: Religious scholars and journalists (Ergun Özbudun, **1921 Anayasası**, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi (AAM), Yay., Ankara 1992, p. 3). For parliament debates, see: Bülent Tanör, **Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri (1789-1980)**, Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul 2005

<sup>2</sup> Samet Ağaoğlu, **Kuva-yı Milliye Ruhu**, Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., Başbakanlık Basımevi, Ankara 1981, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> In a motion submitted to the presidency of TBMM by three deputies on 2 December 1922, changes in the Electoral Law were proposed. The proposed changes included the following requirements for election: having been born within the current borders of the state, and having resided for a period of five years in the same electoral district. The motion directly targeted Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

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attempt made the opposition within parliament felt clearly by everyone. The rising voice of the opposition gave rise to concerns that there might be a threat to the new regime. The attempt at starting a crisis during Mustafa Kemal Pasha's 1923 trip around Western Anatolia can be taken as an obvious example of this. In a pamphlet published by a deputy from Afyon, named İsmail Şükrü Efendi, the caliph was called to lead the new state now that the sultanate had been abolished<sup>4</sup>. This is a significant development in terms of revealing the extent of the crisis.

When the Second TBMM was opened on 11 August 1923, it had a more homogeneous composition in comparison to the first TBMM. Acting on his concern that opposing ideas might cause greater trouble in the future, Mustafa Kemal Pasha had to design a parliament whose members were mostly selected by him. The press in Istanbul, which acted as the voice of opposition, very openly criticized this development. The fact that the majority in the parliament shared similar views, set the stage for the formation of parties within the parliament. As a result, the People's Party (HF) was established. However, with the beginning of the reform movement came once again differences of opinion, and opposing ideas began to be voiced. The sometimes very strongly-worded debates centered around issues such as the Proclamation of the Republic, the Abolition of the Caliphate, the Unification of Education Act. Differences of opinion within the HF were soon followed by resignations from the party, and then the first opposition party of the Republic, the Progressive Republican Party (TpCF), was established. An opposition party in the beginning, the TpCF soon became not only a platform to express different opinions but a safe haven for anti-regime elements as well. The conviction that the survival of the Republic was still tied to the existence of the HF caused the TpCF to be regarded as a serious obstacle in the way of the reform movement that was being planned. Although centered around issues of reform, the opposition also used negative developments in foreign policy - such as the issue of Mosul with Britain and the population exchange with Greece - against the government.

In the eyes of the government, a possible political and social unrest was a serious threat both for the HF and for the nascent Republic. In light of this, the ideal of pluralism that had been adopted in the name of democracy was dropped and the plan to transition to a multiparty system was discontinued. The Republican People's Party (CHF) maintained power as the sole political party of the republic until the establishment of the Liberal Republican Party (SCF) in 12 August 1930. Mustafa Kemal Pasha did not support a notion of government without a system of checks and balances. In his view, a government that was not kept in check would never reach perfection as there would be no one to point out its shortcomings. Therefore, the principles that had been adopted as benefiting the country would likewise benefit the CHF. It can be inferred from his attitude toward the opposition and the developments of the process that Mustafa Kemal Pasha maintained a sentimental connection to the CHF. The paradigms are highly flexible when it comes to the description of the Pasha as someone who not only abolished parties but also established them, as in the example of the SCF. The attempt at establishing pluralism in Turkey gave rise to the establishment of the SCF but, unlike the TpCF, this party represented a controlled sort of

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<sup>4</sup>Dursun Ali Akbulut, *Salтанattan Ulusal Egemenliğe: Salтанat, Hilafet ve Millî Hâkimiyet*, Temel Yay., İstanbul 2006

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opposition.

When the SCF began to give voice to the latent ideas of opposition and to act with a view to eventually rising to power, the CHF wanted to eliminate another obstacle in its way. Ultimately, the plan to establish parties in the name of democracy and pluralism failed once again. Shortly afterwards, this party also became a platform where anti-regime opposition from around the country came together. Fethi Bey, who had been chosen by Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself to lead the party, and his associates later chose to shut down their party as they had concerns about being perceived as a counterforce to the Pasha. Thus the attempts at establishing a multiparty system were discontinued until 1946, and Turkey was left with a single-party rule, citing the reason that the circumstances in the country were not yet suitable. When looking at the year 1930, certain initiatives, although ultimately failed, such as the Community Republican Party in Adana and the Republic of Turkey Workers and Farmers Party<sup>5</sup> in Edirne, draw attention.

### **The Emergence of the Opposition and the Pashas Duel**

The Progressive Republican Party, which emerged as a natural opposition party during the Second TBMM period, became one of the principle topics in examinations of democracy and government-opposition relations in Turkey. The Second Group had been formed as a result of resignations from the First Group. The divide between these two groups was not so clear during the First TBMM period. Although they cooperated in certain instances, the First Group with its numeric superiority (197 members) was generally the dominant group in parliament<sup>6</sup>.

The Second Group of the First TBMM was eliminated after the 1923 Elections, and it ensured that none of its members would enter the parliament. The two-stage elections meant that voters had indirect rather than direct influence on the composition of parliament. Therefore the will of those who made choices had more of an impact than the will of the voters, in terms of determining the composition of the parliament<sup>7</sup>. The main reason behind the elimination of the Second Group was that they had expressed opposing views effectively and had sided with the Caliphate. With this development, the First Group held both the parliamentary majority and power, giving the parliament a more homogeneous character. In this period, there was no need to hold elections with one party; however, after the victory in 1923 elections, the People's Party was established as a result of the need for political parties.

It was what happened at the Peace Conference of Lausanne that laid the foundation for the emerging opposition in the Second TBMM. The government was in favor of sending a delegation consisting of Foreign Minister Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşenk) Bey and Health Minister Rıza (Nur) Bey, which would be led by Rauf Bey. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was of the conviction that a delegation led by Rauf Bey would not succeed in such a matter of life and death<sup>8</sup>. In The Speech, Mustafa Kemal Pasha wrote that Rauf Bey had expressed his wish to go to Lausanne. On the

<sup>5</sup> Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasî Partiler 1859-1952*, Doğan Kardeş Yay., İstanbul 1952, p. 637-638.

<sup>6</sup> Özbudun, p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> Serap Yazıcı, *Yeni Bir Anayasa Yapımı Sürecinde Türkiye*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniv92011, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk (Söylev)*, İnkılâp Yay., İstanbul 2009, p. 541.

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contrary, Rauf Bey stated that he had no such desire. He had instead suggested İsmet Pasha, citing his success in the Conference of Mudanya<sup>9</sup>. Despite warnings from his associates that İsmet Pasha was not suited for the position because of his loss of hearing and partial proficiency in English and French, Mustafa Kemal Pasha did not change his mind about sending him to Lausanne<sup>10</sup>. As a result of his insistence on İsmet Pasha, Mustafa Kemal Pasha asked Yusuf Kemal Bey to resign from his post as minister. Because foreign ministers were dealing with diplomatic talks. İsmet Pasha was thus made the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

There is tangible data proving the existence of tensions between İsmet Pasha and Rauf Bey during the Conference of Lausanne. It has been accepted that it was partly these tensions that ushered in a process that would result in resignations from the People's Party. Rauf Bey was held responsible for some of the problems with regard to the correspondence between İsmet Pasha and Mustafa Kemal Pasha. This caused İsmet Pasha to hold an unfavorable view of Rauf Bey. In response, Rauf Bey stated that he was not responsible for the delay, and added that it was caused by the intelligence activities of the British and the French who controlled the telegraph lines<sup>11</sup>. Another reason for conflict was İsmet Pasha's acceptance of the offer that Karaağaç would be ceded to Turkey as a war indemnity and as compensation for confiscated ships<sup>12</sup>. İsmet Pasha interpreted criticisms as a lack of confidence in the delegation, and even considered going back without seeing the conference through to the end<sup>13</sup>.

There have been those who found different reasons behind Rauf Bey's leaving İsmet Pasha in a difficult situation during the Conference of Lausanne. In his article, "Halk Fırkası Niçin İkiye Ayrıldı?" (Why did the People's Party Split into Two?), Mehmet Asım Us states that Rauf Bey would commission the Americans with the Samsun-Sivas line and create a crisis with the French, thus leaving İsmet Pasha in a difficult situation at Lausanne<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, Ahmet Emin Yalman states that it is saddening that İsmet Pasha thought Rauf Bey was the reason behind the government's insistence, and adds that this was not fair to Rauf Bey<sup>15</sup>. Ahmet Emin Yalman's point is confirmed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in The Speech. In the Pasha's view, it was difficult to find a sound basis for the conflict anywhere in the relevant documents and it was most likely the result of sentimental reasons<sup>16</sup>.

Having opened on 11 August 1923, the Second TBMM ratified the Treaty of Lausanne on 23 August 1923<sup>17</sup>. Following the elimination of the Second Group after the 1923 elections, the Istanbul based press severely criticized the fact that the deputies selected by Mustafa Kemal Pasha were made up the parliamentary majority<sup>18</sup>. Celal Nuri (İleri) went so far as to name the

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<sup>9</sup> Feridun Kandemir, *Hatıra ve Söylemedikleri ile Rauf Orbay*, Yakın Tarihimiz Yay., İstanbul 1965, p. 101.

<sup>10</sup> Feridun Kandemir, *Siyasî Dargınlıklar*, C.2, Ekicigil Tarih Yay., İstanbul 1955, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> Kandemir, *Hatıra ve Söylemedikleri ile...*, p.101.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> Mehmed Asım, "Halk Fırkası Niçin İkiye Ayrıldı?", *Vakit*, 12 December 1924, No: 2499, p.2.

<sup>15</sup> Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim (1922-1944)*, C.3., Yenilik Basımevi, İstanbul 1970, p.70.

<sup>16</sup> Atatürk, p. 605.

<sup>17</sup> Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi (TBMMZC), 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.1, 9th Session, 23 August 1923, p. 264-291.

<sup>18</sup> Seçil Akgün, *Halifeliğin Kaldırılması ve Lâiklik (1924-1928)*, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara 1986, p. 120.

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Second TBMM “The Parliament of the Self-seeking”<sup>19</sup>. The opposition press started a propaganda campaign, announcing that the caliphate would be abolished after the capital had been moved to Ankara. This development was interpreted by the government as an open manifestation of a latent opposition. In response to this, Mustafa Kemal Pasha made a decision to proclaim the republic as fast as possible. He used the pressure on the Fethi Bey government to start a governmental crisis to make all ministers, except Fevzi Pasha resign, and then on 29 October 1923, he proclaimed the Republic. Rauf Bey’s interviews with the Istanbul press regarding the proclamation of the Republic resulted in another crisis. To summarize the interview, Rauf Bey stated that the Republic had been rushed, that the first thing to take care of was really the issue of constitution, and that, for these reasons, he did not support the proclamation<sup>20</sup>. This interview made Rauf Bey an open target. İsmet Pasha harshly criticized Rauf Bey during the People’s Party meeting on 22 November 1923. In response, Rauf Bey explained that he had criticized not the proclamation of the Republic but rather the way it had been done, which he thought was not right. Despite the interview in question, it can be observed that there was no move to expel Rauf Bey. It is noteworthy that this was probably done to avoid any internal conflict within the party, and that a strong emphasis was placed on unity<sup>21</sup>.

After the proclamation of the Republic on 29 October 1923, the first government of the Republic, led by İsmet Pasha, assembled on 30 October as per the directives of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. However, the government was faced with difficult issues in foreign politics such as the issue of Mosul with Britain and the problem of population exchanges with Greece<sup>22</sup>. The Commission for Population Exchange managed the process of exchanging Greek and Turkish populations without any serious obstacles. Despite of this, the social issues caused by the population exchange and the second clause of the agreement (regarding who would be considered part of an established population) soon created problems that almost turned into a *casus belli* between the two states<sup>23</sup>. These developments were met with criticism domestically as well. Despite the issues in foreign politics, the TBMM issued such significant laws as Law No. 429 concerning the “Abolition of the Ministry of Sharia and the Foundations and the Ministry of the Chief of the General Staff,” Law No. 430 concerning the “Unification of Education,” and Law No. 431 concerning the “Abolition of Caliphate and the Deportation of the Ottoman Dynasty from the Republic of Turkey” as part of its activities in 1924<sup>24</sup>. There were serious debates concerning every law excepts the amendments to the constitution. It can be observed that the latent opposition within the People’s Party sometimes found their expression during the debates concerning the constitution. After the ratification of the constitution, a parliamentary recess of six months (the maximum amount of time allowed by the constitution) was called by a majority of votes in an effort to fight opposition.

The fact that the decisions provoked protest from certain individuals proved the existence of

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<sup>19</sup> Mehmed Asım, “Halk Fırkası Niçin İkiye Ayrıldı?”, **Vakit**, 15 December 1924, No: 2502, p.2.

<sup>20</sup> **Tanin**, 2 November 1923, No:379, p.1.

<sup>21</sup> “Fırkanın Sekiz saatlik Mühim İçtimal”, **Hâkimiyet-i Millîye**, 23 November 1923, No: 975, p.1.

<sup>22</sup> Mehmet Gönlübol, Cem Sar, **Atatürk ve Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası (1919-1938)**, Ankara 1973, p.56 et al.

<sup>23</sup> **Ibid.**, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.7, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Session, 3 March 1924, p. 17/21-69.

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considerable opposition. Following the resignation of the Minister of Public Works, Ahmet Muhtar Bey, İsmet Pasha called for a motion of confidence within the People's Party Caucus to have the government's plans concerning railway operations ratified. The motion received enough votes, with 86 in favor, 11 against, and 1 abstention<sup>25</sup>. But this result was interpreted as a sign of danger. Considering the fact that all 287 members of the parliament belonged to the People's party, the turnout was very low. An important reason for the rise of opposition within the CHF was the much-debated topic of corruption and bribery claims. Turks and non-Muslims who used to be Ottoman citizens but later found themselves outside the borders of Turkey wanted to come to Turkey. It has been stated that Armenians especially, bribed public officials to enter Turkey<sup>26</sup>. Following the bribery scandal, Ferit Bey, the then Minister of interior, had to resign from his post. It has been noted that Ferit Bey said: "If I start speaking, many more will be held responsible" during a secret session, and that suspicions rose when the parliament forbade questioning<sup>27</sup>.

During the recess, rumors began to spread among the MPs that issues from the first legislative year would be raised, that motions would be proposed to the Parliament, that there would be resignations from the People's Party and a new political party would be established<sup>28</sup>. The debates of the 46<sup>th</sup> Session, dated 20 October 1924, of TBMM which had assembled on 18 October 1924, prove that what had been a mere claim was actually true. What started the debates was the written question posed by the deputy from Menteşe, Esat Efendi, concerning schools, population exchange, public works and housing<sup>29</sup>. The response to this was then presented by the Minister for Education, Vasıf (Çınar) Bey<sup>30</sup>. However, what really heated up the debate was the written question concerning Population Exchange. Refet (Canitez) Bey, Minister for Population Exchange, Public Works and Housing, replied to the said written question but, unsatisfied by the response, Esat Efendi turned his written question into an interpellation. In his speech, Esat Efendi stated the following, threatening to take things to the Supreme Court: "*As you all know, we have a Constitution. Was not a Supreme Court supposed to be established per its article 61? Are our deputies free of liability? Is it just, no matter what they do? Are they free to act as they please*<sup>31</sup>?" The debates questioning the actions of the Ministry for Population Exchange, Public Works and Housing in a way foreshadowed a government-opposition conflict. It can be observed that the government was cornered by the opposition during the session on October 30. The reason behind the heated debates was the interpellation proposed by Esat Efendi. The rumors that had arisen during recess were thus confirmed, as the opposition made moves to challenge the government. In a speech, during which he stated that Esat Efendi's call for interpellation regarding the Ministry for Population Exchange, Public Works and Housing targeted the whole cabinet, İsmet İnönü challenged the whole opposition, making the air even tenser<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması (1923-1931)*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., İstanbul 1999, p. 100.

<sup>26</sup> Fahrettin Altay, *On Yıl Savaş (1919-1922) Ve Sonrası*, İnsel Yay., İstanbul 1970, p.379-386.

<sup>27</sup> Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Siyasî Hatıralar*, ( ed. Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu), v.2, Temel Yay., İstanbul 2007, p. 83.

<sup>28</sup> Tunaya, p.606-607.

<sup>29</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.9, 46<sup>th</sup> Session, 20 October 1924, p. 26.

<sup>30</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.9, 47<sup>th</sup> Session, 23 October 1924, p. 36-37.

<sup>31</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.9, 48<sup>th</sup> Session, 27 October 1924, p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> Kandemir, *Siyasî...*, p. 108.

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While these debates were taking place in the Parliament, a meeting took place between the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Inspector Ali Fuat Pasha, Rauf Bey and 1<sup>st</sup> Army Inspector Kazım Karabekir Pasha, who was in İzmir on the occasion of festivities celebrating the city's liberation on September 9, 1924. The most important issue dealt with during this meeting was the possible existence of intelligence activities in Ankara. The pashas agreed that they could not ignore the fact that letters were being read, made a list of 5 topics and reached an agreement among themselves upon them<sup>33</sup>. The list included:

1. One cannot remain an army inspector under suspicions
2. It is not right to resign from one's post as an MP, no matter the underlying reasons
3. While being in favor of reforms, it was agreed that these cannot be done to favor one group over another but that they should be for the welfare of the whole country and the entire population
4. Efforts must be made to make sure that the Republican regime is not misused for the interests of any one person or group
5. It is agreed that assembling in Parliament and striving there, to the best of one's ability, for the wellbeing of the country is the best solution for the current situation<sup>34</sup>.

Soon after the meeting in İzmir, the 1<sup>st</sup> Army Inspector Kazım Karabekir Pasha and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Inspector Ali Fuat Pasha sent petitions to the Ministry of the Chief of the General Staff on 26 October and 30 October, respectively, and announced that they wished to resign from their post as inspectors, to return to being deputies. Karabekir Pasha stated the following in relation to his resignation:

*"I have resigned from the military and found refuge in the midst of the nation as I did not agree with things happening without the nation's vote, with personal desires having precedence over the wellbeing of our nation, and with the disregard for freedom of press. I could no longer occupy the position of Army Inspector like an aide-de-camp who is clueless about what is going on and never asks any questions"*<sup>35</sup>.

While Karabekir Pasha emphasized the fact that his reports as army inspector were not taken into consideration and that this was the reason why he resigned<sup>36</sup>, Ali Fuat Pasha, while not mentioning it in his petition, stated that his resignation was caused by the fact that his private

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<sup>33</sup> Cebesoy, p.95.

<sup>34</sup> Cebesoy, p.97.

<sup>35</sup> Karabekir Pasha's resignation received extensive coverage in the newspapers of the time. "Kazım Karabekir Paşa Ordu Müfettişliğinden İstifa Etti", **Vatan**, 28 October 1924, No: 556, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Karabekir Pasha accused many of the MPs, stating that the "parvenus" who repeatedly accused him of being reactionary did not even take a look at his reports on Military Schools, which were based on a meticulous study. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu calls Kazım Karabekir Pasha's letter "*an ultimatum rather than a resignation*" (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, **Politikada 45 Yıl**, İletişim Yay., İstanbul 2006, p. 60). Hasan Rıza Soyak argues that what happened within a fortnight of the resignation proves that the reasons presented in the letter were concocted so that he could return to the Parliament to establish a new political party (Hasan Rıza Soyak, **Atatürk'ten Hatıralar, Yapı Kredi Yay.**, İstanbul 2014, p. 288).

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letters had been opened and read, to investigate his relations with different people, which caused him great discomfort. Ali Fuat Pasha writes the following in his memoir:

*“I, who have left my post as the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey to become Army Inspector, was compelled to resign as a result of the government’s intelligence activity concerning my correspondence and whereabouts. The Minister of the Chief of the General Staff, who was my superior, was unable to find a solution”<sup>37</sup>.*

Mustafa Kemal Pasha explains in The Speech that Ali Fuat Pasha only left a note for Fevzi Pasha’s aide-de-camp. The note read: *“I would respectfully request that you accept my resignation from my post as 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Inspector as I will return to being an MP”<sup>38</sup>*. The resignations of Karabekir Pasha and Ali Fuat Pasha, which had happened without consulting Mustafa Kemal Pasha, gave rise to certain suspicions in Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s mind. Ali Fuat Pasha’s absence at a dinner reception at Çankaya exacerbated the crisis. Ali Fuat Pasha stated that he had deliberately been given no news of the reception. He claimed that Mustafa Kemal Pasha used his absence at the dinner as an excuse to compel all MPs of a military background to resign, and to keep them out of politics. There have been various interpretations of the fact that Ali Fuat Pasha did not or could not join Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s reception. Whoever was responsible for the situation has not yet been determined with certainty, despite much time passing. In response to claims about İsmet Pasha’s involvement, Yakup Kadri notes that he finds it highly unlikely that İsmet Pasha, who was the epitome of virtue and good morals in politics, would engage in such petty political ruses<sup>39</sup>. According to Yakup Kadri, the real issue was that the pashas involved were allergic to İsmet Pasha. The reason behind this was their wish to make sure that İsmet Pasha did not have all of Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s confidence<sup>40</sup>. Mustafa Kemal Pasha perceived the pashas’ actions as targeting himself, saying: *“Gentlemen, I have every confidence when I say that we are face to face with a conspiracy”<sup>41</sup>*. He pointed out that the newspapers Vatan, Tanin, Tevhid-i Efkâr, Son Telgraf and Toksöz, had an impact in catalyzing opposition around the country by making mention of a secret society targeting themselves.

Ali Fuat Pasha offered the following explanation for his falling out with Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

*“Everyone can see that the disagreement was more a result of circumstances. History is full of other examples of such a thing happening. The newcomers are always unhappy with the old ones. Although we acted with honesty from the very beginning and remained loyal to Atatürk with confidence, some people wanted to abuse our good intentions and Atatürk’s freedom to choose new companions. They accused us of things we would never think of, such as favoring the Sultanate or the Caliphate, and, even if for a short time, they managed to manipulate Atatürk’s feelings toward us”<sup>42</sup>.*

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<sup>37</sup> Cebesoy, p. 102.

<sup>38</sup> Atatürk, p. 669-670.

<sup>39</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, p. 62-63.

<sup>40</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, p. 66.

<sup>41</sup> Atatürk, p. 670.

<sup>42</sup> **Hatıralar, Vesikalar, Resimlerle Yakın Tarihimiz**, v. 4, Vatan Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık, İstanbul 1962, p. 231;

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Karabekir Pasha mentioned a group of parasites who played a role in his falling out with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, stating the following:

*“As is the case with every revolution, a group of parasites infiltrated the ranks of our statesmen also and endeavored to the best of their abilities. As soon as they saw that there was no danger after our great triumph, they surfaced, trying to find favor with those in positions of power, and began their efforts to create a separation between us”<sup>43</sup>.*

İsmet Pasha offered the following explanation for the disagreement:

*“I would like to point out a characteristic feature of those who have had disagreements with Atatürk and followed separate paths. They think that we have been together since the beginning, that we triumphed together and founded this state together, and so they believe that we should each get the same say in matters”.* It can be inferred from İsmet Pasha’s words that the pashas’ involvement in matters of state was not desired and that they were being excluded<sup>44</sup>. A meeting Atatürk held with Ali Fuat Pasha on his way back from İzmir is worth noting as it offers insights into what the real issue between them was. The most notable dialogue of the meeting is as follows:

Mustafa Kemal Pasha: *“Our work is not done just because we have proclaimed the republic. We need to achieve some important reforms to be able to join the world civilization. It would be better for this purpose if we could move on for a while without opposition.”*

Ali Fuat Pasha: *“Our confidence is not in the least bit shaken. However, we are concerned with the fact that some parvenus who are seeking your favor are causing trouble”<sup>45</sup>.*

Following the resignations of Karabekir Pasha and Ali Fuat Pasha, Mustafa Kemal Pasha took immediate action and requested the resignation of Fevzi (Çakmak) Pasha, the Chief of General Staff, and Cevat (Çobanlı) Pasha, 3rd Army Inspector, who were both MPs, as well as the resignations of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> Corps Commanders from their posts as MPs<sup>46</sup>. Fevzi Pasha and the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> Corps Commanders immediately sent their letters of resignation, while Cevat Paşa, 3<sup>rd</sup> Army Inspector, and Cafer Tayyar (Eğilmez), 7<sup>th</sup> Corps Commander, refrained from following suit. This was the end of their careers as military commanders. The commanders who had resigned, on the other hand, assembled in TBMM as MPs. In fact, these developments were proof of the difference of opinion within the People’s Party.

### **The Road to an Opposition Party The Progressive Republican Party (17 November 1924)**

Refet Bey, Minister for Population Exchange, Public Works and Housing, who was thought to

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<sup>43</sup> *Yakın Tarihimiz*, v.1, p. 38.

<sup>44</sup> Dursun Gök, *İkinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Dönemi (1923-1927)*, Konya 1995, p. 210.

<sup>45</sup> Altay, p. 378.

<sup>46</sup> Atatürk, p. 672.

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be an inactive party of parliamentary debates, was appointed as deputy chairman and Recep (Peker) Bey, Minister for the Interior, took over his position as minister<sup>47</sup>. The insistence of the opposition regarding what was on the parliamentary agenda heated up debates. The MPs often digressed from the topic under discussion and the debates took on a more personal character.

Recep (Peker) Bey sometimes directly targeted Rauf Bey during the debates concerning the proposed interpellation about the Ministry for Population Exchange, Public Works and Housing. Disregarding Rauf Bey's questions about the actions of the government, Recep Bey began to ask him if he really was a republican<sup>48</sup>. In response, Rauf Bey stated the following in his speech: *"Is Rauf a Republican? Rauf is the offspring of a nation who has taken up sovereignty of their motherland and is a citizen of Turkey,"* emphasizing his stance in favor of national sovereignty. In response to allegations about him being in favor of the caliphate, he said: *"... In my view, there is no acceptable regime other than this republic which will realize the will of the people, who now has sovereignty. I would like to emphasize another point ... Gentlemen, let alone being in favor of the Sultanate or Caliphate, I would oppose even the creation of a post which would monopolize the authorities of this system"*<sup>49</sup>. It can be observed that Rauf Bey and his associates faced open opposition and were under pressure to leave the Party. However according to Rauf Bey, the regime, established with the creation of TBMM on 23 April 1920 was in practice a republic, but the name could not yet have been pronounced openly because of certain reasons<sup>50</sup>. Yunus Nadi, Topçu İhsan, Recep Bey and their associates, who were known as the militant group within the People's Party, also accused Refet Pasha of being in favor of the Sultanate and Caliphate. When asked *"Are you in favor of the Caliphate or the Republic?"* by Ali Saip Bey, the MP from Kozan, Refet Pasha offered the following answer:

*"Gentlemen! You all know very well that a person like Refet Pasha cannot be in favor of the sultanate. That someone like Refet Pasha who has been banished from politics thrice in his life would not follow any individual, would not support governance by any one person, would not support the man who calls himself caliph, for he knows that the so-called caliphate is there for personal gain, and morally ... (he was interrupted at this point)"*<sup>51</sup>.

Stating that the proposed interpellation about the ministry, which was at the center of debates during the session of November 5, targeted the whole council of ministers, İsmet Pasha proposed another interpellation which was accepted thanks to votes from pro-Government MPs. The opposition was only insistent about the Ministry for Population Exchange, Public Works and Housing. On 6 November, Feridun Fikri Bey called for a parliamentary inquiry of the ministry in question. Pro-Government MPs changed this request into a motion of confidence, and finally the government led by İsmet Pasha won the vote of confidence, with 19 against and 148 in favor<sup>52</sup>. 41 MPs did not participate in the voting. Considering the total number of MPs in the Parliament

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<sup>47</sup> Tunçay, p. 101.

<sup>48</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.10, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, 6 November 1924, p. 105 et al.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>50</sup> Rauf Orbay, **Siyasî Hatıralar**, Örgün Yay., İstanbul 2009, p. 561.

<sup>51</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.10, 4<sup>th</sup> Session, 8 November 1924, p. 133.

<sup>52</sup> "Hükümete Kahir Bir Ekseriyetle İtimat Edildi", **Hâkimiyet-i Milliye**, 9 November 1924, No: 1267, p.1.

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was 287, it is worth noting that the number of MPs who did not participate was quite substantial. While the opposition did not manage to achieve its goals, the government, despite its success, could not prevent breakaways from the party. Describing those who gave a vote of no-confidence as “*persons of principle*,” Ali Fuat Pasha stated that the vote of confidence in relation to the issue of the population exchange had been won, thanks to the votes of “*those who are scared to be seen as being against the republic*”. In his view, those people had come together and left the party<sup>53</sup>.

The MPs who had given a vote of no-confidence, left the People’s Party on 9 November 1924. Among those who left the party were Dr. Adnan (Adivar), İsmail Canbolat, Refet Paşa; Erzurum MPs Rüştü Paşa, Halit Bey, Ziyaeddin Efendi; Dersim MP Feridun Fikri, Erzincan MP Sabit Bey, Sivas MP Halis Turgut, and Ordu MP Faik Bey<sup>54</sup>. On November 28, Kazım Karabekir Pasha left the People’s Party, and he was followed by Cafer Tayyar Pasha who left the party on December 7. While resignations from the HF came one after the other, the pro-government newspaper Hâkimiyeti Milliye published news claiming that those who had left the party would come together to establish a new party of their own. It was stated in the relevant section of news that there was a lenient attitude toward the establishment of an opposition party, but that an assurance to remain loyal to the principles of revolution was needed to remove suspicions<sup>55</sup>. According to Ahmet Emin Yalman, the fact that a pro-government newspaper published news about the former MPs establishing a new party meant that Mustafa Kemal Pasha gave the green light to the new party<sup>56</sup>. Among all the news, comments, and rumors, one development is especially worth noting. Upon finding out that the new party would have the word “Republic” in it, the People’s Party changed its name on 10 November 1924 to include that same word<sup>57</sup>. The MPs who had resigned from the People’s Party assembled in Erzincan MP Sabit (Sağiroğlu) Bey’s house to prepare their party program under the leadership of Ali Fuad Pasha. Once the preparations had been made, the opposition made a formal application, once again under the leadership of Ali Fuad Pasha, to the Ministry of Interior and established the first opposition party in Turkey on 17 November 1924<sup>58</sup>. Thus, the first natural opposition party of the Republic, the Progressive Republican Party (TpCF), was established. According to the declaration presented to the Ministry of Interior on 17 November 1924, the founders of the party included Kazım Karabekir Pasha, Ali Fuat Pasha, Refet Pasha, Cafer Tayyar Pasha and Rüştü Pasha as well as Rauf Bey, Dr. Adnan Bey, Feridun Fikri Bey, and Halis Turgut Bey<sup>59</sup>. The founders emphasized

<sup>53</sup> Ayfer Özçelik, **Ali Fuat Cebesoy**, Akçağ Yay., Ankara 1993, p. 301-302.

<sup>54</sup> **Yakın Tarihimiz**, v.4, p. 177.

<sup>55</sup> Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 14 November 1924, No: 1272, p.1.

<sup>56</sup> Yalman, p.150.

<sup>57</sup> Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 11 November 1924, No: 1269, p.1.

<sup>58</sup> **Tanin**, 18 November 1924, No:2475, p.1.

<sup>59</sup> While Ali Fuad Pasha was the secretary general during the foundation of the TpCF, Karabekir Pasha came to lead the party after his resignation from the People’s Party. The composition of the Administrative Committee was as follows: President: Kazım Karabekir Pasha

Vice President: Dr. Adnan and Rauf Bey (İstanbul)

Chief Clerk: Ali Fuad Pasha (Ankara)

Members:

Rüştü Pasha (Erzurum)

İsmail Canbolat (İstanbul)

Sabit (Erzincan)

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the party's position in favor of democracy and reform. For this reason, they decided that the party would not have any more than thirty members. Ali Fuat Pasha stated the following in relation to this issue: *"If we had admitted the conservatives into our party as well, surely our number would have reached eighty. However, our sole purpose is to make sure that the government and the opposition can work side by side. We did not establish a party to rise to power"*<sup>60</sup>.

With the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party, the Republic of Turkey experienced a multi-party system for the first time. In his written interview with the Times Istanbul correspondent, Mustafa Kemal Pasha stated the following on 11 December 1924, making it clear that he was pleased with the recent developments: *"The existence of political parties is natural in states which are based on national sovereignty and have a republican regime. There will certainly be parties in the Republic of Turkey which will check each other's activities."*<sup>61</sup> There are claims that the version of this interview published by the Hâkimiyet-i Milliye newspaper was abridged, and that the unabridged version was included in a report sent on 25 November 1924 by the British Consulate in İstanbul to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and that in fact Mustafa Kemal Pasha was not pleased with this development<sup>62</sup>. However, with the establishment of TpCF, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's Young Republic adopted the methods of Western Democracy for a period of time<sup>63</sup>.

İsmet İnönü stated the following in relation to the establishment of the TpCF: *They think that we have been together since the beginning, that we triumphed together and founded this state together, and so they believe that we should each get the same say in matters. They mean that we occupy different positions but that our words have the same impact ... Both Rauf Bey and the others regard Atatürk as an unpredictable person. This is how they have known him from the beginning and this is why they are afraid of him. In their view, the only way to keep him contained and to be assured for good that he will be contained, is to make him resort to their assistance before he does anything at all. They wanted things to be this way regardless of their own situation"*<sup>64</sup>. It can be inferred from this statement that İsmet İnönü linked the establishment of an opposition party to the uncertainty that the generals of the War of Independence felt in relation to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. According to Hasan Rıza Soyak, some pro-Committee of Union and Progress individuals were the ones who really dictated the actions and program of the TpCF behind the scenes<sup>65</sup>. Considering the fact that many of the generals of the War of Independence had ties with the Committee of Union and Progress in the past, this view has some credibility.

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Şükrü (İzmit)  
Muhtar (Trabzon)  
Halis Turgut (Sivas)  
Necati (Bursa)  
Faik (Ordu)

<sup>60</sup> Özçelik, p. 303.

<sup>61</sup> Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 11 December 1924, No: 1295, p.1.

<sup>62</sup> Esat Öz, *Türkiye'de Tek Parti Yönetimi ve Siyasal Katılım (1923-1945)*, Gündoğan Yay., Ankara 1992, p.92-93.

<sup>63</sup> Lord Kinross, *Atatürk- Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu*, (Trans. Ayhan Tezel), Sander Yay., İstanbul 1973, p. 600.

<sup>64</sup> İsmet İnönü, *Hatıralar*, (Ed. Sabahattin Selek) v.2, Bilgi Yay., Ankara 1987, p.173.

<sup>65</sup> Soyak, p. 281.

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In his book, Çankaya, Falih Rıfki Atay made the following comment regarding the establishment of the TpCF:

*“It is wrong to link the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party to such petty reasons such as personal jealousy, competition and discord. Such comments are made by those who are incapable of sound reasoning. There are dedicated democracy fighters among the founders of the party. They were in favor of a parliament with a system of checks and balances where there would be free elections, without team pressure. We can call these people the idealists of the Progressive Republican Party. There are modest patriots among them who want nothing but to make sure that everything is going on the right track, that there is no more pressure and corruption. Their motives were the abolition of personal government, and to establish a system of checks and balances in accordance with the principles of national sovereignty. Those who did not have anything personally against Mustafa Kemal but just desired to get rid of authority and system, those who desired nothing but to get rid of Mustafa Kemal, and those who wanted to stop the nascent revolutionary movement to re-establish the old order, were all united around these motives”<sup>66</sup>.*

Touching on the main reason behind the conflict that took place in the aftermath of the National Struggle, Hüseyin Cahit stated the following:

*“... Once that sacred goal had been achieved, the deafening and dazzling desire for power which blinds the eye, began to dissolve the bond of sincerity that had existed between these selfless leaders of the national movement. As those who had provided actual service were no longer there, a vacuum formed around positions of power. Then, everywhere was infested with those crafty people who can benefit from every opportunity in every era. Now one cannot hear anything but them ranting and raving. It is as if there are no liberals or patriots left in the country but these parasites. It is not those who fell in battle or those who led the national movement who make sure today that the people who saved their motherland now have sovereignty; it is instead a group of pathetic creatures who have been hiding in their corners from the very beginning and are now in charge”<sup>67</sup>.*

There are interpretations claiming that a group of individuals like Kılıç Ali, Ali (Çetinkaya), Recep (Peker), Yunus Nadi, who are perceived to have played a secondary role during the National Struggle, were striving to drive a wedge between Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Refet, Ali Fuat, Kazım Karabekir and Rauf Bey<sup>68</sup>. Lord Kinross pointed to the role of informants in aggravating the situation, stating that resignations from the People’s Party gained momentum as a result of the activities of these informants<sup>69</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> Falih Rıfki Atay, Çankaya: **Atatürk’ün Doğumundan Ölümüne Kadar**, Doğan Kardeş Yay., İstanbul 1969, p. 395-402.

<sup>67</sup> Kandemir, **Siyasî Dargınlıklar**, v. 3, p. 21.

<sup>68</sup> Eric Jan Zürcher, **Millî Mücadelede İttihatçılık**, (trans. Nüzhet Salihoglu), Bağlam Yay., İstanbul 1987, p. 142-143.

<sup>69</sup> Kinross, p. 598.

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## TpCF's Program and Criticisms

Ali Fuat Pasha, one of the founders of the party and its first president, explained their motives behind establishing the TpCF as follows: *“Our intention was not to rise to power when we established the TpCF. We expressed this openly. Our intention was to make sure that there would be a system of system of checks and balances to keep those in power in line. It was only for this purpose that we needed to establish a system of checks and balances in the parliament”*<sup>70</sup>. In order to eliminate possible suspicions concerning the TpCF, its party constitution of 64 articles and its founding principles were made public in newspapers. The purpose for its establishment was explained as such:

*“We have established the TpCF to offer our nation a true path in this new field it has entered on, which can be walked with certainty after having shown the will and ability to determine its future. One or two parliaments have been entrusted with the task of exercising sovereign rule. These parliaments give the power of execution, resulting from the task of ruling with what the people entrusted them, to a commission comprising of a limited number of MPs. Although an obligation, this is not without possible dangers. The most serious danger is the possibility that a rule of oppression may settle in and devoid the people of this right. There is an urgent need for any tool that will keep the nation and its ministers checked and prevent the Council of Ministers from leaving the right path”*<sup>71</sup>. It was thus emphasized that the party had been established to create a system of checks and balances and that it would make efforts to maintain national unity. Drawing on the proclamation of Republic, the party program included the following statements: *“The Turkish State is a Republic that is based on the sovereignty of the people. Liberalism, that is the love of freedom, and democracy, that is the sovereignty of the people, form the basis of the party. The Constitution will not be amended unless the people have authorized such amendments”*<sup>72</sup>.

The 6<sup>th</sup> article of the party program, *“The party respects all opinions and religious beliefs,”* made it clear that the party had adopted the principle of secularism and that it would not try to interfere with religious beliefs. However, although the founders of the party used such a Western formulation to clearly distinguish religion and politics, this was interpreted in Turkey to mean the exact opposite<sup>73</sup>. According to the party program, the needs of the people, their interests and tendencies, the requirements of the age and principles of justice would determine the laws to be made. The party supported personal rights and freedoms, and accepted putting a limit on these, only when the Constitution allowed such a limitation<sup>74</sup>. The founders of the TpCF voiced the following concern: *“If there is no counterbalance in the form of opposition, the Parliament may assume all authority and this may give rise to an authoritarian regime”*<sup>75</sup>. Pro-government press published harsh criticisms of the opposition after the party had been officially established.

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<sup>70</sup> **Yakın Tarihimiz**, v.4, p. 47.

<sup>71</sup> Cebesoy, p.111-112.

<sup>72</sup> “Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası'nın Millete Beyannameesi”, **Tanin**, 18 November 1924, No:754, p.1.

<sup>73</sup> Kinross, p. 601.

<sup>74</sup> “Yeni Teşkil Eden Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkasının Beyannameesi”, **Vatan**, 18 November 1924, No: 576, p. 1.; **Vakit**, “Yeni Fırkanın Programı”, 19 November 1924, No:2476, p.1.

<sup>75</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, **Türk Demokrasi Tarihi**, Timaş Yay., İstanbul 2010, p. 132.

