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US DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON TURKEY
V

**THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF
THE TURKISH REPUBLIC
THRU THE REPORTS OF
AMERICAN DIPLOMATS**

**Prepared and Annotated
by
RIFAT N. BALI**

**THE ISIS PRESS
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US DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON TURKEY V

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Rıfat N. Bali

Rifat Bali was born in İstanbul in 1948. He is a graduate of Sorbonne University's Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. His main areas of interest are the history of the Jews of Turkey in the Republican Period, the lobbying activities of the Turkish, Jewish, Israeli and Armenian non governmental organizations and the Turkish media. In addition to publishing numerous articles he has also authored and edited several books which are listed on his www.rifatbali.com website.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	7
1. G. Howland Shaw, "An Intellectualistic Interpretation of Modern Turkey" (September 12, 1924)	9
2. G. Howland Shaw, "A Realistic Interpretation of Modern Turkey" (May 22, 1925)	20
3. Joseph C. Grew on the "Menemen incident" (February 24, 1931)	25
4. G. Howland Shaw, "Three Turkish Problems" (July 27, 1931) ...	29
5. G. Howland Shaw, "The Palace Mentality and other Turkish Problems" (September 8, 1931)	33
6. G. Howland Shaw, "Turkish language" (April 19, 1932)	37
7. G. Howland Shaw "Ankara – 1932. An Informal Survey" (May 5, 1932)	43
8. Eugen M. Hinkle, "Cevat – The Portrait of a Turkish Petty Official" (September 6, 1932)	45
9. G. Howland Shaw, "Juvenile Delinquency in Turkey" (September 7, 1932)	59
10. G. Howland Shaw, "The Istanbul Central Prison and Its Inmates" (September 14, 1932)	81
11. G. Howland Shaw, "Turkey New Year's Day, 1933" (December 27, 1932)	105
12. G. Howland Shaw, "A Note on Religion in Turkey" (July 14, 1933)	121
13. Robert D. Coe, "Women in Turkey" (March 31, 1935)	127
14. Anonymous Report: "Angora Notes".	141
15. Robert D. Coe, "Ankara" (October 1, 1934)	153
16. Report by J.V.A. MacMurray (June 3, 1936)	193

INTRODUCTION

The present book consists of fourteen reports written by American diplomats in Turkey over the 12-year period from 1924-1935. These years were some of the most interesting for observers of Turkey, since Atatürk, the visionary founder of the Turkish Republic and his close colleagues in the political and military spheres were busily engaged in a process of social engineering, trying to transform the remnants of an Empire run for more than six centuries on the basis of Shari'a, where Islam was a determinant factor in day to day life, into a modern, secular society based upon the western, European model.

Ten out of sixteen reports were prepared by G. Howland Shaw, the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy in Turkey between the years 1921-1936.¹ One report was prepared by Eugene M. Hinkle, author of a study on the Turkish cinema in the early Republican years,² two by Robert D. Coe, third secretary of the American Embassy, while Ambassadors J. V. A. MacMurray and Joseph C. Grew both authored one report each. The anonymous and undated report entitled "Angora Notes" was discovered among the private papers of Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, U.S. High Commissioner and the first U.S. Ambassador to the new state of Turkey between the years 1920-1926.

The aforementioned Chargé d'Affaires G. Howland Shaw, was a keen observer of the Turkish life and society and as such he was repeatedly showered with praise and commendations by the ambassadors under whom he served in Turkey. As an example of this appreciation, his report dated September 12, 1924 and titled "An Intellectualistic Interpretation of Modern Turkey" would ultimately be relayed to the U.S. Secretary of State by Robert M. Scotten, the Ankara Embassy's First Secretary, with the accompanying remarks: "I feel certain that the Department will share my view that Mr. Shaw's memorandum is worthy of the highest commendation, constituting as it does a valuable contribution to the literature of modern Turkey".³ Another example of the high regard in which Shaw was held by his peers is Ambassador Sherril's comments. Eight years after Scotten's 1924

¹ For his biography see: *US Diplomatic Documents on Turkey III Family Life in Modern Turkey*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press), 2007, pp. 3-5.

² *US Diplomatic Documents On Turkey II The Turkish Cinema in The Early Republican Period*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press), 2007.

³ NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated September 12, 1924, no. 867.401/8, <https://www.ante.org>

memorandum, Charles H. Sherrill, the newly appointed American ambassador, in his cover letter addressed to the Secretary of State to which Howland Shaw's report "Turkey – New Year's Day, 1933" was attached, made the following comments regarding Shaw:

It seems to me that this very able document is not only useful for the Department and this Embassy but will also be of especial value to my successor at this post. I wish very much that before I came out here, there had been possible for me to see collected into one despatch so temperate an exposition of affairs in Turkey today. Of course, so fair-minded a man as Mr. Shaw would not expect me to agree entirely with all his conclusions mentioned in this interesting and able document, but its value as a whole to a new Ambassador, ignorant of this post, is incontestable.¹

Ambassador Robert P. Skinner's letter to the State Department concerning the study "Women in Turkey", prepared by Robert D. Coe, Third Secretary of the Embassy, remarked that "it would be a pity if a report prepared with so much care should get no further than the Department's files".² I am happy to report that some 73 years after this letter was originally sent, Ambassador Skinner's wish is being fulfilled and Robert D. Coe's report is finally becoming public with the thirteen other ones. I hope that these documents will shed an interesting light on life in Turkey during the early years of the Republic and as such will be of use to scholars researching and studying modern Turkey.

Rıfat N. Bali

¹ NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated December 27, 1933, no. 867.00/2079.

² NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated March 31, 1935, no. 867.401/23.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

**“AN INTELLECTUALISTIC INTERPRETATION
OF MODERN TURKEY”
(SEPTEMBER 12, 1924)**

From R.M. Scotten, Constantinople September 12, 1924
To The Secretary of State, Washington
No. 1350

I have the honor to transmit herewith for the information of the Department an exceedingly interesting memorandum entitled “An Intellectualistic Interpretation of Modern Turkey”, which has been prepared by Mr. Howland Shaw. I am not aware of any other attempt to analyse the ideas and doctrines which are back of the present day Turkish nationalism and I feel certain that the Department will share my view that Mr. Shaw’s memorandum is worthy of the highest commendation, constituting as it does a valuable contribution to the literature on modern Turkey.

**AN INTELLECTUALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF
MODERN TURKEY**

The title of this memorandum has been chosen with a purpose. There is indeed a program behind it. Modern or Nationalist Turkey has been seen and “explained” by foreigners in military, political or economic terms time and again, but no real attempt has been made to grasp the ideas behind present day Turkey or to state the doctrines of Turkish nationalism. An ebullient French propagandist, Madame Berthe Gaulis, did, to be sure, in her book *Angora-Constantinople-Londres*¹ give some account of the intellectual life of intellectual (sic) leaders in Turkey, but the propaganda bias of the book and an unfortunate tendency to become lyrical over Turkish shadows of French culture somewhat impaired an attempt the aim of which at least was in a sound direction. So far as Americans are concerned, anti-intellectualism is not

¹ Berthe Georges-Gaulis, *Angora-Constantinople-Londres*, Paris 1922 – Armand Colin.

only natural, but is usually even considered as a virtue: the virtue of being practical. It is almost a national dogma that an individual's ideas, when he has any, have nothing to do with the conduct of his life. There is often a suspicion of a study which presupposes the value and reality of ideas and which, therefore, disregards the conventional limits of the practical. In America, where our history is comparatively brief and our environment essentially homogeneous, such theories have something to be said in their favor in spite of the somewhat pessimistic view of human nature which they imply. But in the Near East generally any such point of view leads to regrettable inaccuracies, for the reason that in the Near East history is extraordinarily complex and involves unending conflicts between ideas, civilizations and religions. The American is inclined to brush this history aside and to formulate a so-called practical judgment too often predicated upon little more than a somewhat sentimental brand of ethics and expressed in the form of some catch word or phrase unknown outside the limits of the American electorate. Sentiment, catchwords and moralizing over surface phenomena, however, have never yet produced much in the way of an understanding of the Near East – or of anything else for that matter. Such an understanding, if it can be gained at all, can be gained only after years of intellectual effort characterized by frequent relative failures from each of which, however, persistence and self-criticism have extracted some elements of value.