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Hüseyin Cahit expressed his reaction in these words:

*“What a source of unrest the People’s Party turns out to be! Those who change as times change, political swindlers, tricksters, bandits and even traitors to the motherland, in short, all sorts of evil have infiltrated this party. In the past we believed the People’s Party to be made up of respectable politicians whom we trusted with administering and reforming the country; today, there is no hiding the fact that we are filled with fright in the face of this party”<sup>76</sup>.*

It has already been mentioned that the HF changed its name to Republican People’s Party (CHF) upon finding out that the new party would have the word ‘Republic’ in its name. It can be observed that Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself protested and criticized the inclusion of the word ‘Republic’ in the name chosen for the new party, the Progressive Republican Party (TpCF). In the Speech, Mustafa Kemal Pasha shares his view on the topic:

*“How can one seriously trust the honesty of those who used to refrain from even simply uttering the word ‘Republic’, who wanted to end the Republic the day it was proclaimed, when they call their party ‘Republican’ and ‘Progressive Republican’ at that?”<sup>77</sup>.*

It is known that the extremists within the CHF spread rumors that there was no difference between the parties to decrease the level of sympathy felt toward the new party and to provoke heated debates. In a statement to the Times, Mustafa Kemal Pasha summarized his view on the TpCF’s party program: *“... The articles of the Progressive Republican Party’s program do not express any idea or principle that is against the principles of the People’s Party, there is nothing that provokes debates”<sup>78</sup>*. In response to this statement that there was no difference between the two parties’ programs, Ali Fuad Pasha replied that the People’s Party did not even have a written program and therefore there could be no comparison. In his view, the real purpose of such a statement was to accuse the founders of the new party of having political ambitions<sup>79</sup>. According to Ali Fuat Pasha’s statements, the founders of the TpCF did not turn against Mustafa Kemal Pasha but were rather expressing their opposition against the İsmet Pasha administration. In an article published by the Vakit newspaper on 19 November 1924, the differences between the two parties were explored and their different ways of interpreting the principle of national sovereignty were pointed out. According to this newspaper article, the TpCF held the belief that the principle of national sovereignty had to be widespread, and that certain arrangements were needed to achieve this<sup>80</sup>.

One of the founders of the party, Kazım Karabekir Pasha, saw a connection between the process leading to the establishment of the party and what immediately followed the War of Independence:

*“The two ideas we had after victory were these: 1. It would suffice if a group of thirty-forty*

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<sup>76</sup> Orbay, p. 602.

<sup>77</sup> Atatürk, p. 696.

<sup>78</sup> Orbay, p. 608.

<sup>79</sup> Orbay, p. 609.

<sup>80</sup> “Yeni Fırka İle Eski İttihat ve Terakki”, **Vakit**, 19 November 1924, No:2476, p.1.

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*people assembled around Mustafa Kemal Pasha. This assembly would produce a successful party and would do as it pleased. 2. Accepting the leadership of a few people who would be loved and respected by the whole country, and co-operating with the majority, that is, with the party”<sup>81</sup>. Karabekir Pasha claimed to have refused Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s offer to make him Prime Minister, and to have adhered to a path of opposition instead. His rationale behind this choice was this: “It was a compulsion to selflessly accept the task of facing the future challenges to our country and nation. I put up with everything to support my thesis, as I am someone who believes in freedom of organization for the future of the nation”<sup>82</sup>.*

### **The Process Leading to the Closure of the TpCF and the Closure of the Party (3 June 1925)**

The developments that took place during the process of establishing a new party not only moved those who had grievances with the government, but also other opposition groups that had remained dormant until then. Falih Rifkî Atay’s remarks on this point have already been shared earlier in this current work. The resignations from the People’s Party were in fact quite substantial. Accordingly, the CHF did not take this development lightly. In the first phase, 11 people resigned from the CHF on 10 November 1924, while the number of resignations reached 32 on November 22. Of these, 28 MPs joined the TpCF, while 4 MPs decided to remain independent<sup>83</sup>. Commenting on the resignations from the CHF, Recep (Peker) Bey stated that resignation was the right choice for those who had left the party, and added that he wished in all sincerity that they would manage to benefit the country in their new positions. However, it can be observed that this sincere wish was soon forgotten and was replaced by heated debates<sup>84</sup>.

Active for a period of six and a half months, the TpCF worked meticulously to stay true to the objectives expressed by its founders, and it seemed to be quite an effective opposition party. The main objective according to Ali Fuat Pasha was to form an opposition against the People’s Party, and not to rise to power<sup>85</sup>. As per its specified objectives, the TpCF requested explanations for certain issues in the Parliament, expressed its opinion in the 1925 Budget talks, agreed to abolish the ashar tax, expressed its stand against the law that vested the Independence Tribunal of Ankara with the authority to sentence people to death, and accused the Republican People’s Party of having applied pressure against itself during the by-elections<sup>86</sup>. Although it joined the parliamentary by-elections, it did not have candidates in every location and the candidates it did have did not manage to succeed. The party had emphasized in its program that it would be a democratic and liberal party that would respect different ideas and beliefs. Among its other principles were the single-degree election system, the idea that the constitution could not be changed without the approval of the people, that one could no longer be an MP once elected President, administrative decentralization, and not instituting further reforms without permission

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<sup>81</sup> Kandemir, v. 3, p. 34.

<sup>82</sup> Kandemir, v. 3, p.34.

<sup>83</sup> Tunaya, p. 621.

<sup>84</sup> Kandemir, v. 2, p. 119-120.

<sup>85</sup> Cebesoy, p. 110.

<sup>86</sup> Tunaya, p. 610.

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from the people<sup>87</sup>. These principles were seen as an opportunity by anti-reformists, and those who favored a theocratic system government, such groups that started infiltrating the TpCF. The founders of the TpCF had no desire to pave the way for such developments. However, the events that followed put the party in a problematic position.

The effective opposition of the TpCF exacerbated the existing conflicts between them and the government. The debates that started during the budget talks continued after the talks and, at the end of the quarrel between Ardahan MP Halit Pasha and Ali Çetinkaya and his friends, Halit Pasha was shot dead. This was harshly criticized by the opposition and the pro-opposition media. Even though there are different opinions as to what started to quarrel,<sup>88</sup> the real issue was that the extremists within the People's Party could not tolerate opposition of any kind.

The Sheikh Said Rebellion started shortly after the death of Halit Pasha. The group within the People's Party which found Fethi Bey's policy to be too moderate, immediately formed a front against him. Because of the rebellion, the hardliners requested the imposition of martial law in Istanbul as well. Fethi Bey had the courage to respond to his critics with the following words: *"I will not resort needlessly to violence and have blood on my hands"*<sup>89</sup>. It can be understood that the main reason behind the extremists' insistence on Martial Law was their wish to silence the press based in Istanbul. Unable to resist the increasing pressure for longer, Fethi Bey asked Karabekir Pasha to abolish his party. However, Karabekir Pasha rejected this request to abolish a party which did not even have any branches in the area where the rebellion was effective, saying: *"We have the legal authority to establish parties but not the authority to abolish them"*<sup>90</sup>.

After Fethi Bey's resignation, the first thing by the new government, which was led by İsmet Pasha, was an addition made to the 1<sup>st</sup> article of the Treason Act, through which it managed to make law on the maintenance of order on 4 March 1925<sup>91</sup>. Commenting on İsmet Pasha leading a government once again, Yakup Kadri said it was "the Third Victory of İnönü"<sup>92</sup>. In fact, İsmet Pasha had already given signs that the measures taken in response to the rebellion would be very harsh: *"We consider it necessary to take a series of special measures which will come shortly into force. These will be aimed at, above all, terminating the violence caused by the recent developments, protecting our motherland from all sorts of plotting, establishing a state of calm and peace, and strengthening the state"*<sup>93</sup>. In a declaration published on 8 March 1925, Mustafa Kemal Pasha stated the following in relation to the rebellion: *"I call upon government officials, both civilian and military personnel, to perform their duties with determination and without even a trace of hesitation"*<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Cebesoy, p. 112-113.

<sup>88</sup> However, it is known that Halit Pasha had revealed the fact that some Mustafa Kemal Pasha supporters - including Colonel Arif - had been stealing from a government-owned industrial facility and using the money to fund their secret political campaign against the Pasha's enemies (Kinross, p. 603).

<sup>89</sup> Şerafettin Turan, İsmet İnönü –*Yaşamı, Dönemi ve Kişiliği*, Bilgi Yay., Ankara 2003, p. 90.

<sup>90</sup> Özçelik, p. 313.

<sup>91</sup> **TBMMZC**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.15, 69<sup>th</sup> Session, 4 March 1925, p. 131.

<sup>92</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, p. 74. Yakup Kadri states that, with the closure of the SCF in the following years, İsmet Pasha gained a "Fourth Victory of İnönü" without any personal involvement in the affair (Karaosmanoğlu, p. 98).

<sup>93</sup> Turan, p. 91.

<sup>94</sup> **Atatürk'ün Tamim, Telgraf ve Beyannameleri**, (ed. Ali Sevim et al.), AAM Yay., Ankara 2006, p. 568-569.

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The Law on the Maintenance of Order vested government with the authority to “*ban, with the approval of the President, any reactionary organization, initiative or publication that aimed to start a rebellion and violate social order and internal security*”<sup>95</sup>. Commenting on the passing of the law, Rauf Bey stated that this law was unnecessary and that the Republic was not in danger<sup>96</sup>. With the Law on Maintenance of Order coming into force of the on 4 March with 122 votes in favor and 22 against, Independence Tribunals were also established. Karabekir Pasha shared the following views in relation to Independence Tribunals: “... *passing such a law is not an honor for the Republic. As for Independence Tribunals: Due to the meaning of the name, these courts should have been and were established during our War of Independence. For this reason, it was a great honor for our Supreme Parliament when these became history. If the honorable İsmet Pasha is under the impression that Independence Tribunals are the instrument of reformation, they are seriously mistaken*”<sup>97</sup>.

Acting on the basis of the 1<sup>st</sup> Article of the Law on the Maintenance of Order, the government shut down the newspapers *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, *İstiklâl*, *Son Telgraf* and the magazines *Aydınlık*, *Orak ve Çekiç*, *Sebilürreşad* on 6 March 1925<sup>98</sup>. In a statement, Mustafa Kemal Pasha expressed support for this move by the government: “*It has been decided that the severest punishment should be inflicted to publications aimed at damaging the Republic as well as those who humiliate the army of the Republic and its security forces for any reason*”<sup>99</sup>. The government’s attitude toward the press grew harsher over a short period of time, and Tanin was added to the list of banned newspapers on April 15. Ali Fuat Pasha stated that the party had no intention other than to act as a legitimate opposition party<sup>100</sup>. He also criticized the totalitarian mindset of the government, claiming that Independence Tribunals were more concerned with banning the TpCF and silencing the Istanbul press than with serving their original purpose<sup>101</sup>. One finds proof of Ali Fuad Pasha’s claims about the totalitarian mindset of the government in the fact that İsmet Pasha said, at a moment during the rebellion when he was sure victory was near, that opposition was unnecessary, and in the fact that he told Admiral Bristol that “*In this country, opposition equals insurrection*”<sup>102</sup>.

Right after the opposition press had been silenced, the documents of the TpCF in Istanbul and its other branches were confiscated by order of Ali Çetinkaya, head of the Ankara Independence Tribunal<sup>103</sup>. At the same time, the pro-government press was publishing news claiming that the party had direct connections with the rebellion. In an article, Siirt MP Mahmud Bey claimed that the party program was filled with plans to create discord and that the party was responsible for

<sup>95</sup> Bekir Sıtkı Yalçın-İsmet Gönülal, *Atatürk İnkılâbı*, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yay., Ankara 1984, p. 470.

<sup>96</sup> *TBMMZC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle, v.15, 69<sup>th</sup> Session, 4 March 1925, p. 135.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134-135.

<sup>98</sup> “Üç Gazete, Üç Mecmua Kapatıldı”, *İkdâm*, 7 March 1925, No: 10032, p.1.

<sup>99</sup> “Reis-i Cumhuriyet’in Beyanname’si”, *İkdâm*, 8 March 1925, No: 10033, p.1.

<sup>100</sup> *İkdâm*, 9 April 1925, No: 10064, p.1.

<sup>101</sup> Özçelik, p. 314. Ali Fuat Pasha uses the title “*Political Tribunal*” instead of the title “*Independence Tribunal*”. He was going to respond to the actions of the Diyarbakır Independence Tribunal and stated: “*These actions of this court, whose actions in matters of politics and political parties are determined by factionalism and which also possesses the authority to sentence people to death, are unprecedented. In this respect, the Ankara Independence Tribunal surpasses its counterpart in Diyarbakır by far* (Özçelik, p. 315).

<sup>102</sup> Kinross, p. 612.

<sup>103</sup> *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 14 April 1925, No:1400, p.1.

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the rebellion<sup>104</sup>. An article from the party program, “*The Progressive Republican Party respects differences of opinion and religion*”, was taken to be related to the Sheikh Said Rebellion, and the decision to ban the party was taken on 3 June 1925 on the basis of the law on the maintenance of order<sup>105</sup>. According to Ali Fuat Pasha, the rebellion was planned, under British leadership, by the members of the Society for the Rise of Kurds and the Order of Islam, and none of these had any relationship whatsoever with the TpCF<sup>106</sup>.

On 25 May 1925, the Eastern Independence Tribunal ordered the closure of all TpCF branches in its jurisdiction<sup>107</sup>. Following the closure of the TpCF, many journalists and writers were arrested and sent to the Diyarbakır Independence Tribunal. Since the Independence Tribunal, stationed in Diyarbakır, had finished its term there and moved to Elazığ, they stood trial in the latter city. Considering the fact that the journalists were not sentenced in the end, it can be inferred that the petitions sent to Ankara were effective. Despite the fact that the journalists were released without being sentenced, their newspapers had still been shut down<sup>108</sup>. In spite of the fact that the government had managed to shut down the TpCF and silence the opposition press, the pro-government press maintained its hostile attitude toward any opposition. It was said that “*There can be no room for mercy in politics, there is only room for interest and power, and it is this power that brings respect*”, and such statements encouraged the pressures<sup>109</sup>.

Rauf Bey gave the following statement in response to the claims that his party was using religion for political gain:

“... *The constitution of the Republic of Turkey has an article which states that ‘the religion of the state is Islam’. By adding an article to our party program which states that “the party respects all opinions and religions”, we had made it clear that we respected freedom of conscience, and that we were far from religious intolerance or using religion for political gain. On the other hand, those who accused us themselves presented such exquisite examples of using religion for political gain, both with their speeches and the way they dressed, that we could easily prove this with incontrovertible documentary evidence*”<sup>110</sup>.

The oppression of party members and supporters following the ban on the TpCF reached its peak when, after the İzmir assassination attempt, all party members were arrested. Even though Independence Tribunals were originally founded in response to the Sheikh Said Rebellion, their real function was to prosecute all opposition against the system of the government to make sure that the new regime would settle in the country.

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<sup>104</sup> **Cumhuriyet**, 17 April 1925, No:341, s.1.

<sup>105</sup> Nurşen Mazıcı, **Belgelerle Atatürk Döneminde Muhalefet (1919-1926)**, Dilmen Yay., İstanbul 1984, p.155.

<sup>106</sup> Özçelik, p. 316.

<sup>107</sup> Tunçay, p. 147.

<sup>108</sup> **Hâkimiyeti Milliye**, 14 September 1925

<sup>109</sup> Metin Toker, **Şeyh Said ve İsyanı**, Akis Yay., Ankara 1968, p.101.

<sup>110</sup> **Yakın Tarihimiz**, v.4, p. 273.

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## LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY

### The Reasons Behind the Establishment of a New Party

In studies of the history of democracy in Turkey, the political parties are given special importance, as the existence of different voices in politics is the main indication of a democratic system. The first opposition party of the Republic, the Progressive Republican Party made quite an impact on the relationship between government and opposition. Established five years after the closure of this first opposition party, the Liberal Republican Party (SCF) differed from the Progressive Republican Party in terms of its character and reason for establishment. The most distinct difference was that the SCF represented an unnatural, controlled sort of opposition. President Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself was behind the establishment of the SCF. There were numerous internal and external reasons for the establishment of such a controlled democratic experiment.

The attempts at establishing a multiparty party system had come to an end with the law on the maintenance of order, and a Single-Party rule had prevailed with no opposition to stand against it. In the aftermath of the First World War, the empires of the previous era had been dissolved and a stand against totalitarian regimes had become dominant. The triumphant states were perceived as representing modern civilization, and the situation was taken as a victory that democracy had won against totalitarian regimes. This perception would last throughout the Second World War, too. Trying to express itself in such a political milieu, the Republic of Turkey took this perception of democracy quite seriously. It was well known, especially by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, that the prestige of the young republic in the democratic states of the West depended on its government's commitment to democracy. In his book, *Çankaya*, Falih Rıfkı Atay also states that neither the disposition nor the ideals of Mustafa Kemal Pasha would allow him to favor dictatorship. He believed that the reforms he perceived to be imperative for national liberation could prosper freely<sup>111</sup>. From the initial years of the Republic onwards, a Single-Party rule was considered necessary for some large-scale reforms. The ultimate goal was to reach the level of modern civilization, to become Western despite the West, and to transition to a multiparty democracy, which was the most significant characteristic of the West<sup>112</sup>. This reality is an important external reason in the transition to democracy. Proving the competence of the young Republic to the outside world was a significant factor in the establishment of an opposition party. The dissolution of empires after the war increased confidence in democratic regimes. Although totalitarian regimes were still there, democracy was the ultimate goal. In this sense, what Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his closely associated meant when they referred to the West, was neither the Soviet Union, nor Fascist Italy<sup>113</sup>. Single-Party systems are in fact approached with caution by those developed countries which have completed their transition to democracy. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a head of state who paid attention to the views held by outsiders. In democratic countries, the Single-Party rule in Turkey was interpreted to be inferior to the Western practices of democracy. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was angered by the comments of

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<sup>111</sup> İsmet Giritli, *Atatürk Yolu*, (Coordinated by Turhan Feyzioğlu), AAM Yay., Ankara 1995, p. 112.

<sup>112</sup> Server Tanilli, *Devlet ve Demokrasi –Anayasa Hukukuna Giriş-*, Çağdaş Yay., İstanbul 1996, p. 89.

<sup>113</sup> Tunçay, p. 247.

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European writers who claimed that, even though the Turkish system had a Western appearance, it was in essence an Eastern system<sup>114</sup>. It is well known that many Turkish statesmen had a hard time when faced with certain questions during their travels to the West, and that they informed Mustafa Kemal Pasha of this. An incident recounted to Mustafa Kemal Pasha by Kazım Özalp, the Speaker of the Parliament, is worth noting, as it sheds light on the situation:

*“When I was in Vienna a while ago, the Neue Freie Presse newspaper asked for an interview. One of the questions asked of me was the number of political parties in Turkey. I told them that we had only one party. The journalist was surprised: “How can it be that the matters of governance can be undertaken by a single party? Then this means that there is no parliamentary control in your state.” In order to satisfy his curiosity, I told him: “No, we do have parliamentary control, but we have a style of our own. We keep our government in check by means of the party and commissions. Thus we avoid the unfortunate outcomes caused by the existence of many parties.” Even though my words were published in verbatim the next day, the journalist had added a joke to the article which basically meant this: ‘Look at this simpleton! He came to teach us a lesson about the parliamentary system in the very heart of Europe.’ Truly it is difficult to explain our parliament’s situation”<sup>115</sup>.*

However, Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s initiatives toward the establishment of an opposition party changed the tone of European newspapers and increased Turkey’s prestige in Europe. Turkey was closely followed, especially by the press of democratic countries. In an article published on 19 August 1930, the Times recorded the following with regard to the establishment of a new party: *“Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s decision is very important. At a time when many claim that a single party has the right to have the last say in many countries, it is noteworthy that the Pasha made such a decision”<sup>116</sup>.*

Another important external reason was the 1929 World Economic Depression. What is known as “Black Thursday” in the U.S. quickly turned into a worldwide crisis, causing a dramatic fall in the prices of agricultural products in Turkey. The establishment of a new party was seen as a way to appease the embittered public. When the international crisis began to have a negative impact on the country’s economy, it became an internal concern with the rise of poverty at home.

The discontent felt by many people toward the Single-Party regime and its actions compelled the party to enter the process of drawing a new road map. It was understood that the political and economic problems faced by the country could not be handled within the CHF alone, and that alternatives other than Single-Party rule were needed. This is worth noting as an important factor. As poverty became the most significant problem in the country, the inability to realize plans and the oppressive policies of the Single-Party rule caused a general air of discontent in the public, and this in turn became an important internal reason for the transition to the multiparty system. In his report on the local elections of 26 October 1930, the Adana Party Inspector Hilmi

<sup>114</sup> Kinross, p. 678.

<sup>115</sup> Fethi Okyar, *Üç Devirde Bir Adam*, Tercüman Yay., İstanbul 1980, p. 396-397.

<sup>116</sup> Soyak, p. 396.

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Uran commented on the fact that the opposition was often referring to the discontent of the people, saying: *“It had the appearance of a force that had taken up people’s discontent as a weapon ...”*<sup>117</sup>.

The complaints that Mustafa Kemal Pasha heard during his tours around the country gave rise to the idea that the government needed to be checked. However, how such a mechanism would be made functional was the real issue. Seeing that the government was not receptive to criticism and was beginning to act irresponsibly, Mustafa Kemal Pasha believed that the establishment of an opposition party would be beneficial, as this party could work to keep the government in check. According to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the interests of the country were identical with the interests of the CHF. For this reason, the establishment of a new party would be beneficial to the party, rather than to the regime<sup>118</sup>. In this way the shortcomings of the party could be pointed out and ameliorated, and the party would ultimately become stronger. However, certain interest groups within the party had worries about this project and played a part in bringing the experiment to an end<sup>119</sup>.

### **The Establishment and Actions of the Liberal Republican Party (12 August 1930)**

Drawing on the idea that opposition from within the party might cause fractures like the TpCF had, the establishment of a new opposition party was chosen as the most logical path to follow. However, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s biggest concern about this was the possibility that an entity might form that would be against the founding principles of the Secular Republic. For this reason, it became necessary to have trustworthy men of state involved. Fethi Bey was chosen for the job, as he was a close friend of Atatürk’s and had previously been the first Speaker of the Parliament, as well as Prime Minister. Another reason behind this choice was the fact that Fethi Bey had shown the courage to openly criticize the İsmet Pasha administration<sup>120</sup>.

While posted as the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, he came to Turkey on 22 July 1930 for a two-month visit. One day later, when he went to visit Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Yalova, Rize MP Fuat Bulca warned him, saying: *“You will be offered to lead the establishment of an opposition party. Don’t fall for it! It will only bring you trouble...”*<sup>121</sup>. In the following days, Mustafa Kemal Pasha told Fethi Bey the following in the presence of İsmet Pasha:

*“Our system today is more or less a dictatorship. Even though we do have a parliament, we are seen as a dictatorship both domestically and internationally. German writer Emile Ludwig, who visited Ankara last year, asked strange questions about our regime and, was convinced in the end that it is a dictatorship, later wrote about this conviction of his. In reality, I did not proclaim the*

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<sup>117</sup> For Hilmi Uran’s report, see: Hilmi Uran, **Meşrutiyet, Tek Parti, Çok Parti Hatıralarım (1908-1950)**, Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yay., İstanbul 2008, p. 479-487.

<sup>118</sup> Tunçay, p. 249.

<sup>119</sup> Okyar, p. 490-491.

<sup>120</sup> Soyak, p. 395.

<sup>121</sup> Okyar, p. 378. In a speech on the failed experiment of the SCF, Fuat Bulca stated the following: *“Only someone with the patriotism and virtues possessed by Fethi Bey could be entrusted with such a job, but nevertheless, I knew the experiment would fail. Unfortunately, I was proven right by how it ended.”* (Ibid.).

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*Republic for my own personal gain. We are all mortals. What will remain behind when I die is a system of despotism. However, I do not wish to be recorded in history as someone who bequeathed a system of despotism to their people... The real issue is to make sure that the Republican regime survives in this country without being dependent on the life span of individuals”<sup>122</sup>.*

In response to the offer to lead the opposition party, Fethi Bey asked for Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s assurance that the President would remain neutral. Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s only condition for neutrality was his explanation that the new party would be located to the left of the People’s Party<sup>123</sup>. However, even though the later statements of the founder were in accordance with this request, they gave way to accusations that he was a communist on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to accusations that he was harboring reactionaries in the party<sup>124</sup>.

Fethi Bey was wary of the situation as he knew that such an initiative could place him in an opposing position not just to the government but also to the state in the future, and he had concerns that he could be accused of “treason”<sup>125</sup>. However, it can be seen that, despite his promise to remain neutral, Mustafa Kemal Pasha never really cut his ties with the CHF<sup>126</sup>. Even in his correspondence during the process of establishing the new party, Mustafa Kemal Pasha asked to be addressed as both President and Head of CHF<sup>127</sup>. Fethi Bey requested from Mustafa Kemal Pasha the same budget as that of the CHF for the establishment and organization of the party. Mustafa Kemal Pasha asked him to have a meeting with General Secretary Saffet Bey, so that they could decide on a budget based on the CHF’s budget<sup>128</sup>. On 9 August 1930, Fethi Bey wrote a letter to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, informing him about the new party, and Atatürk replied with a letter on 11 August. In summary, his response was: “... *I see that we agree on the principle of Secular Republic. This is the foundation I have always sought and will always seek in my political career*”.

On 12 August 1930, the Liberal Republican Party was officially established under the leadership of Fethi Bey. As can be inferred from certain indicators, the decision to establish a new political party had been given 2 months prior to that. In an article dated 13 September 1930, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, head of the Central Committee of Turkish Hearths, stated that “*We had heard one and half years earlier of Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s wish for a new opposition party*”<sup>129</sup>.

Asım Us records the following in his memoir:

*“On 17 June 1930, İsmet Pasha Said: ‘There will be an opposition party in the next election.*

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<sup>122</sup> Okyar, p. 392-393.

<sup>123</sup> Okyar, p. 400.

<sup>124</sup> According to a notice issued by the CHF’s General Secretary Saffet Arıkan, the establishment of the SCF catalyzed actions of fanatical reactionaries as well as communists (Cemil Koçak, **Tek Parti –Cumhuriyet ve Şefler-**, Timaş Yay., İstanbul 2016, p. 200).

<sup>125</sup> In fact, Fethi Bey had always maintained his reservations about İsmet Pasha. Fethi Bey was always worried that İsmet Pasha could plot against him (Okyar, p. 408).

<sup>126</sup> See: Fahir Giritlioğlu, **Türk Siyasi Tarihinde CHP’nin Mevkii**, v.2, Ayyıldız Matbaası, Ankara 1965.

<sup>127</sup> Okyar, p. 414-415.

<sup>128</sup> Okyar, p. 416, 495.

<sup>129</sup> Cemil Koçak, **Tarihin Buğulu Aynası –Efsaneler Çökerken-**, Timaş Yay., İstanbul 2013, p. 247.

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*This is necessary for the establishment of a normal administration. No one will be able to do this if we don't do it now. We have the experience, we have a past. They don't think we can survive the debates. However, we have exactly the opposite opinion; people in this country are overly sensitive to what is said and written, this is sign of backwardness. We will get used to having debates and struggles just as western countries have. But I don't think this is a good time to speak of the new party, we still have a year and a half. We can talk about this in a year. We have our differences of opinion with Fethi Bey. We thought it was appropriate for him to lead a different party. Bu we cannot know if he will agree to do this. After all, it comes with a certain amount of risks”<sup>130</sup>.*

Established as a controlled opposition, the SCF did not have a media outlet of its own. It is known that there was an initiative to establish a newspaper that would be called *Kürsü* and managed by Lawyer Nesim Mazlıyah<sup>131</sup>. However, the newspapers *Yarın* and *Son Posta* in Istanbul and *Halkın Sesi* in İzmir adopted publishing policies that were in favor of the SCF. As the SCF had been planned as an opposition party within the parliament, the number of MPs that would join was decided after negotiations. Even though İsmet Pasha wanted to keep the number of MPs limited, Fethi Bey requested to have 120 MPs which would mean one third of the whole parliament. Through this move, Fethi Bey wanted to make sure his party would have some influence. The disagreement between İsmet Pasha and Fethi Bey concerning the number of MPs was solved by the intervention of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. In the end, they settled on 70 MPs for the new party<sup>132</sup>.

Fethi Bey's visit to İzmir was the most significant event in the SCF's history. Having started a tour around Western Anatolia in September, Fethi Bey visited Manisa, Aydın and Balıkesir after delivering a speech at a rally in İzmir. However, his actions were met with criticism from some CHF extremists who voiced their protest by means of the press. The newspaper *Anadolu*, which was owned by Haydar Rüştü Öktem, the CHF's Denizli MP, described Fethi Okyar's rally in İzmir as “*a mob of hired drunkards going wild*”<sup>133</sup>. In this visit, Fethi Bey replied to the speech delivered by İsmet Pasha on 30 August 1930, when he opened the Ankara-Sivas Line. The visit turned, as it were, into a show of strength by the SCF. Addressing about fifty thousand people, Fethi Bey mentioned how difficult the tender terms and conditions were for railway services for foreign companies, and explained that it is only due to state interventionism that it became a habit for people to expect everything from the government. Calling for economic stability as the prerequisite for foreign investment, Fethi Bey pointed out shortcomings of the fiscal policy and of the way that monopolies functioned.

SCF's İzmir Tour was an important step towards the end of the party. Mustafa Kemal Pasha also reacted to the incidents that had taken place in İzmir. Mustafa Kemal Pasha appointed

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<sup>130</sup> Asım Us, *1930-1950 Atatürk İnönü, İkinci Dünya Harbi ve Demokrasi Rejimine Giriş Devri Hatıraları*, Vakıf Matbaası, İstanbul 1966

<sup>131</sup> “Kürsü Neden Çıkamadı?”, *Vakit*, 1 December 1930, No:4633, p. 1.

<sup>132</sup> Okyar, p. 416-417.

<sup>133</sup> Cemil Koçak, *Tek Parti –Cumhuriyet ve Şefler-*, p. 209.

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the Speaker of Parliament. Kazım Pasha, to investigate the incidents, and informed him that he approved of the government's ways. Additionally, in an open letter he dictated to Yunus Nadi Bey, which was published on 9 September 1930 in the newspaper Cumhuriyet, he gave a response that underlined his ties to the CHF<sup>134</sup>.

A month after the SCF's show of strength in İzmir, the party achieved a considerable amount of success for a newly established party in the local elections held in October. Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya announced on 15 December 1930 that the SCF had won 22 of the 502 municipalities. Fethi Bey stated the following in relation to the results:

*"In fact the Liberal Republican Party won the local elections in every location where it ran. The People's Party experienced an unexpected defeat. Our rivals were all aware of this. In light of this, it became obvious that the People's Party could not maintain parliamentary majority after the next elections. I think the results made their biggest impact on Atatürk"*<sup>135</sup>.

Another point worth noting about these elections is the low voter turnout<sup>136</sup>. In Istanbul, 35,934 voters voted for the CHF, 12,813 voted for the SCF, while 250,746 voters did not vote at all. However, the SCF applied to the Parliamentary Speaker's office to request an interpellation of the Ministry of Interior with claims of electoral fraud.

### **The Closure of the Liberal Republican Party (17 November 1930)**

Quite contrary to its founding principle, the success that the SCF achieved during the elections gave rise to ambitions of rising to power. In fact, such ambitions were made public by a statement from Fethi Bey, who said "... *If the people want this, sure... How else can we turn our ideas into actions?*"<sup>137</sup> This ambition has been interpreted as a development that brought the party to its end. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu states that "*Fethi Bey could have succeeded if he had kept his opposition within the confines of the parliament rather than taking it to the streets. MPs from the CHF would have joined his side over time*"<sup>138</sup>. CHF authorities regarded SCF's ambition for rising to power without provincial organization as one of the reasons behind its failure. Hilmi Uran, the CHF's Adana Inspector at the time, reveals his views on the topic in his memoir. According to Hilmi Uran, if, instead of joining the Local Elections without proper provincial organization, the SCF had functioned as an auditing organization within the Parliament and then organized itself in provincial areas, it would have been of more service, both to itself and to the country. However, the party gained extreme levels of public support and created discomfort within the government<sup>139</sup>. In his explanation for the extreme popularity of the party, Hilmi Uran points out to the belief that Atatürk was leading the new party. According to this belief, Atatürk had turned away from the People's party as a result of its actions<sup>140</sup>.

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<sup>134</sup> Okyar, p. 502-503.

<sup>135</sup> Okyar, p.514.

<sup>136</sup> "Şehir Halkının Ne Kadarı Rey Verdi, Niçin?", **Vakit**, 20 October 1930, No: 4592, p.1.

<sup>137</sup> Okyar, p.475.

<sup>138</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, p. 105.

<sup>139</sup> Uran, p. 194.

<sup>140</sup> Uran, p. 481.

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Mustafa Kemal Pasha became aware of the SCF's ambitions to rise to power following their rapid success. Indeed, it is known that Atatürk told Fethi Bey the following: "I am keeping my promise (Referring to his promise to remain neutral). However, I also have a responsibility to keep the country in a state of peace and order. You are trying to rise to power immediately after a few months. You have no patience. Do you think you will be able to keep peace and order in the country if you overthrow the current government and replace it? First, you need to give me this confidence".

Efforts were made to hinder the rapid success of the SCF by means of pressuring it during the local elections<sup>141</sup>. It would be difficult to deny the existence of pressure during these elections. In a speech delivered at the Parliament on 1 November 1930, Mustafa Kemal Pasha warned all the parties about the incidents that took place during the Local Elections. However, the extremists within the CHF were not happy at all with this cautionary speech. Ağaoğlu speaks of an instance when Recep Bey had the courage to openly criticize this speech during a dinner hosted by Atatürk, and adds that Falih Rıfkı said he would stand against anyone, even Mustafa Kemal Pasha<sup>142</sup>. In his Memories of Atatürk, Hasan Rıza Soyak recounts the following:

*"The complaints and claims of the Members of the Liberal Republican Party were not all unrealistic. Atatürk was aware of this. In fact, one day, when I presented him with the election news, most of which were pro-CHF, he asked me: 'Which party is winning?' When I replied 'Our party, of course', he laughed and said: 'No, sir, not at all! Let me tell you which party is winning: it is the party of administrators! That is, the gendarmerie, the police force, district heads, district governors and governors... You should know this truth'"*<sup>143</sup>.

While the opposition accused the government of having taken illegal action, the government accused the opposition of reviving reactionary sentiments. However, digression soon followed, and the debates took on a personal character. The extremists within the Republican People's Party (CHP) represented the debates as "opposition against Atatürk". In Fethi Bey's view, this was "... Because the possible loss of power meant for the People's Party that the governing elite centered around it would in turn lose the order of life they were used to"<sup>144</sup>.

At the end of the debates on November 15, the Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya managed to win the vote of confidence from the majority, with 10 voting against him. This was the last blow to the SCF. In a petition he submitted to the Ministry of Interior on 17 November 1930, Fethi Bey announced that he had abolished the party. He stated the following in this petition<sup>145</sup>:

*"Dear Sir,*

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<sup>141</sup> In a report of the Local Elections submitted on 26 October 1930 to the General Secretariat of the CHP by Party Inspector Hilmi Uran, it was concluded that the SCF's claims about interference with the elections were far from truth and that they were only playing the victim (Uran, p. 482).

<sup>142</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu, **Serbist Fırka Hatıraları**, İletişim Yay., İstanbul 2011, p. 71.

<sup>143</sup> Soyak, p. 436.

<sup>144</sup> Okyar, p. 491.

<sup>145</sup> Okyar, p.528.

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*I had established the Liberal Republican Party at the request and with the approval of our Great Leader Mustafa Kemal. In my opinion, this request and approval ruled out the possibility that the new party would ever take political action against Atatürk. In fact, I had no desire to take on the responsibility to start a political initiative without this assuring thought. However, the current situation made it clear that our party may have to become a political rival to Atatürk in the future. I find it impossible, as party founder, to carry on with a political initiative that may one day find itself in this position. For this reason, I have decided to abolish the Liberal Republican Party. This decision has been announced to the party organization.*

*Kindly submitted for necessary action.*

*Fethi”*

In response to Fethi Bey’s decision to abolish the party, Mustafa Kemal Pasha told Hasan Rıza Soyak the following:

*“... I told Fethi Bey my decision. But what do you know! Fethi Bey told me that he did not want to face me as a rival in any way. No matter how many times I told him that we would not have to face each other in that way, that we would walk together side by side as friends who complement each other for the sake of a shared cause, he refused to hear me. In spite of all my persistence and appeals, he chose to abolish his party”<sup>146</sup>.*

Having survived for a period of three months, the SCF had become active in a very limited number of areas, just like the TpCF. As the SCF differed greatly from the TpCF in terms both of quality and quantity, it is necessary to make mention of their differences. To begin with, it was an opposition party whose planning and establishment were artificial. In Mete Tunçay’s words, the establishment of the party was, as it were, a game of chess Atatürk played against himself<sup>147</sup>. His original plan was to lead both parties, boast their successes as his own, and avoid responsibility for their failures<sup>148</sup>.

Its founders were not against Mustafa Kemal Pasha; on the contrary, they were his close friends. Unlike the TpCF, which had been banned by the government, the SCF abolished itself. While the TpCF only wished to remain an opposition party, the SCF had the ambition to rise to power. In response to the CHF’s statist economic policies, the SCF supported Liberalism. In its program and constitution, the party stated that it would remain loyal to, and uphold the Republic and its founding principles, nationalism, secularism, as well as Atatürk’s reforms. Unable to accuse the SCF directly of being reactionary, the government accused its members of not taking a stand against reactionism<sup>149</sup>. Especially the pro-government press raced to press charges against the SCF. The Hâkimiyet-i Milliye newspaper, which was acting as the official publication of the CHF, described those who joined or supported the SCF as self-seeking reactionaries, saving the

<sup>146</sup> Soyak, p. 425.

<sup>147</sup> Tunçay, p. 250.

<sup>148</sup> Kinross, p. 678.

<sup>149</sup> Tunaya, p.628.

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title ‘patriot’ for the supporters of the ruling party<sup>150</sup>. However, according to the ruling party, it was not the opposition groups within the SCF that brought its end but rather the anti-regime elements that had infiltrated the party. On 17 November 1930, Fethi Bey announced that the party was now banned.

### Other Political Parties

Although outside the period under study here, during the period when the SCF was established and later struggled to survive, three noteworthy attempts were made at establishing parties. It would be suitable to make mention of these in the context of the multi-party system. These parties are:

#### 1. Community Republican Party

The existence of this party, which was mentioned in the *Vakit* newspaper issue of 27 September 1930 in an article entitled “Is there a Third Party?”, was met with criticism in pro-government press. The founder of the party was Abdülkadir Kemali Bey, known as the “Counselor”. He acted as the president of the Independence Tribunal as well as the Kastamonu MP in the first parliament. Having joined the Second Group within Parliament, he was not elected in the second cycle. Kemali Bey, who used to publish the newspaper *Tok Söz* in Adana, was put on trial in the Eastern Independence Tribunal after the shutdown of his newspaper by an order of the Council of Ministers in late 1924. He was the father of Orhan Kemal. The founders of the party included such persons including Hasbi, Ali Vehbi, Bekir Sıtkı, Mustafa Ziya.

During its lifetime of three months, the party managed to open branches in Maraş and a few southern provinces<sup>151</sup>. It was closed on 21 December 1930 by an order of the Council of Ministers. It can be inferred from the news about the closure of the party that opposition groups were not welcome at all in the country. “Abdülkadir Kemali Fled to İskenderun” was a headline used by the *Vakit* newspaper in its issue of 29 December 1930<sup>152</sup>. In an article published by the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, dated 2 January 1931, Kemali Bey was said to have been “aware of his own treason before anyone else”. The title of this article was “The Nonsense of the Traitor”<sup>153</sup>.

#### 2. Turkish Republican Workers and Farmers Party

The news of an attempt at establishing a party in Edirne was announced in newspapers with titles such as “The Fourth Party - A Farmers Party is Established in Edirne”<sup>154</sup>. Founded by Architect Kazım Tahsin Bey, the party was regarded by the government as having communist tendencies and was prevented from becoming active<sup>155</sup>. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> article of the party program, the founding principles of the party were listed as protecting the Turkish workers and farmers against capital

150 Cemil Koçak, *Tek Parti –Cumhuriyet ve Şefler-*, p. 207.

151 “Üçüncü Bir Fırka mı?”, *Vakit*, 27 September 1930, No:4569, p. 1,5.

152 “Abdülkadir Kemali İskenderun’a Kaçmış”, *Vakit*, 29 December 1930, No:4661, p. 2.

153 Tunçay, p. 286.

154 “Dördüncü Fırka”, *Vakit*, 1 October 1930, No:4573, p. 1.

155 Tunçay, p. 286.

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owners, rescuing them from the yoke of tyrants and usurers, and giving them a place in Turkish society. However, as a result of the claims that it had communist tendencies, the party was banned.

### 3. Secular Republican Workers and Farmers Party

This was an inconclusive attempt by Arif Oruç to establish a new party six months after the closure of the SCF. The government did not give permission for the establishment of the party, news of whose establishment made news<sup>156</sup>. As Per Law No. 1881 on Press, dated 25 July 1931, Arif Oruç had to close his newspaper, Yarın, on 19 August 1931 after its last issue was published. In a pamphlet entitled Citizen's Fundamental Freedom, published on 12 March 1932, Arif Oruç supported freedom of the press in particular. In his view, freedom to establish political parties was of secondary importance in comparison to freedom of the press.