There has been much talk in Turkey in recent years of the pre-Islamic Turk – a somewhat admirable, albeit rudimentary creature, without any of the faults which subsequent history has ascribed to the Turks faults to be accounted for, so we are assured, by the contagion of Byzantine and other extraneous forces. Perhaps we should see in this notion of the pre-Islamic Turk evidence of that philosophy of racial origins fostered by certain schools of German thought; perhaps it is an Eastern application of the well-known western idea of the primitive and the revolt against history, popularized by Rousseau¹ and others of the Romantic School. But whatever the origins of the pre-Islamic Turk idea, and in spite of the criticism which may be directed against it historically and ethnologically, there can be no doubt of its practical importance in present day Turkish thought and action. Mr. Lothrop Stoddard² has with much soundness pointed out that whatever foreign scientists may say

¹ Rousseau is well known among Turkish intellectuals. The "Contrat Social" has been translated into Turkish and there are those who claim that it has not been without effect upon the new Turkish Constitution.

² Stoddard belonged to a distinguished New England family and had a Ph.D. in history from Harvard. He was a member of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the Academy of Political Science and the author of 14 well respected books. (Robert Locke, *Washington Post*, 21 February 2004. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2004/02/21/local/2004-02-21/> [Ed. Note].)

the Turk considers himself the descendent, culturally as well as physically, of his pre-Islamic ancestors, and this belief cannot be brushed aside.¹ The pre-Islamic Turk as portrayed by the modern Turkish nationalist may be a myth, but this myth is an energizing one, which is after all, from the political point of view, the principal thing.

Can we draw any picture of this Turk of nature, uncorrupted by civilization? Thanks, among others to M. Leon Cahun's *Introduction to the History of Asia*² a book, by the way, that has been partially translated into Turkish and which has had an influence upon the development of Turkish nationalism we can secure a rather clear picture of the Turks before their definitive migrations westwards. Briefly this picture is of an essentially warlike and nomadic people, organized patriarchally and now in the service one foreign prince – Chinese – Persian, etc. – now in that of another. As to their Government, M. Cahun says – and this will not be without a certain comfort for the modern diplomat struggling with the vagaries of Angora Administration!

“Dès qu'ils descendaient de cheval, c'étaient des
“barbares bureaucrates et paperassier”³.

Concerning the religion of the Turk, M. Cahun gives the following interesting analysis:

Les Turcs ni les Mongols n'ont jamais été des peuples religieux: ‘Turkman; Za’îf ul iman Turcoman, pauvre croyant’ dit l’Osmanli. L’imagination religieuse, le zèle et l’enthousiasme si ardents chez les Arabes, les Iraniens, les Slaves, n’ont jamais éveillé l’apathie, échauffé la froideur des Turcs, des Mongols et des Mandchous. La religion la plus sympathique à leur quiétisme et à leur fléisme est bien certainement le bouddhisme. Ils sont bouddhistes naturellement, par tournure d’esprit, par tempérament, sans effort. Le bouddhisme est le seul élément religieux dans lequel ils se meuvent avec aisance; dans l’islamisme, ils sont gauches et empruntés. La littérature religieuse musulmane, en langue turque, est assez pauvre, la controverse, à peu près nulle; les ouvrages de religion écrits par de vrais Turcs; en vraie langue turque, et non par des Iraniens, les ouvrages – ce sont tous des poèmes – qui montrent du style, de l’inspiration, sont imprégnés de l’esprit bouddhiste. Musulmans par la forme, bouddhistes par la pensée, sont les poètes religieux de vrai sang turc, quand ils ont du souffle et du naturel. Les autres singent gauchement les Iraniens et les Arabes, dont ils exagèrent les défauts, et dont ils ne comprennent pas l’inspiration passionnée. Assez mollement, sans enthousiasme et sans grande répugnance, les Turcs ont accepté d’autres religions que le

¹ *Saturday Evening Post*, July 19, 1924. p. 93, Column 1.

² Leon Cahun, *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*, Paris, 1896. Among
Orientalists and Archivists, Paris, 1907.