*It was said that "there would be no security in the country, that anarchy would reign, that everything, perhaps the whole revolution, would go to waste." If the possibility of this party achieving success in the elections had not given rise to certain worries, there would have been no obstacle to the establishment of a checks and balances system in the parliament which would include a few parties administering the system in the name of the people. Accordingly, a compatible press would be established to bring about balance"<sup>157</sup>.*

In 1931, in addition to the aforementioned attempts at establishing new parties, rumors about the re-establishment of the SCF were spread. However, none of these were allowed to/could happen in the end, and Single-Party rule continued for an interrupted period of 15 years.

## Conclusion

The First TBMM, which opened on 23 April 1920, had commanded the War of Independence and laid the foundation for a new state. The First Parliament had a democratic composition as its members came from different professional and ideological backgrounds. Debates about the regime that had started after the success of the National Struggle came to end with the proclamation of the Republic on 29 October 1923. The Second TBMM, which opened on 11 August 1923, had a homogeneous composition. This parliament, whose members had been elected by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, worked to make lasting reforms.

The MPs, who had devoted their time energy during the National Struggle to the salvation of the motherland, now experienced ideological differences. These differences led to the dissolution of the leadership of the National Struggle as sentiments and personal interests began to play a part. The process of democratization was catalyzed by the proclamation of the Republic. As the wider political conjuncture centered around democracy after World War I, in an effort to prevent the establishment of a totalitarian regime, Turkey made attempts to transition to a multiparty

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156 Tunçay, p. 290.

157 Tunçay, p. 292.

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system. Therefore, when the aforementioned dissolution found expression in the foundation of new political parties, this did not disturb the government. Especially in Mustafa Kemal Pasha's ideal state, a Single-Party system had never been the ultimate goal. In his view, a system of checks and balances which would serve to point out the shortcomings of governments would benefit the country above all.

However, the fact that the opposition found expression early on, even before the start of the reform movement, gave rise to concerns to the reforms that were being instituted being in danger. The opposition was regarded as an initiative that would damage the whole country, as the interests of the country were considered to be connected to the existence of the CHF. Those who had participated in the National Struggle were not all people who supported democracy and the proclamation of the Republic. It was obvious that, after a possible victory, people who had adopted the principles of socialism would become active in the country, just as there would be those who would work to save the sultanate and caliphate. Disappointed by the abolition of the caliphate and the proclamation of the republic, these groups used every opportunity to take action. As supporters of the Sultanate and Caliphate, Unionists and Socialists, who all managed to hide behind the democratic façade of political parties, used democratic initiatives for their causes, the well-intended multiparty democracy experiment was halted for a while to protect the regime and its revolutions.

Following the triumph of democracy against totalitarian regimes after World War II, Turkey also felt the need to establish itself as a multiparty democracy. As there were no longer any concerns about the survival of the reforms, the Single-Party system was abandoned.

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### **Periodical Publications**

*Cumhuriyet*

*Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*

*İkdam*

*Tanin*

*Vakit*

*Vatan*

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## TEACHER TRAINING POLICIES DURING THE PERIOD OF ATATURK (1923-1938)

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### Introduction

All nations are constantly striving to improve their education systems. The competency of teachers, who are the most important and indispensable element of education systems, is closely related to the quality of education. Therefore, one can say that “a school is only as good as the teachers in it” (Kavcar, 2002). The quality of a teacher is related to the education and training of that teacher. Throughout the history of mankind, teaching has been one of the most respected professions. Teaching enables the transfer of social values to the next generations and serves as a bridge between knowledge and those who demand it. In Turkish culture, which emphasizes those who have knowledge are not the same as those who don't have knowledge, great importance was attributed to the scholars and those who taught science were always highly valued. In fact, the saying, “I'll be a slave to the one who teaches me a letter for forty years” is widely accepted in society (MEB (Ministry of National Education), 2017). The main elements of the education system consist of teachers, students, school principals, education experts, educational technology, educational programs, and financial and physical resources. The most fundamental element among them is the teacher (Saç, 2016). Many elements included in the key components of the education system, such as the physical infrastructure of the education and training environments, the flexibility and functionality of the curriculum, the quality and accessibility of the educational materials and technological capabilities, and the management style of the school etc. can directly or indirectly affect the quality of the education provided to the students. What makes teachers the most important component of the education system is their constant interaction with all the other components in the education system. Moreover, teachers have the authority and the responsibility to use their initiatives with the other components (Özoğlu, 2011).

Education has been an indispensable phenomenon since the existence of humanity. Every nation has its own specific education system. These systems are established and developed based on the social, cultural, political and economic values of society. The most important factor in fulfilling the values that the society expects from education is the teacher factor (Azar, 2011). As it is obvious that the social, economic, cultural and political development of societies and their realization of their goal for the type of individuals that is desired is only possible with an effective education system. Societies need a good education system, as well as teachers with the qualifications of today and the future, to achieve these goals. (Karasolak, 2017). The significant impact of the relationship between the teaching quality and the quality of teachers upon society is a notion that is accepted by the researchers (Aras & Sözen, 2012).

No matter how appropriate the goals and content in education and training are, all the labor will

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be wasted if there is no qualified teacher to pass on those goals and content. This is because a good-quality education system should be based on a well-functioning system where good-quality teachers are trained. Teachers need to be educated well in every period of history so that all these efforts are not wasted. Since teachers are the most critical elements of the education system as the initiators, developers and practitioners of education, the effort and concern for training qualified teachers has always been an important part of the agenda of societies (MEB, 2017). For this purpose, various teacher training policies have been introduced and implemented during the pre-republican period as well as the post-republican period. Teacher education policies are influenced in different aspects by previous teacher training practices; social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of the country in question; education councils; developments in information and information technologies around the world; wars; and even international organizations (Karasolak, 2017; Keskinılıç, 2008). Regulations and innovations were made for Turkey's teaching profession to be transformed into a modern system of education for the teachers, from an understanding of a simple school, madrasah and muallim (teacher) and mudarris; to take the form of a formal education for this purpose; and for it to be able to continue its development until today. (Aras & Sözen, 2012).

The Ottomans began the business of educating teachers in 1848 and there have been quite diverse and rich experiences in the education of teachers in Turkey ever since (Okçabol, 2004). During World War I, young teachers and even high school students were mobilized, and due to this many schools closed and many teachers lost their lives (Kaplukan, 2012). During the War of Independence, many schools were not able to survive the destructive effects of the war and many of them were used for administrative and military purposes. The Ankara teacher training center in the center of the TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey) government was used as the Ministry of Education, the Head Office of Ziraat Bank, the court of peace and the intelligence agency in 1920-1921 (Öztürk, 1996). It is possible to outline the general picture of the country when the Republic was established, in other words, the legacy it inherited from the Ottoman Empire is as follows: The population was 13 million, agriculture was primitive, industry was almost non-existent, the vast majority of mines, ports and the existing railways were under the management of foreign companies, there were 153 middle schools and high schools and only one university. Only 7% of the population was literate, and this rate was not even 1% for women. 543 female students were studying at middle schools, while 270 female students were studying at high schools (Dönmez, 2005). The efforts for the education of teachers continued in these difficult times. Atatürk emphasized the importance of teachers in 1923, at Kütahya as follows: "No matter how brilliant victories a nation achieves in the battlefields, those victories cannot yield permanent results unless a nation has a scientific army. And the value of such a scientific army shall be measured by the value of you as teachers." In 1924, in the congress of the Union of Teachers, Atatürk said: "The new generation will be your work of art". Similarly, in 1925, in İzmir, he said: "Those who save nations are only and solely teachers. A nation that is deprived of teachers and educators has not yet gained the qualification to be called a nation." Such importance

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was attached to the role of the teacher in the Republic of Turkey to be established (Yalçın, et al., 2002). In the founding years of the Republic, the purpose was to raise young people with “freedom of thought, freedom of conscience and freedom of knowledge” (Okçabol, 2004).

The concept of national unity which was effective in winning the National Struggle, also formed the basis of the new state’s education policy. It was emphasized that the education policy of the new state would be a national one that is far from the influence of the east and the west. Following the foundation of the Republic, the purpose of the national education was defined as raising generations who adopt the principles of national sovereignty and full independence, and attach importance to national unity and integrity (Bilir, 2011). Explaining the teacher training policies, practices and ideas put forward in the Ottoman Empire will enable us to better analyze the teacher training policies during the period of Atatürk. This is due to the fact that in the early years of the Republic, most of the schools where teachers were educated were built on a foundation of knowledge and institutions from the past. Many schools were a continuation of the previous schools. Therefore, it is difficult to understand the teacher training policies in the Republican period without putting forward the experience and heritage inherited from the Ottoman Empire (Karasolak, 2017). So, initially, information about teacher training in the Ottoman Empire will be provided followed by the developments in relation to teacher training for pre-schools, primary schools and secondary schools in the first years of the Republic (the Period of Atatürk ).

### **Teacher Training in the Ottoman Empire**

In the Ottoman society, teachers were almost sacred people with social and religious duties whose wide range of services were indispensable, whose “contributions were considered to be priceless” and who were “respected even more than parents”. The public considered teachers as a means of becoming a proper person (to advance in one’s career, to have a profession, to reach moral maturity) (Akyüz, 2007). Entry to the teaching profession in madrasahs, which were the secondary and higher education institutions during the Ottoman Empire, was based on the principle of waiting for one’s turn to be appointed and transferring to a higher level of appropriate madrasah to advance in one’s career until the 1550s. The madrasah teachers were called hodjas or mudarrises (teachers). However, this system began to deteriorate in the mid-1500s with the appointment of many people as mudarrises through favoritism and granting of higher grades to children of some influential people where children were not worthy of such grades (Akyüz, 2006). One of the underlying reasons behind the deterioration of the madrasahs was the appointment of unqualified mudarrises who conduct the madrasah education. The mudarrises who were appointed were extremely inadequate in terms of student recruitment and education (Yalçın et al., 2002).

After the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Reorganization which is a milestone for the Ottoman modernization, several institutions with the objective of training teachers were established in the Ottoman education system. The most important feature of the Reform era is

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the state's management and supervision of education which was monopolized by the religious authority that prevailed in the previous times (Bilir, 2011). These schools, in order of the date of their opening, are: Secondary Teacher Education School (1848), Primary Teacher Education School for Boys (1868), Teacher Education School for Girls (1870), Higher Teacher Education School (1874), School for Teaching Resources (1875), İstanbul University (1900), Teacher Education School (1906), Pre-School Teacher Education School (March 1914), and University for Girls (September 1914) (Cüçük, 2015).

The Ottoman Primary Schools were partly pre-schools and partly primary schools where a superficial primary school education was provided. The teachers of these institutions were referred to as muallim or hodja. In primary schools, boys and girls could study together as of the age of 4-5. The education would last 4-5 years (Akyüz, 2006). In Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Eyüp and Ayasofya madrasahs, a curriculum that was different than those in the general madrasahs was foreseen for those who would become primary school teachers. In this curriculum, the "speaking and teaching methods" course which referred to as the rules of discussion and methods of teaching, was available. The inclusion of this course in the curriculum is quite significant for the history of the Turkish and global education. This course was intended to provide prospective teachers with the knowledge and skills on communication and teaching methods. However, this curriculum which was introduced to the madrasah by Fatih Sultan Mehmet was abolished after him and from then on, relatively educated and earnest individuals became primary school teachers (Akyüz, 2007, MEB [Ministry of National Education], 2017). Fatih states the qualifications that the prospective teachers studying at the primary teacher education school that he opened within his foundation as follows: "The teachers shall have very good manners and personalities; act in order to please God; and make an effort to educate the children; their assistants shall repeat what they taught to the children and exchange opinions with them; the teachers shall not consider their duties to be grave and be unsatisfied with it; and they shall nicely and tolerantly explain to the children the topics that they don't know about (Akyüz, 2006). In the 1860s, there were more than 12,000 "Primary Teacher Education Schools" in the country. In those times, imams were teaching at these schools since schools that educate primary school (classroom) teachers were yet to open. In 1875, the number of students studying at the "Primary Teacher Education School for Boys" which was opened in 1868 was not more than 25 (Aydın, Şahin and Topal, 2008).

### ***Opening of the Secondary Teacher Education School (1848)***

The number of secondary schools began to rise after their establishment in 1839. The ability of these schools to provide a good education was dependent upon the existence of well-trained teachers. A Teacher Education School for Boys (called Darülmualimîn) was opened for the first time on Thursday, March 16, 1848 in Fatih, under the leadership of Ahmet Kemal Efendi who was appointed as the Minister of Education. This opening is an extremely important event in the professional history of Turkish teachers. The reasons for opening the Teacher Education School for Boys and the need for such an institution were quite clearly emphasized in a decree of the

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General Education Council dated July 25, 1847. These reasons are as follows:

1. The education system of the country and of the madrasahs had deteriorated over time.
2. While teachers at primary schools were able to teach the courses of these institutions in accordance with the orders they received, none of them had the ability to teach middle school courses, particularly mathematics and the other new courses adopted globally.
3. Teachers with the necessary qualifications should be trained to teach any type of science.
4. It is necessary to primarily regulate the secondary schools. And this can only be achieved by regulating the methods of teaching in these schools.
5. Regulation of the teaching methods means finding and implementing ways of teaching easily, in a short time.
6. Since students can remain for a maximum of 9 years at primary schools, and then in secondary schools, there is a need for mature teachers who are familiar with teaching methods so that these students don't spend their time in vain.
7. Teaching methods shall be taught at the Teacher Education School for Boys, and the teachers who graduate from these schools shall apply them with the children.

This school was later called the Secondary Teacher Education School. Secondary Teacher Education Schools were intended to raise teachers who apply easy and effective teaching methods. Ahmet Cevdet Pasha interprets the opening of Secondary Teacher Education Schools as of 1839 and particularly as of 1847 as “constructing a building beginning by its middle-level”, i.e. opening schools at a higher level without addressing primary education first and criticizes this approach. In the 1840s, the authorities considered the necessity for the improvement of primary education, but in practice, they couldn't move forward with it, realizing that it would be too comprehensive and difficult at that time (Akyüz, 2006; Akyüz, 2007; Akyüz, 2008).

On May 1, 1851, a by-law was issued for the Secondary Teacher Education School. According to this By-law; a small number of students would be admitted to the school; the students would be admitted by an exam; the school term would be three years; the students would be given scholarships; the students would be banned from going out of Istanbul, preaching to the public and leading their prayer session in exchange for food, clothing and money during the months of Rajab, Shaban and Ramadan; the education and the performance of exams would be serious; the success and degree of graduation would be effective in the appointment for duty, the graduates would be kept at the Secondary Teacher Education School until their appointment and paid a salary; and the diploma of a teacher who does not accept a vacant secondary school teaching position will be taken from him/her. The first course of the curriculum was speaking rules and Teaching and Teaching Methods, while the other courses were Persian, Arithmetic, Geometry,

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Area Measurement, Astronomy and Geography. Students would be admitted by exam to the school with the duration set as 3 years. It was decided that a small number of students would be admitted to the school so that well-qualified teachers could be trained (Akyüz, 2007; Yetişgin & Dumanoglu, 2017). There is no provision in the by-law, stating that graduates other than those of this school can also be appointed as teachers. This indicates that the entry to the profession of teaching at the time was determined very precisely, in other words, the foundations of the profession were strongly laid. The fact that the first course of the curriculum is a course on teaching methods according to the by-law, is a definite sign that teaching is considered as a profession (Akyüz, 2011). As of August 1850, the Principal Ahmet Cevdet Efendi made significant efforts to prevent the Teacher Education School for Boys from being influenced by the madrasah. However, the influence of the madrasah on this institution began to increase as of the 1860s. Nevertheless, it is observed that military officer teachers were sometimes appointed to teach science courses at schools. These teachers made significant contributions to the development of education at schools (Akyüz, 2006).

The by-law on General Education dated September 1, 1869 restructured the Teacher Education School for Boys and their curriculums. Accordingly, in brief, “A major Teacher Education School for Boys would be established at Istanbul to train excellent teachers for various levels of general schools.” This institution would be composed of branches where teachers would be trained for secondary schools, high schools and higher education and each branch would have two departments; one for Literature and the other for sciences. The Primary Teacher Education School for Boys which was opened in 1868 would also be part of this major Teacher Education School for Boys (Akyüz, 2006). In the Period of Autocracy, a very important directive was issued for the professionalization of teaching in 1900. Within the law on the specialization of teaching, the following conditions were introduced for the teaching profession; a) to be moral and have good manners, b) not to deal with a profession other than teaching, c) commitment to the education to be provided and to adhere to the specialization (Akyüz, 2007). The profession of teaching was defined for the first time and the authorities, responsibilities and rights of teachers attempted to be determined through this law. Accordingly, it was necessary to be a graduate of the Teacher Education School for Boys or to be successful in the exams that were conducted from time to time in order to be a teacher (Cüçük, 2005). The Secondary Teacher Education Schools which were opened in 1848, closed in 1913 as a result of the secondary schools turning into a level of primary education through the Temporary Statute on Primary Education and Teaching. As a result, the Secondary Teacher Education School was far from fulfilling the teacher requirement of the secondary schools that were rapidly increasing in number, with its annual teacher training capacity of 10 to 20 in this period. However, even though this school had many shortcomings in terms of quantity and quality it has a very distinguished place in the Turkish education history as it constituted a basis for the process of development of the institutions that educate teachers in Turkey (Öztürk, 1996)

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### ***Opening of the Primary Teacher Education School for Boys (1868)***

The improvement of primary schools and the training of new teachers at educational institutions other than madrasahs for these schools was only possible in the 1860s. In 1863, education based on the new methods was introduced at 35 primary schools in Istanbul. (Öztürk, 1996). While improvements were made in secondary schools and new regulations were introduced in raising secondary school teachers (1869), it was considered that it was now time to take concrete steps for primary schools and a Primary Teacher Education School for Boys was opened at Istanbul on November 15, 1868 to train teachers for primary schools (Akyüz, 2006). The following courses were available in the curriculum of the Primary Teacher Education School for Boys: Religious sciences, Quran reading and reading the Quran well, calculation, history, geography, spelling and construction, fine writing and grammar (Akyüz, 2007). However, the Primary Teacher Education School for Boys which was closed after a few years due to the counter-propaganda of the opponents, was reopened in 1872 through Mehmed Cevdet Efendi's efforts after the By-law on General Education was issued. It was this individual that was appointed as the principal of the school (Öztürk, 1993).

The following statements are included in a directive stipulating some regulations at primary schools: "The branches of Teacher education schools opened at provinces were opened to raise well-educated teachers for primary schools in towns and villages. The diplomas prepared by the school or the relevant commission of education and signed and approved by the governor of the Province are granted to those who complete their education at these schools which have a duration of two years." Teachers who received diplomas through this directive could also be appointed as imams at villages where required. The teachers were asked to prepare a report on how teaching is done, the number of students and the attendance and absenteeism statuses of students and submit such report to the Ministry of Education. In addition, it was stated as the duty of the teachers to create a table including various information about the graduates and send it to the Ministry of Education (Cücük, 2015). The most important regulation of the period of the Ottoman Empire regarding primary education, the "Temporary Statute on Primary Education and Teaching" was introduced in 1913 and guided the primary education services until 1961. The Inspectorate of primary education was defined in articles 63, 91 and 93 of the Law and it was institutionalized by creating guidelines for its features and working methods through regulations (Bilir, 2011).

### ***Opening of the Teacher Education School for Girls (1870)***

The idea for establishing a Teacher Education School for Girls arose from the need to raise female teachers, which emerged with the establishment and prevalence of primary and secondary schools for girls, just as in the establishment of the Teacher Education School for Boys (Cücük, 2015). The purpose for the establishment of the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Girls followed by other schools in some rural provinces in the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy period

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was stated as training female teachers for primary and secondary schools in article 68 of the 1869 By-law on General Education, which was intended to regulate the Ottoman education. The importance of educating girls and women was increasingly better understood during the Reform period. The Teacher Education School for Girls is quite significant as it signified the modernization of education and allowed the “Ottoman woman” to have a modern role in the social and cultural life (Öztürk, 1993; Akyüz, 2011; Cücük, 2015).

Introduced by the 1869 By-law on General Education, The Teacher Education School for Girls was opened in April 26, 1870. The Teacher Education School for Girls provided significant benefits for society. It can be said that the Teacher Education School for Girls was effective in the increase of the number of primary and secondary schools for girls by educating female teachers for these schools and contributing to the education of girls, the formation of a knowledgeable and intellectual community within women of the country; and the success of the reforms in relation to women in the Republican period (Akyüz, 2007). Generating its first graduates in 1873, the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Girls was closed for nearly two years because of the ‘93 War and the resulting influx of immigrants from the Balkans. While Ms. Fatma Zehra was appointed as the principal of the school in the 1881-1882 academic year, the school’s management was granted to two principals, one female and one male, in the following year (Öztürk, 1993). Following the enactment of the By-Law on the Teacher Education School for Boys and the Teacher Education School for Girls which was issued in 1915, the demand for these schools decreased with the addition of the negative conditions of the war years, and the expenses of the schools and the salaries of teachers could not be paid through the provincial budgets. Due to these circumstances, the number of teaching staff and students at the school was reduced and the Explanatory section was closed (Öztürk, 1993; Cücük, 2015). Hardly maintaining its activities in the years of occupation, the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Girls went under the management of the Ministry of Education of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey through a declaration issued in November 1922. In January 1923, the school staff was reorganized, and a Secondary Teacher Education School for Girls equivalent to the preparatory section of the school which was closed in the 1923-1924 academic year was opened. Divided by the branches of natural sciences, mathematics, literature and history-geography, this school’s duration was three years. In the 1924-1925 academic year, the Secondary Teacher Education School for Girls was also closed, and the school was named the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Girls (Öztürk, 1993).

### ***Opening of the Higher Teacher Education School (1870)***

The Teacher Education Institute (the Higher Teacher Education School) opened as a new type of school to train teachers for high schools that were just emerging and developing at the time with the socio-political reform of 1870. This school covered a 4-year education after secondary school (Üstüner, 2004). The purpose of the Higher Teacher Education School was to meet the needs of high school teachers and other schools at a higher level with a unique program of its

own. After 1908, the students who studied at the Higher Teacher Education School started to take the courses related to the branches at the relevant faculties at İstanbul University. This meant that a teacher education school model that was dependent on the faculties to a great extent in terms of curriculum also became part of the education system (MEB, 1995).

Table 1 provides the distribution of the conditions of eligibility by years and schools for the institutions of teacher training in the Ottoman Empire. When the table is examined, it can be seen that the conditions of eligibility varies based on the years. it is understood that more detailed conditions for eligibility were required in line with the developments over time and in direct proportion to the development of the education system of the period. The existence of a condition to know the languages that are commonly used in the geographical region of the Ottoman Empire can be considered as an indicator of the selection of prospective teachers from people with a high level of communicative skills. The existence of the condition of having good moral values for the candidates can be associated with the consideration that a teacher must be a role model for students by displaying proper behaviors. The condition for the teacher to not have any physical disabilities or diseases can be considered as a feature which is very important for the profession of teaching to be performed by healthy teachers in the most effective way (Cüçük, Bay & Doğan, 2017).

**Table 1.** An aggregate analysis of the conditions of eligibility by years and schools for the institutions of teacher training

Conditions of Eligibility	Name of the School	First Year of Introduced Condition of Eligibility
1. Knowing Arabic	A	1851
2. Speaking Turkish well	A	
3. To have the ability to learn Persian	A	
4. To have the ability to learn mathematics	A	
5. To have good moral values	A, B, D	
6. To succeed in the entrance exam	A, B, D, C	
7. To graduate from a certain level of school such as secondary school or high school	A, D, C	1869
8. To have the candidacy document of "Exam Success"	A, D	
9. To have no physical disabilities or diseases	A, B, D, C	1891
10. To be older than 18 years of age (Note: this condition varies based on the department of the school)	A, B, D, C	
11. To have verbal expression skills in Arabic	A, D	
12. To have written and verbal expression skills in Turkish	A, B, D	
13. To have analytical and scientific skills	A	
14. To have had all vaccinations completed	B, C	1895
15. To have a clean criminal record	A, D, C	
16. To be a citizen of the Ottoman State	A, B, D, C	1908
17. To have knowledge of the four operations of mathematics	A, B, D	
18. To have religious knowledge	B	1908

19. To know Persian at a reading/writing/comprehension level	D	1917
20. To have knowledge of Turkish written and verbal expressions, and speaking and literature	B	
21. To have knowledge in the field of mathematical sciences (Theoretical and Practical Calculation, Geometry, Plane Geometry and Astronomy)	D	
22. To have knowledge in the field of Natural Sciences (Zoology, Botany, Geology, Physics, Chemistry and Health Information),	D	
23. To apply on time	B, C	
1. Secondary Teacher Education School (A) 2. Primary Teacher Education School for Boys (B) 3. Teacher Education School for Girls (C) 4. Higher Teacher Education School (DA)		

### Training Teachers in the Period of Atatürk

#### Training of the Pre-school Teachers

In the early 20th century, it was observed that minorities and foreigners with the exception of locals, had kindergartens in large cities (MEB, 1995). The first kindergartens for pre-school education in the Ottoman Empire were known to have appeared with the name of “pre-school or children’s school” in the beginning of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy period (as of 1908). It is possible to see the traces of the Western world, particularly, the Swiss and French based movements in the establishment, development, curriculums, etc. of kindergartens in many stages of the Ottoman education system (Cücük, 2015). Since no female teachers were trained for pre-schools, Armenian and Jewish teachers were brought to the Turkish schools and all jobs were left to them. From that point on, female teachers began to be trained. Female teachers were trained by two sources, namely the Female Pre-school Teachers Class and the Pre-school of Jews in the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Girls (Akyüz, 2007). After the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, the recommendations of Edhem Nejad to raise the quality of the Teacher Education School for Girls included focusing on pre-schools in the country, and the opening of the Pre-school Teacher Education School for Girls in order to train teachers for them. In the 1914-1915 academic year, the addition of the Female Pre-school Teacher Education School to the Teacher Education School for Girls and the opening of a Pre-school for practices was a noteworthy and significant educational action. In addition, since only female students were admitted to this school, pre-school teaching was seen as a profession that is only fit for women, unlike today’s practices. The intellectual foundations of this can be found in the opinions of Selim Sabit Efendi regarding pedagogy. Pointing out that it is mostly women who spend a lot of time with children and hence, attaching great importance to the mothers’ discipline, Selim Sabit Efendi thought that it would be more useful for pre-school teachers to be women (Ergün, 1978 and Nafi Atuf, 1931 Comm.: Güler & Öztürk, 2003).

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In 1915, the By-law on Pre-schools was issued. In the by-law, it was proposed that “Pre-schools” are opened as the first step of primary schools and Article 3 of the By-law defines primary education institutions as Pre-schools, primary school classes and primary schools. Pre-schools were considered to be opened to provide education to children aged 4 to 7, under primary schools or independently. After the publication of the By-law, the “Pre-School Teacher Education School” with a duration of 1 year was opened to train teachers for Pre-schools. This school was closed in 1919 and 370 pre-school teachers graduated from the school until 1919 (MEB, 1995). The Female teachers class in the New School opened by Mr. Satı, first in Bayezit and then in Nişantaşı in İstanbul, in 1917 and the private teacher education school opened in Eskişehir under the name of Female teachers were among the first institutions in Turkey that trained pre-school teachers. In the first years of the Republic, 136 teachers were employed at 80 pre-schools in 38 provinces. In 1927, the pre-school teacher education school was opened in Ankara; this school, then moved to Istanbul in the 1930-1931 academic year and was closed after training pre-school teachers for two years. At the Congress of Educational Inspectors held on May 1-25, 1925, it was proposed that Pre-School Teacher Education Schools should be opened and a teacher with a specialization in the organization of teachers should be appointed as the head of such schools. This decision of Congress has been implemented since 1926. In 1926, the Ministry of Education decided to open a Pre-School Teacher Education School in İzmir. Ms. Matya who had long been involved in research in the areas of pre-schools and children’s education in Europe was appointed as the principal of the soon-to-be opened school. In 1927, an attempt was made to open a Pre-school Teacher Education School in Ankara and Ms. Vicdan who studied on pre-school education in Switzerland was appointed as the principal of this school. Students to be enrolled in this school were required to be Turkish; not have a disability that would prevent them from being a Teacher; be secondary school graduates or have completed the eighth grade of high school or have completed the third year of a teacher education school for girls, and not be older than the age of twenty-five. This school was transferred to the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Girls in the 1930-1931 academic year ((MEB, 1995 and Öztürk, 1996, Bilir, 2011).

The practice of training teachers for pre-school education began under the curriculum of the Child Care and Sewing Department which was opened at the Technical Teacher Education School for Girls in 1935, two years after the closure of the Pre-School Teacher Education School. In 1927, the Ministry of Education decided to send two graduates of the teacher education school for girls to Europe to study pre-school teaching. One student each in 1930-1931 and 1932-1933 academic years, were sent to Europe for this purpose. Between 1932 and 1936, eleven students in total in the field of childcare were also provided with the opportunity to study in Europe (Öztürk, 1996). The alphabet reform forced the state to focus all its efforts on primary education. The focus was on the education of each and every Turkish citizen in reading and writing, and national schools were opened for this purpose. Therefore, financial support for pre-schools were cancelled. In the 1932-1933 academic year, only 12 pre-school teachers worked at the official pre-schools. In the 1934-1935 academic year, a three-year “Vocational Teacher Education School for Girls”

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was opened in Ankara. Hence, it is seen that the training of teachers in the field of child care and education is once again handled in a teacher education school (MEB, 1995).

### **Training of Primary School Teachers**

Efforts were made to train primary school teachers in other fields of teaching with the proclamation of the Republic. As such, the practices of the previous periods were left behind and the goal of basing the practices of training primary school teachers on scientific foundations attempted to be achieved. The job of teacher training for primary schools (primary education) which constitute the first (first level primary education) level of the basic education has been one of the main problems of education during the Republic period. The number of teacher education schools reached 20 in the first year of the Republic. Meanwhile, primary education was made compulsory for all Turkish citizens and the state schools became free of charge through “the law on the unification of education” issued in 1924 and the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, which required the state to take thorough and comprehensive measures in training primary school teachers. As a result of this requirement, greater importance was attached to the job of training teachers in sufficient numbers, and quality. When generalizing primary education and enabling the development of villages through this became one of the primary objectives of education, the focus of the work on teacher training became the training of teachers for primary education. For this purpose, the existing primary teacher education schools were improved and developed, while at the same time different teacher training models attempted to be developed for villages with living conditions very different from cities. The Ministry of Education strived to strengthen the administrative and teaching staff of the teacher education schools in Anatolia during the years of the National struggle. From 1921 onwards, appointments were made for these positions. The Ministry of Education announced the conditions required for the candidates by announcements in the press when teachers were required to be hired. At the beginning of the 1921-1922 academic year, students who would be admitted to the Teacher Education School for Boys were required to have graduated from primary schools with six grades or the primary school section of the Sultani schools; to submit a vaccination certificate, a medical report, a certificate of good conduct, and a notarized commitment indicating that he shall not quit his education and quit teaching after graduation; and to be of the age between 14 to 18. Only 20 teacher education schools were left in Turkey at the time the Republic was founded, and their budgets were financed by local governments (Aydin Şahin & Topal, 2008; Duman, 2009; MEB, 1995; Öztürk, 1996).

In 1923, there were 10,102 primary school teachers. The majority of them were individuals who dropped out of the lower classes of the madrasahs; could not receive a good education; graduated from Teacher Education Schools for Boys with 1-2 years of education; and could not rid themselves of the habits and thoughts of the madrasahs and most of them also served as imams and muezzins (Akyüz, 2007). All schools became part of the Ministry of National Education through the Law No. 430 on the Unification of Education dated March 3, 1924, primary education

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was made compulsory and state schools became free of charge through the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, which required the state to take thorough and comprehensive measures in training primary school teachers. In 1923, the state focused on improving the quality of the teacher education schools instead of raising numbers. In the 1923-1924 academic year, the idea of opening a small number of full-fledged teacher education schools instead of schools in large numbers but with deficiencies in buildings, teachers and facilities became prevalent. For this purpose, some of the teacher education schools were combined with those in more favorable conditions and the number of teacher education schools for girls was reduced to 7, while the number of teacher education schools for boys was reduced to 13. In the first scientific delegation (July 15 - August 15, 1923), some decisions to ensure the financial well-being of teachers were also taken. According to the decision, the salaries of the primary school teachers would start from a thousand cents and be raised by two hundred and fifty cents every three years, reaching three thousand cents in the twenty-fifth year of their service period (Öztürk, 1996; MEB, 1995).

Since the primary teacher education schools for Boys and Girls could not flourish under the management of the special provincial administrations, they were connected to the Ministry of Education on September 1, 1923 and their budgets were included in the general budget. The number of schools with a low number of students and an inadequate level of education were reduced and the quality of teaching attempted to be improved (Akyüz, 2007). The report presented by John Dewey to the Ministry of Education in December 1924 stated that primary teacher education schools had problems in terms of quality and quantity. According to Dewey; the primary teacher education schools should be so excellent in the management of the primary and secondary practice schools and educational tools, as well as their education and teaching, that they would set an example for their counterparts and they should be practicing the most advanced education methods. Teachers should be sent abroad every 5-6 years for research and examination with expenses covered by the state (Öztürk, 1996). In 1924, the duration of the primary teacher education schools was raised to 5 years and the Course of Citizenship and Sociology was included in the curriculum of all the primary teacher education schools (Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016).

According to the Minister of Education, Mustafa Necati who took over this position in 1925, his primary problem was teacher training. The priority in teacher training is quality. The contemporary, scientific, secular and democratic nature of teachers is a primary concern (Bilir, 2011). During the Republican period, not only classroom teachers were trained, but training courses for branch teaching in the fields of painting, craftwork, music, and physical education were also opened. In addition, training courses to ensure that existing teachers would be able to properly perform the duties that they undertook through the reforms were also opened. The Ministry of Education published a directive in 1926 and categorized the opened training courses under two groups; “A” and “B”. Course “A” is the course opened to teach vocational courses to those who have the general level of knowledge provided in the primary teacher education

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schools and who would like to be appointed as a teacher. Course “B” consists of courses opened for the purpose of renewing and completing the theoretical and practical professional knowledge of the active teachers and teacher assistants (Öztürk, 1996)

The combination of the principle of “activity” or “work in education” with the principle of “being of use to the society” in a model of teacher education school in the early years of the Republic created a new type of teacher. Sometimes those who graduated from the primary teacher education schools, the first of which opened in İstanbul in 1869, did not want to go to villages, and those who went became unsuccessful by failing to adapt to the village life, which led to the development of new ideas for training of teachers for villages. This topic was also addressed in the report prepared by the University Experience psychology teacher, Ali Haydar Taner at the Congress of Education Inspectors. In addition, A. Fuat Gündüzalp who is one of the Teachers of the Sivas Teacher Education School explained the appropriate type of teachers for villages in his book called “Talim ve Terbiye Teşkilatımızda Buhran” (Crisis in Our Educational Organization). A. Fuat Gündüzalp stated that sound moral values and a solid personality were required for a village teacher rather than a high level of knowledge which would be harmful for everyone involved because it would make it difficult for teachers to adapt to the village. The American educator John Dewey mentioned the following on this issue: “Various types of teacher education schools are required to train teachers for village schools and particularly for schools that will meet the needs of farmers who constitute the foundation of the Turkish way of life.” These recommendations began to be implemented at the time of Mr. Mustafa Necati’s ministry. It was observed that teacher education schools could not adequately meet the teacher requirements of primary schools, particularly, the village primary schools. The schools that trained primary school teachers were divided into two sections; “The Primary Teacher Education Schools” and “The Primary Teacher Education Schools for Villages” with the Law on Educational Organization which was adopted in 1926, and Primary Teacher Education Schools for Villages with a duration of 3 years were opened in Kayseri and Denizli, in 1926 and 1927 to train teachers for village primary schools. It was not possible to get the expected results from this practice which took four years and the schools were closed in 1933 as they could not receive support from the ministry (Binbaşıoğlu, 1995; Öztürk, 1996; Üstüner, 2004; Binbaşıoğlu, 2005; Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016; MEB, 2017; Dursunoğlu, 2003).

In the 1930s, the village issue became an important government policy. At the time of the Minister of Education, Reşit Galip (1932-33) a ‘Village Affairs Commission’ was established at the ministry. In this commission, the problem of education in villages was examined and the topic of training teachers for villages was discussed (Tonguç, 1947). Although, around 80% of the population were living in villages in Turkey during those years, there were no schools or teachers for about 35,000 villages out of the 40,000 villages with diverse sizes (Bilir, 2011). At the beginning of the 1932-1933 academic year, the duration of the primary teacher education schools was raised to 6 years; it was decided that the first three years would be considered as

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the first period and the secondary school curriculum would be implemented exactly as it was; and the final three years were considered as the professional period and a new curriculum was created. Thus, the primary teacher education schools were organized in a way similar to high schools except for the education profession. After a while, the first period of the primary teacher education schools was removed and students from secondary schools were started to be admitted (Binbaşıoğlu, 2005; Akyüz, 2007; MEB, 1995).

After Dr. Reşit Galip was appointed as the Minister of National Education, a commission called the “Village Affairs Commission” convened in 1933. This commission re-examined the problem of teacher training and listed the qualifications of the teacher to be trained as follows:

1. The ability to influence villagers’ beliefs
2. The ability to be influential in the village’s social life
3. The ability to be influential in the financial or economic life of the village
4. To be an intellectual and possess all the skills required for the profession of teaching (Binbaşıoğlu, 2005). The Vocational Teacher Education School for Girls and the Vocational Teacher Education School for Boys were opened in 1934 and 1936, respectively; the young men in villages who completed their military service as corporals or sergeants were admitted to training courses in 1936 in order to train as teachers for villages; and they were appointed as teachers in village primary schools after the training courses. (Okçabol, 2004; Özkan, 2016).

An examination of Table 2 reveals that there were serious rises in the number of students admitted to the primary teacher education schools in the Period of Atatürk despite the occasional fluctuations in these numbers, and such rises reached a peak point at the time of Mr. Mustafa Necati. The Ministry of Education tried to strengthen the teaching staff of the primary teacher education schools since the first years of the Republic and made significant progress in this area until 1930. However, in parallel with the decline in the number of schools as well as the transformation of the first period (consisting of the first three grades) of the primary teacher education schools - whose durations were raised to six years as of the 1932-1933 academic year - into secondary schools by being removed from these schools after this date, a decline in the number of total teachers in these schools occurred. However, an examination of Table...reveals that when the total number of teachers by the end of the Period of Atatürk is divided by the number of schools, it can be seen that the teaching staff of the primary teacher education schools preserved the power they had in the early 1930s (Öztürk, 1996).

Table 2. Changes in the number of students studying in primary teacher education schools between 1923 and 1938 (Öztürk, 1996)

Academic Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students	Academic Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students
1923-1924	20	325	2,528	1931-1932	20	320	5,293
1924-1925	24	385	3,771	1932-1933	17	329	2,145
1925-1926	25	429	4,133	1933-1934	15	254	2,726
1926-1927	22	358	4,558	1934-1935	13	230	2,577
1927-1928	19	391	5,022	1935-1936	11	248	2,805
1928-1929	21	417	5,749	1936-1937	11	236	2,949
1929-1930	21	461	5,410	1937-1938	11	236	2,807
1930-1931	20	398	5,535				

### Training Teachers for Secondary Education (Secondary Schools and High Schools)

In the early years of the Republic there were no institutions that trained teachers directly for secondary schools. Those who graduated from the Primary teacher education schools inherited from the pre-Republican period and the relevant departments of the universities served as teachers at secondary schools as well as high schools (Dursunoğlu, 2003). Therefore, in this section, teacher training for secondary schools and high schools were addressed together. The problem of teacher training for general and vocational secondary education in the Period of Atatürk was not greatly discussed by the public. The most important reason for this was the idea that investments in secondary education would not work without solving the problems of primary education first in the country. This is due to the development and prevalence of the political, social, cultural, etc. reforms, and the socio-economic development of the country depended on at least the basic education of the public, 80% of whom lived in the villages, and about 90% of whom were illiterate. This could only be possible by providing schools and teachers even at the smallest settlements (Öztürk, 1996). In the years of the National Struggle, 5-year high schools to be followed by four years of primary education, and three-year high schools at a Second Period level on top of these were considered to be opened and such high schools were considered to be called the New Madrasah. But this program could not be implemented (Aytuna, 1963). The number of general and vocational secondary education institutions, teachers and students in the country at the beginning of the 1923-1924 academic year are provided in Table 3 (MEB, 1995).

Table 3. Number of General and Vocational Secondary Education Institutions, Teachers and Students in the Country at the Beginning of the 1923-1924 Academic Year

School name	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students
Secondary schools	72	796	5,905
High Schools	23	513	1,241

Founded in 1890, in the Republican period, the “Higher Teacher Education School” was the first

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of its kind (Bilir, 2011). One of the types of institutions which provided significant contributions for the training of secondary school teachers, and which is a continuation of the Previous Higher Teacher Education School, is the higher teacher education schools. On July 15, 1923, in the First Scientific Committee; the regulations and curriculums of the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Boys and the Teacher Education School for Girls was determined and it was decided that the students of the Higher Teacher Education Schools would be provided with professional information and the name “Sultani” would be changed to “high school”, and topics such as the division of high schools into two stages as those with one period and two periods were addressed. It was pointed out that the number of secondary education institutions rapidly increased from 55 before 1923 to 74 (MEB, 1995; Dönmez, 2005).