³ Cahun, op. cit. p. 82.

bouddhisme; ils sont devenus mages adorateurs du feu; manichéens, chrétiens nestoriens, musulmans, un peu au hasard, n'y comprenant pas grand'chose, indifférents à la controverse qui est contraire à leur placidité mentale et à leurs habitudes militaires de discipline; les religions qu'ils ont définitivement adoptées, car plus d'une fois ils n'ont pas attendu la prescription du septième ancêtre pour en changer, ces Turcs les ont pratiquées loyalement, sans alteration ni discussion, comme il convient à des gens qui appellant la civilisation, 'obéissance' – voir le mot "gâvur" – et la loi d'Etat, 'Yassak' 'consigne'. Ils les ont défendus en honnêtes soldats, préférant pour argument, celui que saint Louis recommande aux laïques contre les juifs, l'épée dans le ventre. Mais quand on ne les provoque pas, ils ne tiennent pas à controverser.¹

The following passage from M. Cahun is of especial importance, since it seems to furnish the keynote to Turkish history:

Il est bien entendu que les peuples turcs sont des agents, des éléments d'action, dont le rôle matériel est prédominant, décisive, et dont le rôle moral est limité; c'est la pensée arabe, c'est la pensée chinoise, c'est la pensée iranienne qu'ils ont mises en oeuvre; mais, sans eux, dans l'immense Asie, ni la pensée iranienne, ni la chinoise, ni l'arabe, n'auraient jamais franchi les frontières politiques au delà desquelles les a enlevées et confondues le brutal génie d'action, l'emportement militaire des Turcs.²

If M. Cahun's analysis of early Turkish history is correct we should expect that foreign influences would play a leading part in Turkish history and such indeed has been the case. An active and unreflective nation, as an active and unreflective individual, is always at the mercy of any and every external intellectual current. The history of Turkish architecture and literature illustrates this point. The buildings of the Seldjuk period are predominantly Persian with traces of Byzantine, Armenian and Syrian influences; but in progressing westwards Turkish architecture displays even more plainly the Byzantine influence both in the Broussa period and even more so from the inception of the Constantinople period when the Byzantine plan of Santa Sophia is quite frankly adopted in the Mosque of Bayazid II, and henceforth dominates Turkish ecclesiastical architecture modified in detail and treatment by an unhappy period of Italian rococo.³ In literature it is Persian influence that predominates throughout the pre-classical, classical, and post classical periods or until about 1830; it is French influence that has been uppermost in recent years.

¹ Cahun, op. cit. pp. 66-67.

² Cahun, op. cit. pp. 32-33.

³ For an interesting general account of the origins of Turkish architecture see H. Saladin, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1907, Alphonse Picard et Fils, Vol. I, Chap. V, especially pp. 437-41 and 464-72.

The Turkish attitude towards foreign influence has never been and is not today one of intelligent and conscious assimilation or adaption. This attitude has varied from indifference or passivity in the face of foreign influence to conscious imitation of foreign models. This is presumably due to the fact that in many fields of thought and activity there has been nothing with which to assimilate, nothing to which to adapt. It is also perhaps due to the absence of a critical turn of mind and an ability to reason, which characterize not only the Turks but Near Eastern peoples generally. The emphasis on memory rather than on reasoning would naturally militate against any such distinctively intellectual process as discrimination.

The foreign influences which have played a part in Turkish history may for purposes of study be usefully classified under two very general headings – eastern influences and western influences. The eastern influences whether religious, architectural or literary have, it seems to me, had none of the dissolving effects which have followed upon the adoption of western ideas. And I suggest that this is to be ascribed to an indigenous quality of these eastern ideas which renders them innocuous and readily assimilable and transferable from the point of view of any eastern people. Not so, however, with western ideas which are the product of a different historical environment and the indiscriminate importation of which into eastern countries has been the cause of profound disturbances. The Turks, for instance, had no particular difficulty in fitting themselves into the Byzantine framework of Government – so little difficulty in fact that it would not be inaccurate as a generalization to say that Ottomanism unwesternized is much the same as Byzantinism – and this, of course, is just what the modern Turkish nationalists claim. With the distinctively western ideas of Nationalism and Democracy on the other hand, the results have been very different, and the success of Turkish experiments in applying these ideas still remains problematical.