The topics of opening institutions that train teachers for secondary schools include, providing vocational training for the students of Higher Teacher Education Schools as well, their implementation of the knowledge that they gained and hence the professionalization of teaching, and the teachers’ improvement of their knowledge through training courses to be opened in holidays were addressed in the government program that was read in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on August 14, 1923. This was immediately followed by the enactment of the Law No. 439 on Secondary Education Teachers dated March 13, 1924 in relation to the sources and methods to procure secondary education teachers (MEB, 1995; Bilir, 2011). In the Law on Secondary Education Teachers; teaching was considered as a profession with independent classes and grades, responsible for the duty of education among the public services of the state (Öztürk, 1996). The madrasahs were closed through Law No. 430 on the Unification of Education which entered into force on March 3, 1924, and in turn, the establishment of a secular and national education system was envisaged. The new structure and characteristics of the Turkish Educational Organization were defined through the “Law No.789 on Educational Organization” dated March 22, 1926. The law defined teaching as a profession that takes on the duty of education among the general services of the state and separates education into independent classes and grades (MEB, 1995).

The higher section of the İstanbul Teacher Education School for Boys attempted to be connected to the University and turned into a Higher Teacher Education School in line with the decisions taken by the Second Scientific Committee that convened on April 23, 1924. However, the opening of the school was delayed since adequate funding could not be procured. Due to these delays, the Higher Teacher Education School was opened for service at the beginning of the 1924-1925 academic year. The higher teacher education school was admitting part of the university students by exam, and providing an education for them on behalf of the state. The students were taking the courses related to their specialization areas at the faculties of literature and science, and were also taking a number of courses that provided pedagogical formation at school. However, the İstanbul Higher Teacher Education School was very inadequate in terms of the number of students (Öztürk, 1996; Kavcar, 2002; Akyüz, 2007). In 1924, the ministry, which included the

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secondary military schools as well in its organization, convened a scientific committee again to solve the problem of schools and curriculums. In this meeting, the topics of the reduction of the duration of high schools from twelve to eleven years, the organization of high schools for girls in full classes as in high schools for boys, the degrees of schools, textbooks, curriculum programs, etc. were addressed.

The decisions of the Second Scientific Committee can be summarized as follows:

1. The duration of the high school education shall become six years
2. High schools with one period shall be transformed into secondary schools and these shall be considered as a single learning unit
3. Secondary schools and high schools shall become separate schools, each with a duration of three years
4. On September 1, 1924, high schools with one period shall be called “Middle Schools”
5. Courses in high schools shall be 30 hours per week.
6. The education in high schools shall be free of charge, but for now, some money shall be taken from the rich
7. Textbooks of secondary and primary schools shall be printed through a contest procedure (Ergin, 1977; Dönmez, 2005).

In 1925, a group of students were sent to Europe to be trained as teachers. In addition, 33 teachers from western countries were invited to Turkey and they served at the University, Ankara, Galatasaray and İzmir high schools, Ankara Teacher Education School, Physical Education and Music Teacher Education schools and the Teacher Education Schools for Boys and Girls. A statement about salary increases to be paid to teachers who would go to serve at the eastern provinces based on the Law on Secondary Education Teachers was also published in 1925. According to this statement, secondary school teachers who were appointed to serve in the eastern provinces but who weren't born in those provinces would have “high salary payments” which would include a raise in the amount of half of the total payment. A significant step was taken with this declaration to ensure the balance between the regions in education (Öztürk, 1996). The Third Scientific Committee on Secondary Education convened at the beginning of 1926 under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education Mr. Necati and some important decisions were taken on secondary education. These decisions were as follows;

1. The number of high schools shall be raised at specific centers and they shall be reinforced
2. The number of teacher education schools shall be raised and they shall be reinforced

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3. The number of vocational schools shall be raised and they shall be reinforced

4. Non-boarding secondary schools shall be converted to coed schools (Dönmez, 2005).

Since there were no music teachers at some secondary schools, music lessons were completely removed or they were taught by “teachers involved in Turkish music”. For this reason, in 1924, the Ministry of Education opened the Music Teacher Education School with the budget accepted by the TBMM for the second half of 1924. In 1925, the Ministry of Education continued to work in the area of training branch teachers and decided to establish a Physical Education Teacher Education School in İstanbul. Three professors of physical education from Sweden were invited to Turkey for school and equipment from Germany was imported. This school started its classes on November 1, 1926, and trained 211 physical education teachers until 1930, operating until the commencement of the construction of the Ankara Higher Physical Education Teacher Education School. In addition, in 1926, training courses were opened in Ankara to allow teachers and inspectors to learn new methods and gain new skills and in İstanbul to train art teachers (Abazoğlu, Yıldırım, & Yıldızhan, 2016; Öztürk, 1996.)

Teacher Education Schools, whose names would later be changed as Education Institutes, were opened in cities such as Ankara, İzmir and İstanbul as of 1926 to meet the needs of teachers in the secondary education level. One of these institutions is the Gazi Secondary Teacher Education School and Education Institute. Opened in Konya in the 1926-1927 academic year, this school was transferred to Ankara with the addition of a Pedagogy Department one year later and its Turkish department produced its first graduates in June 1928. In the 1928-1929 academic year, History-Geography, Mathematics, Physics and Natural Sciences branches were added to the school branches. The school moved to the present-day building of the Gazi Faculty of Education in the 1929-1930 academic year, and was renamed the “Gazi Secondary Teacher Education School and the Education Institute. At the beginning of the 1932-1933 academic year, the branches of Physical Education, Art and Craftwork were opened. In this academic year, the duration of education in branches other than the ones above was extended to four years, two of which were preparatory. In 1934-1935, the preparatory classes were removed and the study period of Pedagogy, Literature, Mathematics and Natural Sciences branches was reduced to two years. The study period of the Physical Education and Art branches remained as three years. In 1938, a Music Branch with a duration of three years was opened. This established institution has trained tens of thousands of branch teachers for secondary schools and high schools. Since primary school inspectors and shop class teachers for teacher education schools were trained in the Pedagogical Department of this school, application studies related to the teaching of primary school classes and shop classes of teacher education schools were also conducted and included in the curriculum (Kavcar, 2002; Akdemir, 2013; Öztürk, 1996; Okçabol; 2005).

Table 4. The Weekly Course Schedule of the “Shop classes” of the Gazi Secondary Teacher Education School and Education in 1931 (Öztürk, 1996).

Courses	History-Geography Branch			Literature Branch			Natural Sciences Branch			Mathematics Branch		
	Semester			Semester			Semester			Semester		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
History	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkish history	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Art History	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Geography	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkish-Literature	-	-	-	5	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western Literature	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Physics	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	4	3	3	4
Chemistry	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	3	-	-	-
Botany	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Zoology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-
Geology	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Mathematics	-	-	-	-	-	-	3-	-	-	6	6	6
Trade Calculation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Astronomy	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
Pedagogy	4	5	6	4	5	6	4	5	6	4	5	6
Community Health	1	-	-	1-	-	-	1	-	-	1-	-	-
Foreign Languages	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Painting	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Craftwork	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Music Sciences	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>28</b>

In the period of Atatürk, the Ministry of Education decided to take advantage of the existing primary school teachers due to the need for teachers in secondary education. An examination was held for successful teachers with a track record of performance for two to three years, selected from graduates of the primary teacher education schools with 4, 5 and 6 classes, those who succeeded were granted a “Certificate for the Ability to Work”, and were appointed as high school teachers after receiving training. Through this exam, 172 people earned the right to attend the training course in 1936, and in 1937, 18 primary school teachers earned the right to directly become secondary school teachers, while 148 candidates earned the right to attend the course. In 1936, expedited courses with a duration of 12 months were opened to train teachers for secondary schools in a short period of time, and this practice lasted until 1939 (Abazoğlu, Yıldırım & Yıldızhan, 2016; Öztürk, 1996;)

Vocational training was conducted through the apprenticeship system until the 19th century in the Turkish society as in other societies. It is observed that some schools in the areas of home

economy, trade and agriculture were opened in the second half of the 19th century. In 1861, an art school was opened in Niş. Then, in 1868, the İstanbul Sultanahmet Art School was built. The state began to deal with the state of vocational and technical education with the establishment of the Republic and the problems arising from the lack of technical knowledge and skills in World War I and the independence wars as well as the development of new capabilities in individuals for economic and social progress attracted attention on the vocational education. In the Republican Era, and the attempts for training vocational and technical teachers were in the form of sending students abroad. In 1927, the Ministry of Education decided to send students abroad to meet the teacher requirements of the vocational schools. The required qualifications for students to be sent to Europe and the areas in which teachers were intended to be educated were determined by the decision no. 37 of the Board of Education, dated 27.06.1928. These qualifications are provided in Table 5. The Ministry of Education’s policy of training vocational and technical teachers by sending students to the Europe did not yield successful results. Consultants of vocational education such as A. Köhne and O. Buyse were brought from abroad in 1927, and while vocational schools were connected to the MEB in 1927-1928, the “industrial schools for girls” were transformed into Institutes for Girls. In 1933, a General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Secondary Education was established in the Ministry of Education. The qualifications and salary status of the teachers of Vocational and Technical Education schools were defined by provisions in 1936 through the law no. 3007 (Aytuna, 1963; Öztürk, 1996; MEB, 1995; Okçabol, 2005).

Table 5. Required qualifications for students to be sent to Europe and information on the areas in which teachers are to be trained

Gender	Required qualifications	Number of areas to be trained in
Female	To be a graduate of an Art School for Girls or a Teacher Education School for Girls	Fashion (2), Laundry (2), Embroidery (2), Tailoring (2), Home Management (4)
Male	To be a secondary school graduate	Hotel industry (2), Fur farming (2), Saddlery (1), Pastry (1), Tailoring (2)
	To be a graduate of an Art School	Brushes and Brooms (2), jewelry (1)
	To be a graduate of an Agricultural School	Dairy Industry (2), Canned Food (2)
	To be a Graduate or Student of a Fine Arts School	Household industry decorating (2), Ceramics (2), Bookbinding (1)

### Conclusion

The policy of teacher training in the period of Atatürk was based on the principle of reshaping the practices of teacher training inherited from the Ottoman Empire with the principles of republicanism, nationalism and secularism *introduced* by the new regime. This policy was generally successful, and the new teachers were trained as idealistic Republicans. However, the same level of success was not achieved in terms of quantity. The most important reason for this was the limited and insufficient training budgets.

The alphabet reform in the Period of Atatürk forced the state to focus all its efforts on primary

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education. The focus was on the education of each and every Turkish citizen in reading and writing, and national schools were opened for this purpose. Therefore, a sufficient level of investment could not be made in the pre-schools. Teachers from abroad were brought to the opened pre-schools and students were sent abroad to be trained as teachers for these schools. The job of training teachers for primary schools which constitute the first level of the basic education has been one of the main problems of education in the Republic period. Primary education was made compulsory for all Turkish citizens and the state schools became free of charge through “the law on the unity of education” issued in 1924 and the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, which required the state to take thorough and comprehensive measures in training primary school teachers. Primary Teacher Education Schools for Villages were opened for training primary school teachers to meet the requirements of villagers who make up a large majority of the population.

The problem of teacher training for general and vocational secondary education in the Period of Atatürk was not greatly discussed in the public arena. The most important reason for this was the idea that investments in secondary education would not work without solving the problems of primary education first in the country. The vocational training and practice of pre-service teachers were prioritized in training teachers for secondary education institutions, and hence the professionalization of teaching was enabled. One of the most important institutions opened in the period of Atatürk to meet the teacher requirements at the level of secondary education is the Gazi Secondary Teacher Education School and Education Institute. This institution has trained teachers in many branches. In the Republican Era, and the attempts for training vocational and technical teachers were in the form of sending students abroad. One of the most important problems in the field of teacher training between the years of 1923 and 1938 is the occurrence of constant changes and a lack of stability as a result. The change of the curricular programs of just the primary teacher education schools for four times between 1924 and 1938 is the clearest sign of this. During the years of the national struggle, it was proposed that teacher education schools are saved from financial crisis by being included in the general budget and a small number of large and modern schools are opened instead of a large number of unqualified schools.

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## CLOSING THE MADRASAS

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### Introduction

Educational institutions have always been of great importance for sedentary societies. These institutions varied according to the cultural, religious and economic priorities of societies and these institutions were reshaped depending on the current events of the time. Madrasa, as a traditional educational institution, having an important role in the Islamic geography for centuries had been an institution in which the formal education was given. However, they began to regress in time since they could not renew themselves and keep up with the conditions of time.

### Establishment of Madrasas

The word madrasa has many meanings. In the dictionary this means reading, understanding and repeating constantly to learn;<sup>1</sup>This word comes from the word ders (dirase, derase) in Arabic; and it means the building or the space where the students are engaged in educational activities.<sup>2</sup> They are the places where education and training activities are carried out in Islamic civilization. It is a general name given to middle and higher education institutions where children above a certain age go. At the time of establishment, the madrasas were modeled taking the example of Viharas, which were shaped according to the old Buddhist belief.<sup>3</sup> The first Islamic civilization, in which the educational activities were mostly shaped around religious sanctuaries, was found during the foundation period of the first madrasa in the X. century during the Karahanid State.<sup>4</sup>

In general, Islamic historians agree that the first institutional madrasa organization is the Nizamiye Madrasa established in Baghdad by the Nizamülmülk. This initiative is also considered as a very important beginning for the intellectual and scientific development of Islamic civilization. The organizational structure, systematics, program and ideological philosophy of this first institution were deemed as the role models of the madrasas to be established in the Islamic states. In most of the cities within the natural boundaries of Islamic civilization, many madrasas were established in a short time.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nebi BOZKURT, "Medrese", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 28, Ankara 2003, p.323;

<sup>2</sup> M. Zeki PAKALIN, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Volume: 2, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1983, p.436; M. Ali ÜNAL, *Osmanlı Müesseseleri Tarihi*, Fakülte Kitapevi, Isparta 1997, p.102; Semavi EYİCE, "Mescid", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, M.E.B. Yay., İstanbul 1978, VIII, p.50-56.

<sup>3</sup> Cahit BALTACI, *XV.-XVI Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Medreseleri I*, İFAV Yayınları, İstanbul. p. 61; Osman TURAN, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve İslam Medeniyeti*, İstanbul 1980, 331; İsmet KAYAOĞLU, *İslam Kurumları Tarihi*, Selçuk Üniv. Yay., Konya 1994, II, p.66.

<sup>4</sup> Cahit BALTACI, *ibid*. p. 60

<sup>5</sup> Mustafa SIBAİ, *İslam Medeniyetinden Altın Tablolar*, Second Edition, Trans. N. Demircan-M.p. Şimşek, Uysal Kitabevi, Konya, 137. Cahit BALTACI, *ibid*. p. 64-66.

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The reason why madrasas first emerged was due to an intellectual need. Islamic civilization reached an enormous scale with the expansion of the Umayyads and Abbasids, and later on the integration of many nations. As a result, a need emerged in order to communicate Islam correctly to the masses and to be able to fight with the separatist ideas within the internal organization in an institutional and organizational manner. The mosques or sanctuaries<sup>6</sup>, which were the places of education, were unable to meet this need. In addition to the political divisions in Egypt and Iraq due to the Fatimids, the religious-intellectual disintegration in the Islamic civilization as a different doctrine and structuring of the state-supported Shia movement in the X. Century, there was a great need for such an educational institution in order to fight against the Shiite belief within the framework of the Sunni act.<sup>7</sup>

The Great Seljuk State, which was built on the political unity and state philosophy of the Sunni faith, and its grand vizier Nizamülmülk established the first organized madrasa, known as the Nizamiye madrasa, in Nişabur to fight against the growing Shiite threat in the Middle East.<sup>8</sup> These schools, which became the most advanced and effective educational institutions of their time in a short period of time, started to be established in other cities of the state.<sup>9</sup>

### The Madrasas Losing Their Primary Mission

The first madrasa within the Ottoman Empire, which was organized as a continuation of the Seljuk Madrasa organization, was founded in 1331 in Iznik in the period of Orhan Bey, the second governor of the state.<sup>10</sup> However, madrasas for centuries as in the Islamic civilization, as well as in various states in the Ottoman Empire, with a mission to spread the source of motivation, and which educated brilliant scholars, gradually lost their quality of education as of the 16th century. The reasons why madrasas could meet the needs of time were not only due to of the internal dynamics of this institution, but also due to a general disintegration of the social structure and all institutions in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>11</sup> The reasons for the deterioration of the madrasas, which served as a classical formal education institution within the Ottoman Empire, can be listed as follows;

1. When the demographic structure changes due to natural disasters, long wars or internal migrations, madrasas accepting students in high numbers, exceeding their capacities and therefore leading the decrease in the quality of the students.
2. The madrasas which were generally within a foundation becoming an underrated

<sup>6</sup> Hüseyin ATAY, **Osmanlılarda Yüksek Din Eğitimi, Medrese Programları-İcazenameler Islahat Hareketleri**, Dergâh Yayınları İstanbul, 1983. p.28

<sup>7</sup> Ahmet, ÇELEBİ, **İslam'da Eğitim ve Öğretim Tarihi**, Trans. Ali Yardım, Damla Yay., İstanbul 2013, p.108.

<sup>8</sup> İBNÜ'L-ESİR, **El-Kamil fi't-Tarih**, Trans. Abdülkerim Özeydin, Bahar Yay., İstanbul 1991, Volume X, p.58.

<sup>9</sup> MEVDUDİ, **Selçuklular Tarihi**, Trans. Ali Genceli, (Translation from Urdu). Hilal Yay., Ankara 1971, p.33.

<sup>10</sup> Hasan Ali KOÇER, **Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)**. MEB Yayınları, İstanbul 1991, p.10; Cahit BALTACI, **ibid.**,p.72-73.

<sup>11</sup> Mehmet AKGÜL, **Türkiye 'de Din ve Değişim, Bir Erol Güngör Çözümlemesi**, Ötügen Neşriyat, İstanbul 2002, p.142

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institution in the eyes of the public, due to the economic crisis in which the state and society were experiencing, reducing their economic support for the students, putting their scientific work to the second plan.

3. In the Ottoman madrasas, which were constructed according to principles of the madrasa organization of the pre-Islamic states, legal irregularities were introduced in the appointments and elections of the ministers. Thus, non-merit people in the class of *ilmiye* began to multiply. After a short period of time, there was an effective privileged group defending the existing status quo away from the merit, like the *ulema-zadegân* clasp.
4. In the first establishment and development of the madrasa curricula, intellectual fields such as philosophy, medicine, mathematics and science were included. However, over time, these fields had been replaced entirely with religious practices. In time, the Ottoman Empire fell behind its rivals because of the halt of scientific and technological information production in madrasas.

This stagnation and deterioration which began to be observed in all institutions of the Ottoman Empire as of the 16th century also affected the madrasas. The deterioration and unfair appointments of the administrative and military cadres of the state, the deterioration of the manorialism and its negative effects on society, these led to a negative impact on the education system, which once enabled the state to establish a strong link with the society.<sup>12</sup>

Madrasas, founded by Orhan Bey in 1331 in İznik, played a role in the training of the qualified cadres needed by the state in all scientific and administrative areas for centuries.<sup>13</sup> However, over time, they began to deteriorate for various reasons. This, in turn, made them become an organ that opposes any kind of progress and innovative ideas.<sup>14</sup> Hence, the selection of personnel of the madrasas, recruitment procedures of students and adaptation of the curriculum to the age became the main topic of the agenda.

In the face of the demand for reform that became mandatory in the 18th century, the difficulty of doing a radical reform within the madrasa system, the strong resistance of the Ulema class, they were unable to make any reforms regarding the madrasas until 1908. Instead, the need for qualified technical and military personnel needed by the state was tried to be solved by the western type schools established in parallel with the classical educational institutions<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Cahit BALTACI, *ibid.*, p.153-154; İlhan BAŞGÖZ, *Türkiye'nin Eğitim Çıkması ve Atatürk*, TC Kültür Bakanlığı Başvuru Kitapları, Ankara, 1995, p.11

<sup>13</sup> Ömer ÖZYILMAZ, *Osmanlı Medreselerinin Eğitim Programları*, TC Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2002, p.4

<sup>14</sup> Hasan Ali KOÇER, *ibid.*, p.14

<sup>15</sup> Abdullah AKIN, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Din Eğitimi 1920-1950*, Ensar Yayınları, İstanbul 2011, p.21; Zeki Salih ZENGİN, *II. Meşrutiyette Medreseler ve Din Eğitimi*, Akçağ Yayınları, Ankara, 2002, p.90; Ziya KAZICI, *Osmanlı'da Eğitim Öğretim*, Bilge Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004, p.182-183

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## Preparation Environment of Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law

The First World War ended with the Mudros Armistice, which was signed on 30 October 1918, but the main struggle for the Turkish nation in Anatolia had just begun. The education issue in the country was of the main problems of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who started the National Struggle by heading to Samsun on May 19, 1919. During this period, the country's education system was highly disorganized. While there were long attempts to solve the problem of education and modernize it in accordance with the spirit of time, none of them had been able to address the problem, since radical solutions could not be considered. There were many schools in the country in which the education system was very complicated and not inspected. The curricula applied in those schools were also very different. As a result of this separation; students that had different points of views and who saw each other as rivals, were being educated. The leader cadre of the country, which strongly believed that the country would be saved, gave great importance to the education issue. Even in the most difficult days of the War of Independence and when the fate of the country was not yet finalized, a 12-day education congress was held in July 1921.<sup>16</sup> Mustafa Kemal, in his opening speech, also gave clues about the educational philosophy of the state which was planned to be established;

*(...) when raising our children, we try our best to provide them a fair, feasible education that would allow them to think freely and use their intelligence for the struggles to come. Being able to accomplish this is of great importance for the new generation. The philosophy of hayat-i akvam, which takes its place in the form of a permanent and terrific struggle, requires this evsafı kemal-i for every nation who wants to be independent and happy. (...) From this congress, we expect to exchange ideas, as well as find new solutions for the problems that are on the agenda and also expect a service that provides guidance to new generations. I would like to acknowledge the fact that the Ministry of Education organized a science congress of scholars, despite the struggles that has been going on. (...)*<sup>17</sup>

In line with these objectives; following the independence war, the education problem had to be addressed. In order to achieve this, all educational institutions in the country, which were primarily scattered around the country, had to be united under one roof. The first step in order to unite educational institutions was brought to the agenda with the bill of law prepared with the leadership of the deputy Saruhan Vasıf (Çınar) Bey and that was signed by 57 other deputies.<sup>18</sup> In the bill of law;

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<sup>16</sup> Yahya AKYÜZ, "Atatürk ve 1921 Eğitim Kongresi", **Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim**, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1983, p.89-90.

<sup>17</sup> **Hâkimiyet-i Milliye**, 21.07.1921

<sup>18</sup> Seçil AKGÜN, "Tevhid-i Tedrisat", **Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim, Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim**, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1983, p.45; Recai DOĞAN, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Tevhid-i Tedrisat Çerçevesinde Din Eğitimi-Öğretimi ve Yapılan Tartışmalar" **Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılında Türkiye'de Din Eğitimi ve Öğretimi İlimi Toplantısı**, Türk Yurdu Yayınları, Ankara 1999, p. 231.

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*Riyaset-i Celileye:*

*“Tevhid-i tedrisat was deemed appropriate in order to ensure unity of the nation’s ideas and feelings in the politics of ministry of national education. Tanzimat-ı Hayriye, opened after 1255 Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun, failed to adopt tevhid-i tedrisat, and on the down side, this even caused a duality. This duality led to a great deal of detrimental results. This nation can only have one education system. Two different education systems leads to two different kinds of people being educated. Therefore, measures regarding the education system must be taken. Upon acceptance of our bill of law, the main authority of education will become the Ministry of Education in the Republic of Turkey. Thus, the people to be appointed to the Ministry of Education will be in charge of the development and advancement of the education and wisdom of the Republic. We would like the parliament to commence the negotiations with regards to the bill of law for it to be legalized.”<sup>19</sup>*

When the bill of law submitted by the deputies to unite the Education and Training came to parliament, the most controversial issue was about whether legal, engineering or agricultural schools should also be connected to the Ministry of Education. As a result of the discussions, a change was made in article 5 related to specialization schools, and therefore the law was approved and entered into force.

Tevhidi Tedrisat Law;

Law Number: 430

Accepted: 03.03.1340

Published in the official journal: 06.03.1340 no: 63

Rationing law: array 3, volume 5, page 322

*Article 1: All organizations related to education are under the control of the Ministry of education.*

*Article 2: The madrasas and schools governed by Ser’iye and Evkaf Vekâleti foundations were transferred to the Ministry of Education.*

*Article 3: Ser’iye and Evkaf Vekâleti’s budget provided to the schools and madrasas will be transferred to the ministry.*

*Article 4: The Ministry of Education will open Faculty of Theology and other schools to train religion experts.*

*Article 5: Once this law is in effect, the budget of the orphanages within the Müdafaa-i*

<sup>19</sup> TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 03.03.1924, p.24; Mustafa ÖCAL, **20 Yüzyılda Türkiye’de Din Eğitimi**, Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Din Eğitimi Ders Notları, Emin Yayınları, Bursa.p.182-183.;S eçilAKGÜN, **ibid.**, p. 45.

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*Milliye and the military, as well as the duty to appoint the relevant staff members are now under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The heyeti-talimes will be exchanged and coordinated and the teachers working in the army will continue on with their duties until then. (Annex: 22/04/1341-673/ 1 Md: The budget and cadres of military high schools, originating from the Mektebi Harbiye (military schools), were transferred to the Ministry of Defense.)*

*Article 6: Hereby, this law is effective from the date of its publication.*

*Article 7: hereby, the cabinet council is in charge of the execution of this law.<sup>20</sup>*

As can be understood from the articles of the law, the madrasas operating within the country were not closed in the first place; as a management, they were connected to the Ministry of Education by taking over the other units. Furthermore, with this law, for the continuity of religious education, it was decided that a Faculty of Theology would be established in Darü-l fünun that would train the religion experts in order to meet the need of religion officials in the country. This decision also meant that the madrasas was about to be closed. As a matter of fact, it is announced by Vasıf Bey that the madrasas will be closed with the circular letter published on March 11, 1924.<sup>21</sup> In the circular letter posted;

*The following articles are hereby declared as a circular to be included in the law on unification education adopted by the grand National Assembly on March 3, (1)340.*

*Article 1: It is not permitted to continue education in madrasahs (Muslim theological schools) with the staff, education council and programs existing and maintained in the budgets and organization of the Government. Accordingly, upon issuance of this order, the madrasas including those existing in the center, districts and villages of your province will be closed immediately.*

*Article 2: The students currently studying in those madrasahs shall be immediately transferred to the primary schools, secondary schools or high schools.*

*Article 3: The teachers in such madrasahs shall be transferred as the theology teachers in our schools if they desire so.*

*Article 4: As it is required in the recent law to provide education and training in the country only through the schools of the Ministry of Education, the provisional parts of the madrasahs of the Caliphate equivalent to our primary schools have been abolished. The students therein shall be transferred to the primary schools, secondary schools or high schools immediately. Their teachers who fulfill the legal requirements therefore*

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<sup>20</sup> **TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi**, 03.03.1924, D: II, C: 7, p.25-26; Hasan Ali YÜCEL, *Türkiye’de Ortaöğretim*, TC Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, Ankara 1994, p.269.

<sup>21</sup> Emin ÖZDEMİR, “İslah Çalışmalarından İlgasına Medreselere İslamcı Bir Bakış: Sebülürreşad ‘da Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu ve Uygulamaları”, **TurkishStudies**, Volume 8/2, Winter, 2013, p.207.

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*shall be transferred to the primary schools.*

*Article 5: The madrassas founded by the government and the madrassas founded by the dynasty family members of the former madrassas of the Caliphate are included under the administration of the Ministry to educate imams as per the article 4 of the recent Law. Their curriculum and personnel have been amended. Their names will be “Imam Hatip” Schools starting with a name referring to the location of each school. If there are madrassas founded by the government and founded by the dynasty family members of the Education Council and if they request so, they shall be converted into Imam and Hatip Schools.*

*Article 6: It is requested that this order is to be applied and notified urgently.*

With this circular issued five days after the publication of the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law in the official gazette, madrassas were officially closed. This circular paved the way for an immediate closure of all madrasas in the centre and provinces, transfer of the students who are still studying in the madrasas to the equivalent schools in that region, and the teachers working in madrasas becoming religion teachers and those who have the right conditions to work as teachers in primary schools.

### **Madrasas After the Law of Tevhid-i Tedrisat :**

There were a total of 16245 students studying in 29 Daru'l-hilafe and 579 ilmiye madrasas which were closed with the regulations issued on the basis of Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law.<sup>22</sup> Ilmiye madrasas were closed thanks to this circular. Daru'l-hilafe madrasas were converted into Religious schools. A number of students in Sahn and Suleymaniye madrasas, which are the administrative departments of the Ministry of National Education, are also taken to the Divinity School. As soon as the law entered into force, 29 Imam Hatip (religious schools) schools were opened in different locations.<sup>23</sup> However, after the enacted law, the transfer of the madrasas to the Ministry of Education brought about debates in the public and in the parliament.<sup>24</sup> The first major debates in the parliament are found in the issues regarding the negotiations about the budget of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs.<sup>25</sup> During the negotiations, Deputy of Konya Mustafa Fevzi Efendi argues that the Faculty of Theology to be established in Darülfünun cannot fill the gap formed by madrasas.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Asım ARI, “Tevhid-i Tedrisat ve Laik Eğitim”, **G.Ü Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi**, Volume 22, Issue2, Ankara, 2002, p.188; Zeki Salih ZENGİN, “Kurtuluş Savaşı Döneminde ve Cumhuriyet’in Başlarında Türkiye’de Medreseler ve Din Eğitimi”, **A.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi**, Volume XLIII, Issue, 2, 2002, p.308.

<sup>23</sup> Caner ARABACI, **1900-1924 Yılları Arası Konya Medreseleri**, Selçuk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Konya 1996. p.604

<sup>24</sup> Mehmet Şevki AYDIN, **Cumhuriyet Döneminde Din Eğitimi Öğretmeni Yetiştirme ve İstihdamı**, 3. Edition, DEM Değerler Eğitimi Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul 2016, p.65; Halis AYHAN, **Türkiye’de Din Eğitimi**, 3. Edition, DEM Değerler Eğitimi Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p.51

<sup>25</sup> Abdullah AKIN, **ibid.**, p.91

<sup>26</sup> **TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi**, Devre II, Volume 8/1, 17.4.1340, p.805- 816.

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Vasıf Bey, Deputy Minister of Education, took the floor during the debates on the madrasas and explains: that: the madrasas, which provided great services in the period they were founded, lost their mission over time, Despite the attempts for regulation, it was failed to be regulated and was unable to train people who are suitable for the requirements of the era; current physical qualifications are very low; and most importantly; it is believed that only 6 thousand of the 18 thousand students, who were presumed to have received education in 479 madrasas, were actually continuing to the madrasa; and that the others registered to the madrasas in order not to go to the army.<sup>27</sup> However, Vasıf Bey's "*I destroyed the families of sixteen thousand soldiers. This is a greater than the one I experienced in the most exciting times of the national struggle*"<sup>28</sup> remark creates a huge controversy.

Especially articles which were published in Sebîlü'r-Reşad Journal; criticized Vasıf Bey's activities and words towards madrasas: "*(...) Tevhid-i Tedrisat reveals the whole purpose. The whole purpose was to destroy the Müessesat-ı Diniye. Education deputy claiming they would open Imam Hatip Schools instead of Medaris-i İlmiyes in Turkey. They are now closing these schools one by one. According to our reports, Tire, Ödemiş, Edirne, Niğde Imam and Hatip Schools were closed. The rest of them will shut down too.*"<sup>29</sup>

In Sebîlü'r-Reşad Journal once again: "*It is reported in the journals that there are 26000 students in the primary schools in Istanbul, and 40000 children are still looking for a way to get in. If 40000 children are not able to go to school in a city like Istanbul, think about the amount of children not being able to go to school in Anatolia!*"<sup>30</sup> Such articles tried to claim that shutting down the madrasas was a wrong move and the Tevhid-i Tedrisat was interpreted incorrectly, and to keep this conversation going.<sup>31</sup>

The transfer of the madrasas to the Ministry of Education and the administrative savings for the use of these buildings also create a debate in the press and the public. The Ministry of Education, on the grounds that there is no allowance for subsistence expenses, argued that some idle buildings should be sold. With three articles added to a new circular published and its legal infrastructure was also being established. These are;

1. Madrasas have been transferred to the Ministry of Education.
2. Those who are eligible to become a school will be immediately transformed into a school.

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<sup>27</sup> TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre II, Volume 8/1, 17.4.1340, p.820.

<sup>28</sup> Mustafa ÖCAL, "*Künye Defterlerine Göre İstanbul İmam ve Hatip Mektebi (1924-1930)*". *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Volume 17, Issue 2, Bursa 2008, p.184; Emin ÖZDEMİR, *ibid.*, p.208;

<sup>29</sup> Sebîlü'r-Reşad, "*İmam Hatip Mektepleri Lağvediliyor*", 27 Teşrin-i Sani 1340, C 24, S 627, p. 46.

<sup>30</sup> AHMET HULUSİ, "*Maarifi İflastan ve Yıkıcılıktan Kurtarmak Lüzumu*", *Sebîlü'r-Reşad*, 14 August 1340, C 24, S 612, p.222.

<sup>31</sup> Emin ÖZDEMİR, *ibid.*, p.208-209.

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3. The madrasas that are not suitable to be turned into a school will be sold and new schools will be built by the ministry. This order of the Ministry of Education has been notified to the state. It is possible to establish a commission for the construction of the school by selling these plots and madrasas belonging to the estate.”<sup>32</sup>

Following this regulation, the sale of some of the madrasa buildings started. In many parts of the country, the sale of foundation and madrasa goods became more widespread. The madrasa building within the Sultan Selim Mosque Complex was given to the Republican People’s Party. <sup>33</sup>Many properties belonging to the foundations connected to the madrasas were sold to individuals or private institutions. Some institutions like Konya Municipality offered these properties to their employees for the salaries they could not pay.<sup>34</sup>

The sale of the madrasa and foundation goods attracts a great attention from the public and the printed press. Especially Sebîlü’r-Reşad journal, Many critical articles had been published on not making these sales and throwing the students who lived there out of the buildings and; although the public did not respond well to the sales, there was no change in the application. According to the report of Akseki, who is in the top management of religious institutions before and after the adoption of the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law dated 3 March 1924; As a result of the implementation of the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law; *it claimed that “Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law No. 430 plans to eliminate all Islamic institutions”*<sup>35</sup>and argued that this law was set out to eliminate all religious institutions at hand.

### Conclusion

The madrasas were the main educational institutions that were established to meet the qualified personnel need of the state, and to increase the theological knowledge of the public against destructive ideas and in which the education and training activities of Islamic civilization were carried out. The main purpose of the establishment of madrasas was to prevent the Shiite belief, which gained momentum as a political power, from spreading to the Turkish world. The madrasas, which started to be established for this purpose, spread to the entire Islamic geography in a short time. The madrasas, whose income sources were secured as a foundation institution, including the major private universities, have continued to serve in Anatolia until the beginning of the 20th century, for many years, evolving from a state to a successor Muslim state as an ancient institution.

Due to the geography where the Ottoman Empire was established and spread, It was strongly influenced by the organization of the Anatolian Seljuk State, which it was

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32 Sebîlü’r-Reşad, “Medreseler Satılıyor”, C 24, S 618, 25, 25 September 1340. p.317.

33 Mustafa ÖCAL, *ibid.*, p.186.

34 Caner ARABACI, *ibid.*,p.607

35 AKSEKİ, “Din Tedrisatı ve Dinî Müesseseler Hakkında Rapor V”, *ibid.*,c.V, p. 104,Akt: Caner ARABACI, *ibid.*,p. 604

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attached to as a seigniory. It installed the land system and as well as the education system of the Seljuk State. The madrasas were not only the driving force of the development and expansion period but also the driving source for qualified personnel needed by the growing state for many years. Many famous scientists studied in these places and they made many contributions to the scientific development of Islamic civilization. As a result of the fact that the Ottoman Empire reached its optimal point and was unable to renew its whole system according to the changing world requirements, the state began to regress in terms of military and economic fields as well as in the field of education and training. The quality of education started to decrease in the madrasas, which were the pioneering institutions that had the ideas ahead of their time. With the rapid decline of the teacher and student quality, the incidents in which the madrasa student protests, such as the Suhte events, which take place during the Celali rebellion period, are observed. In spite of many reform attempts by the rulers of the time, for the madrasas, in which the science fields completely disappeared and where a superficial religious education was being given, no one had the power to remove the madrasas which prevent the change.

With the armistice of Moudros, signed after the World War I, on 30 October 1918, a new struggle phase began in Anatolia. A full independence movement began under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal against separation scenarios and unlawful occupation attempts. The founding cadre, who knew that the success achieved on the battlefields would not work if they do not support the education and economic fields, started to work on education at the times when the course of war was still uncertain and following the war. During the 1921 Education Congress, the steps to be taken were discussed. The first task in the field of education with the following the success in the National Struggle was the unification of all low in quality schools scattered around the country, which had different financial sources and trained students in different fields and during the Ottoman Empire period, under a single roof and under a single curriculum. In order to provide the legal infrastructure for this objective, on March 3, 1924, the Law on Tevhid-i Tedrisat with the law number 430 was enacted. There was no statement that the madrasas were to be closed in the articles of the Law. However, during the budget negotiations made following the enactment of the law, the fact that they avoided allocating a budget for the madrasas proved that these institutions were soon to be closed. With the new regulations issued by the Ministry of Education over time; they wanted to open a faculty of theology in Darülfünun instead of the high schools of madrasa, and transform the median madrasas into imam-hatip schools. Students in madrasas would be transferred to equivalent schools and it wanted to appoint the madrasa teachers with enough competence to the schools. They wanted to transform the real estate and buildings, most of which are the fixtures of foundations, of the madrasas into schools. However, some madrasa buildings were allocated to the service of other institutions or sold to the private sector instead of being converted to schools. Attempts to eliminate madrasas, the principal

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educational institutions of Islamic civilization and a center of science; although they received negative reaction from the press like Sebîlü'r-Reşad and the public, they were unable to make themselves heard in the single party administration.

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# IMPLEMENTATION OF ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE REVOLUTION AND IT'S POTENTIAL IMPACTS IN HISTORICAL PROCESS

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## Introduction

Turks used different alphabets throughout history, they started to use the Arabic alphabet with the adoption of Islam and this alphabet has been used in a very wide geography for a long time. During this period, some important intellectuals in the Turkish world argued that the Arabic alphabet was not in accordance with the Turkish phonetics, and suggested various ideas to change or improve.

Towards the end of growth of the Ottoman Empire, as in many areas of the West, the developments in science-technology and education could not be followed and the education continued in the hands of non-qualified people caused the Ottoman education system to be deprived of the requirements of time. Although some western-style reforms have been attempted in education since the end of the eighteenth century, these initiatives have led to the emergence of a dual educational system and have continued to do so until the state collapses.

After winning the War of Independence and proclamation of the Republic, reforms were initiated in various fields in order to bring the Turkish society to the level of contemporary civilization, to remove the obstacles against the progress of the country and to create a secular and national structure. Innovations in the field of education, one of them, have become inevitable. For this purpose, fundamental changes in all areas of education and training have been made from primary school term to university term in Atatürk period. This revolution movements improved the status of education as both quantity and quality as well as Atatürk wished formed the foundation stone of the new Turkey.

## Alphabet Discussions, First Initiatives and Other Developments

The fact that the Arab and Turkish languages were belong to other language groups and that there was no similarity between Turkish and Arabic in terms of their sound structure (colloquialism) and grammar systems could not fit this writing, which was created according to the claim of the Arabic language, according to the structure of the Turkish language.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, problems of ortography and alphabet has occured since the beginning of the westernization reform of the Ottoman Empire's Tanzimat Era.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Zeynep Korkmaz, *Türk Dilinin Tarihi Akışı İçinde Atatürk ve Dil Devrimi*, DTCF Yay, S. 147, Ankara 1963 p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> p Korkmaz, *Türk Dilinin Tarihi Akışı...*, p. 36, 37

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The Arabic alphabet brought various difficulties with it. Especially using of the letters which unfitted the sound structure of Turkish and Turkish sound harmony and the grammatical structure is getting heavier has caused the literacy rate to remain low in the country.<sup>3</sup> Only enlightened people who had education at madraras for many years could read, write and speak because Ottoman is a grandiloquent and difficult language. A large part of the Turkish people living in the rural sides could not read and write their own language, apart from understanding Ottoman.<sup>4</sup> The establishment of the printing house in the Ottoman Empire in 1727, has been effective in gaining Turkish importance. In the first half of the XVIII. Century, civilian schools were opened to train technical personel for army and the courses are given in Turkish at these schools. During III. Selim and II. Mahmud periods, military schools were included also in Turkish among various European languages.<sup>5</sup>

The first serious debates and attempts to change the Arabic letters began after the year of 1860. Recommendations for the adoption of a new alphabet for the first time, instead of the old letters being replaced completely with the Latin letters was put forward during the years of Second Constitutional Era.<sup>6</sup>

Because the first generation of Turkish intellectuals who grew up in the Tanzimat period gave great importance to the issue of press-publication in order to disseminate their knowledges, and ideas to the public and also the first civil journalism initiatives started in this period. With the emergence of the press-publication life, the problems of literacy, language, education and culture have come to the fore in the country, and thus the most important tool in these issues, the alphabet and the language, have been discussed among the intellectuals.<sup>7</sup>

Alphabet revolution has led too many discussions in due time. One of these arguments is that the revolution is unfounded and that it is the first time in the world that Turkey see it. According to the researchers, the biggest, the longest and most unfavorable and favorable effects of Atatürk's revolutions in the preparatory period, and the most common of the debates was the letter revolution.<sup>8</sup> Revolutionary cadres and writers for calling this renewal as *Turkish Letters* which taken the Arabic letters instead of the Latin letters, for both a *Nationalism Project and a decision on Western culture*, it was called the *Civilization Project* because it was based on the culture of the European culture and cut the relation with the culture in the past.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Elif Asude Tunca, "Türk Harf Devrimi'nin Halka Tanıtımı Çalışmaları", *Mersin Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, C. II, S. II, Aralık 2006, p. 113

<sup>4</sup> Neriman Tongul, "Harf İnkılabı", *TİTE Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, S. 33-34, Mayıs-Kasım 2004, p.104.

<sup>5</sup> Tongul, agm, p. 105

<sup>6</sup> Mustafa Ergün, "Türk Eğitim Devrimi: Temel İlkeler ve Gelişim Süreci", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Politikaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri Kitabı*, ATAM, Ankara 2010, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Tongul, agm, p. 105. For polarization and conflicts in the media, see, Zeynep Korkmaz, *Türk Dili Üzerine Araştırmalar*, C. I, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu TDK Yay, S. 629, Ankara 1995, p. 750-757.

<sup>8</sup> Tülin Arseven, "Türk Harf Devriminin Kültürel Temelleri", *Folklor/ Edebiyat*, C. 23, S. 90, 2017/2, p. 169.

<sup>9</sup> Arseven, agm, p. 169, 170.

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The first serious attempt to improve the Arabic alphabet was initiated by Munif Pasha. (Munif Pasha, without a doubt, is one of the key figure in the history of the introduction of improvement of the Arabic alphabet, science and education into the Ottoman Empire. He also was a member of Ottoman Association of Science (also called as Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye)) Munif Pasha, stated that in one of his conference in 1862 in *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye: That a word cannot be read in a variety of ways, and that some words and special names whose meaning are unknown cannot be read, that the multitude of Arabic-Persian words in our language makes reading-writing completely difficult, that uppercase letters for the private names can not be distinguished from others, Europeans do not have such difficulties in their writings, so that from the age of 6-7, every person can read and write, otherwise we have difficulties of learning the writing it caused intellectual upbringing of the people wasn't possible*<sup>10</sup>

14 months after the conference, the Azerbaijani poet Ahunzade Feth Ali presented a draft to the Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye. In this draft; It was stated that the difficulty of the Arabic letters was not a religious necessity for the use of the Arabic letters and a new writing system could be taken, but the society prepared a report and concluded that it was a difficult task to change the types that had been used for centuries.

### **The Reflection of the Alphabet Revolution to the Newspapers**

Encümen-i Daniş, who worked on this issue Namik Kemal and Iranian ambassador Melkum Khan discussed this issue in Hurriyet in 1763-1864. Melkum Khan mentioned that the education in the country is too low, and he stated the inconveniency of the Arabic letters and argued that it should be corrected. Namık Kemal in his reply; he said that the changing in the alphabet would be difficult, many negative effects were caused by lack of knowledge, not from the alphabet, Although the alphabets of nations such as British and American were difficult, they stated that their education was high. He continued however, that he was not opposed to rehabilitation without completely distorting the forms of the letters, but that the state did not want to approach such a thing.<sup>11</sup>

Those who advocate the transition to the Latin alphabet are mentioned the opinion that the reading and writing complexity is eliminated, the literacy rate is increasing and the orientation towards the west is accelerated at the same time, they believe that printing and communication will also be easier. Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın), Falih Rıfkı (Atay), Yunus Nadi (Abalıoğlu), Mahmut Esat ( Bozkurt), Ahmet Cevat (Emre), Kılıçzade Hakkı, Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), Celal Nuri (İleri), Şükrü

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<sup>10</sup> Munif Pasha claimed that Arabic alphabet prevented the literacy considerably and caused the ignorance to Sharia and was the person who emphasized. Letter reform was necessary for the education to be developed in Tanzimat Reform era. General Münif defended that was necessary to better because of the difficulties that Arabic alphabet created at a conference that he had in Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmâniye in 1862. Ercan Uyanık- İrfan Davut Çam, "Arap Elifbası'ndan Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Sürecinde Garpeç Söylemler", Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, XIV/29, Güz 2014, s.190- 192.

<sup>11</sup> Emine Kısıklı, "Harf inkılabının Türk ve Dünya Basınındaki Yansımaları", *Erdem*, S. 56, TTK, Ankara 2010, p. 120-123.

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(Saraçoğlu) ve Hüseyin Suphi(Tanrıöver) are among those who advocate Latin letters during the Republican period.<sup>12</sup> When the discussions and initiatives between 1862 and 1876 on the improvement of the Arabic alphabet are examined, it is seen that the supporters of the reformers are in the majority, according to the advocates of changing the letters.<sup>13</sup> Necip Asım, Kazım Karabekir, Mehmet Ali Tevfik, İbrahim Alaaddin (Gövsa), Avram Galanti, Fuad Köprülü, Zeki Velidi (Togan), Ali Seydi, Halid Ziya (Uşaklıgil), Veled Çelebi, Ali Ekrem (Bolayır), Halil Nimetullah (Öztürk) and Ayaz İshakiyer were among those who wanted to continue with Arabic letters.<sup>14</sup> The intellectuals of the Tanzimat period could not do anything more than reduced that issue controversial in manner.<sup>15</sup>

### Preparations Before the Letter Revolution

Most of the intellectuals understood that the efforts to improve the letters did not result in any results and will not. In case of the view about adoption of Latin alphabet has been embraced more by intellectuals and has been defended for many years in newspapers and magazines.<sup>16</sup> The subject of alphabet, which will be developed during the Republic period, has been prepared to a great extent.

During the period of War of Independence on the nights of 7-8 August 1919 Mustafa Kemal called Mazhar Müfit (Kansu) along with his souvenir book and noted the innovations to be made in the country in the future after the War of Independence was won and he also wrote the note that Latin letters would be accepted. The subject of the alphabet came to the freshen fore in the country after the Azerbaijani Government adopted a Latin origin post on 22 July 1922. The letter of the Government of Azerbaijan's decision on this issue reached Ankara on 31 July 1922. More or less a month before reached this post (June, 1922) Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha mentioned orientation of the West and possibilities of acceptance of Latin letters to Halide Edip. On September 10-12, representatives of

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<sup>12</sup> Yasin Elçarpar, "Harf İnkılabı Hakkında Görüşler Ve Uygulamaya Geçirilmesi", Enderun Dergisi 2/1, 2018, p. 26; Cengiz Dönmez, Tarihi Gerçekleriyle Harf İnkılabı ve Kazanımları, Gazi Kitabevi, Ankara 2013, p. 180, 181.

<sup>13</sup> In Ottoman Empire, it was put ephasis on the alphabet reform was given up and efforts of changing alphabet started after Tanzimat era. In the following periods there were serious discussions between the ones who were believes and strangers to using Latin alphabet. *Sebilürreşad is one of the media organs of these discussions. Adoption of Latin alphabet is refused in all of these articles and asked for alphabet reform. Some of those articles were taken from magazines of that era and had a specify place according to the publishing policy of the magazine.* Mehmet Soğukömeroğulları, "Harf Üzerine Tartışmaların Sebilürreşad Dergisine Yansımaları", *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 13/3, 2014, p. 645.

<sup>14</sup> Elçarpar, agm, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> There are two people discussing the letter revolution in the pres: The first of these is Giritli Ahmet Cevat (Emre) and the other one is Professor. Avram Galanti. It is seen that 18 articles written by Ahmet Cevat and that Arabic letter does not conform to the sound structure of Turkish language and Latin letters should be taken. On the other hand, Avram Galanti, opposes the receipt of the Latin alphabet with 9 articles in opposition newspapers and he defends the view that Arabic letters do not interfere with progress.

<sup>16</sup> Up to a specific period, In the Ottoman Empire who using the Arabic letters Focusing on reforming letters after Tanzimat, focusing on reforming letters after Tanzimat, after a while, the efforts to replace the alphabet and change the alphabet begin. In later periods, there are serious controversies among those who have the support of transition to Latin letters. *Sebilürreşad is one of the publications that these debates are. Acceptance of Latin letters is rejected in all of these articles and the correction of letters is desirable. Some of the manuscripts were taken from the magazines of that period and had a small place according to the publication policy of the magazine.* In the early days of its publication, the magazine displayed a positive outlook on nationalism and Turanism, and a marked criticism began in the following years. The letters related to Latin letters belong to the first period of publication of the journal.

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Istanbul journalists, including Huseyin Cahit and Yakup Kadri, went to Izmir and met with Ghazi and during the conversation question of Hüseyin Cahit's, *Why don't we accept the Latin alphabet?* Ghazi answered *Time hasn't come yet.*<sup>17</sup> The architect of the Turkish revolution also who knows the results of the reform movements in the Ottoman Empire period, implemented the idea of transition to *the New Turkish Alphabet* based on the Latin alphabet like secret on his mind, has been implemented in a short time firstly actual then legally in accordance with the strategy of revolution.<sup>18</sup>

During War of Independence, with the extraordinary conditions brought by the First World War, and also as in the case of the country was totally struggle with Independence War, other issues outside of battle remained in the background.<sup>19</sup>

Ataturk harped on about the emergence of changes about modernization, in other words, getting new cultural key elements and for adopted them by community most part of issue that unsufficient, cultural elements timeously. From early history of the Republic, One of the reasons why Ataturk and his colleagues worked most intensively on the subject was the desire for rapid development. An easy and simple alphabet was needed for the rapid spread of literacy. Facilitating and disseminating reading-writing and performing modern education and training could only be achieved by reform of the letters.<sup>20</sup> According to Ataturk, letter revolution was a major step of the initiative aimed at nationalizing and developing the Turkish culture. In period of Republican, modernization and reaching the ideal of Western civilization necessitated the issue of letters.<sup>21</sup>

### Atatürk's Views on the Letter Revolution

The goals that Atatürk wanted to achieve with the language revolution are related to his views about perspective of language. This view can be gathered in a number of main points as the importance of language in the cultural life and national cultural policy, its importance in the value and dissemination of a nation's existence:<sup>22</sup>

1. *Ataturk a man of a national leader andan intellectual, has attched great importance primarily, in terms of the place and meaning of language within a nation. There is no way to distinguish between language and nation.*

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17 Ülkütaşır, *age*, p. 73; Kısıklı, *agm*, p. 124-126; Dönmez, *age*, p. 169; Ayşegül Şentürk, "Harf İnkılabının Yapılışı ve Uygulanışında Basımın Rolü", *SDÜ FEF Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, S. 26, Ağustos 2012, p. 30.

18 Mehmet Kayıran- Mustafa Yahya Metintaş, "Latin Kökenli Yeni Türk alfabesine Geçiş Süreci ve Millet Mektepleri" *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, S. 24, Ağustos 2009, p. 193.

19 Tongul, *agm*, p.110.

20 Yasemin Doğaner, "Elifba'dan Alfabe: Yeni Türk Harfleri", *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, C.II, S. IV, Aralık 2005, p. 33- 36.

21 Tongul, *agm*, p. 111.

22 Korkmaz, *Türk dili Üzerine...* , p. 844-851

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2. *In order to achieve the goal of raising all words and concepts to the level of vibrant and rich cultural language, the Turkish language required a national development path in accordance with its structure and operation characteristics.*
  3. *In the directives to direct the Turkish language, the link between language and the nation and nation and language has been kept in the forefront in terms of providing national unity and integrity.*
  4. *In parallel with eliminating the dichotomy in education and which achieved with law of Unification of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat), nationalization of education and providing educational unity as a clear, comprehensible, satisfactory and sufficient national education language required by national education.<sup>23</sup>*

Recognizing that the Turkish nation and the Turkish language are manifested in the depths of the history and that they are aware of their greatness, M. Kemal Atatürk took the first step towards gaining the Turkish language's deserved position, and have been registered the the inscription of *Turkish is the official language of the state.* to our first constitution.<sup>24</sup> Atatürk always thought that Turkish should be free of Arabic and Persian rules and words and become self-conscious.<sup>25</sup> The views on the topic of Turkish language, which continues since the opening of the TGNA; The recommendations, attitudes and behaviors of the Turkish Law Proposal issued by Tunalı Hilmi Bey in 1923 and as a Turkish article, Turkish letters and the literacy problem of the society were discussed obviously in the parliament in 1924 for the first time.<sup>26</sup>

On February 25, 1925, Şükrü (Saraçoğlu) Bey, who was the Minister of National Education in the Parliament gave the following answer to those who asked his opinion on the problem of letters: *“Gentlemen, I’m yours educational agent truly and because of it’s deputy, according to me, giving a speech about trouble of letters -which has lots of trouble topics about it- will be not benefit. It could be harmful, because it could build a fire on just ones...”*<sup>27</sup>

Kemal Atatürk, who initiated the renewal of Turkish society with a series of courageous reforms, gave special importance to writing and language reform. He created the necessary organs to accomplish this matter as reform for bringing into this issue into state work, and he has also provided the state with a wide range of support.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Korkmaz, *Türk Dili Üzerine...*, p. 847, 848; Dözmez, *age*, p. 256-267

<sup>24</sup> 1921 Anayasasında bu konuda bir düzenleme yapılmamıştır; ancak 29 Ekim 1923 tarihinde 364 sayılı ve “Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu’nun Bazı Mevaddının Tavzihan Tâdiline Dair Kanun” başlıklı yasa ile anayasanın 2. Maddesi “Türkiye Devleti’nin dini İslam; resmi lisânı Türkçedir” şeklinde yenilenmiştir. Yusuf Can Tıraş- Halil İbrahim Ertürk, “Türk Dili Devrimiyle Birlikte Türkçenin Kazanımları”, *Journal of Turkish Language and Literature*, Volume:1, Issue: 2, Autumn 2015, p. 211.

<sup>25</sup> For the thought structure of Atatürk on this subject, see: Şerafettin Turan, *Atatürk’ün Düşünce Yapısını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler ve Kitaplar*; TTK, Ankara 2018, p. 60-63.

<sup>26</sup> Tongul, *agm*, p. 113

<sup>27</sup> Tongul, *agm*, p. 114

<sup>28</sup> György Hazai, *Türkiye Türkçesinin Dünü ve Bugünü- Türk Dili Araştırmalarına Kısa Bir Bakış*, Çev. Tefik Turan, TDK, Ankara 2012, p. 95.

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## Realization of the Letter Revolution and Implementation Throughout the Country

The issue of letter trouble in Turkey, has gained currency after Baku conference and has aroused wide repercussions in the country with *Latin letters should accept or not?* titled survey which dated 28 March 1926. The famous writers and scientists of the period such as Halit Ziya, Necip Asım, Veled Çelebi, Ali Canip, İbrahim Alaaddin, Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan, Avni Başman, Yusuf Semih, Ali Şeydi, Prof. Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat defended the Arabic letters, intellectuals like Refet Avni, Abdullah Cevdet, Mustafa Hamit defended the Latin alphabet. The reasons for the defenders are:

1. *To accept a writing system that will teach the public to read and write more easily*
2. *To improve the richness and vitality of Turkish and to develop it*
3. *To communicate with civilized nations*<sup>29</sup>

The end of 1927 and the first half of 1928 has been a very dynamic period for the implementation of Latin letters to Turkish. Falih Rifki in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, Yunus Nadi in the *Cumhuriyet*, Celal Nuri in *İkdam*, Hüseyin Cahit in *Tanin*; they tried to spread this idea by defending their Latin letters. Ahmet Cevat's writings in the journal of *Vakit* from the end of 1927 and up to beginning of 1928, and İbrahim Necmi (Dilmen)'s *Turkish Alphabet with Latin Letters* titled writings in the journal of *Milliyet* between May-August 1928 were the last attempts before the letter revolution.<sup>30</sup>

It is no coincidence that the acceptance of the new Turkish letters took place in 1928. There are important reasons for this. The change of writing types is, above all, one of the innovations required by the newly established Turkish state. Because the Republic is a radical order and changing of political structure. Also it is destruction of the outdated institutions of the Ottoman Empire, attempts to change their cultural values in line with nationalization and modernization. However, it was not easy to raise awareness on the way, the alphabet had to pass through the stages of the problems step by step. Letter revolution has been compulsory in order to leave old values and get new ones.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, the majority of the innovations designed to be carried out in the country have been completed by adhering to the principle of *secularism* in the period from the time of the letter revolution. These breakthroughs have created opportunities to facilitate the transition to the Alphabet Revolution.<sup>32</sup> The period of *Takrir-i Sükûn* (also referred as maintenance of order), which lasted from 1925 to 1929, was an important factor in the preparation of a suitable environment for the realization of the other reforms and the

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29 Turan, Şerafettin- Özel, Sevgi, *Türkçenin Dil Devriminin Öyküsü*, Dil Derneği, Ankara 2016, p. 60-76.

30 Tongul, agm, p. 115,116

31 Tongul, agm, p. 116

32 Mahmut Goloğlu, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi-I 1924-1930, Devrimler ve Tepkileri*, Türkiye İş Bankası Yay, İstanbul 2009, p. 274-284.

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Alphabet Revolution.<sup>33</sup>

*Bill of Latin Numerals* which prepared by CHP secretary general Saffet (Arikan) Bey and his colleagues was established by the parliament on the day of 20 May 1928. At the same day, The Council of Ministers decided to establish a commission called the *Language Council* to examine the issue of the alphabet, to determine various opinions on this issue and to express opinions.<sup>34</sup> The commission consisted of 9 members; including 3 deputies (Faliş Rıfki, Ruşen Eşref, Yakup Kadri), three education magisteries (Mehmet Emin Erişingil, İhsan Sangu, Avni Başman) and three linguist (Ragıp Hulisi Özden, İbrahim Grandi, Ahmet Cevat Emre).<sup>35</sup> Then, with the participation of Fazıl Ahmet, İbrahim Necmi, Ahmet Rasim, Celal Sahir and İsmail Hikmet, the number of members of the commission has increased to 14. This commission examined the alphabets of many nations such as French, English, German and Hungarian, and held its first meeting under the leadership of Atatürk on 26 June.<sup>36</sup>

The Commission has prepared two reports: One is *the Report on Grammar*, the The Elifba Report was presented to President Mustafa Kemal Pasha in August 1928 and was the first official and scientific report on the new Turkish alphabet. The Elifba Report was presented to President Mustafa Kemal Pasha in August 1928 and was the first official and scientific report on the new Turkish alphabet.<sup>37</sup> Language Council in the course of this work, had established the *Latin Alphabet Commission*, consisting of three persons. This commission, on the one hand, will help the work of the Language Council, on the other hand Latin script, especially will research and review on the subject of French alphabet and Turkish writing reforms and determine the opinions. The report prepared by the Commission was given to the Presidency on 12 August 1928.<sup>38</sup> Prime Minister İsmet Pasha also entered the Alphabet Commission, and in the meetings held on 17 and 19 July, the new alphabet was named the *Turkish Alphabet by him*.<sup>39</sup> By the way, the Milliyet newspaper started the new alphabet campaign and used the alphabet prepared by the members of the Language Council as of 26 June.

On the evening of August 9, 1928, Mustafa Kemal gave the first gospel of the Great Revolution to the people and started the Revolution with the following words:

*“Dear Brothers and Sisters, I can’t explain how happy I am in your presence. I will*

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<sup>33</sup> Tongul, agm, p. 117

<sup>34</sup> Turan- Özel, age, p. 68

<sup>35</sup> Zeynep Korkmaz, “Atatürk ve Yazı İnkılabı Üzerine”, *Erdem*, C.11, S. 31, TTK, Ankara, Mayıs 1999, p. 171-178.

<sup>36</sup> Şentürk, agm, p. 33- 35

<sup>37</sup> Kayıran- Metintaş, agm, s. 195; M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, *Atatürk ve Harf Devrimi*, TDK, Ankara 2000, p. 60-63.

<sup>38</sup> Alphabet Commission or Language Committee, has accelerated its activities with the encouragement of Atatürk. The Commission did not accept the 24-letter Latin alphabet as it is. The alphabet commission, which does not conform to the characteristics of Turkish and which is not appropriate to take the letters W Q, X and W al in the Latin alphabet, considered to add vowels like I, Ö, Ü with silent characters such as Ç, Ğ, J and S necessary, which are not in the Latin alphabet. Thus, the new Turkish alphabet is composed of 29 letters, 8 of them are vowel and 21 of them are sibilancy. Kayıran- Metintaş, agm, p. 196, 197.

<sup>39</sup> Tongul, agm, p. 120.

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*express my feelings with single words. I'm glad, I'm happy, I'm very pleased. I have identified the feeling that this situation inspired me in small notes. I'm gonna have read these people read to you."* Pasha, after a small notes in his hand, given to a young man, then continued his words:

*" Citizens, these notes are original, genuine Turkish words, written in Turkish letters. Your brother tried to read it immediately; but he could not read. After a little work, he can undoubtedly read. I would like to learn it all of you within five to ten days..."*

After the 9th of August 1928, the intellectuals and the public all over the country to belearned and to learn the new letters, started the race to teach, printed the alphabets, and the newspapers published lectures, Starting from 8-10 lines, writing long letters, with using all the new Turkish letters and changing the headlines was a fun job for newspapers. Lessons about new Turkish letters was started to given in Dolmabahce Palace on the date of 11 August 1928. Presidential entitlement officers, deputies and some parliament members joined the first class on the date. On the 25th of August, the second course was attended by deputies and they did reading exercises. On the 29th of August, the third lesson was attended by poets and writers.<sup>40</sup>

On the one hand, the table of the new letters were giving to the public. In a meeting held on 16 August at the CHP, it was decided to take the necessary measures for the dissemination of new letters and to open a classroom in each district. In the same year, for these classes, *Turkish Alphabet For Public Schools* was printed. Meanwhile, the Istanbul Municipality ordered the telephone book to be published in new letters for next year. After the 15th of August in the Chamber of Commerce signatures began to be signed with new letters. Also These letters would be used in correspondence. New courses were opened in some government offices in Istanbul and Ankara. The Minister of Justice had ordered that the law diplomas to be given in November be written in new letters. In the meantime, training courses was opened for education inspectors and after learning new letters, they were held responsible for teaching.<sup>41</sup> In August, Darülfünun (Ottoman University) began to organize conferences on new letters. State Printing House in Istanbul, has been prepared to publish books with the necessary letters in addition the first petition with new letters was given to Ministry of Education in 21 August.<sup>42</sup> Governors in provinces, the head of the board, was teaching officers. Among the courses opened in government offices, there was the course of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. The General Directorate of Telegram identified the nickname of the new letters. Mustafa Kemal Pasha organized trips to various cities between 23 August and 20 September, as the head teacher, he gave public lecturing lectures in these provinces. During these trips, he removed the signs which he deemed unnecessary in the new alphabet and reported them to the Prime

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<sup>40</sup> Esin Tüylü Turan, "Mustafa Kemal Paşa ve Harf İnkılabı", *Vakanüvis- Uluslararası Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Yıl. 3, Prof. Dr. Azmi Özcan Öğrencileri Özel Sayısı, p. 392, 393.

<sup>41</sup> *Türkiye Tarihi, Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980*, C.IV, Cem Yay, İstanbul 2005, p. 435- 440.

<sup>42</sup> Turan, agm, p. 392; Tongul, agm, p. 122, 123.

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Ministry with a dissertation. During these trips, he removed the marks which he deemed unnecessary in the new alphabet and reported them to the Prime Ministry with a official letter.

On November 1, 1928, the posts and petitions will be accepted by this date. Newspapers, magazines, boards, advertisements, would be published in new letters starting from December 1, 1928. After January 1929, all the books were to be printed in new letters. In records (proceedings), old letters could be used as steno until June 1929, items like books, regulations, notebooks, and rulers which utilized in government offices could remain until June 1930. Money, stamps, bonds would be valid until changed. Lessons in schools were to be given with those new letters. But initially these activities were not organized, they were in an undisciplined state. Mustafa Kemal Pasha wanted this to be taken into an organization and to be more disciplined. Thus, this issue has been entered into the government program and the decision to establish the Public Schools has been taken at the end of these ideas and efforts.<sup>43</sup> Immediately after the letter revolution, an effort to organize the Public Education Institutions was made under the name of Public Schools. The enactment about Public Schools which prepared by Republic of Turkey published in the official newspaper and was implemented in November 1928. According to this regulations; The National Schools were established to help the whole nation to read and write the new Turkish letters easily and to quickly turn the masses of people into literacy. Atatürk has guided the people in teaching the new Turkish letters.<sup>44</sup>

National Educational Minister Mustafa Necati Bey posted a circular letter to governorates on 2 December 1928 which includes that; from January 1, 1929 lectures begin start in Public Schools, for this reason, until then National School classrooms will be established for each teacher, those who are not successful in ant course period will attend the other courses, in villages with a single teacher both classrooms A and B will open, and other information once he gave, the numerical information about these things and challenges will notify to the ministry; in 10 January 1929 wanted by him.<sup>45</sup>

Public School Regulation's –which enacted on November 24, 1928, 15 thousand copies were printed and sent to all over the country and this article was read and started to apply immediately by governorns, district governors and education managers.<sup>46</sup> In the first head of regulatin article *making public of Turkey be able to read and write, gaining to main knowledge* expression, has been identified as the purpose of Public Schools.<sup>47</sup> Reading and writing with new letters has taught to approximately 2.5 million people in

<sup>43</sup> Tongul, agm, p. 124,125.

<sup>44</sup> Ülkütaşır, *age*, p. 90.

<sup>45</sup> Bahattin Demirtaş, “Atatürk Döneminde Eğitim Alanında Yaşanan Gelişmeler”, *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, C. I, S. II, Yaz 2008, p. 160-166.

<sup>46</sup> Demirtaş, agm, p. 162.

<sup>47</sup> According to the Regulation; organization of Public Schools consists of A and B classes and public reading rooms and village boarding courses. President of the National Schools was President Mustafa Kemal Pasha. All citizens between the ages of 16-45 are obliged to attend these schools or to take exams. In the villages where there is no teacher or non-school, commuter delegation committees are set up to teach them new writing. Tongul, agm, p. 127.

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the country at in those institutions until 1936 and citizens between the ages of 16-45 attended them between the years of 1928 -1935. In fact, this number is approximately 3.5 million because of those who had previously read and write with the Alphabet Revolution have become enabled. In other words, a quarter of the population is literate. Considering the difficulty in the conditions of that period, this is an important progress.<sup>48</sup>

On November 30, 1928, newspapers were finally published in old letters. In addition, the “Newspaper Premiums Law” was accepted and the newspapers were granted a premium in order to make the new letters easy and quick to learn. Thus, in a shorter time, newspapers were able to print in new letters. This premium was given to help newspapers renew their machinery and other printing equipment in a short time.<sup>49</sup> This law entered into force in 3 November 1928 through publishing in the official newspaper.<sup>50</sup>

### Conclusion

The first attempt was started by Munif Pasha at the beginning of the 1960’s and the suggestions, discussions and endeavors about this topic has been continued until 1928. However, no conclusions were reached during this time. These proposals and discussions gained more importance in the first year of Republic period, also has continued to be relevant in the press and Grand National Assembly of Turkey. At the end, Atatürk began to work systematically by taking the alphabet problem and its reforms. Language Alphabet and Alphabet Commission was established by him examining the various alphabets, it was decided to bring the letters of Latin letters in accordance with the Turkish language structure.

Atatürk considered the acceptance of the new Turkish alphabet in order to facilitate and enable the Turkish nation to become a part of civilized nations. In addition the aim of to open the way to contemporary civilization to the Turkish nation and to ensure that it rises above its level of contemporary civilization, another major aim of the alphabet reform is to nationalize our national culture. Together with the Language Revolution, it is one of the important achievements to go to the source of Turkish and to get new words from this source. Letter Revolution is not only a reform, it is part of a radical cultural exchange, especially with breakthroughs in language and history. The writing and alphabet discussions which were carried out since the Tanzimat period, were completed in a short time under favour of Mustafa Kemal’s determination and new Turkish alphabet was approved in parliament according to the structure of Turkish language.

Within the supports of the press, serious efforts have been made in the country in order to adopt, learn and disseminate the new alphabet from August 9, 1928. Within the support of the state and the press nationwide, literacy was popularized and public education was

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48 *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi*, C.II, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yay, Ankara 2008, p. 114- 120.

49 Tongul, agm, p. 126.

50 Doğaner, agm, p. 37.

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carried out because the new Turkish letters greatly simplify reading and writing. Within the Public Schools, the public learned the new typefaces, 54.050 classrooms were opened between 1928 and 1933, 2.305,924 students were enrolled in the courses and 1.124,916 people have graduated successfully.

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## REMOVAL OF THE STATEMENT “THE STATE’S RELIGION IS ISLAM” FROM THE CONSTITUTION IN 1928

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### Introduction

Historically, the concept of a Constitution first appeared in the late 1700s. In order to limit the power of the state and, at the same time, guarantee the rights and freedoms of the citizens, the need arose to enact laws which would stand above other laws and which could not be easily amended, leading to the emergence of the concept of a constitution. Before the constitutional movements started gaining a foothold, countries maintained law and order through their own legislation or edicts. But none of these laws had a privileged status in the hierarchy of laws and they were very easy to change. The first constitution known to have been written is the 1787 United States Constitution. The Constitution of the United States of America was followed by the 1791 French Constitution, the 1809 Swedish Constitution, the 1812 Spanish Constitution, the 1814 Norwegian Constitution, the 1831 Belgian Constitution, the 1848 Swiss Constitution, the 1848 Italian Constitution, the 1848 Prussian Constitution, the 1849 Danish Constitution, the 1849 Luxembourgian Constitution, the 1864 Greek Constitution, the 1866 Romanian Constitution and finally the 1876 Ottoman Constitution (Gözler, 2004; p.13-19).

Prior to the Ottoman Constitution that came into force in 1876, the legal system of the Ottoman Empire, which had a monarchical and theocratic structure and consisted of two basic elements. The first of these were the rules of Islamic law (Shariah or Ahkam-i Şer’iyye), and the second were the set of rules dictated by the Ottoman sultans (customary laws, laws, code of customary laws). In Ottoman legal documents, these two systems are referred to together as sharia and customary laws (Yetkin, 2013; p. 381). During the 19th and 20th centuries, the concept of Constitution became the subject of debate in Turkish political history and was changed many times. In particular, the reforms introduced by the Ottoman state relating to the state system, combined with efforts to keep up with the modern world, made it necessary to establish a constitution regulating the regime and the governance system as well as the rights and duties of the citizens. For this reason, Abdül Hamid II stated that he would declare the Basic Ottoman Law in consultation with the Grand Vizier Mithat Pasha if he were to be named the new ruler instead of Murad V. Dethroned pursuant to a *fatwa* issued by Hasan Hayrullah, the then Shaykh al-islam, Murad V, was replaced by Abdül Hamid II. And indeed, on 23 December 1876, Abdül Hamid II declared the Basic Ottoman Law as promised. The Basic Ottoman Law was prepared by a committee called “Cemiyeti Mahsusa” presided over by Server Pasha, consisting of 2 soldiers, 16 civil bureaucrats (3 of whom were Christians) and 10 representatives of the Muslim clergy. The Belgian, Polish and Prussian constitutions

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and previous drafts were taken as the basis when preparing the draft for the Turkish constitution. The draft was approved and announced by the Sultan after its examination by the Council of Ministers headed by Mithat Pasha (Gözler, 2000; p. 19-23).

So, can the Basic Ottoman Law that came into force with the approval of the Ottoman Emperor be really referred to as a constitution? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to correctly define the concept of constitution. At its simplest, a constitution is the highest law systematically regulating the state structure governing a society, the functioning of the legislative, executive and the judicial system while at the same time protecting the rights and duties of the citizens. Kemal Gözler refers to two kinds of constitution, material and formal. A material constitution (Constitution au sens materiel) is the sum of a set of written rules that determine the basic organs and functioning of the state. Whereas a formal constitution (Constitution au sens formel) refers to a set of distinct legal rules that stand above other legislation and which are significantly harder to change. Dwelling on the issue of which definition is correct, Gözler states that if the material definition of constitution is correct, then the laws that determine the state functioning should also be regarded as part of the constitution. For example, by stating that, the statutes that define the rules and principles of election law should be considered within the framework of the Constitution, but that this is practically not possible, and he asserts that the formal definition of the Constitution is the more accurate one (Gözler, 2004; p. 13-19).

A legal text linking society and the rulers arose out of this need, such as reflected in the case of “Toy” and “Kengeş”, the state assemblies in the Turkish communities before Islam, and the “Council” which convened regularly in the Turkish communities during the Islamic period, and the notion of an assembly, which has taken its most sophisticated form thanks to the present-day representative parliamentary system (Erdoğan, 2014, p.40). At this point, even though regarding the Basic Ottoman Law as a Constitution may be contentious, it represents a starting point in Turkish legal history in the context of the state regime. The Basic Ottoman Law had not been prepared by a constituent assembly and had not been publicly voted upon. It was unilaterally declared by the Sultan. Therefore, the Basic Ottoman Law is regarded as an Edict or a Royal Decree in terms of its form. According to Gözler, even though the Basic Ottoman Law was formally a royal decree, it differed from the Royal Edict of Gülhane and the Royal Edict of Reform. It was more akin to Western Constitutions consisting of a series of articles. Gözler also argues that the Basic Ottoman Law regulated the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens as much as it laid down the relations between state organs making it a material constitution and he adds that it can be regarded as a Constitution in terms of the formal criteria that determine a document to be a Constitution. Article 115 of the Basic Ottoman Law expressly declared its superiority and its binding nature. Furthermore, according to

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Article 116, a two-thirds majority vote from the members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Assembly of Elites was required for the proposal of amendments. Therefore it can be inferred, the Basic Ottoman Law was harder to change than other laws. According to Gözler, the Basic Ottoman Law was formally a Constitution fulfilling all the required criteria (Akman and Patoğlu, 2016; Gözler, 2000; p. 19-23).

The basic principles of the Basic Ottoman Law explicitly set out the monarchical nature of the State, its unitary nature, language and religion, and these principles were secured in a constitution that stood above legal norms and which could not be easily changed unlike other laws and legislation. Furthermore, a General Assembly with a two-layered legislative power was established. One section of the Assembly was called the Assembly (Committee) of Elites whose members were appointed by the Sultan. The other section was called the Chamber of Deputies appointed through a public vote every 4 years.

*“The Monarchic Nature of the State - The Ottoman State is a monarchy. According to Article 3 of the Basic Ottoman Law, the state presidency is inherited.*

*The Unitary Nature of the State - Even though article 1 states that the Ottoman State incorporates foreign countries and other continents, it also states that it is a “single unified body” where “discrimination” does not come into question.*

*The Religion of the State - The Ottoman State is not laic. The state has one religion which is Islam (article 11). The Basic Ottoman Law has other sections that refer to the religion of the state. Indeed, the Emperor is also the caliphate (article 3,4) and enforces Sharia law (article 7). The Shaykh al-islam has a place in the state organization and the Government (article 27). The laws cannot violate the norms of religion (article 64). To ensure that, there are Sharia courts in the country (article 87). The name of the Emperor is to be cited in the khutbahs (article 7)[14].*

*The Official Language of the State -The Basic Ottoman Law states that Turkish is the one and only official language of the state (article 18). Knowing the official language is a prerequisite for employment in the public service (article 18).*

*Capital city of the State.- The Basic Ottoman Law states that the capital city is Istanbul. However, the capital city is granted no “concessions or exemptions” due to its status (article 2) (Gözler, 2000; p.19-23-43).*

Although it caused controversy in the history of Turkish law after having emerged during the same period as its counterparts in other countries, the Basic Ottoman Law, which was primarily accepted as the first Constitution, was changed seven times during the period it was in force. In the first version of the Basic Ottoman Law, the legislative and executive powers were still under the control of the sultan. The sultan’s permission had to be

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obtained to make legislative proposals. The sovereign had the power to send people into exile, enforce censorship, as well as an absolute power of veto and the power to close the assembly. Finally, the Sultan closed the Parliament blaming it for defeat in the Ottoman-Russian war. The Constitution was abolished heralding a period of oppression. In 1908, the parliament was reopened and the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy was declared. The Basic Ottoman Law, which had been abolished, was considered again for adoption. With significant changes in 1909, the legislative and executive powers of the Sultan were removed from the monopoly of the sultan. The legislative power was given to the Assembly and the executive power was given to the Council of Ministers based on the trust of the legislative power (Gözler, 2000; p.19-23-43). On November 13, 1918, the Navy of the Allied Powers consisting of British, French, Italian, and Greek ships arrived in Istanbul, deploying soldiers across the city and initiating a process of invasion. On March 16, 1920, the Chamber of Deputies was shut down following the official invasion of Istanbul. Deputies were sent into exile (Saylan, 2014; p.18-34). Manastırlı Hamdi Bey conveyed the news of Istanbul's occupation to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Following the news, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk issued a circular to establish a parliament with extraordinary powers to implement measures to ensure the independence of the nation and to rescue the country and he then demanded elections throughout the country. (Atatürk, 2005, p.322-333).

During the period of National Struggle which took place between 1919-1923, the First Grand National Assembly was founded on April 23, 1920, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his comrades-in-arms and with the will of the Turkish nation. In 1921, the War Constitution comprising of 23 articles and one special clause was endorsed by the Assembly. This constitution is considered the only soft framework Constitution in the history of Turkish law. The Basic Ottoman Law was not abolished following the endorsement of the War Constitution heralding an era where the two constitutions stood side by side. In the Constitution of 1921, a parliamentary system of government was adopted. The constitution contained a provision calling for elections every two years as opposed to the 4 years stipulated by the Basic Ottoman Law. One of the most outstanding features of the 1921 Constitution was the proclamation "*Sovereignty Rests Unconditionally with the Nation*" enshrining the concept of national sovereignty for the first time. The Constitution of 1921 is the only Constitution which does not refer to jurisdiction and fundamental rights and freedoms. Since the priority was to liberate the nation from enemy occupation during the time this Constitution was in force, there were no regulations included concerning public institutions or other related issues. Nor does the 1921 Constitution make any references to the religion of state. But, this should not be interpreted as the first steps towards secularism since this was a period when two constitutions were in place. The provisions of the Basic Ottoman Law, which did not contradict the Constitution of 1921, were still in force during this period, meaning that

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the statement concerning the religion of state in the Basic Ottoman Law was still valid (Mumcu, 1985; p.516). As a result of the divisions formed in the parliament after the Constitution of 1921, Mustafa Kemal and his like-minded friends came together and in contradistinction to their previous statements, emphasized that their priority was to liberate the nation and not to save the sultan or the caliphate. In a decree dated October 30, 1922, it had been stated that *“the Monarchy in Istanbul disappeared” and that the “Turkish government will save the legitimate Caliphate from foreign occupation”*. The decision drew negative reaction from certain circles. For this reason, the General Assembly held meetings throughout the night of November 1. With a new decision taken in the aftermath of these negotiations, the sultanate was definitively removed. The reasoning behind the decision to abolish the Sultanate was that the Sultan had betrayed the nation as well as recognition of the principle that there could be no power above the national will represented by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Besides, with this final decision, the objective to *“save the Caliphate”* was abandoned and it was stated that *“The Turkish State is the supporting block of the Caliphate”* (Mumcu, 1986, p.57). Consequently, on 1 November 1922, the sultanate and the caliphate were separated and the sultanate was abolished. In 1923, some amendments were made to the Constitution of 1921. During this period, the Republic was declared and an article stating “The regime of the state is the Republic” was added to the constitution. The Office of Presidency and the statement “The President is elected by the Grand National Assembly”, which was not included in the Constitution of 1921, were then added to the constitution. A requirement that the election of the Prime Minister be made by the President from among the deputies was also included at this time together with a stipulation that the ministers would be assigned by the president on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The official language of the state was declared to be Turkish. The religion of the state, which was not mentioned in the Constitution of 1921, was added to the Constitution with an article stating the State’s religion was Islam through an amendment made in 1923. It can be concluded that the aim in doing so was to prevent reactions due to the abolition of the Sultanate and the proclamation of the Republic (Ertan, 2007; Tangulu, Karadeniz and Ateş, 2014).