There is a real difference between East and West – that is the root of the matter – a difference, not certainly in the nature of things, as some would have us believe, but a difference due to dissimilar historical experiences and above all to the isolation of the East and to the consequent abnormal accentuation of its indigenous qualities. The East has undergone no intellectual experiences comparable to the Scholastic Movement of the 13th century with its emphasis on logic, to the Reformation and the rise of individualism to the objective and painstaking search for facts characteristic of modern science, or to the Industrial Revolution. Most of these movements, out of which modern western civilization has been fashioned, occurred when the isolation of the Near East was most marked – from the time of the break with Roma in 1045 down to the reign of Sultan Abdul Mediîd (1839-1861). It is through these

movements that the West has become rationalistic, individualistic and organized; it is for lack of them or rather for lack of unity with the West when these movements were going on that the East now exhibits an irrational, discontinuous, unorganized, introspective and "mystical" character. Both East and West have lost by their separation – the one is over active and rational – the other over passive and "mystical".¹

Zia Guek Alp [Gökalp] Bey, one of the leading intellectuals of modern Turkey, in his recent book on *Turkism*² draws an interesting distinction between civilization and culture. He declares that Turkey must be Turkish in culture, but western in civilization. The difficulties of modern Turkey are epitomized in this expression. In the West national culture has grown out of civilization and has generally been in harmony with it, but Turkish culture, if there is such a thing, can hardly be expected to harmonize with a civilization which is the product of a series of experiences not one of which the Turk has undergone. The result of Turkish attempts to borrow from western civilization is a thin veneer of Westernism upon a foundation which, whatever it may or may not be, is not western, a disunited personality and a machine-made intellect obsessed with a few fixed but imperfectly assimilated ideas.

I am not writing against the spread of western ideas in the East. I am seeking to point out the consequences of westernization when carried on indiscriminatingly and without regard to the time factor. The differences between East and West are the results of years of isolation. They can be bridged only by patient and skilful adaption continued over more generations than the present one. The most discouraging feature of present day Turkey is the failure of the Turks and of most of their friends and enemies to realize the part that time must play in the building up of a new Turkey.

The state of mind which prevails at Angora brings out concretely the results of intemperate westernization. A Constantinople newspaper recently devoted a leading article to what it called "Angoritis".³ The expression is apt, for few will deny the morbid quality which attaches to those who govern Turkey today. The disease may be German measles – as we all hope – or it may be cancer – as some of us are coming to fear – but disease of some sort or other it certainly is. These are the symptoms of "Angoritis": Nationalism

¹ I have often thought that the differences between East and West might be effectively studied and illustrated by the differences between Byzantine and Gothic architecture. The Lack of precision and logic of Byzantine architecture and the impression of unlimited space which it conveys being typically Eastern, whereas Gothic with its severe structural logic and its manifest carrying out of a definite and limited objective in a perfectly definite way illustrates mental characteristics which are essentially Western.

² Zia Guek Alp Bey, *The Fundamental Principles of Turkism*. This book, of which I have had a rough translation made, is invaluable in any attempt to understand the background of Turkish Nationalism.

³ *Orient News*, August 12, 1924. Ücretsiz PDF Kitap Arsivi - <https://rantey.org>

and nationalism of the narrowest and most ingrowing variety, a nationalism not sure of itself: parvenu nationalism, intolerant and suspicious, immensely self-conscious; an acute sense of sovereignty constantly agonized at the thought that something may not be on a basis of complete reciprocity and unwilling to take as a matter of course those small derogations to sovereignty which occur in normal international relations; a whole set of minute phobias and susceptibilities; a narrow environment – Angora: an overgrown village remote from the restraining influences of contact with at least a few representatives of other countries and ideas – just the environment, in short, for a pathological mentality; a dictatorship in fact reinforced by the military habits of thought of certain of the more prominent leaders and a democracy in theory, so far as the theory is grasped; a single-track mind of an astonishing decree of consistency which enables the taking of decisions concerning complex questions by seeing only one aspect of those questions; and finally a naive faith in many Western ideas and in their universal self-motility. At the same time, nobody can visit Angora without being impressed by the amount of energy that is being expended and in great measure wasted and by the earnestness and seriousness of many of the leaders. The administrative methods are bad but there is honesty and willingness to work at least at the top. To summarize: If Angoritis is a disease, it is a western disease but the victim is an oriental and there has not been time for the development of acquired immunity or counter-toxins.

Many elements have contributed to the making of the Angora mind. Most assuredly the presence of a foreign foe on Turkish soil has played an important role and so has the type of political and commercial activity which the Turk has come to associate with Europe. There have, however, been various intellectual currents which as I have explained at the outset of this memorandum deserve more attention than has heretofore been given to them.