After the proclamation of the republic, certain circles, including some friends of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, began to speak out in support of the Caliph. The caliph did not comply with the warnings and recommendations of the government and gave ambitious statements and organized ceremonies. For this reason, Mustafa Kemal Pasha decided in 1924 that the caliphate should be abolished. Pursuant to Act 431, the caliphate was abolished on 3 March 1924. The abolition of the caliphate can be considered as the first major step towards a secular state. Many scholars and scientists agree that the first step towards a laic state was taken with the abolition of the Caliphate. However, Article 2 of this new Constitution still stated that the State religion is Islam (Temuçin, 2007; p. 410-413;

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Soyak, 1973; p. 340). According to Soyak, Act 431 did not directly deny the Institution of the Caliphate but acknowledged it as part of the government and the Republic.

*In this respect, it is even possible to say that the abolition of the caliphate did not lead directly to a transition to secularism. But the fact that there was no one to fill this office destroyed the second great foundation of the theocratic Ottoman Empire after the sultanate, so that the last vestige of the state, which had already disappeared, was also erased.” (Soyak,2018,p.340).*

In 1924, the Constitution was revised and with the Constitution of 1924, the Constitution of 1921 and the Basic Ottoman Law were abolished, putting an end to the era of two constitutions. To sum up a few of the main characteristics of the 1924 Constitution: The first article of the 1924 constitution stated that the Turkish state is a republic. This constitution was a rigid constitution as this article could not be changed. Moreover, since the 1924 constitution was a detailed Constitution, it was also a casuistic (Rigid) Constitution. According to the 1924 Constitution, the government model was a mixed government model and the concept of majoritarian democracy was adopted. The capital city was stated to be Ankara. Elections would be held every four years instead of two. After the adoption of the 1924 Constitution, the Assembly was divided into two groups, Conservatives and Reformists. The Constitution of 1924 allowed the transition to a multi-party regime, and therefore some important figures who broke away from the ranks of the National Struggle positioned themselves against Mustafa Kemal Pasha and founded the Progressive Republican Party on 17 November 1924. After the Sheikh Said uprising, the Progressive Republican Party was closed down due to its extremist activities. After the party was abolished, the Dervish lodges were banned, religious titles were removed and visits to shrines were prohibited (Özalper, 2014; S:119-133). On 4 October 1926, the Civil Code and the Code of Obligations came into force. A system based on freedom and equality was introduced in lieu of a system based on religious rules, which Mumcu refers to as a religious civil code, regulating aspects of civil life ranging from family, inheritance, and property to all kinds of debt and financial relationships. According to Mumcu, in this respect, the Civil Code introduced laicism to certain aspects of daily life (Mumcu, 1985; p. 513-526).

In 1928, the second article of the constitution stating that the “state religion is Islam” was removed. As in all other states, conjectural changes to the constitution, which ranked high and above other legislation in the hierarchy of legal norms until 1928, were ratified in the assembly of the Republic of Turkey on April 10, 1928, following a legislative proposal by the Malatya Deputy İsmet İnönü and 120 other deputies, in order to keep pace with the new world order and to separate religion and state affairs (İnce, 2000). According to the Grand National Assembly archives, the names of deputies who proposed the removal of the statement “The State’s Religion is Islam” from the Constitution following the

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declaration of the Republic are as follows:

Malatya İsmet, Giresun Hacim, Muhittin Erzincan, Saffet Sivas, Necmettin Sadık Ankara, Talât Edirne, Şakir Kayseri, Hasan Ferit Çorum, ismet Kocaeli, Ragıp Sivas, Rasim Mardin, Abdürrezzak Ordu, Recai Kütahya, Mehmet Nuri Kayseri, Zonguldak Ragıp, Bursa Ahmet Münir, Biga Ziya Gevher, Giresun Hakkı Tarık, Kara hisar İstaail, Karesi Kazım, Mardin irfan Ferit Çorum, Mustafa İzmir, Mahmut Esat İstanbul, Doctor Refik Siirt, Mahmut Malatya, Vasıf İzmir, Mustafa Necati İzmir, Saraçoğlu Şükrü Burdur, Mustafa Şeref Artvin, Mehmet Ali Gaziantep, Kılıç Ali Denizli, Necip Ali Çankırı, Talât Bolu, Şükrü Malatya, Abdülmuttalip Kastamonu, Mehmet Fuat Eskişehir, Sait Bilecik, Rasim Bolu, Cemil Samsun, Adü Balıkesir, Osiman Niyazi Çankırı, Yusuf Ziya Çorum, İsmail Kemal Kocaeli, İbrahim Süreyya Kastamonu, Cemil Muğla, Yunus Nadi Bitlis, flyas Sami Tokat, Şevki Gümüşhane, Halil Nihat İzmir, Osman Zade Hamdi, Konya Refik, Kars Halit, Manisa Mustafa Fevzi, Trabzon Şefik, İstanbul Fuat, Maraş Abdülkadir Elâziz, Nakiyettin Kütahya, NiyaZi Asım Bursa, Esat Rize, Ahlmet Fuat Alfyonkarahisar, Ruşen Eşref Yozgat, Salih Çankırı, Rıfat Konya, Tevfik Fikret, Kütahya,İsmail Hakkı, Bursa Asaf, Tekirdağ Celâl Nuri İstanbul Nurettin, Ali Kocaeli İbrahim, Niğde Faik Konya, Hüsnü Bolu, Emin Cemal Erzurum, Aziz Rize, Ali Van, Hakkı Antalya, Rasih Bitlis, Muhittin Nam i İstanbul, Hüseyin Hüsnü Aksaray, Mustafa Erzurum, Nali Atuf Erzincan, Abdülhak Antalya, Doktor Cemal Afyinkarahisar, izzet Ulvi Tokat, Mustafa içel, Mehmet Kemal Aydın, Emin Fikri Manisa, Mehmet Sabri Mersin, Alı Kırşehir, Hazım Antalya, Ahmet Saki izmir, Mustafa Rahmi Bolu, Fallı Rifki Kütahya, İbrahim Samsun, Ali Rıza, Manfea, Mehmet Kani Sinop, Refik ismail Sivas, Remzi Muğla, Şülkrti Kaya Trabzon, Hasan Hüsnü Manisa, Osman Aydın, Mithat Konya, Naîm Hazım Bayazlt, Halit Zonguldak, Hüsnü Mardin, Nuri Gaziantep, Ali Cenani Erzurum, Necip Asım Sinop, Recep Zühtü Bursa, Doctor Refik Denizli, Mazhar Müfit İsparta, Mükerrerem Manisa, Doctor Saim Malatya, Mahmut Nedim Manisa, Akif Mardin, Abdürrezzak Rize, Akif Burdur ,Vahit İstanbul, Ankara İhsan, Bursa Muhlis, Rize Atıf, Rize Esat, Ankara Mehmet Rıfat, Eiâzîz Trabzon Daniş” (Grand National Assembly Minute Book, 1928; p:1-3).

Another amendment was the removal from the constitution of the section stating that the Shariah code would be enforced by the Grand National Assembly. Concerning the vows taken by the deputies and the president, members of the Assembly would no longer swear to God but would rather swear on their honor (Karataş, 2008;S:290). The amendment to Article 26 of the constitution on 10 April 1928, also related to laicism. The phrase “enforcement of the sharia code” was removed pursuant to an amendment dated April 10, 1928 ending the Grand National Assembly’s authority to regulate religious affairs (Ertan, 2007, p.412).

The definition of laicism in Turkey was another bone of contention. Secularization, which

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means the reduction of the social power and dignity of religion over a certain period of time, and laicism, a political principle which means the separation of religion from state affairs, have become two concepts which are often confused with one another (Ertit, 2014; p.103). The word laic borrowed from French originated from Ancient Greek. In ancient Greek, “Laikus” was the name given to non-spiritual persons not belonging to the clergy. Laicism refers to a state regime and social order not governed by the clergy. After the collapse of feudalism, the long-lasting authority of the church ended. Humanism, the Renaissance and Reform movements brought enlightenment to societies in Europe. The concept of laicism was born out of such processes in Europe. Before the Republic, laicism existed to a certain degree in Turkey, though to a minimal degree, and only gained traction after the declaration of the Republic (Tayhani,2009,p.519-522). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s opinions as to the emergence of laicism in Turkey are as follows:

*“Judging by the oldest periods of Turkish history, the Turkish nation understood early on the importance of separating issues of religion and faith from state affairs and politics. This was in itself an intellectual breakthrough...We have no precedent set by Turkish tribes migrating to Europe meddling with the religion of the populaces they conquered or mixing state affairs with religion...”*(Tayhani, 2009; p.522).

In response to a question posed by former French Prime Minister M. Heriot where he asked *“Pasha! How did you manage to introduce laicism to an Eastern society governed for hundreds of years by the laws of religion?”*, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk replied:

*“This nation never fully embraced religious bigotry. It was only within the preserve of a certain group of people. And I saw that truth and led the nation towards the right course. Religion is now confined to the mosques, while politics has become the responsibility of the state. We chose to benefit from the merits of civilization guided by the light of the positive sciences.”* (Tayhani,2009,p.522).

Even though laicism implies in its simplest form the separation of religion and state, the meaning of the concept of laicism in Turkey is best understood by considering the definition given by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey. According to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: *“Laicism does not only mean the separation of religion and state affairs. It also means freedom of conscience, worship and religion for all citizens.”* As it is understood, besides the separation of religion and state affairs, laicism comprises other aspects such as freedom of religion, worship and conscience according to Atatürk (Sarıkoyuncu, 2013; p.45-46). The complete laicisation of the state, including in the political, legal and educational fields, was carried out gradually in the course of the Turkish Revolution. All these stages were meant to eliminate obstacles standing in the way of laicism. The leader of the revolution, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, achieved it by following a superior strategy (Tayhani, 2009; p. 522).

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Legislation within the legal system must be completely in accordance with the constitution and must not contradict it. For this reason, constitutions are above the law. Many elements such as social norms, culture and traditions that shape society are important factors that come into play when constitutions are written. In addition, constitutions can be changed according to the requirements of the age, time and society, or new articles may be added to them. We see such amendments and additions made to the Basic Ottoman Law and the Constitutions of 1921, 1924 and 1928 according to the requirements of the time. According to K.C. Wheare, a constitution is a reflection of a social consensus in line with social requirements and ideas. In other words, reforms, political, social and economic innovations require the establishment of a constitution in line with the interests of the people. So therefore constitutions also have an economic dimension. In this context, a nation is bound to be affected by economic and political events in a constantly changing world and new constitutions can be created according to the requirements of the time. According to K.C. Wheare, the centralization of all the organs of state to ensure the welfare, security and other needs of its people necessitates the creation of a new approach, new practices and a new constitution forming a foundation for reforms besides economic interests (Wheare, 1984: p. 67-82).

The production of an idea and its adaptation to society require approval by that society while the harmonization of social norms with the Constitution requires a process of acknowledgement. And this makes change necessary. Political leaders place current available policies on the agenda in order to legitimize change and to measure acceptance and social reactions. Accordingly, they offer political and economic projections to the public and form a social partnership with an emphasis on social interests. In doing so, they either make laws or policies in accordance with the constitution, or eliminate the deficiencies in the Constitution, or create a legitimate basis by making a complete change to the Constitution. For this reason, political parties or governments take responsibility and follow the process of social permeability. As a matter of fact, until 1937 all the steps taken during the process of placing laicism on a Constitutional ground were gradual steps taken whilst observing the reaction of the society to the changes. In the process until the adoption of laicism, Şeriye ve Evkaf Vekaleti, namely, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Foundations, was abolished in order to prevent its interference in the affairs of state; the law on Unification of Education was passed, the dervish lodges were closed down and religious titles were rescinded in what can be considered as a series of sweeping changes impacting social life, law and culture. In addition, the traditional structure of the state was changed through reforms to language, the alphabet, clothing, and the adoption of the Turkish civil code. With the removal of the statement “The state’s religion is Islam” from the constitution in 1928, the biggest step was taken towards laicism. (Karataş, 2008; p. 290). As a matter of fact, at the time of these reforms and especially with the introduction of laic innovations, anti-regime religious propaganda activities emerged

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and were duly tackled (Kocaoğlu, 2007; p.1306).

Modern constitutions emerge according to the requirements of the time. In particular, constitutions written before the 20th century had an ambiguous position in the hierarchy of law since quasi-monarchies could change or abolish them at any time. Abdülhamit II's closure of the Chamber of Deputies after dismissing the Basic Ottoman Law as null and void showed that the constitution was applied not according to the will of the people but according to the wishes of the monarchy. The process of laicisation progressively gained momentum with the proclamation of the Republic and all elements of the state, including politics, as well as the legal and educational systems, became laic. Thus, Turkish legal traditions also underwent a change from the 20th century onwards, as manifested in a series of constitutions being transformed according to the requirements of the period.

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## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LIFE SCIENCE COURSE BETWEEN 1923-1938

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### Introduction

After national independence war, rapid transformation from imperialism to republic broke out in Turkish society. In this transformation it was aimed to bring up individuals who possess citizenship consciousness, could participate political, economic, and cultural life (Topkaya & Burak, 2018). Education has become a key instrument in mission of raising individual adopting ideals of the republic. Young republic was attempting to meet basic needs such as teacher employment, meanwhile it was making structural transformation in education. Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law which was enacted on 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1924 is one of the structural transformations. This Law established basis for development of instructional curriculums which is consistent for expectation and needs of the republic by clustering all of the educational institutions under the Ministry of National Education (Gözütok, 2003; Aslan, 2011). The stage system which had been administered in Ottoman primary schools was abolished and primary school system was reconstructed. In this context, five grades as an integrity was accepted in primary schools and instructional curriculums were designed along with this integrity (Gürkan ve Gökçe, 1999). 1924 Instructional Curriculums of Primary Schools, the first instructional curriculum, is transitional curriculum (Tazebay, 2000). Therefore, there was no specific section for Life Science Course. In the Imperialism Period, Investigation of Nature, Health, History, Geography, Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse include instructional topic of Life Science (Şahin, 2009). According to this, total of the courses can be considered as basis of the Life Science Course. Distributions of Weekly Course related to , Investigation of Nature, Health, History, Geography, Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse were indicated in Table 1.

According to weekly course distribution indicated in Table 1, while Investigation of Nature, Health, Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse were instructed within the first two grades in the context of Life Sciences, History, Geography courses were added in 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> grades. The course of Investigation of Nature, Health was taught for 4 course hours in a week in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> years. The same course had 2 course-loads in a week in 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> years. Moral Discourse and Citizenship Knowledge conducted in the context of Life Sciences was instructed in one course hour in all grades of primary

school. History and Geography courses was taught for one course hour in 3<sup>rd</sup> year and planned for 2 course hours in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> years. In this context, as a result of integration different courses, course hours of Life Science was determined 5 course hours for 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> years, 7 course hours for 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> in a week.

Table 1. 1924 Weekly Distribution of Courses

Courses in the Instructional Curriculum		1 <sup>st</sup> Grade	2 <sup>nd</sup> Grade	3 <sup>rd</sup> Grade	4 <sup>th</sup> Grade	5 <sup>th</sup> Grade
Turkish	Literacy	12	-	-	-	-
	Reading	-	4	3	2	2
	Writing Rules	-	2	2	1	1
	Fine Writing	-	1	-	2	2
	Vocabulary	-	-	-	1	1
	Writing	-	2	1	1	1
Maths	Calculation	2	3	3	3	2
	Geometry	-	-	-	1	2
	History	-	-	1	2	2
Life Sci- ences	Geography	-	-	1	2	2
	Investigation of Nature, Health	4	4	2	2	2
	<i>Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse</i>	1	1	1	1	1
Quran and Religion Courses		-	2	2	2	2
Fine-Arts		2	2	2	2	2
Handcrafts		2	2	2	2	-
Music		2	2	2	1	1
Physcial Education		2	2	2	1	1
Total Course Hour		27	27	24	26	24

Content, aims, teaching process, assessment and measurement approaches of Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse, Investigation of Nature, Health, history and Geography course which is evaluated under Life Science were indicated in Table 2.

*The 1924 Primary School Curriculum* is not a complete instructional curriculum. In this context general aims and targets for each course were not stated. However, aims were emphasized in some chapters of *the 1924 Primary School Curriculum* (Bıkmaz, 2013). According to *Table 2* development of national identity, adoption of republic citizenship through gaining national values, introducing historical, geographical, economical aspect of the new country were aimed to teach in courses that can be related to Life Science. I can be said that remarkable and general importance was attached to primary school period and Life Science owing to lack of infrastructure that could enable individuals to continue after 5 years compulsory primary school period.

Content of the course that can be evaluated under the extent of Life Science, was built upon information nature and natural life, citizenship, national history and geography

so as to serve aims of primary school and courses. Nature and natural life, one of the content, consists of agricultural knowledge which could allow economic participation. Underlying reason of content on nature and natural life is that Turkish public was still a agriculture society. Contents related to national history was included into the curriculum in order to build a new national identity. On the other hand contents of national geography includes knowledge which introduce country and new structure of the country.

Table 2. Characteristics of Courses Related to Life Sciences According to Their Curricular Elements in 1924 Primary School Curriculum

Courses	Aims	Content	Learning-Teaching Process	Measurement and Evaluation
Investigation of Nature, Agriculture and Health	Investigating foods, dress, animals, plants and productions associated with our common life.  Introducing rights and responsibilities to youths with consciences of Turkish Republic Citizenship, indoctrinating moral essences in all of their behaviours, in brief getting them ready to perform their national and moral duties.	Flowers, fruits, agricultural plants, animals, mature, and food and nutrition.  The fact that Turkish Republic was found upon rights and responsibilities possessed by Turkish Citizens, concepts of country, nation, state, government, national sovereignty, benefits of republic to public, national independence struggle.	<i>Cases which will be cared:</i> 1. All of the courses must be taught as it serves students' education 2. The fact that which course has impact on the child's emotional characteristics. 3. Adequate practice must be carried out for children to comprehend what they see, say, and develop their skills. 3. Primary school teachers must embody by knowing that children differently perceive and understand what they see and hear. 4. Children's love of nature must be activated in gardening. 5. Teachers must establish connection between children's skills and their cognition to help them understand what they read.	No information was given.
History	Giving information about the evidences occurred after Constutional Monarchy as possible as children find interesting, explaining great persons and heroic stories which took place between starting of national independence movement and declaration of Republic..	Important events such as life and civilisations of ancient Turks, their conversion to Islam, Turkishshation of Anatolia; Ottoman Empire, Its history, culture and civilisation; national transition period after national independence movement and establishment of New Turkish Republic.	<i>The Suggested Methods:</i> * Explanation-Discourse *Observation *Investigation *Instructional trips *Comparison *Story *Group works.	
Geography	Trying to Arouse curiosity on natives and their economic activity, relationship between regions, cities, countries rather than to give sole information..	Knowing villages, province, and cities where we live, developing sketch, introducing our country and its adjacencies		

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According to Table 2, learning and teaching process was not clearly emphasized in *the Primary School Curriculum*. However, a guide for teachers on how to instruct was written by a commission in 1923 and this guide partially reflected on *the 1924 Primary School Curriculum* (Binbaşoğlu, 2005). In this guide explanations and suggestions were made for teachers how they must instruct the courses. Therefore, those explanations and suggestions can be considered as influential for the courses that can be related to Life Science. In the curriculum teachers were asked to arrange instruction for students and take students' interests and skills into consideration. Furthermore, consideration on students' affective characteristics, adequate practice, and student's level, inclusion for story into teaching practices were emphasized. Explanation-discourse, observation, investigation, instructional trips, comparisons, stories, and group works were suggested to use (Bıkmaz, 2013).

There was not any explanation or guide on assessment and evaluations of students in *the 1924 Primary School Curriculum*. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a lack in terms of curricular elements of the courses related to Life Science.

### **1926 Life Science Instructional Curriculum**

Political, economic, and social transformations rapidly continued in young Turkish Republic after 1924. Schools played a key role in reduction of revolutions to Turkish public. Therefore it was inevitable for schools to comply with revolutionary movements. Consequently new instructional curriculums were needed. On the other hand, expertise support was remarkably necessary due to requirement of the period. John Dewey, who was prominent expert, was invited and John Dewey accepted the invitation and investigated, and prepared an report and submitted. Dewey offered integrated instruction and practice school concepts. Geography, history, Investigation of Nature, Health, and Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse were integrated (Gülaydın, 2002; Akman and Patoğlu, 2016). Some of aforementioned courses were abolished and included and re-programmed into Life Science in 1<sup>st</sup> year, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, and 3<sup>rd</sup> year along with integrated instruction by Dewey. Connection table establishing inter-disciplinary relation between Life Science and the courses was constructed (Tay & Baş, 2015). Because whole perception that is developmental characteristics of primary school children was cared (Binbaşoğlu, 2003). As a result, Life Science became a central course. Weekly course hours' distribution was indicated in Table 3.

Tablo 3. 1926 Weekly Distribution of Courses

Course and Grades	1 <sup>st</sup> Year	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year	4 <sup>th</sup> Year	5 <sup>th</sup> Year
Alphabet	10	-	-	-	-
Turkish					
Reading	-	4	4	3	3
Writing Rules	-	2	2	1	1
Composition	-	2	2	2	2
Grammar	-	-	-	1	1
Handwriting	-	2	2	1	1
Life Science	4	4	4	-	-
Religion	-	-	-	1	1
Calculation and Geometry	4	4	5	5	5
History	-	-	-	2	2
Geography	-	-	-	2	2
Courses on Nature	-	-	-	2	2
Object Course	-	-	-	-	2
Country Knowledge	-	-	-	2	1
Drawing and Handcraft	4	4	4	2	2
Music	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastic	2	2	2	2	1
(Home Management) Girl Schools	-	-	-	1	1
(Stitch) Girl Schools	-	-	-	1	1

As it can be seen from Table 3, Investigation of Nature and Health, Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse courses were discarded, Life Science were added into the curriculum instead of them. The courses which was known as in the context of Life Science in the 1924 Primary School Curriculum, had 5 course hours in a week. However, Life Science was taught for 4 course hours in a week in 1<sup>st</sup> year, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, and 3<sup>rd</sup> year in the 1926 Primary School Curriculum. Investigation of Nature and Health, Citizenship Knowledge and Moral Discourse courses were integrated under the title of Life Science. There was no Life Science course for 4<sup>th</sup> year and 5<sup>th</sup> year in the 1926 Primary School Curriculum. Life Science was described as special and specific course for 1<sup>st</sup> year, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, and 3<sup>rd</sup> year in primary school. General purpose, content constituting learning units, learning-teaching process for reaching the purposes, assessment and evaluation approaches testing level of learning were presented in Table 4.

There were not any purpose statements in the 1924 Primary School Curriculum that had been developed previously. However, purposes for each of the courses were included into the 1924 Primary School Curriculum. That can be considered as a remarkable change. This change appeared in Life Science Curriculum. As seen in Table 4, 9 purpose statements were included into Life Science Curriculum for 1<sup>st</sup> year, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, and 3<sup>rd</sup> year. As it can be concluded from the purposes, it was aimed to introduce the self, their

social environment, the country, and the nature to children. Those 9 general purposes contain several cognitive, affective, and motor characteristics in terms of the taxonomy. There were skills and values that were aimed to teach through hidden-curriculum or open curriculum in the 1926 Life Science Curriculum

Tablo 4. Characteristics of Life Science According to Their Curricular Elements in 1926 Primary School Curriculum

Purposes	Contents	Learning-Teaching	Assessment and Evaluation
<i>Purposes :</i>	<i>Units</i>	<i>Teaching Principles:</i>	There is no explanation for assessment and evaluation in the 1926 Primary School Curriculum.
1. Introducing stone, mine, plant and animals which is in the settings; getting students investigate and explain natural events, living conditions of organisms and relationships among organisms	Our School, Our Home and Family, **Autumn ,	* Principle of teaching from close to distant. * Association with real life. * Individual and collective interest.	However, a regulation was published in 1928 and it was suggested that testing knowledge can carried out through opinion mark three times in a year, and student's production .
2. Presenting impact of mankind on the nature due to opening up canals, feeding animals, planting forests, farming, building ways.	**Republic Fest, **Winter, **Spring,	*Principle of adequate time (eclipse of the sun or lunar eclipse so on.)	
3. Getting students investigate activities of society; teaching rapidly family, town, municipality, and government.	**Summer.	*Flexibility to geographical region.	
4. Getting children investigate human body, functions of human body organs through observation and practices	<i>* * Units presented as ** are assigned to each of the first three grades. Other two units are taught in only 1<sup>st</sup> year.</i>	<i>Teaching Methods:</i>	
5. Giving moral advices by discussing events occurring in school, family and society and story texts.	<i>Head of Contents:</i>	*Group work *Explanation *Discussion	
6. Making preparation to history by investigating close environment of school and historical structures and personalities in close environment of school	Our behaviours in classroom , school and out of school, our home, direction between home and school and encountered elements, our body and cleaning, farming, and the time spent in field.	*Instructional trip * Observation and investigation	
7. developing children's observation and investigation skills, meanwhile getting them accustomed to stating what they see, know, and practice.	Seasons, vine, garden, visit of carpenter, and hammer smith, our winter dress, government, post, telegraph, health organisation, major diseases, agricultural experience on the school field, forests, eclipse of the sun, stars and so on.	*Practice *Experiment	
8. Strengthen solidarity and cooperation among students through the time which they spend together.			
9. Getting children picture, farming and collections about Life Science make, activating them to work themselves, giving desire and pleasure to work.			

As it can be seen from Table 4, content of Life Science course was constructed through unit-based approach. *Autumn, Republic Feast, Winter, Spring, and Summer* units were commonly carried out in 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>. In addition that *Our School, Our Home, and Our Family* were included for 1<sup>st</sup> year. Topics included by units were designed through understandings based on close settings and time approach. Moreover, the titles, compounds of the contents, reflect characteristics of the time period. For instance, *Government Organisation* title served to get students adopt political structure, while *Post and Telegraph* was designed so as to introduce communication technology of the time period. Therefore, it can be stated that the contents was designed along with realities

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of the time period.

According to Table 4, the 1926 Life Science course curriculum includes principles about learning-teaching process and instructional strategies that could be used by teachers. *From close to distant, association with life, individual and collective interest, and suitable time* can be thought as principles which teachers must care. Moreover instructional applications were emphasized by taking local conditions, experiential learning, social settings into consideration (Baymur, 1937; Şahin, 2009; Uçar, 2004). Especially observation of events such as solar eclipse, agricultural applications in school field, observation of crafts such as carpentry and iron smith in suitable place, design of group work, learning opportunities such as experiments based on experience were highlighted. According John Dewey, visited Turkey in 1924, school is life itself and learning takes place through experience (Sönmez, 1924). Consequently, influence of John Dewey emphasizing experiential learning can be observed on the 1926 Life Science Primary School Curriculum.

There is no explanation on how student achievement is assessed and evaluated in the 1926 Primary School Curriculum. Three opinion marks in a year, testing previously learning and students products were considered as the ways of assessment and evaluation in Regulation of Primary School which was enacted in 1928 (Bıkmaz, 2013). According to the regulation, it can be concluded that products, written and verbal assessments were used as the way of assessment and evaluation. On the other hand, the regulation demanded teachers to use opinion marks three times in a year

### **1936 Primary School Curriculum**

After the 1926 Life Science Curriculum, a lot of revolutions that politically and socially built up society came into life. Moreover, country encountered negative events against new political and social construction. Requisites and measures which could reduce outcome of the revolution to the public and prevent negative events brought about change in education. Therefore partial changes were made in 1930 and 1932. However, concern of regime and instruction that was constrained to primary school entailed comprehensive changes (Kültür Bakanlığı Dergisi, 1937). Therefore, lacks encountered in the 1926 Primary School Curriculum, removing incoherency between the school levels, and adoption of revolution through schools was main factors in developing a new curriculum, the 1936 Life Science Curriculum. The 1936 Life Science Curriculum sought out establishing connection between 3<sup>rd</sup> year, end of the first primary school period, and 4<sup>th</sup> year, beginning of the second primary school period (Mala, 2011; Kültür Bakanlığı Dergisi, 1937). Weekly course hours' distribution was indicated in Table 5.

Table 5. 1936 Weekly Distribution of Courses

Courses / Years	1 <sup>st</sup> Year	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year	4 <sup>th</sup> Year	5 <sup>th</sup> Year
Turkish	10	7	7	6	6
Life Science	5	6	7	-	-
Arithmetic-Geometry	4	4	4	4	5
History	-	-	-	2	2
Geography	-	-	-	2	2
Nature Knowledge	-	-	-	3	3
Family Knowledge	-	-	-	2	2
Country Knowledge	-	-	-	2	1
Fine-Arts	4	4	4	2	2
Music	1	1	1	1	1
Gymnastic	2	2	2	1	1
Writing	-	2	1	1	1
Total Course Hours	26	26	26	26	26

Life Science would be taught for 4 course hours for 1<sup>st</sup> Year, 2<sup>nd</sup> Year and 3<sup>rd</sup> Year in a week in the 1926 Primary School Curriculum. However, as it can be seen from Table 5 Life Science was taught 5 course hours for 1<sup>st</sup> Year, 6 course hours for 2<sup>nd</sup> Year, and 7 course hours for 3<sup>rd</sup> Year. Therefore course hour of Life Science in a week increased. Life Science's function to get students socialized can be considered as underlying reason of the increase. Because realities of the time period is taken into consideration, it can be concluded that adoptions of the revolutions by the public was needed. However, vast majority of the public lived in rural areas, mainly villages. Schools were effective instrument to get the revolutions reached to the villages because primary schools covered most of the villages. On the other hand, level of education remained as limited to primary school. Therefore, system primary schools had seminal functions in education systems. Increase in weekly course of Life Science had important implications. General purpose, content constituting learning units, learning-teaching process for reaching the purposes, assessment and evaluation approaches testing level of learning were presented in Table 6.

There were nine purpose statements in the 1926 Life Science Curriculum for 1st Year, 2nd Year, and 3rd Year. However, there were five purpose statements in the 1936 Life Science Curriculum as it can be seen from Table 6. Therefore, it can be said that purposes were more simplified. Close history conscience, knowing the country and the nation, comprehension of nature and natural events were included into the 1936 Life Science Curriculum as well as the previous Life Science Curriculums included. On the other hand, nation and country love was included into the curriculum (Binbaşıoğlu, 2003). Adoption of complete citizenship conscience and nation phenomenon can be thought as fundamental reason to this. Purposes include cognitive and affective characteristics in terms of the taxonomy. Although motor skills were not addressed directly, they were

emphasized together with the contents and the learning and teaching process. Moreover, when we address whole of the 1936 Life Science Curriculum, it can be seen that skills and values such as *family, country love, keeping environment and body clean, neighbourhood, relativeness, citizenship, respect, altruism, communication, data collection, investigation, research, and observation* were highlighted (Topkaya and Burak, 2018).

Table 6. Characteristics of Life Science According to Their Curricular Elements in 1924 Primary School Curriculum

Purposes	Contents	Learning-Teaching	Assessment and Evaluation
<i>Purpose of the Curriculum:</i>	<i>The Content Titles:</i>	<i>Considerations Which Must Be Cared:</i>	Teachers made evaluations by taking explanations from the instructional principles into consideration.
1. Getting the first three grades students to explain natural, economic, and social life which are possible to be comprehended by them	<i>1st Year</i> Our Classroom, Our School, Our Home, Our Family, At Market and Bazaar, Autumn, Autumn in Gardens, Before Coming to School, After Going Out School, At School, At Shop, Winter is Coming, New Year, At Home, Play, Outdoor Winter Entertainments, Nights and Days, Pets At Our Home, Fire, Diseases, Our Body, Animals in Spring, Spring is Coming, Visit, Post, Birds and Other Animals, '3rd April Feast, Summer is Coming, At Bazaar and Market, Summer, End of Instructional Year.	1. Primary school is a national education institution. Courses are an instruments which reach the purposes 2. Primary school must be a sample of the society. 3. School must offer a framework in which children are encouraged to act, create. 4. No opportunity must be missed in order to teach children to judge and think. 5. Children's interest must be stirred in order to act on the activity. 6. Internal resources must be utilized so as to make them motivated. 7. Different instructional activities must be designed, any course must not be instructed with a single activity.	
2. Allowing children examine living and environment conditions in terms of geography		8. All of the course must be instructed according to children's level.	
3. Getting them ready understand historical events by taking their interest to important historical events	<i>2nd Year</i> Living Holiday, Coming Back to School, Autumn has come, At Market and Bazaar, Autumn, Republic Feast, At Home and School, Preparations of Winter, Our Home and Family, The First Snow, New Year, Winter Entertainments, Winter, Winter Diseases, Care Well Our Body, Our Dresses, Cleanliness, People That Are Come Across At Street, Our Home, Winter Has Come, At Market and Bazaar, Spring, Spring At Street, Spring At Vine and Garden, 23rd April Feast, Military Service, Summer is Approaching, Our Water, and Summer Holiday is Coming.	9. Children must be helped to gain experience related to instructed subjects. 10. Close environment and time principle must be dominated in primary school. 11. Practical knowledge and skills must be given priority. 12. Insight in national economic has key role in all of the activities.	
4. Making them aware of natural beauty and loving.		13. Whole instruction must be followed in the first three years, which are the first period of primary school. 14. Children must be offered opportunities in which they express their emotions and thoughts in different ways. 15. Child must learn the rules which help them distinguish which one is moral. 16. Habits of effective free time must be taught.	
5. Fostering Conscience of devotion to the country and the nation which teach basic responsibilities for nation and country love.	<i>3rd Year</i> At Our New Classroom, Our School, Our School and Its Close Around, the Republic Feast, Autumn, School Way, Our Home and Family, Street and District in Which Our School is, New Year, Winter, Other Districts in Our Town or City, Our Body, Our Diseases, Charity Associations in Our Town or City, Post, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio, Administrative Organisations of Our Town or City, General View to Our Town or City, Agriculture Experience At School Field and Air Observations, the 23rd April Feast, At Garden and Vine, At Forest, By Our Stream and Lake, Sea, Village, Village Investigation, Our Water, Neighbour Towns, the Sky.	17. Ways of effective speaking must be taught. <i>Teaching Methods:</i> Trip, Observation, Investigation, Research, Exhibition.	

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## Conclusion

The content of 1926 Life Science Curriculum was constructed through unit-based approach. However, subject-based approach was adopted instead of the unit-based approach in the 1936 Life Science Curriculum according to Table 6. In this context, about 30 subjects were determined for each of the year. However, while some subjects were kept as common for 1<sup>st</sup> Year, 2<sup>nd</sup> Year, and 3<sup>rd</sup> Year and holistically organised, some subjects were dealt with in a straight way. On the other hand, geographical structure which influences close environment of the school was suggested to be addressed together, as a consequence flexibility appeared. For example, *Spring in Vine and Garden* subject which was designed for 1<sup>st</sup> Year, can be arranged in park if there is no vine or garden around the school. When the subject in the 1936 Life Science Curriculum is generally addressed, it can be observed that there are subjects on school, local environment, nature, natural events, seasons, government organisations, institutions, feasts, agricultural applications, telegraph and post in the 1936 Life Science Curriculum. However, it can be seen that communication technologies such as telephone and radio were included in the curriculum by taking realities of the time period into consideration. It is very interesting to cover military service in the curriculum. This may have stemmed from political changes that occurred in that time in the world.

According to Table 6, 17 considerations which teacher must care, were developed and explained. Those considerations suggest that teachers were asked to avoid sole memorization and cared to give examples from Daily life (Acar, 2011; Ergin, 1977). Therefore, it can be concluded that *individual and collective interest, from close to distant, association with real life, appropriate time* principles were covered in the 1936 Life Science Curriculum. On the another hand, *whole instruction* and *experiential learning* principles were also emphasized in the 1936 Life Science Curriculum as well as the 1926 Life Science Curriculum highlighted. Furthermore, at the and of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Year, gradual groups and branches were suggested in order to develop students' skills on investigation events and objects in terms of scientific rules (Cicioğlu, 1985; Şahin, 2009). As a result, using *research* as an instructional strategy was especially was emphasized. This approach can be considered as an aim establishing transition from 3<sup>rd</sup> Year, end of the first period of primary school, to 4<sup>th</sup> Year, starting of the second period of primary school. Moreover, fort he first time *Teaching Instruments* included course instruments, places for trip and investigation, collections, co-sources in order to enrich learning-teaching process (Mala, 2011).

There was not any explanation about how to assess and evaluate student achievement. However, teachers made case evaluations by taking explanations related to principles and purposes (Mala, 2011).

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# INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO SPORTS IN TURKEY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1922-1938

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## Introduction

From time immemorial, people have felt an unceasing need to engage in physical activities, be it for reasons of economic survival or for a healthier life. While these physical activities in question sometimes took place within a consciously defined program, at other times they had the shape of numerous games that emerged without any conscious planning in accordance with the cultural characteristics of society. The important thing to note here is that, in both cases, human beings benefited from the activities performed.

Since antiquity, being a good warrior has been the most important factor in a person's economic survival. In wars fought without the technological means available today, without doubt the physically strong people would be deemed good warriors. Having left their mark on world history in this respect, Turks are known as strong and brave warriors. The expression "strong as a Turk," used in western countries, is indisputable evidence. It can be argued that the most important factor for the fame that Turks achieved as good warriors, archers, and wrestlers, is the fact that they always trained in a modern sense.

The difficult conditions they had to face due to the geography they inhabited were reflected in the need for Turks to always stay physically fit during their lives. In an effort to feed themselves, they placed importance on hunting. Turks understood the importance of maintaining speed and strength for their encounters with game animals, and to attain a certain level of physical fitness they adopted distinctive methods of training. The idea that Turks need to be mentally and physically strong stems from their belief that their survival depends on their ability to cope with difficult natural conditions (Kurt et al. 2016)

These sportive movements can be observed at all stages through the history of the Turks. Sportive movements have been important in the Turks' success in conquering lands as they migrated from Central Asia to Anatolia as well as in their transition to a more sedentary way of life as they settled in these lands. They are recorded in history especially as a nation of skilled archers and horse riders. As a sub-branch of sports, archery was considered an important weapon during the 600-year reign of the Ottomans for its ease of use on horseback, and it did not fall out of use for a long time despite the transition

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to firearms. After all, archery was among the most important sportive movements, with sultans themselves participating in archery competitions, and had gained an institutional identity (Güven, 1999). Numerous Ottoman sultans were interested in traditional sports themselves, and they also encouraged participation in these activities by means of rewards (Kahraman, 1995).

However, faced with political, economic, military and social issues, the Ottomans could not advance in the fields of sports and physical education either, and consequently, the sportive activities in Turkish territories fell behind those in the modern world (Ünver, 2004).

Despite the loss of large territories and the numerous defeats experienced during the later periods of the Ottoman Empire, the nationalist movement struggle, sparked especially by the invasion of Anatolia as a result of the First World War, not only made it possible to retain the territories held by the Republic of Turkey today but also allowed for the foundation of the republic (Türkmen, 2013). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, without doubt the greatest contributor to the success of the nationalist movement struggle and later the founder of the Republic of Turkey, in his opening speech delivered at the 1921 Education Congress emphasized the need for “education to have a completely national and local character without any foreign influence or the dark superstitions of the past”. Atatürk’s approach was interpreted by Hasan Âli Yücel as the need to “create a Turkish youth that would be strong and competent enough to compete with other nations” (Yücel, 1993).

The aim of creating physically and mentally healthy generations was the rationale behind Atatürk’s encouragement of the Turkish youth’s participation in sports. It can be observed that this approach paved the way for a number of developments in the field of sports even before the foundation of the Republic. Following the foundation of the Republic, sports came under state supervision. Sports and physical education had four steps during the foundation years: The Period of Turkey Training Associations Alliance between 1922-1936. The Period of Turkish Sports Institution between 1936-1938 during which Turkey participated in international competitions for the first time. This institution became an organizational sub-branch of the Republican People’s Party (CHP) during its first general assembly, and thus sports came under state supervision. The period of the Ministry of Youth and Sports which has endured since 1946. In this period, the management of sports took the shape that it still has to this day (Fişek, 1980). This study aims to shed light on the developments in sports in the period leading up to and following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey (1922-1938).

### **Turkey Training Associations Alliance (1922-1936)**

The first step toward the organization of sports in Turkey was taken when with Burhan Felek and Nasuhi Esat Baydar and Ali Sami Yen translated the Swiss Sports

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Organization Regulations which were brought back by Yusuf Ziya Öniş who had received his education in Switzerland. Led by Ali Sami Yen, Burhan Felek and Nasuhi Esat Baydar, the representatives of sports clubs assembled and started their efforts towards the establishment of the Turkey Training Associations Alliance, which would be the first sports organization in Turkey. This alliance consisted of the representatives of sports' clubs located in Istanbul. The Swiss Federation was set as the example for the organization of the alliance. Founded in 1922, the Turkey Training Associations Alliance became the sole authority in charge of sports following the First World War. The new Republic participated in an international competition for the first time during this period. The prestige of the Alliance increased when, during the 1924 Paris Olympic Games, it was understood that international competitions were important for the representation and recognition of the new republic (Canşen, 2015).

The first steps toward the establishment of the Turkey Training Associations Alliance (abbreviated to TICI) were taken at an assembly held on 26 June 1920 in Istanbul with the participation of the following sports clubs: Altınordu, Beylerbeyi, Darüşşafaka, Anadolu, Bakırköy, Fenerbahçe, Hilal İdman Yurdu, Nişantaşı, Süleymaniye, Türkgücü, Vefa, Üsküdar, Beşiktaş, Union and Galatasaray. The assembly was led by Yusuf Ziya Öniş. The efforts to formally establish the TICI continued until 15 April 1921 after this first assembly. The second assembly was held on 15 April 1921 at the Istanbul Sports Club. At this second assembly, a provisional board led by Mahmut Eşref, representative of the Altınordu sports club, was formed. Having officially applied for as a legal entity on 27 November 1921 in accordance with the associations law, dated 3.8.1909, it obtained the status of a legal person on 22 May 1922. The provisional board was led by Ali Sami Yen, Burhanettin Felek, Selim Sırrı TARCAN and Yusuf Ziya Öniş. The founders had their first official meeting at the Fenerbahçe Clubhouse in Kadıköy on 14 July 1922. The government of the time provided economic support for the establishment of the TICI (Sümer, 1990). The TICI was recognized as a public benefit organization with government decree number 170 dated 2 January 1924.

The founding principles of the TICI were as follows: “to improve health and promote better moral behavior by providing sports as a desirable field of activity for youth which would prevent them from immoral behavior - such as smoking and gambling; to promote nationwide participation in organizations and group activities; to improve the ability to exchange ideas as well as improving managerial skills; to help meet the needs of military organizations by promoting swordsmanship, horse riding and sailing to turn the youth into reliable and skillful individuals; to give youth the opportunity to see more of their country through sports competitions and excursions, so that they can get to understand its needs and cherish it; to promote and encourage national sentiments through participation in international competitions; to provide an external means of

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propaganda for Turkishness; to combat the idea that physical education and sports are a means towards personal gain and benefit; and thus to improve our nation by means of promoting sports as a means to further develop minds and science” (Özmaden, 2010).

Even though there have been numerous studies concerning the organizational efforts of the TICI around the country as well their efforts to promote sports, offering chronological, institutional and sportive information on the said processes, it was thought that the organization, which survived until 1936, would promote national sentiments in accordance with its founding principles, and that the republican idea of sports as a means to reinforce national consciousness as well as the opportunity to represent the nation would motivate athletes. Professionalization as well as organization in the form of separate clubs was rejected as possible causes of damage to an athlete’s national consciousness. Sports was promoted as a means of political and national propaganda overseas. Trainers were brought from abroad to train athletes for the 1924 Olympic Games, further economic resources were allocated on top of the existing ones; the main aim here was to create a modern Turkey that moved in the direction of the West. Participation in international competitions increased and athletes were encouraged to promote their country to their foreign counterparts. Promotion and representation of and familiarity with one’s country came to be some of the outcomes expected of sports (Yıldırım, 1996).

The contrast between the new Republic of Turkey as a nation state and the multinational Ottoman Empire, which had suppressed the Turkish identity, has been cited as the main reason for the inclusion of national consciousness and representation among the founding principles of the TICI. In order to achieve this aim, professionalization was rejected. Professionalism was thought to move athletes away from group consciousness to self-seeking sentiments centered around personal gain. For this reason, the fact that an athlete represented not himself or herself but the whole nation was emphasized (Özmaden, 2010).

### **Sports at Educational Institutions (1923-1938)**

Studies concerning physical education and sports began in Turkey in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Those who had contact with other countries reached an understanding that physical education was a discipline, that it could not be accidental and could be no more than simple movements based on sheer physical strength. First among these people were Selim Sırrı Bey, who was sent to Sweden in 1909 to receive his education in Physical Education, and Mustafa Necati Bey, the Minister of Education, who visited a number of countries in Europe to hold meetings. Having understood that physical education was a scientific matter, Mustafa Necati Bey, in particular, made use of his position of authority to promote this understanding in Turkey. However, the number of experts in this field was very limited. In order to make up for the shortage of experts, he invited foreign

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instructors to Turkey to organize physical education classes and provide education in the field, and sent young students from Turkey to study abroad. However, it was difficult to have this new discipline recognized and embraced in Turkey. At the root of this difficulty lay the perception that physical education was based solely on simple movements and was not to be taken seriously. It was necessary to establish a scientific institution to overcome this difficulty. Even though a school was established in Istanbul for this purpose, it was shut down shortly after. It was thought that if Ankara became the center of physical education, as it was the center of everything else, it would be easier to promote physical education (Günay, 2013).

After the nationalist movement struggle, efforts were made to further develop the country and the nation in every possible aspect. Education was placed at the top of the list. For it was believed that nationwide intellectual, mental, and physical development was necessary. In this period of development, the two subjects which Mustafa Kemal attached great importance to, physical education and sports, were inevitably added to the national education system and became part of the national curriculum. The 6<sup>th</sup> article of the National education program, presented to the Grand National Assembly before the declaration of the Republic (14 August 1923), made references to scouting, physical education and sports. The 6<sup>th</sup> article included the following: “The moral and social capabilities of an individual as well as their mental and intellectual capabilities will be developed. For this purpose, the Physical Education Teacher Training School will be established, and it will achieve gradual success with the activities of the scouting organization at a social level.” It can be observed that the efforts to promote physical education and sports had already begun before the declaration of the Republic as part of the education program, and Selim Sırrı Tarcan was delegated to implement the decision (Güven, 1996; Günay, 2013).

From the first years of the Republic onward, the need to include physical education in teacher education curricula was emphasized. The “Teacher’s Middle School,” established in Konya in 1925 for this purpose, was moved to Ankara for the school year 1927-1928, and, after the addition of a pedagogical branch, its name was changed to “Gazi Teacher’s School and Education Institute”. A physical education and sports area was built next to the building, so that a physical education branch could be established within the Institute. When these facilities were built in 1932, the Physical Education branch, which offered a three-year program, was established with the “Board of Education and Discipline” decree number 105 dated 5 July 1932 (Yücel, 1993).

Once the Physical Education Branch of the Gazi Education Institute began operating, people such as Nizamettin Kırşan, Vildan Aşır Savaşır and Zehra Alagöz, who had received their education abroad and were working at various institutions at the time, joined the staff of the school. In addition, the German physical education expert, Kurt

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Dainas, came to Turkey to join the team. In 1937 the school started training female physical education teachers and recruited Margarete Korge, who had been working at the Istanbul German High School as a Physical Education Teacher (Güven, 1996)

The “Directorate of Physical Education and Scouting” was established within the Board of Education with the passing of law number 2287 dated 22 June 1933 and the promotion of sports at schools was accelerated. Later, with the passing of law number 2273 dated 15 June 1935, the organization of physical education and scouting activities by this directorate, both at schools and outside, was regulated (Abalı, 1974).

A more pragmatic approach to physical education and sports, regarding national education policies in general, was embraced in the 1930s. According to the “Primary School Regulation” published in 1929, the aim of primary schools was to physically and mentally educate young generations in such a way that they would benefit the Republic of Turkey and its society in the best way possible (Cicioğlu, 1985).

The institutional efforts to promote camping, especially during the early years of the Republic, also had an important part to play in the physical education of children and youth. Youth and Health Camps, organized by the Turkish Red Crescent, are among the best examples of the Republican policies for body and education (Türkmen, 2015).

### **The Turkish Sports Institution (1936-1938)**

The TICI dealt with these issues over a 13-year period from 1923 to 1936. The development of sports to the desired level was impeded during this period by the shortage of government funds, the domination of sports management positions by those who were involved in other trades, and by the fact that one half of the sports facilities was located in Ankara while the other half was located in Istanbul. Starting from 1934, sports in Turkey came further under the influence of the Republican People’s Party. The congress assembled in Ankara in 1936 put an end to the TICI, and later the Turkish Sports Institution (TSK) was established (Kılıç, 2013).

The Turkish Sports Institution represents the period of transition from federal administration by clubs to the state administration of sports. It was the first of its kind in Turkey in terms of the relationship it established between sports and politics. The Turkish Sports Institution functioned as an offshoot of the Republican People’s Party, the only political party in Turkey at the time. In a way, the TSK was the continuation both of the process of democratization in sports and of the unsuccessful experiments with democratization in sports, which had both begun with the creation of the TICI. It was established as an institution that aimed to create a youth that would hold their homeland in the highest esteem and even sacrifice their lives for it if need be, to promote and develop sports based on national and technical principles, and to represent Turkish sports

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both in Turkey and overseas, with the passing of a law that described the Institution as “an institution that strives to promote and develop sports in Turkey on a basis of national and technical principles and to represent Turkish sports both in Turkey and overseas”(Gül, 2008).

During the period of its foundation, it was not subordinate to any ministry and it had elected bodies of its own. As an autonomous institution with the authority to use its resources at will, the TSK was based on the principle of local administration with respect to its administration and services (Türkay and Aydın, 2017).

Such a concept of organization was not so different from the model embraced by the TICI. However, the fact that the board of directors of the TSK had members from the military and the government, as well as the fact that the TSK needed the approval of the presidency and the general secretary of the Republican People’s Party (CHP) for its budget programs, contributed to its transformation into a semi-official body. In addition to that, the party dictated instructions regarding important matters. In short, sports organization in this period could not go beyond a “party-state” administration (Keten, 1974). The organization of the TSK caused the personal ambitions of party members to be mixed up with the management of sports, and certain negative developments in sports were in turn reflected within the party (Fişek 1985). This situation resulted in a polarization in social and political circles as well as in the violation of the principle of “equal opportunity” (Doğar, 1994). In the words of Atabeyoğlu (2001), all the athletes were enlisted as members of the party, and this practice reached a point where non-members could not become athletes. It is worth noting that the logo of the party was placed on the jerseys worn by the athletes (Kılıç, 2013). In the end, Atatürk himself had to interfere with the politicization of sports to a significant degree (Kılıç, 2012), and the transitional Turkish Sports Institution only survived for a period of two years and was replaced by a public institution, the Public Directorate of Physical Education, which was an entirely public institution established with the passing of law number 3530 (Ekenci and Serarşlan, 1997; Kırşan, 1938).

### **Conclusion**

The concept of sports appears in Turkish history to have been adopted as a way of life that comprised physical activities which were aimed at survival and domination. Since its foundation, the Ottoman Empire attached great importance to traditional sports both in educational and military institutions. Modern movements in the field of sports can be traced back to the 1830s. However, faced with political, economic, military and social issues, the Ottomans could not advance in the fields of sports and physical education either, and, consequently, the sportive activities in Turkish territories fell behind those in the modern world. After the Turkish war of independence, even before the declaration of

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the Republic, Mustafa Kemal implemented certain measures that would promote sports for the masses and help produce physically and mentally fit generations.

The first step was to lay the foundations for the institutionalization of sports; for this purpose, the autonomous Turkey Training Associations Alliance was founded in 1922. At the same time, following the declaration of the Republic, sports and physical education were also added to school curricula. The most noteworthy among such schools were those that were established to train physical education and sports teachers.

In 1936, the Turkish Sports Institution replaced the Turkey Training Associations Alliance, paving the way for state control over sports. However, the TSK was made subordinate to the CHP, the single party of the period, and it functioned as the party's youth association. The politicization of sports to such a degree made the TSK a short-lived organization. In 1938 the Turkish Sports Institution was replaced by the Public Directorate of Physical Education, which was an entirely public institution established with the passing of law number 3530.

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## ENACTMENT OF CIVIL LAW (1926)

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### Introduction

Civil Law regulates all of our daily relationships: The relationships experienced in every stage of social life from birth to death are regulated by laws and supervised by the law. In order for the revolutionary moves to be permanent and successful, laws and rules which would situate their principles are needed. If the community doesn't comply with these laws and rules as a whole, it is not possible to sustain a revolution. The reason underlying the immediate enactment of Civil Code is reinforcing the foundations of targeted revolutions without delay (Veldet, 1942, p. 516-520). Rules of law regulate the relationships in a community and everybody is obliged to comply with them. These rules are obliged to be followed. Because the power of the state is behind them. Thus, if the desired objectives are to be achieved, opening the power and applicability of laws up for discussion is extremely inconvenient.

### Turkish Civil Code from Ottomans to Republic

In periods when the Ottoman Empire was powerful, rules of law were based on religious principles. Although this practice were partially changed during the periods of stagnation and regression, it didn't cover all segments of society in general. As a natural consequence of this, the confusion and chaos caused by customary and ecclesiastics laws which have been implemented together for hundreds of years have betrayed the trust in justice and state. A board was established under the presidency of Ahmet Cevdet Paşa (Pasha) with the intent of modernizing the field of law. Fiqh books in Arabic of Hanafi fiqh published by the Board is a statute book which included the provisions related to civil life. It is believed that enactment of Mecelle (Ottoman Code of Civil Law) based on Islamic principles and ecclesiastical rules will constitute legal order in every field of social life, commercial life being in the first place and difficulties experienced will come to an end. Mecelle-i Ahkâm-ı Adliye (Ottoman Code of Civil Law) has entered into force in 1876 but it was different than a legal system in today's context in many ways. The law composed of 1 books and 1851 articles included provisions based on Islamic Law instead of provisions related to family and inheritance laws in a universal context. Moreover, the provisions which pertain to civil proceedings included in the law (Karahasanoğlu, 2011, p.103-104; Kılıçoğlu, 2016, p.1720) caused restlessness in various ethnical and religious differences contained within itself. European states which have taken advantage of this situation have used the new law based on Islamic principles as an excuse and started to intervene in domestic affairs of Ottoman State on various pretenses and violate its sovereignty rights. Gradual increase of these violations and not

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making regulations in favor of Turks who are the fundamental element have gradually increased the restlessness in society. Muslims and non-Muslims who have been living in tranquility and peace have lost their ability to coexist. It is seen that authors such as Ahmet Şuayip and Celal Nuri<sup>1</sup> were writing articles and stating that Mecelle should be amended. Celal Nuri has written an article in *İçtihad* magazine dated May 9, 1913 titled “The Mecelle Issue” and stated that Mecelle falls short and changes should be made (Esirgen, 2011, p.43). Just then, the Civil Code Commission divided into three sub-commissions was established to recompose Mecelle in 1916 but the commission has not made any proposal for any amendment up until 1923.

Founders of Turkish Republic which is regarded as continuation of Ottoman State have taken lessons from the distress going on for years and to begin with, they have begun to examine the law examples related to universal law. Thus they have become a civilized state of law and averted European states from interfering our domestic affairs again. For the new State of the Republic of Turkey founded as a fully independent state *Civil Code* became one of the most significant indicators of independency from this aspect. It can be said that Switzerland was taken as an example because it was an independent, idiosyncratic and neutral country at the time.

### Why the Swiss Civil Code?

Switzerland is a country of peace which kept away from political disputes and has lived in felicity and tranquility between the years of 1892 and 1907. A long-lasting period of political and economic peace is the most important factor which facilitates enactment of laws suitable for people. This serene and peaceful environment ensured by Switzerland is the main characteristic of Switzerland envied by other states. However, it was not that easy to actualize this. In parallel with the increase in its population, the number of cantons and confederates has increased and it became necessary to do something to hold twenty-three legal regimes together. Feeling compelled to draft a law free from fanaticism which would embrace all social segments, they have made a series of investigations. At the end of these investigations, they have reached a neutral jurist who is able to observe the incidents comprehensively from a broad angle, Eugene Huber. Huber has conducted studies on Swiss and German laws and he was commissioned by Switzerland Jurists Society for this duty in 1892. They have figured out that the new law would build unity and solidarity on solid basis and thus, federalist opposition of central Switzerland and Romand cantons would lose its power. Huber has comparatively examined the civil laws of Germany and Switzerland and after a 15-year long study, Federal Assembly of Switzerland has unanimously enacted the civil code book written by Huber in 1907. Swiss Civil Law Book “ZGB” composed of 977 articles and four main

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<sup>1</sup> \* Celâl Nuri İLERİ (1870-1939) is a pro-western intellectual of Second Constitutionalist Period and the Republic. He was a graduate in law and spoke French and English (Ülken, 1998, p.399).

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sections regarding law of persons, law of family, law of inheritance, law of property and social life has entered into force on January 1, 1912 (Young, 1949, p.163-167).

Considering the differences within itself and its success to be a state, Switzerland bears significant resemblance to newly founded Turkish Republic. This resemblance and changing requirements in line with the etatism based on secularism has necessitated a new law based on universal values to replace Mecelle. Although two commissions have been established in the Assembly began to work in 1923, the laws they have drawn-up were found insufficient and non-contemporary. Since French Civil Code was old and German Civil Code was so technical and rhetoric, Switzerland became the focus. A new commission composed of 26 legist members of parliament, judiciaries, judges and faculty members has been established. French translations of Swiss Civil Code have been translated into Turkish by the commission with the influence of Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, Ministry of Justice at the time and the law was enacted on February 17, 1926 with no 743 in the Assembly and entered into force on October 4, 1926. The same commission has translated the Swiss Code of Obligations into Turkish and the law was enacted on April 22 and entered into force on May 8, 1926 (Stroppel, 2012).

This law dated 1926 is a great revolution which gave an opportunity to join the Western civilization and resurrect the creative powers of Turkish nation. A brand new era has begun upon disengagement with old and dilapidated law and custom (Arık 1948, p.13). Turkish legist Professor ARIK states that enactment of this law is a big move “towards Turkish national law by virtue of Swiss Civil Code” (Arık 1948, p.30).

### **Reasons of Enactment of the Swiss Civil Code**

Absence of expert staff and legists in the said period might be the biggest factor in enactment of the Swiss Civil Code. Switzerland is the most civilized state in Europe and their civil code was enacted in 1912, so it was the most recent civil code. These two factors were also effective in enactment of the said law (Kılıçoğlu, 2016, p.1721).

It is not possible to consider choosing the Swiss Civil Code as a casually made decision or a consequence of coincidences. Many reasons can be shown in for its enactment and those can be enumerated in the most general sense:

1. It was the most recently enacted civil code in Europe and included all kinds of innovations by correcting the deficiencies of the current civil codes of European states,
2. It was delivering rational and practical solutions even to most insoluble problems,
3. It was suitable for custom and law of Turkish community,

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4. It was based on secularism and had a progressive and democratic nature,
  5. Expressions and concepts were clear and comprehensible,
  6. It was based on equality of women and men,
  7. It would take a long time to draw up a new civil code (Ataay, 1995, p.83-86). Due to these reasons, the Swiss Civil Code was translated into Turkish as is and enacted.

### **Character of Turkish Civil Code and Consequential Developments**

Turkish Civil Code should not be seen only as a law. Due to its nature, it involves many characters within itself. These characters are below;

- 1. Democratic Character:** Principles of “equality and generality of rights” included in our law by virtue of the Civil Code are fully in compliance with philosophical and economic trends of our century. In other words everybody has equal rights and remedies and can take advantage of them.
- 2. Liberal and Individualist Character:** Civil Code places significant importance to personal freedom and individual initiative. Thus every person is enabled to freely take decisions in every field of life from birth till death and securely pass their savings to their successors.
- 3. Social Character:** The law generally protects the weak. Provisions related to many aspects such as those who don't have the power of discernment cannot be held liable due to their actions, adoption, alimony, custody etc. are evidences of existence of social character.
- 4. Secular Character:** Secularity principle stated in Article 2 of Constitution was adhered to and the same provision was stated as “Secularism is not interfering in religious affairs for and against in the sense that it is defined in law”. From this point forth, it is the assurance of equality of people regardless of their religion.
- 5. Populist Character:** The law is not hard-to-understand and technical and includes brief and explicit provisions. In this context, it has a populist character. It is not enough for the rules regulating daily relationships in life to be understandable for the legists. They should be clearly understood by the community. We cannot say that Turkish Civil Code has a populist character in terms of its language. Because it is very difficult to understand its language today.
- 6. Appraiser Character:** Civil Code provides broad authority to judges in practice. Hence, when a judge comes across an incident for which there is no applicable provision, he/she acts as a legislator, sets up a rule and adjudges accordingly. It has a

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flexible and adaptable nature in this respect (Ataay, 1995, p.161-165).

Turkish Civil Code led to many changes in social and public fields and consequently significant gains are obtained. These gains are below;

- 1- Unity of law is ensured in Turkish Republic.
- 2- Turkish citizens became equal in terms of religion, sect, rights and duties.
- 3- Gaps and discrepancies of Islamic law are removed, a rational and contemporary system is established.
- 4- Authorities of patriarchates regarding earthly affairs are withdrawn.
- 5- Turkish law system is completely secularized.
- 6- Women have acquired the right to choose the occupation they want.
- 7- Equality of women and men is secured in testimony and receiving a share of inheritance.
- 8- Marriage and divorce affairs came under the rule of the state. Women are also granted the right to divorce.
- 9- Family is regarded as the foundation of society.
- 10- Monogamy principle is accepted.
- 11- Wedding procedure came under the rule of the state.
- 12- Obligations are imposed on parents in child rearing.
- 13- Mothers are also granted the right of custody.
- 14- Mecelle is abolished (Özateş, 2013,434; Ataay, 1978).

With the Civil Code, all laws are enforced equally on all citizens of Turkish republic and unity in law is ensured. Secular state approach was adapted to law system. For this purpose, law systems implemented in Europe are examined and after determining the appropriate ones, they are regulated in incorporated into Turkish law system. In this context, Swiss Code of Obligations, Italian Criminal Code and German Code of Commerce are examined and incorporated into Turkish Law System on May 8, 1928, July 1, 1928 and May 10, 1928 respectively.

In this table constituted by Ataay, Turkish and Swiss Civil Codes are compared with Mecelle and their differences are revealed (Ataay, 1995, p.186). Only the issues stated in this table show that it is a law in modern sense.

	<b>Turkish CL</b>	<b>Swiss CL</b>	<b>Mecelle</b>
In Terms of System	Modern Pandects <sup>1*</sup> System	Modern Pandects System	It doesn't depend on a system in Western sense.
In Terms of Method	Abstract Method	Abstract Method	Casuistic Method
In Terms of Root	Not national	National	Based on religion
In Terms of Revolutionism	Revolutionist	Conservative	Conservative
In Terms of Integrity	Civil C. + C. of Obligations	Civil C. + C. of Obligations + Commercial Section	Doesn't cover the whole of the field of Civil Law
In Terms of Language	Not populist	Populist	Not understandable by community
In Terms of Secularism	Secular	Secular	Not secular
In Terms of Authorities of Judge	Broad authorities are provided to judges	Broad authorities are provided to judges	No authority is provided to judges

Although Turkish women became equal to men in social and civil fields with Turkish Civil Law, some of their democratic rights are also granted by laws enacted in GNAT in subsequent years and full equality is ensured. Turkish women have gained the right to elect and be elected in political and democratic fields before their fellow women in many European countries. This fact by itself indicates the desire of the newly founded state to have contemporary and universal values.

Turkish Civil Law has entered into force in 1926 by the law no. 743 and successfully remained in force until 2001. The said law has regulated social life according to current conditions in a progressive and democratic manner. Although it has been partially amended in time, in essence it has the basic characters of the Civil Code No. 4721 enacted in 2001. The language of Civil Code dated 2001 is more plain and more detailed explanations regarding the experienced incidents are included. Main headings in both laws are almost exactly the same. Thus it is possible to compare the former (1926) and new (2001) civil codes. First of all, former law was composed of 935 articles but the new one includes 1030 articles. The biggest reason of this increase in the number of articles due to the fact that some provisions mentioned as paragraphs in former law are mentioned as articles in the new law (Savaş Yayınları, 2018, p.775-795).

When the main headings are considered, first eight articles are preserved and enumerated as is.

**1. Law of Persons** : While there were 44 articles in total from Article 8 to Article 52 under the heading of Law of Persons in former law, the number of articles under the heading of Law of Persons are 38 in total, from Article 8 to Article 46 in the new one. In this section there are principles including capacity to act, settlement place, personality rights, protection of rights, right to sue, right to change of name, birth and death and personal rights and rules to apply these principles.

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2. **Family Law:** While there were 158 articles in total from Article 82 to Article 240, the number of articles are 163 in total, from Article 118 to Article 281 in the new one. In this section there are rules in many issues such as engagement, breaking off the engagement, formation of capacity of marriage, multiple marriages, divorce, alimony after divorce, compensation, custody, marital property, sharing, debts etc.
  3. **Kinship Law:** While there were 198 articles in total from Article 240 to Article 438, the number of articles are 212 in total, from Article 282 to Article 494 in the new one. This section includes issues related to children's bloodline such as parenting responsibilities, paternal rights, adoption terms, paternity, custody, right to education, family properties, guardian and curatorship.
  4. **Inheritance Law:** While there were 155 articles in total from Article 439 to Article 594, the number of articles are 187 in total, from Article 495 to Article 682 in the new one. It includes rules determined regarding the issues such as arrangement of properties belonging to individuals having blood relation, will, inheritance, debarment from inheritance, property sharing etc.
  5. **Law of Property:** While there were 340 articles in total from Article 595 to Article 935, the number of articles are 444 in total, from Article 683 to Article 1027 in the new one. Additional three articles are about the removed law, entry into force and executive authority.

The number of amended articles is in this section at the most. In this section there are regulations regarding ownership, immovable property ownership, movable property ownership, rights in kind, right of usufruct and receivables related to immovable property pledge, mortgage, bill of debt etc. and possession and land registry (Arpacı,2008; <https://www.lexpera.com.tr/mevzuat/kanunlar/turk-kanunu-medenisi-743>).

### **Conclusion**

Being born out of the ashes of an underdeveloped state disconnected from Europe for hundreds of years, Turkish Republic set its goal as reaching the level of contemporary civilization and accordingly and swiftly enacted such important laws and put them into force. This progress led to confusion in Europe. In his work titled "The Reception of European Law in Turkey" Sauser Hall states his opinions as follows: "The most powerful Islamic state abolishes its customs dating back to thousand years in a period of six months. History cannot exemplify such a radical and sudden change in any country. There is no bolder change experienced in any country and by any community". French legist Kont Ostrorog who has conducted studies on Islamic law states the following in one of his articles: "Reception of European law by Turkish Republic is one of the most remarkable events occurred in the East ever since 14th Century, that is, acceptance

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of Islam.” According to Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, “A new direction is steered to Turkish history and life, a new and prosperous civilized life is opened to Turks” (Arik, 1948, p.25; Stroppel, 2012).

Today Swiss citizens take a pride in reception of Swiss Civil Code which is called as “ZGB” by them in Turkey. Because small Switzerland has sent something to big Turkey and this makes them see themselves greater and important. In addition Switzerland has hosted Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923, Montreux Convention in 1936, Cyprus Treaty in 1960, Davos Declaration in 1988 and Cyprus Talks in 2004. So they accept this as the indicator of their friendship and alliance with Turkey (Blocher, 2006). Convergence between Switzerland and Turkey has provided an opportunity to Turkish law students and Turkish students have continued their education on Switzerland scholarship. However the amendments made by Switzerland in parallel to developments in recent years have not been followed up, our law lost its practicality in time and following the partial amendments made, the new law has entered into force on 01.01.2002. The new law is composed of 1030 articles and 950 of them are just redefinitions of former law (Kılıçoğlu 2016, s.1755). This is the proof of how successful the Swiss Civil Code is and how rightful those who have chosen it.

Another point to notice is that Swiss Civil Code is not only accepted by Turkey due to its plain language and properties like granting the judges the authority to construe the law. It is taken as an example and adapted by countries like Peru, Albania, People’s Republic of China, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Czechia (Stroppel, 2012).

Consequently, it is seen that Turkish Civil Code has been regulated and amended again in the years following its enactment as needed. The first one has been realized in 1938. The last and most radical amendment made after the years of 1990 and 1998 was actualized with the law no. 4721 enacted on 22.11.2001 (Arpacı,2008, p.141-142). With enactment of the new law, Swiss Civil Code is expired.

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## DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1923-1938

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### Introduction

In the Ottoman Empire, from the 18th century onwards, it is very important to evaluate what is done in the field of education and science. Darülfünun, which was founded in 1462, was an important step in terms of transition to higher education. Darülfünun continued its existence until 1933 and continued its existence through various stages and processes in this period of 100 years. In 1933, according to the report carried out by the University Reform of foreign scientists who were invited to Turkey at Istanbul University was established and laid the foundations of the university in the modern sense.

In the early years of the Republic, changes in the period of Atatürk will only be related to the geography related to education or social events, and to interpret the event incompletely. Geographical events that occurred in this period were related to the nature of the period and also due to the nature of geography science, social, economic, political, geopolitical and educational areas were also closely related.

The Republic was established between the two world wars, where the industrial revolution, Europe, dominated the world and the world to reach this goal. The establishment of the Republic, on the one hand 600 years of political, economic and social phenomena, institutions, abandonment or traditions or that require a serious revision, on the other hand, the industry began with the world developments and changes revolution was necessary to also keep pace. During this period, the world was the development of the theory for the sovereignty and the theory of the center or an area close to the center also affects deeply the events related to the foreign policy of the country is Turkey's reflections on the state of the structure, ideology, has affected the training. That Mackinder put forward and Houshofer black domination theory put into practice, Skypman thrown aside Generation Domination Theory introduced by Alfred Mohan by theories such as disposable Sea Dominance Theory emerged, although it may seem like they do not affect Turkey globalization slow him feel that a it is not possible to not be affected in the period.

In this case, if you need to evaluate the organization in terms of education and one of the most important features that characterize the institutionalization period of the founding of the modern Republic of Turkey and Turkey's geography is almost equivalent to a fall in the same year. This necessitates a review of the relationship between the spatiality of the nation-state and the development of the discipline of geography in the world, and the task undertaken by the Turkish geography through the education in the

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institutionalization of the nation-state. This applies both to Turkish geography in the direction that the first and second generations of geographers grown in the country and schools as well as countries in nation-state process of settlement geography discipline and school geography (geography education) are significant tasks undertaken (Özgür and Yavan, 2013).

During this period, one of the most important cases and Atatürk Era of Westernization idea in forming the dynamics of intellectual life, it is clear that inherited from the Ottoman Empire. However, established contacts with western Atatürk period increased from every angle, rather than the application previously seen as a mistake, tried new ways have been tried to produce different solutions. First of all, seen as the most important obstacle to change, drastic changes are made to the state's corporate structure. First and foremost, the establishment of the republic as the form of government revenue. intellectual and scientific life projection of the republican system, born of a more free thinking environment has seen support in the form of innovative ideas. Towards Westernization, relations with the West have tried to re-establish a new state ID. (Gümüştü and Özü, 2016) which is a space science and the understanding of the space, the geography that offers the easiest and only way to grip, people living with location, gives direction to all activities up to the traditions and customs of daily life. Kayan (2000), based on the basic physical elements of landforms on Earth where they choose to live, people, climate, water and living community is very diverse. This diversity of people who live here live format, has been reflected in the culture and diversified. This diversity of people who live here live format, has been reflected in the culture and diversified. Here is a collection of related information related to various topics is the main material of the geography. The westernmost age of enlightenment in ancient times and the great discoveries of science become much towards recognition of the properties related to priority places where people live, so that geography has improved with the accumulation of information belonging to different venues (Kayan, 2000). This is also correct to think backwards. People live, to be protected, they select the appropriate places in order to maintain economic activity. This situation while taking the first steps of the scientific establishment Ataturk is aware always acted from these cases, and primarily with the history of Anatolia, culture and history as was found in enterprises in the scientific sense of tradition to suggest that the recognition and should be promoted. It aims to trace established dominance in this land of ancient civilizations, in order to reveal the scientific fame are established, on the one hand young people were sent to prestigious universities in Europe to receive training in these areas.

Geography discipline position (location), location, relationship between place, move, configure themes on the region. Location contact, a map of a specific location or point on the earth where it defines or added. Location contact, describe the common characteristics

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or a different location. The relationship between the Forum theme emphasizes the cultural and physical relationships of human habitation. Motion theme, how people traveled from one place to another, how they communicate with each other, explain how it is in need of goods and information generated by others. Regions theme, the administrative units of the area, language, religious or ethnic group and indicates how classified due to features such as landforms. Furthermore geography, population distribution, spatial relationship with each other without care, the environment and focuses on the basic concepts such as limits ((Martorella, 1998; Farris, 2001; cited in: Ozturk, 2006, 41).

The most important initiative affecting the community's nationalization is a national cultural policy. most touching element of the goods to a wide audience of national culture and the national education. Because having an important role by developing common feelings and thoughts of winning the national identity of the members of the National Education performs cultural integration. Nation of the constituent members, which provides protection for the value of his own nation. So people winning ways with national values education, they continue the community life. Therefore, all states are also attach great importance to the education of the new generation (Köken, 2014, 183).

Making Darulfunun and the establishment of modern geography is very important in terms of our history, part science. Tümertekin (2001) by October 14, 1915 Date of reorganization within the framework of the medical act performed here with the establishment of modern Darulfunun in Istanbul, law, consisting of four scientific institutions were created arts and sciences. Of these, 4 branches / departments have been established in the Faculty of Letters such as literature, philosophy, history and geography. In this organizing phase, Prof. Dr. E. Obst under the chairmanship Faik Sabri (Duran), Ali Macit (Arda), Selim Mansur and Hamit Sadi (Selen) took part. Department of Geography at Darülfünun in "Geography course-i, Islamic and Turkish Geography, Geography-i Humanities, Geography Procedure and Practice, Flurries has taught courses such as Geography and Statistics. Part periodically in the years he has been provided, including a rich library. given importance to research and materials research department is equipped with. This section alone has served as the country's geography research and teaching center until 1935. Thus was founded the first department of geography has been shaped according to the German school. First World Ministry of Education upon termination of the contract of German professors after the war (Ministry of Education) account that was on geography education in France Falk Sabrina Duran, Ali Majid Arta, Seller Mansur and Vienna who has a doctorate Hamit Sadi Selen returned home served as the first teachers received. Thus, the German professor of geography which was founded in the administration section of the French school of geography or trained personnel in other countries also participated (Tümertekin, 2001). After the establishment of the Republic, in the Department of Geography, besides the teachers such as Lefebvre and

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Chaput, Turkish teachers who were educated in Europe started to serve.

The first years of the Republic correspond to the stage of establishment and institutionalization of modern Turkish geography according to Özgür and Yavan (2013) and it is not possible to separate them with definite limits after the Atatürk period. In this period, the establishment of two geography sections in Istanbul (1915) and Ankara (1935), E. Obst (1915-1918), T. Lefebre (1925-1928), E. Chaput (1928-1939), H. Louis (1936-1943) and WJ McCallien (1944-1950), such as the establishment of foreign scientists during the establishment of these departments, the First Geographical Congress (1941), the establishment of the Turkish Geography Institution (TCK) 's (1942), as the first institutional geography The publication of the Turkish Geography Magazine (1943) was based on the events that were effective in institutionalization of the institution until 1949, when the ministers of the Ministry of National Education and the membership of TCK in the International Geography Association (IGU).

Gümüşçü and Özü (2016) have suggested that it would be correct to examine the history of Turkish geography as three periods. This period, which will remain between 1915-1941, should be divided into 1915-1923, 1923-1933 and 1933-1941. Developments outside this period are specified within direct geographical, institutional changes are also affecting the region. Opening the 1915 Darulfunun in the geography department, it has been a major turning point for the Turkish geography. After this date, until the establishment of the Republic geography of scientific ideas and some later in the course of, yet it reveals that many documents and remembered and the existence of information, very important role during the war years are also known to overcome (Gümüşçü and Özü, 2016).

At the same time, with the end of this period, the paradigm shift of geography in the world (from the regional approach of spatial analysis based on spatial differentiation, transition to positivist approach based on spatial analysis), and the development of social science as separate disciplines almost overlap (Özgür and Yavan, 2013). Turkish Geographical Society, the then Minister of Education Chairman Hasan Ali Yücel directives and chaired the First Congress of Geography (6-21 June 1921) were collected, was officially established on March 12, 1942 and since its inception in shaping the geography of science in Turkey and important works in progress He made. In the first period of geography as well as many other areas in the Republic of the studies were conducted in support or patronage of the state. Agency heads between the dates 1942-1950 are the Minister of National Education. Considering the purpose of the organization, the Institute of Turkish Geography, the Turkish Language Society, which the other two important pillars of our cultural values and the Turkish Historical thought to be the institutional nature of such Institutions and Public Benefit Association has been the status (Ertekin and Özbakan, 2012, 8). Although it sounds like Turkey after Atatürk's establishment of institutions

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geography coincided with the period outside of the period and must be addressed as part of the process.

One of the important milestones in the field of geography was carried out in 1933. In one Geography Department in Istanbul, 1 in July 1933 was carried out a restructuring process which maintains the balance between physical and human geography of the area. With this restructuring has also begun a new era. Said previously said the university reforms have taken place in history, Istanbul Darulfunun, university (Istanbul University) was transformed. Prior to this reform, Besim Darkot, Ali Tanoğlu, Ahmet Ardel and Cemal Arif Alagöz, who were sent to France by the state for the study of geography, returned to Istanbul and İ. Right as the founder of modern geography in Turkey Akyol began with a new understanding and vision to work. This new period, which began in 1933, has been defined by some geographers as tanım the foundation and organization period of the Turkish geography i (covering the years 1933-1941) (Koçman, 1999; cited by: Gümüşçü and Özur, 2016). This new era began in 1933, by some geographers “foundation and organization of the Turkish geography period” (1933-1941 years old) were also identified as (Koçman, 1999; cited by: Gümüşçü ve Özur, 2016).

Both globalization, should scientific developments and changes sense changes in the concepts of time and space has brought about. On the one hand when changing the definition of a concept and perception of space while also changed and developed. These changes and improvements to keep pace with the world, not follow these changes and innovation institutions, organizations and programs also raise the need for reflection.

The year 1933 is another important and important year for the geography, like the other divisions of the Darülfünun. Following the work carried out by a commission headed by Swiss Professor Albert Malche in our country, the following regulations are foreseen for the Department of Geography of the Darülfünun University on July 1, 1933.

The reform commission has divided the Geography Department into two to consider the physical geography to the Faculty of Science, the human and economic geography to the Faculty of Letters, but then the commission gave the commission to the reform commission on the way that the geography was a whole. As in the past, it was left within the Faculty of Literature. Moreover, the University Reform in 1933 and the Geography Department of the Istanbul Darülfünun were transformed into 1980 Geography Institute ya and remained there until 1980 (Gümüşçü and Özur, 2016).

Founded in these years, the Faculty of Language and History-Geography (1935), like the examples in the west, instead of being a faculty of literature, has emerged as the name of the language, history and geography with the emphasis on the Atatürk’s Republican period, the institutionalization of these areas has been one of the last ring of efforts. The reason why the first name for the faculty is writing History-Geography is this. History

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with Geography is in close cooperation. In particular, without the explanation of the geographical conditions and geographic conditions of two information in parallel, without a guide to the history of the map did not work at all (Gümüşçü and Özur, 2016) covering the period 1915-1950 with an overall limit of about 35 years in the foreign scientists who contributed to the geography of Turkey, including Istanbul and Ankara have served in our two universities. In Istanbul University, respectively, Ord. Professor Dr. Erich Obst, Dr. Théodore Lefevbre and Professor Dr. Ernest Chaput, Ankara University, Ord. Professor Dr. Herbert Louis and Professor Dr. William John McCallien are foreign geographers. In the Ottoman period, in 1915, professors were brought from Germany and with the other branches of the Darülfün, the Ulûm-î Literary Branch was also improved, seminars and laboratories and a genuine Faculty of Literature with various institutions and institutes were born. In the meantime, Erich Obst, a professor of geography invited from Germany, has established many instructional materials from abroad (map collections, wall plates, tools, research instruments, especially instruments for climatological research) and the Geography Institute of Osmaniye (Darülfünunu) was established (Ceylan, 2013).

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends when establishing the Republic of Turkey had a single targets. To make the country a respected member of the world nations; as well as as soon as possible. Mustafa Kemal and his friends were thinking that people self-identify with immediately and only need the citizenship of the Republic of Turkey. Citizenship of the Republic of Turkey was an identity that can be earned because of some basic structures. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends will make it possible to identify himself with the people of the country immediately and exclusively to the Republic of Turkey citizenship tended to build institutional structures. Halkı; yeni kurumlarda yetiştirmek, yeni kurumlarda eğitmek, yeni kurumlarda çalıştırmak istediler. Bu çerçevede girışilen çabalardan biri de yüksek öğretimin yapılandırılmasıdır (Çelebi ve Kızılcelik, 2002).