The intellectual movement of the past fifty years in Turkey has centered about the University of Stamboul, the Medical School and certain military schools. Of these several groups the most important from the point of view of the student of ideas has been that of the University. Zia Guek Alp [Gökalp] Bey, for sometime a professor at the University and now Deputy for Diarbekir, was the leading personality of this group and still holds a position of prominence in Turkish intellectual and political circles. He is particularly associated with the movement to turcofy all phases of the national life. In the movement for a return to the spoken language of the common people and the abandonment of the Ottoman language of the official classes Zia Guek Alp has played a leading part. His attitude towards the language of the people

resembles that of Lady Gregory¹ or of Synge². In fact there are many parallels which might be drawn between the Turkish and Celtic revivals. In summarizing his program Zia Guek Alp Bey says:

“Democracy is our policy in politics,
Turkism is our policy in culture.”

The leaders of the Turkish intellectual movement are not scholars or scientists in the strict sense of those terms; they are essentially what the French call “vulgarisateurs”. There is nothing original in their thought; they are popularizers of other people’s ideas. Zia Guek Alp, for instance, has been a leading exponent of the French philosopher Emile Durkheim’s positivist sociology. Hussein Djahid [Yalçın] of Union and Progress fame and now editor of the Constantinople *Tanine* has translated into Turkish certain of the works of Taine³ and Durkheim. There have also been translations of the works of Auguste Comte. Positivism indeed has had a considerable vogue in Turkey. The reasons for this predilection are not altogether clear. An unkindly critic has suggested that immature minds always take to ready made systems.

The positivist current of thought has had a part in shaping the Government’s policy of anti-clericalism and secularization.⁴ A somewhat similar background it will be recalled lay behind French anti-clericalism from 1890 to 1907 and the Turks are quite well aware of not only this French background but of French anti-clericalism itself. Ağaoglou Ahmed Bey Deputy of Kars, who took a leading part in framing the Turkish Constitution and who is now editor of the only newspaper in Angora – *The Hakimiet-Millie* (the Government’s organ) is a pupil of Ernest Renan. Keupruli Zade Fouad Bey, at present Under Secretary of State for the Ministry of Public Instruction, is steeped in modern French philosophy, as a casual conversation or even an inspection of his library will demonstrate. In the course of a recent interview he explained at some length the Government’s desire to replace religious instruction in the Turkish schools by courses in a system of ethics based on sociology. It was suggested that this program was not unlike that of M. Ferdinand Buisson’s “école laïque” – a connection which he promptly acknowledged.

¹ Isabella Augusta, Lady Gregory (15 March 1852-22 May 1932) was an Anglo-Irish dramatist and folklorist. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augusta,_Lady_Gregory (Ed. Note).

² John Millington Synge (1871-1909) was an Irish playwright. Source: <http://www.theatrehistory.com/irish/synge001.html> (Ed. Note).

³ Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893) was a French critic and historian. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippolyte_Taine (Ed. Note).

⁴ This does not mean that there are not other more obvious factors behind this policy, e.g. the necessity for secularisation of law in connection with the abrogation of the Capitulations.

There is a further similarity between French and Turkish anti-clericalism in the role played by Free Masonry in both cases. Free Masonry in Turkey is of course nothing new. It assumed importance during the Salonica period of the Union and Progress Party and its Grand Master at once time was no less a personage than Talaat Pasha. During the armistice period Free Masonry fell into rather bad repute politically because many of its leaders were partisans of the Sultan. At the present time, however, according to a well-informed Turkish official, most of the Ministers, including Ismet Pasha himself, and all of the Under Secretaries of State are Masons. It should be carefully borne in mind that Turkish Free Masonry is derived from the political and quite avowedly anti-religious Free Masonry of the Grand Orient Lodges of France and Italy. This type of Free Masonry has been superimposed upon the somewhat nebulous Theism characteristic of Free Masonry generally.

As to German influence upon Turkish intellectuals, I am not prepared to speak definitively. As high an authority as Ismail Hakkı Bey, the present Rector of Stamboul University, has denied emphatically that German influence has played any appreciable role. Nevertheless, other Turks, competent to speak on such matters, have affirmed the existence and importance of this influence.¹ On general principles one is inclined to believe there has been German influence through the association of the war and because of the efforts made by the Germans at the Stamboul University, although, I have been assured, (by a Frenchman, I must admit) that the only trace of German intellectual influence in Turkey is the excellent laboratory apparatus presented by the Germans to the University and now stored away in some out of the way room without ever having been used. And the French will also triumphantly tell you that in spite of all the efforts of the Germans to close the Lycée of Galata Serai during the war, they failed completely to do so, and M. Blanchong, the French sub-Director, kept on instilling French culture into the heads of the future leaders of Turkey. But of course the persistence of French culture does not prove that German Kultur has had no effects and there is certainly much in present Turkish Nationalism that reminds one of German nationalism and many expressions of Turkish nationalist writers that recall Treitschke² and other theorists of the German Nationalist school. It is true that in writing of the pre-Islamic Turkish idea and all that it implies the Turks refer to the French historians Cahun and De

¹ e.g. Hussein Bey, Professor of Turkish at Robert College.

² Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896) was a German historian and antisemitic political writer. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_von_Treitschke (Ed. Note).

Guignes,¹ but nevertheless one cannot but wonder whether the background was not "made in Germany" and whether some unacknowledged German scholar or scholars have not done for Turkish Nationalism what the German Celtic scholars did for Irish Nationalism.

No account of Turkish intellectual life would be complete which failed to emphasize the paramount importance of French culture. A description of the intellectual background of the Nationalist Movement is indeed primarily a description of the influence of French thinkers and writers: Rousseau, Taine, Comte, Durkheim, Buisson and Bergson. Turkish schools have been modeled upon French lycées or primary schools. French methods of discipline until recently have prevailed in these schools. Turkish legal procedure seeks to follow French standards. Even in the administration of the Constantinople Customs House the French system of checks and cross checks is in force. The unpopularity of France since the close of the first phase of the Lausanne Peace Conference has not as yet injured the foundations of French cultural preeminence. The closing of the French schools to be sure is serious, but will it be permanent? Probably not. In short France's political failure in Turkey has not as yet prejudiced the substance of her intellectual influence. Nevertheless it is true that Anglo-Saxon ideas are making progress. The example of American educational institutions in Turkey has had an effect. The present educational policy of Turkey favors abandoning French methods of discipline in favor of the larger liberty and the emphasis upon self-government which characterize the Anglo-Saxon ideas of school administration. These ideas have been incorporated in Angora's latest school programs and have had a congenial home in the Constantinople Normal School, the director of which, Ihsan Bey, is familiar with the educational ideals of William James² and Professor Dewey.³ Professor James' *Talks to Teachers* is well known in Turkey. Anglo-Saxon ideas of individual liberty and autonomy, representing as they do the most extreme type of Westernism and the type furthest removed from the Turkish point of view, will have to be applied in Turkey

¹ J. De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des Autres Tartares*, 4 vols, in 5, Paris, 1756-8.

² William James (1842-1910) was a pioneering American psychologist and philosopher. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_James (Ed. Note).

³ John Dewey (1859-1952) visited Turkey in the summer of 1924 as a consultant on educational problems upon the invitation of President Mustafa Kemal. He stayed two months. On his return he published a series of articles in the *New Republic*. (John Dewey, "Foreign Schools in Turkey", *New Republic*, XLI (1924-25), pp. 40-42; John Dewey, "Secularizing a Theocracy", *ibid*, XL (1924), pp. 69-71; John Dewey, "The Problem of Turkey", *ibid*, XLI (1924-25), pp. 162-163.) These articles later on were included in *Characters and Events*, Octagon Books, Vol. 1, New York, 1970. He also prepared a report on the education system of Turkey which was published first in 1939 then in 1952. The English version *The John Dewey Report*, (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Test ve Araştırma Bürosu, Ankara) appeared in 1960. Source: Ernest Wolf-Gazo, "John Dewey in Turkey: A Re-Evaluation of the American Educational Mission", *International Journal of American Studies of Turkey*, 3 (1996), pp. 15-42. (Ed. Note).

with the utmost circumspection for to the youth of Turkey, of whatever race or religion, liberty often means license and the response to appeals to personal pride and responsibility may well be the very reverse of what is often found in dealing with American boys and girls. However, this growth of Anglo-Saxon ideas in Turkey cannot fail to prove interesting, although I question whether these ideas will succeed in supplanting the prevailing French culture.