Only higher education institutions located in Istanbul, after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey did not respond to the new needs. In this case, the era of Ataturk and managers who, western Turkey in Istanbul for separating the three school districts were thought to be selected as centers for Van to Ankara and middle eastern. First of all, various faculties were established and one of them was the Faculty of Language and History Geography. Within this faculty, it was requested to include the departments that had previously been established and educated the Turkish Language and Turkish language institutions and educated staff who had language skills in order to train staff in secondary schools and to be useful in relations with foreign countries. It has been decided to establish the department of language in addition to the history department and the geography department in the faculty established for the purpose of educating Turkish history, language and geography with scientific methods, bringing it to the

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place it deserves, educating high quality instructors in secondary education, raising the people of Anatolia above the level of contemporary civilization and raising instructors for higher education institutions. 64 Thus, the geography which was accepted as the ede basic area 'in this faculty, which was given by Atatürk himself, took its place. After the 1933 University Reform, the Department of Geography was established in 1935 within the Faculty of Language and History Geography, which started its modern education. H. Louis (Director), who was invited from Germany in this department, and Cemal Arif Alagöz from the Geography Department of Istanbul, Danyal Bediz, Niyazi Çıtakoğlu and later as Reşat İzbirak. Turkey in the scientific geography in providing great service with research and publication in this section “Physical Geography and Geology, World Geography and Human Geography” called were given three separate chairs in geography education (Gümüştü and Özur, 2016).

Geography education at university level only lasted for so many years in Turkey at the Istanbul University Department of Geography and developed. In 1935, the first Department of Geography of the Republican era, Ankara Language, History and its operations with the opening of the Faculty, Erzurum long after a break in 1974, Ataturk University, was opened Geography Department at Ege University in 1979. Graduates of this section, such as graduates of other departments of the faculty of Arts and Sciences have often served as a teacher in secondary schools. Specific information necessary for them to teaching, learning lessons from the past two years the department has tried to give the different programs. Besides, depending on the Ministry of Education, teacher training according to the needs of high schools also have time to meet the needs of teachers in secondary education with varying layouts. Higher Education Act entered into force in 1981, teachers schools, primarily from the Educational Institute, which is converted to a four-year university in joining the Faculty of Education. Meanwhile, the newly opened universities has increased rapidly depending on the number of Department of Geography Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the total number of chapters has increased to 10 in 1999 (Kayan, 2000).

Geography geography teachers in the development of science is necessary to mention the breeding program. The last period of the Ottoman and Republican era made many changes and innovation models also showed changes with teacher training and teachers which the source from which the branch has grown to vary from time to time. Sezer and Şanlı (2018) by Geography Teacher Training Program was established in 1891. It is possible to start with Dar-ul Muallimîn-i Âliye. It was founded in 1924 High Teachers School, established in 1936 to follow the Teachers Training College in 1982, and the process continues in a different dimension with the establishment of the Faculty of Education. Also in 1915 Darulfunun opening of the Geography Department and connecting to the Istanbul University in 1933, the 1935 Ankara University, 1955 at Ege University and the

establishment of Ataturk University in 1957 and are matters that can not be considered separately from the train opened geography teacher of geography section.

The first course of the Republic of Turkey between the years 1924-1930 is made entirely national emphasis on highlights, it was to inculcate the new regime and its values. This period was initially prepared in the geography curriculum maintains the previous state before the founding of the Republic and it is understood that almost undergone a significant change. During this period, geography high schools have taught one hour per week in each class, additionally geology course high second class of science departments in two hours and Kozmografya course school week in science branches of the third class twice a week, it has been proposed for an hour the literature branch (Sezer, 2013).

Tas (2005) until 1938, the last time in 1927 and made changes to the curriculum in 1934. Apart from the above mentioned changes, but geography is no significant change in the weekly teaching hours. Although the first detailed geography course program prepared in 1941, it was not perfect and never missing without a program. Especially in middle school geography lessons to students at all levels it was not appropriate. 1941 geography curriculum content and teaching hours per week was applied until the 1970s, enriched by undergoing some changes. For example, a downloaded last year in high school geography lesson hours per week in 1947 and all except high school grades 3 branches of science was taught as in 1957 again two hours a week. Geology in this year still continued to be taught in schools as a separate subject. When we look at the geography lesson in this year organize derivation is generally understood as a follow-up to the private road. In the first class, the general principles of physical geography and geology, second class in the economic, the political and countries in the last year of high school geography and the geography of Turkey has been organized in the form (Tas, 2005).

Atatürk's period in textbooks press and broadcast activities with developments in the science of geography showed himself, period geographers have penned books for different age groups and education levels. Below are some examples.

Table 1. geography textbooks published during the Republican era

Period	The name of the book	Author	Year and Place of Publication
1924-42	High School and Middle School Geography Lessons For The exposure of Book I.	Hamit Sadi	1934 Ahmet Ihsan Printing Ltd. (4th edition), Istanbul
	Great States and neighboring governments	Behçet Güçer ve Faik Sabri Duran	1933 Government Printing (Edition 2) Istanbul 1939 -1941 Kanaat Bookstore (4.- 5th Edition) Istanbul

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## Conclusion and Evaluation

Republican period, the scientific, cultural, social, political, economic, and education, as experienced during the change and transformation in many areas, and this transformation process in the first institutionalization experienced by Atatürk period is extremely important for the development of geography. During this period, in 1846, Darülfünun scientific development and forms the basis of institutionalization, while in 1915 is an important step on behalf of Geography. The movement began with the Tanzimat westernization as well as the geography of the area has shown itself in every area.

The establishment of the university in the modern sense, to invite scientists and their reports for each of the disciplines from abroad during this period, scholars sent abroad for training, Nazis fled to incoming and scientific traditions of Turkey from the persecution of scientists which has important role in the settlement period of Atatürk on the one hand scientific institutionalization within the meaning of geography in the sense that formed the basis of the special meaning.

Ataturk lit the torch not only in health care, will have shown its effect for decades, while founded on behalf of institutionalization and representation of the geography of the establishment of the Turkish Geographical Society, on the other hand, the opening of many universities in the geography department in the country and Turkey Geography has been instrumental in the scientifically demonstrated in every aspect .

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# INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

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## Introduction

The Republic of Turkey's industrialization drive was propelled by a number of historical factors. The most significant of these was the Tanzimat Era under the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. The Ottomans made breakthroughs in industrialization like never before with this era of reform. These breakthroughs in industrialization have also been referred to as the Ottoman industrial revolution in some studies (Clark, 1974). However, those realized in this period were limited in terms of the level of their impact compared to those in Europe. When the political and economic crises that the empire experienced are added to this, it is difficult to say that the industrialization thrusts were fully successful.

The second critical period for Turkish industry that can be reviewed following the Tanzimat Era is the Second Constitutional Era and the subsequent developments. A controversial 10-year period began as the Party of Union and Progress took over the country's administration. There are three elements that make this period significant in terms of industrialization. The first of these is the 1913 Law on Industrial Promotion<sup>1</sup>, the second is the Regulation on Industrial Promotion which was enacted in 1914 and the last is another regulation related to the promotion of industry, which was enacted in 1917 (Toprak, 1985: 1349). In addition to these industrialization thrusts, the tax concessions provided for industry and land supply and the concessions provided for the locating and shipment of machine parts reflect the importance that governors of the period attached to industrialization (Kepenek, 1983: 1761).

The importance that the Party of Union and Progress attached to statistical studies is demonstrated today by the fact that it is possible to use their survey to make some geographical conclusions about the industry of the period. Although the survey does not cover Turkey entirely, it is still of value as it focuses on the analysis of industry in industrial cities such as İstanbul, İzmir, Bandırma, Manisa, Uşak and İzmit. It should be noted that the survey performed in 1915 identified 282 industrial plants within the

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<sup>1</sup> First announced in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, the Law on Industrial Promotion was re-enacted in the following period by the 1924 regulations. However, the Law on Industrial Promotion which was issued for the first time in 1909 was put into effect again with various revisions due to the impact of the decisions made in congress on May 28, 1927 (Avcı S., 2000: 34; Kasalak, 2012: 71). Thus, concrete steps of the liberal development model, which was outlined at the İzmir Congress of Economics, had begun to be taken. The Republican administrators started to open up space for private capital within the framework of the development model they envisaged and endeavored to be the driving force of industrialization initiatives by providing necessary incentives.

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Ottoman Empire. Of these, 155 were in İstanbul (55%), 62 were in İzmir (22%), and the remaining 65 were in other cities where a survey took place (Ökçün, 1997b: 13). The industrial legacy inherited by the founders of the country in the Early Republican Period was distributed disproportionately on a geographical basis and was not very impressive in terms of sufficiency. Another important factor shown by the survey is that İstanbul preserved its status as an industrial city into the 20th century.

However the aforementioned progress did not have a direct legacy on the first years of the Republic. The Ottoman Empire served as a market for the European economy and only had a complementary role for European industry with its production structure based on raw materials. In this respect, it cannot be stated that the Republic inherited a systematically industrialized country from the Ottoman Empire (İlkin, 1981: 93).

It would make sense to base the initiation of the industrialization movement policies in the first years of the Republic on the İzmir Congress of Economics<sup>2</sup> held even before the foundation of the Republic on February 17, 1923 and which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk also attended personally (Yücel, 2014: 6). The economic policies enacted under Atatürk can be divided historically into two periods: the period during which liberal policies were followed beginning with the proclamation of the Republic and lasting until 1929 when the global economic crisis began,<sup>3</sup> and the period of state-centric industrialization from 1929-1939 (Asiliskender, 2009: 154).

Although a liberal economic policy was followed in the 1923-1929 period, which we refer to as the first period, we cannot actually talk about a fully liberal economic policy. One of the most important reasons for this is the restrictive provisions of the Trade Agreement signed in addition to the Treaty of Lausanne. The fact that the Trade Agreement was based on the Ottoman customs tariff in 1916 on customs issues prevented the implementation of an effective statist policy in the five years after Lausanne (Boratov, 2015: 44). For this reason, the state made arrangements with minor intervention and nationalization moves to the economy in 1923-1929 period. As a matter of fact, in 1925, 22 factories (salt, gunpowder, oil, gasoline, etc.) were transferred to the Bank of Industry and Mines, which had been established by the state, and the railway lines of Ankara-Ulukışla and Mersin-Adana were purchased from their foreign owners and nationalized in 1928-1929 (Aktan, 1998: 34). Similarly, while the Alpullu Sugar Factory,

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<sup>2</sup> The first series of concrete measures and programs implemented by the founders of the Republic in order to ensure economic development was decided upon at an economic congress held in İzmir on February 17, 1923. The primary goal of the congress was to ensure that the political independence gained by the Republic in Lausanne was assured for the economy too. 1135 delegates from various parts of the country attended the congress, representing workers and employers in the fields of agriculture, trade and industry (İnan, 1989: 13-20). The main elements of Turkey's liberal model of development, which would last until 1929, were ultimately outlined at the İzmir Congress of Economics.

<sup>3</sup> Some studies on the early Republican period disagree as to when the change in economic policies occurred. While the 1923-1929 period is considered to be a reflection of the Republic's liberal development thrusts in the literature, the 1929-1932 period is disputed. In some studies this period is considered as a transition period due to the expiration of some of the Treaty of Lausanne's sanctions (Sönmez, 2004), particularly those related to customs, while the 1933-1939 period is considered to be the era in which statist development policies were predominantly effective. (Ardel, 1943; Yenal, 2003; Sönmez, 2004; Tokgöz, 2004; Boratov, 2006; Boratov, 2015). In this study, the 1929-1939 period as a whole is accepted as a time where a drive for statist development was made.

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the foundations of which were laid in 1925, was established by the state, the Uşak Sugar Factory, the foundations of which were laid in the same year was owned by a private enterprise. Therefore, even though the state supported and encouraged the private sector in the first years of the Republic, it also made significant investments in certain areas. However, it can be said that the private sector became much more prominent in this period, with efforts focused on encouraging the private sector. Indeed, the establishment of Türkiye İş Bankası (İş Bank of Turkey) in 1924 in order to promote the emergence of domestic investors was one of the important steps taken to encourage the private sector and to create national capital. Similarly, the Law on Industrial Promotion was revised in 1927 and the Customs Law was enacted in 1929 in order to accelerate the development of the private sector. This legalized the allocation of 10 hectares of unrequited land to initiatives that were deemed appropriate, exemption from earnings taxes and customs duties and charges, provision of communication capabilities and energy by the state, a 30% discount for companies during their period of incorporation on the transportation of tools and equipment procured from abroad, and raising of customs tariffs in order to protect domestic capital (Yücel, 2014: 15). These developments played an important role in the investments made in the first years of the Republic.

When these developments are taken into consideration, we see that in the early years of the Republic, which we identified as the first period, a liberal economic policy was supported, but the state was also try to be a router in the economy. The encouragement of the private sector in this period has led to the emergence of differing views among researchers. According to Keyder (1993) these laws allowed Turkey to integrate with the global economy, however Sönmez (1999) believes that they led to the enrichment of some people by the state (Asiliskender, 2009: 155).

Although the foundations of the second period of the industrial policies in the first years of the Republic were laid after the global economic crisis in 1929, we can say that such policies were implemented with the 1st Five-Year Industrial Plan in 1933. According to this new plan, the state decided to play a leading role in the industrialization of the country. For the purposes of the 1st Five-Year Industrial Plan, the *State Office of Industry* was established by Law No. 2058 in 1932 in order to operate industrial facilities and the banking duties of the Turkish Bank of Industry and Mines *were transferred to the Industrial Credit Bank* through a law issued in the same year. Following these legal arrangements, the *General Directorate of Sümerbank* was established in 1933 through a special law. In other words, the government encouraged private sector investments in addition to engaging in economic activities. For example, when the enterprises benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion between 1932 and 1939 are examined, it is seen that the percentage of state organizations increased. Although the share of state enterprises benefiting from incentives had reached 10% by 1939, the size of these

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enterprises and the added value they created were well above the remaining 90% of the private sector (Table 4).

As a result of the achievement of the projected goals of the 1st Five-Year Industrial Plan within a two-year period, a 2nd Industrial Plan was announced in September 1938 as a direct result of the Industry Congress, which was convened on January 20, 1936 (İnan, 1972: 3). The 2nd Five-Year Industrial Plan was more comprehensive than the first. The plan was designed to ensure that factories were spread across the whole of the country in line with transportation routes that would facilitate access to them. However, as a result of the state's prioritization of military investments due to the outbreak of World War II, the 2nd Industrial Plan was not able to be implemented (Özyurt, 1981: 128). Ultimately, the 1st and 2nd Industrial Plans (one in practice and the other in theory) were based on ensuring an geographically even distribution of development. Furthermore, while no private capital was included in the scope of the plans, there was no attempt to make direct interventions to prevent the development of private capital (İnan, 1972: 8). The steps that would determine the industrialization process of the Republic in the following periods are the 1946 Emergency Industry Plan and the 1947 Economic Development Plan. Although not implemented in practice, the 1947 Plan led to an approach that put the industrial and development thrusts that began in 1923 on the back burner and prioritized agriculture in development (Avcı S. 2000: 41). The 1947 Plan's break from industry and the idea of using Western assistance for the country's development opened the doors to the period that would last until the 1960s.

### **Development, Features and Geographical Distribution of Industry in the First Years of the Republic**

We know that when the Republican Period began the country inherited a small-scale industrial infrastructure from the Ottoman Empire. This created great difficulties for the newly established Republic of Turkey. The inadequacy of the industry built up under the Ottoman Empire and the lack of capital, transportation capabilities, infrastructure and resources necessitated the development of an industry based on agriculture and land in the first years of the Republic. Indeed, when we look at the 1927 Industrial Survey, the share of agricultural, weaving and land-based industrial facilities among the total industrial facilities is around 63%. By 1939, however, this rate was around 49%. Similarly, in 1927, chemical production plants made up around 1.07% of factories, but by 1939 this had increased to 21% (Tables 1-2). The same trend can be seen in the energy field as well. Therefore, although the rate of agricultural, weaving and land-based industrial facilities in the first years of the Republic was still high, we see that the chemicals industry in particular, along with heavy industry and the mining industry developed with the acceleration of the capital accumulation, the preparation of the industrial plan and the more efficient use of the Law on Industrial Promotion. The expansion of the

railway network also affected the development and geographical distribution of these new industries.

Table 1. Distribution of businesses and their employees in the 1927 Industrial Survey.

Industries	Number of Businesses	%	Number of Employees	%
Mining	556	0.85	18,932	7.37
Agriculture	28,439	43.59	110,480	43.01
Weaving	9,353	14.34	48,025	18.70
Timber	7,896	12.10	24,264	0.45
Paper and Cardboard	348	0.53	2,792	1.09
Mining, Machine Repair and Manufacturing	14,752	22.61	33,866	13.18
Building Construction	2,877	4.41	12,345	4.81
Chemicals	697	1.07	3,107	1.21
Electricity	90	0.14	1,350	0.52
Other Industries	237	0.36	1,694	0.66
Total	65,245	100	256,855	100

Table 2. Major industrial facilities that entered into operation or whose foundations were laid under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Name of Company	Location	Region	Date of Incorporation	Sub-Sector	Incorporation Status
Cartridge factory	Ankara	Central Anatolia	1924	Chemical materials and products	
Gölcük Shipyard	İzmit	Marmara	1924	Other transportation vehicles	
Besler chocolate and biscuit factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1924	Food products and beverages	Private
Cav bicycle factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1925	Metal goods industry	Private
Şakir Zümre armory	İstanbul	Marmara	1925	Base metal industry	Private
Aircraft station	Eskişehir	Central Anatolia	1925	Other transportation vehicles	Public
Ammunition factory	Kırıkkale	Central Anatolia	1926	Chemical materials and products	Public
Kup cement plant	İstanbul		1926	Chemical materials and products	Private
Alpullu sugar factory	Kırklareli	Marmara	1926	Food products and beverages	Public and private
Sugar factory	Uşak	Aegean	1926	Food products and beverages	Private
Heroin factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1926	Chemical materials and products	Private
Bünyan carpet yarn factory	Kayseri	Central Anatolia	1927	Textile products	Private
Kılıçoğlu tile factory	Eskişehir	Central Anatolia	1927		Private
Adana Hosiery**	Adana	Mediterranean	1927	Textile products	
Power plant and steel factory	Kırıkkale	Central Anatolia	1928	Base metal industry	
Cement plant	Ankara	Central Anatolia	1928	Chemical materials and products	
Güzel Rakı factory	Isparta	Mediterranean	1928	Food products and beverages	Private
Yarn factory	Isparta	Mediterranean	1928	Textile products	Private
Power plant	Malatya	Eastern Anatolia	1928	Electrical machines and devices not classified in another group	
Hosiery	Gaziantep	Southeastern Anatolia	1928	Textile products	
Electric plant	İstanbul	Marmara	1928	Electrical machines and devices not classified in another group	
Gasworks	Ankara	Central Anatolia	1929	Coke, unrefined petroleum products, and nuclear fuels	
Ford auto assembly site	İstanbul	Marmara	1929	Motorized land vehicles and trailers	Private

Sawmill	Sinop	Black Sea	1929	Furniture and other products not classified in another group	
Cement plant	İstanbul	Marmara	1929	Chemical materials and products	Private
Hydroelectric Power Plant	Trabzon	Black Sea	1929	Electrical machines and devices not classified in another group	Private
Heroin factory (medical pharmaceuticals and chemicals)	İstanbul	Marmara	1929	Chemical materials and products	
Heroin factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1929	Chemical materials and products	
Koska factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1930	Food products and beverages	Private
Liqueur and cognac factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1930	Food products and beverages	Public
Rakı factory	Tekirdağ	Marmara	1931	Food products and beverages	
Kayaş capsule factory	Ankara	Central Anatolia	1931	Chemical materials and products	
Sugar factory	Eskişehir	Central Anatolia	1933	Food products and beverages	Public
Cement plant	İstanbul	Marmara	1933	Chemical materials and products	
Nuri Kılıgıl ironware factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1933	Base metal industry	Private
Turhal sugar factory	Tokat	Black Sea	1934	Food products and beverages	Public
Milk factory	Bursa	Marmara	1934	Food products and beverages	
Coal washing factory	Zonguldak	Black Sea	1934	Coke, unrefined petroleum products, and nuclear fuels	Public
Bodrum sponge processing factory*	Muğla	Aegean	1934		Public
Ankara, Konya, Sivas, Eskişehir wheat silos		Central Anatolia	1934	Food products and beverages	
Keçiborlu sulfur factory**	Isparta	Mediterranean	1935	Coke, unrefined petroleum products, and nuclear fuels	Public
Hard coal factory	Zonguldak	Black Sea	1935	Coke, unrefined petroleum products, and nuclear fuels	
Paşabahçe Şişecam (bottle and glass) factory*	İstanbul	Marmara	1935		Public
Sümerbank Kayseri mill*	Kayseri	Central Anatolia	1935	Textile products	Public
Gunpowder, rifle and canon factories	Kırıkkale	Central Anatolia	1936	Chemical materials and products	Public
Nuri Demirağ aircraft factory	İstanbul	Marmara	1936	Other transportation vehicles	Private
Ankara Çubuk dam	Ankara	Central Anatolia	1936		
Şark Kromları enterprise	Elazığ	Eastern Anatolia	1936	Coke, unrefined petroleum products, and nuclear fuels	
Wine distillery	Isparta	Mediterranean	1936	Food products and beverages	Private
Turkish anthracite and briquette factory*	Zonguldak	Black Sea	1936	Coke, unrefined petroleum products, and nuclear fuels	Public
Rose oil factory*	Isparta	Mediterranean	1936	Chemical materials and products	Public
İzmit Sümerbank cellulose and paper factory*	İzmit	Marmara	1936		Public
Ereğli mill*	Konya	Central Anatolia	1937	Textile products	Public
Nazilli Sümerbank mill*	Aydın	Aegean	1937	Textile products	Public
Merinos wool industry weaving mill*	Bursa	Marmara	1938	Textile products	Public
Artificial silk mill*	Bursa	Marmara	1938	Textile products	Public
Iron and steel plant*	Karabük	Black Sea	1939	Base metal industry	Public

Fabric and silk mill*	Malatya	Eastern Anatolia	1939	Textile products	Public
Tekel factory***	Malatya	Eastern Anatolia	1939	Tobacco products	Public
Tekel factory***	Bitlis	Eastern Anatolia	1940	Tobacco products	Public
Divriği Etibank iron enterprises	Sivas	Central Anatolia	1939	Base metal industry	Public
Chlorine and alkaline factory***	Izmir	Aegean	1944	Chemical materials and products	
Cement plant***	Sivas	Central Anatolia	1943	Chemical materials and products	Public

In the first years of the Republic an attempt was made to compensate the insufficiency of private capital in particular with state incentives. For this purpose, the Law on Industrial Promotion was revised and started to be used more effectively. The positive effects of this were seen in a short period of time. Indeed, when the Republic was established, a total of 341 industrial enterprises were benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion. This number increased by approximately 4.5 times and reached 1473 in a very short 9-year period between 1923 and 1932 after the establishment of the Republic (Table 3).

Table 3. Number of enterprises benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion between 1923 and 1932 (DİE, 1973, p. 166).

Year of Incorporation	Number of Businesses
Before 1923	341
1923	34
1924	63
1925	101
1926	141
1927	140
1928	157
1929	118
1930	106
1931	140
1932	88
Unknown	44
Total	1473

The number of enterprises benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion increased, especially after the preparation of the 1st Industry Plan and hence the increase of the state's impact on investments. The number of industrial plants, which were 1473 in 1932, had reached 8702 by 1939. In the same period, the number of state enterprises benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion had also increased significantly. In fact, while the number of state enterprises benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion was 2.1% of all enterprises in 1932, this rate increased to 9.7% in 1939 (Table 4). Hence, it is seen that statist policy's influence on the economy had increased<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> One of the main propositions of this study is that, the state has directed the economy of the country with an experience of industrialization that is closed in 1929 belongs to the effect of the process started with the economic crisis of the world. However, there are studies in literature that bring different perspectives to this period. According to (Pamuk, 2007), the state's tendency to grow in contrast to the general contraction in the world is explained in a number of details in the 1930s. The related study explains the revival of urban economy in two parameters. The first is the protectionist policy implemented by the state, while the other is the strong contribution of the agricultural sector. In the end, the study presents an alternative approach model outside the perspective of statist industrialization.

**Table 4.** Number of enterprises benefiting from the Law on Industrial Promotion between 1932 and 1939 (KASALAK, 2012, s. 75).

Years	Number of enterprises within the scope of the Law on Industrial Promotion	Number of state enterprises within the scope of the Law on Industrial Promotion	Percentage of state enterprises
1932	1473	31	2.1
1933	1397	36	2.5
1934	1310	38	2.7
1935	1161	56	4.8
1936	1101	86	7.8
1937	1116	89	7.9
1938	1103	104	9.4
1939	1144	111	9.7
<b>Total</b>	8702	551	6.3

Industrial development naturally reflected upon the industrial index of the new Republic of Turkey. The preparation of the 1st Industrial Plan in particular, accelerated this process. For example, the annual industry index in Turkey in 1930 was 106, which was above the global average. While the effects of the 1929 economic crisis were felt significantly throughout the world until 1935, in contrast, in Turkey a continuous rise in the industrial index was experienced. This situation was overcome in Turkey to a great extent through the adoption of the statist model against the crisis. Indeed, while the global industrial index stood at 92 in 1935, it was 141 in Turkey. And when the global industrial index rose to 119 in 1939, this value in Turkey was 196 (Table 5). Therefore, it can be said that the industrial policies under Atatürk changed according to the conditions of the period and were ultimately successful.

Table 5. Industrial production indices in Turkey and the world.  
(1929=100)

Year	Turkey	The world
1929	100	100
1930	106	86
1931	112	76
1932	118	65
1933	131	75
1934	141	80
1935	141	92
1936	149	102
1937	165	110
1938	174	96
1939	196	119

The new Republic of Turkey's commitment to economic policies and tendency to adapt to contemporary issues also made its mark on transportation. As a matter of fact, there was a close relationship between the distribution of industrial facilities and transportation in the first years of the Republic. In transportation, the concentration was on the railways, which provided the most convenient mode of transportation for the conditions of that

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period<sup>5</sup>. In fact, much like the industrial field, it would be hard to argue that the young Republic established in 1923 inherited a shining legacy from the Ottoman Empire in terms of transportation, particularly in terms of rail. The railroads inherited from the Ottoman Empire were insufficient in terms of quantity and were worn and of poor quality due to excessive use during successive wars (Çolak, 2013: 346). In 1923, the country had approximately 4000km of railway line (TCDD [Turkish State Railways], 2018), all of which had been built by foreign capital groups<sup>6</sup>. Given this situation, the need for a radical change in the country's transportation policies was first mentioned at the İzmir Congress of Economics, which was convened in İzmir on February 17, 1923 (İnan, 1982: 13). The emphasis that President of the Congress Mahmut Esat Bozkurt placed on transportation and the railways in particular in his opening speech at the congress is highly significant in this respect (İnan, 1989: 81). However, it cannot be said that the national investments required for the railways were made in the first years of the Republic. This is due to the large capital investments needed. For this reason, the founders of the Republic who were aware that they could not build the railroads at their own expense during the Lausanne negotiations, gave some privileges to the Chester group (Arslan, 2010: 70). Although this concession was canceled later on due to some political disagreements, it is a concrete reflection of the fact that there was no opposition to using foreign capital for railway construction (Ökçün, 1997a: 9; Avcı, 2014: 47). Therefore, it can be reasoned that the founders of the Republic were resigned to accepting foreign investments in order to overcome this obstacle, provided that they did not hurt the interests of the country<sup>7</sup> (Yıldırım, 1996: 388).

When we look at the geographical distribution of the approximately 4000km of track built by foreign capital, we see a tree-like structure that extends from the coast towards inland areas. This structure of the railways was a structure that served the interests of foreign states rather than those of the country (Yıldırım, 1996: 389). The transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a semi-colony selling raw materials abroad and buying processed finished goods in its later periods was the leading factor that created this situation (Kili, 1998: 87; Boratov, 2015: 19-20). The Republican administrators achieved a number of breakthroughs to accelerate the development of the country and to develop the railways, which they considered to be complementary to the attempt at economic development, led by industry in particular. Although slow, with the law enacted in 1924, the process of

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<sup>5</sup> The 4000km of railway line already in place and the lack of vehicles, fuel and infrastructure on the roads in the first years of the Republic, along with the possibility of transporting large quantities of freight via rail made the development of the railway network rational and necessary under the conditions of that period.

<sup>6</sup> It is possible to understand the role of the railroads in the hands of foreigners in the economic indicators of the country by looking at the macroeconomic indicators in the late Ottoman period. In the 1910s, the foreign major within the borders of the National Pact was 5 billion 711 million kuruş. In 1914, the profit share transferred to 228 million foreigners was transferred to foreign countries with 3.112.000.000 Ottoman liras, 2024 million of which was foreign trade deficit and the rest was foreign debt interest. This figure shows that 14.8% of the income goes to foreign economies. As a matter of fact, railways are the leading sectors with a rate of 58%. Electricity, tram, water, port, industry, trade, mines are followed by banking and insurance the railway (DİE, 1973: 19-20).

<sup>7</sup> The foreign capital was necessary because of the absence of a national bourgeoisie and national capital in the first years of the Republic. In fact, at the İzmir Economic Congress, Atatürk stated in his speech that foreign capital is useful and necessary for the country (İnan, 1989: 65).

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nationalizing the railways was initiated (TBMM [Grand National Assembly of Turkey], 1942). After the 1930s, state-owned railway construction continued to accelerate (Table 6). The move towards nationalizing the railways demonstrated itself not only through the nationalization of foreign-owned lines, but also through the encouragement given to Turkish engineers and capitalists to construct new lines. Treasury bonds were issued for the Ergani and Diyarbakır line and the Sivas-Erzurum line in 1933 and 1934 respectively and for the first time the construction of the 690km Sivas-Erzurum line and the Malatya-Çetinkaya line was contracted to a Turkish company (Yıldırım, 2010: 93).

In the period between 1923 and 1938 it is noted that two important issues were considered during the foundation of the construction of the railways. While the first consists of concerns in relation to military purposes, the other relates to relieving the distribution of products manufactured in the country. In particular, the idea of connecting production centers to consumption centers and consumption centers to production centers within a country is the instrumental building block of economic balance (Avcı, 2014: 49). Completion of the construction of lines such as the Ankara-Zonguldak, Fevzipaşa-Diyarbakır and Samsun-Sivas lines is evidence of this. In addition, junction lines were built for the Kütahya-Balıkesir, Afyon-Karakuyu and Malatya-Çetinkaya lines (Yıldırım, 1996, s. 394). Hence, when assessed on a macro scale, the structure that was left by the Ottoman Empire and characterized by lines extending from the coast towards inland areas was changed in line with national interests. Under the railway construction process that began in 1924 with the first nationalization taking place in 1928, 3387km of track owned by foreign capital had been nationalized by 1938<sup>8</sup>. 42,515,486 Turkish lira was spent on the 3387km of railway lines and another 2815km railway line was constructed with a 341,599,424 Turkish lira investment (Yıldırım, 1993: 192-218). Both the maintenance and repair of the existing railways and the addition of new routes contributed greatly to the development of industry.

Indeed, a close relationship between the distribution of industry throughout the country and the railway network is observed in the early periods of the Republic. Especially in the Ottoman period, the areas where the existing railway lines were located overlapped to a great extent with the areas where the first industrial facilities emerged. In cities such as Uşak, Isparta, Eskişehir, İzmit and Adana where the first industrial facilities were established, there was already a railway network dating from the Ottoman period. In

<sup>8</sup> Nationalized lines have been added until the 1950s. The introduction of railways in transport policies reinforced the implementation of nationalization policies during the 1923-1950s. The length of nationalized railway lines, which were 3387 km in 1937, reached 3840 km in 1950 (Yıldırım, 2001: 144; Eraslan, 2010: X).

The chronological order of these lines is as follows.

1928.....Anadolu Railway, Mersin-Tarsus-Adana Railways and Haydarpaşa Port and Quay

1931.....Mudanya-Bursa Railroad

1933.....Samsun-Çarşama Railway

1934.....İzmir-Town and Temdidi Railways

1935.....İzmir-Aydın Railway

1936.....Orient Railways

1941.....Ilica-Palamutluk Railways

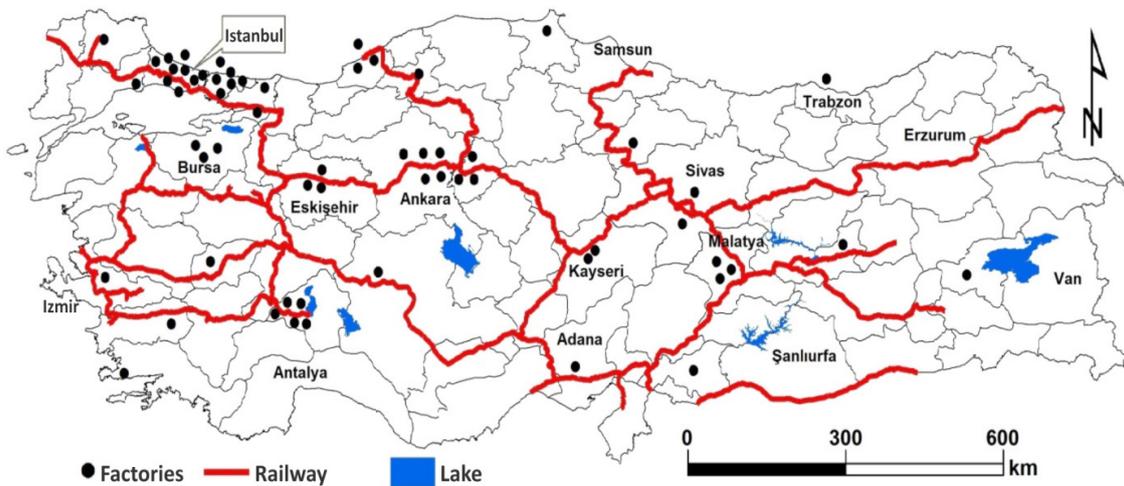
1948.....Bağdat Railways (Yıldırım, 2001: 125-144).

this period, the existing railways were the most actively used transportation network and they contributed greatly to the development of industry.

Table 6. Railways whose construction was initiated by the state between 1923 and 1938 in chronological order

1924...	Ankara- Sivas; Samsun-Sivas; Fevzipaşa-Diyarbakır
1925...	Kütahya-Balıkesir; Filyos-Irmak
1926...	Ulukışla-Kayseri
1933...	Yolçatı-Elazığ; Afyon-Burdur; Sivas-Erzurum; Malatya-Çetinkaya
1934...	Bozanönü-Isparta
1937...	Diyarbakır-Kurtulan

When we look at the geographical distribution of the large-scale factories established under Atatürk, it is understood that the Marmara Region had a 36% share (22 in quantity) compared to other regions in the country. Making up some of this share, İstanbul maintained the steps it had taken towards industrialization in the last period of the Ottoman Empire under Atatürk as well. Fifteen of the 22 factories (68%) that were put into service in the Marmara Region under Atatürk were established in İstanbul. The Marmara Region was followed by Central Anatolia, the Black Sea Region, the Mediterranean Region, Eastern Anatolia, the Aegean Region and Southeastern Anatolia with shares of 27% (17), 11% (7), 10% (6), 8%, 6% (4) and 2% (1) respectively (Table 2 and Map 1). Map 1 clearly shows that the most important factor in this distribution was the railways. However, the most concrete expression of the way in which distribution affected the establishment of industrial facilities is the fact that industry, which was the core dynamic of development in the 20th century, is still not evenly distributed within the country due to the conditions of that period. Although this situation arose from necessity, it is one of the main factors that enabled the regional disparities symbolized by the establishment of the Republic to intensively continue into the future in Turkey.



Map 1. Industrial facilities whose foundations were laid and which entered into operation under Atatürk (railway lines present up until 1950 are shown).

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The first element of industrialization in the statist development model of the Republican era was the concern for distributing the development geographically. The goal of the administrators of the young Republic was to spread industry across the country through the 1st and 2nd industrial plans. The industrial facilities that were established and planned to be established are evidence of this<sup>9</sup>. Artificial silk (Gemlik), semi-coke (Zonguldak) and rose oil (Isparta) plants in the chemical industry, ceramic (Kütahya) and iron (Karabük) plants in land-based industry, paper and cellulose factories (İzmit), sulfur plants (Keçiborlu), and cotton weaving mills (Bakırköy, Kayseri) can all be provided as examples of the industrial facilities established under the 1st Five-Year Industrial Plan (İnan, 1972: 15). Sümerbank was established in order to facilitate the management of these factories. Sümerbank played an important role not only in the establishment of these factories, but also in the management and operation of the industrial facilities left over from the Ottoman Empire.

### Conclusion

It is difficult to say that the desired level of success was achieved in the 1923-1929 period in industry, the branch of the economy most supported by the Republican administrators due to its critical role in the country's development. It is possible to compare the industry between this period and the industry in the Ottoman Empire. 1913-1915 and 1927 industrial censuses reveal the failure of this period in a more concrete way. The rate of food, leather and fabric in the manufacturing industry was 88% in 1913 and 87% in 1927. Thus, it is difficult to say that in the period of liberal industrialization in the period 1923-1929 the Republic differed considerably from the Ottoman by quantitative and structural terms (Boratov, 2015: 52). Due to the private sector's failure in the industrial field and the impact of the Great Depression that broke out in 1929, the state made some variations in its preferences with respect to its industrialization initiatives. In this period, which was referred to as the state-centric industrialization period of the Republic, the 1st and 2nd Five-Year Industrial Plans were prepared and new institutions and organizations were created to support these plans.

It has been observed that the foundations of cartridge, ammunitions, aircraft and weapons factories were laid in the first period of the Turkish Republic and they entered

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<sup>9</sup> The Minister of Economy of the period, Celal Bayar, provided clarification for the dissemination of industry throughout the country during a discussion on Law No. 3003 in parliament, with the following statements: *"The circumstances (conditions) for the establishment of factories are different. If we leave this to its natural course, they will remain on the edge of our shores nestling in like turtles, seeking the most convenient conditions for their personal interests rather than national ones as they should under a liberal system. In exceptional cases, for example if mobilization is needed, we will not have a single factory that can supply the needs of Central Anatolia and if we establish a factory without providing protection, it will not survive. There have been a large amount of applications to the Ministry of Economy. Not one of them has come and established a factory at a location designated by the state. However, we are establishing factories in Ereğli and Kayseri. We are establishing factories in Nazilli. If we had established them in İzmir, for example, of course, they would have generated a lot of revenue. But I have to go to Nazilli. If we had built the Ereğli factory closer to the shore, it would have been more profitable like the factories on the shore. But I have to state my preference for Ereğli."* (Kuruç, 1993).

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into operation. This means that in the early years, the elimination of issues that could arise from security problems was seen as a priority. The security element was also taken into consideration in the selection of locations for such factories and therefore the cities of Ankara and Kırıkkale in the Central Anatolia Region were preferred. This continued in the following periods and indeed, the same policy is being followed today.

In the early periods of the Republic, we see that military-based facilities were followed by agricultural and land-based industrial facilities. It is possible to say that these facilities were preferred due to their low cost and more basic technological infrastructure, ease of raw material supply, and their attributes that increased agricultural production. The geographical distribution of these facilities in Turkey was also more balanced because of the advantages in establishing them. Furthermore, for the Republic of Turkey that lacked a sufficient level of public and private capital, such investments stemmed from a necessity. Therefore, 49% of the industrial facilities shown in Table 1 and Map 1 are industrial facilities based on agriculture, weaving or land industries. We see that there were significant numbers of sugar, alcoholic beverage, cigarette and cement factories. The establishment of banks that could extend loans and increases in public and private capital over time led to the establishment of mining and heavy industry facilities. However, sea or rail transportation infrastructure is imperative for the development of heavy industry. Therefore, great importance was attached to railway transportation in the early periods of the Republic. In parallel to the development of the rail network, we also see the development of mining and heavy industry facilities in Turkey over time, primarily in Zonguldak and Karabük. Zonguldak Kömür (coal), which was opened in 1935 and Karabük Demir Çelik (iron and steel) and Divriği Demir İşletmeleri (iron enterprises) opened in 1939 were the most significant of these. This is concrete evidence that the new Republic of Turkey placed industry at the core of its industrial development.

Industrial plants in the Republican era were distributed unevenly across Turkey mainly because of their selection based on proximity to the railways and centrality. This was due to necessity rather than the economic policies pursued. However, this situation can also be seen in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, in the survey conducted by the Party of Union and Progress, it is seen that industry was concentrated significantly in the west and in certain cities, primarily İstanbul and İzmir. Therefore, this distribution from the Ottoman Period continued in the first years of the Republic and has continued into the present.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Republic of Turkey, which was founded in 1923, underwent periodical changes in its economic policies. Liberal policies were followed until 1929, but after 1932 the state assumed a more active role in an economic sense. Various institutions were created for the development of industry, laws were enacted and great importance was attached to railway transportation. Despite all these efforts, the

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lack of capital, sufficient know-how and technological infrastructure, the insufficiency of the transportation networks, and economic crises and tensions in the world caused the developments in industry in the first years of the Republic to remain below the target. In addition, the gradual development of the railway network and its uneven distribution across the country caused an imbalance in the geographical distribution of industry and led to it clustering in certain areas close to metropolitan cities and railway lines.

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