I have characterized the Nationalist intellectual movement as a popularization of certain ideas rather than as a scientific movement. The "Turk Odja[k]", an association of young Turkish men and women under the direction of Hamdoulah Soubhi Bey and Halide [Edip] Hanoum, has played a leading part in his work of popularization, especially in the turcification of the lesser or practical arts. As a result the interior of some Turkish houses has benefited, at least to the extent of a more or less general doing away with the rococo and French empire styles and the general fondness for heavily gilded clocks. A similar tendency has been displayed in architecture thanks to Kemal Bey, chief architect of the Evkaf, who has done much to introduce a style which is said to be authentically "primitive Turkish" but which at any rate is a notable improvement on the more immediate and very nondescript past. The new buildings at Angora, including the new Assembly, are in this style. The painted ceilings in the Assembly building are copied from early Turkish decorative motifs unfortunately the work is being done by a Greek!

I have mentioned the popularity of positivism in Turkish intellectual circles and such is certainly the favorite philosophical tendency of the older intellectual leaders, but a new tendency seems gradually to be developing of which Ismail Hakkı Bey, Rector of Stamboul University, may be taken as a representative. The group identified with this new tendency is dissatisfied with the rigidity of the positivist-determinist school and has adopted the philosophy of Henri Bergson, as more in harmony with the development of science and more invigorating from a moral point of view. This group, furthermore, while unquestionably nationalistic tends not to be as self-consciously nationalistic as most of the older intellectual leaders and is more interested in the actual working out of principles of self-government.¹ The point of view of the group is a more normal one as is perhaps only natural from the fact that it is not being shaped under the pressure of war and peace conferences when a certain rigidity and military discipline in all fields of national activity is to be expected.

¹ Jealousy of those in power probably plays at least some part in determining the point of view of this group. The rule of mixed motives always applies.

Such are some of the elements which have fashioned and are fashioning the intellectual life of Nationalist Turkey. What is there to say of the future of the nationalist movement on the one hand and or the role of the intellectuals on the other? It is generally conceded that there is much opposition to the present Government throughout Turkey and that when the National Assembly reconvenes at Angora in October, this opposition will become apparent and will play a more important part than heretofore especially in view of the going into effect of the Lausanne Treaty and the consequent definitive closing of the Peace Conference period of Turkish Nationalism. What part will this opposition play? How will it be organized? What direction will it take? What will be the attitude of the Government towards it? These are the questions of greatest moment for Turkey's future. Should the Government follow its present policy of regarding all critics as at least potentially disloyal, then the opposition will be compelled to accept the valuation which the Government forces upon it and recourse will be had to intrigue, personal jealousy and the underground methods which have become familiar to Turkish history. In that case there will be an ever sharper conflict between the older group of nationalist leaders, whether men of action or intellectuals with their autocratic methods and their rigid and self-conscious nationalism and the younger group with its peace-time point of view, its interest in self-government and its tendency to take nationalism largely for granted. There will in short be a conflict between nationalism and democracy. But if the Government by some inspiration of Providence takes a constructive attitude towards the opposition; canalizes it and utilizes it, then there is hope for the stabilization of Turkey. Zia Guek Alp Bey in a private conversation with a Turkish journalist recently said:

"Nationalism is accomplished; we need a new ideal and that ideal must be democracy".

That remark is brimful of truth, but will the Angora leaders see it or if by chance they see it, will they act? Many of these leaders have fought for their ideas of Nationalism and as so often happens after days of conflict their ideas have hardened into fixed ideas and they will accept as new collaborators only men willing to yield unquestioning obedience to these fixed ideas – a Vassif Bey, for instance. But these are the worst governors of the new Turkey, they have neither the record of accomplishment of the war leaders nor the new ideas of the would-be-peace leaders. The intellectual power brought to bear upon the solution of Turkey's present problems threatens to become inversely proportional to the number and complexity of these problems.

G. Howland Shaw

G. HOWLAND SHAW

**“A REALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF
MODERN TURKEY”
(MAY 22, 1925)**

From Mark L. Bristol, Constantinople May 22, 1925
To The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

No. 1561

I have the honor to refer to the High Commission's despatch No. 1350, September 12, 1924, and to transmit herewith a further analysis of Modern Turkey prepared by a member of the High Commission staff. This analysis is not to be considered as a definitive evaluation of Turkish Nationalism, but rather as one more bulletin or estimate of the situation true enough today but doubtless to be corrected in the light of future events.

Confidential

**A REALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF
MODERN TURKEY**

Early last autumn the High Commission forwarded to the Department a report entitled “An Intellectualistic Interpretation of Modern Turkey” (Despatch No. 1350, September 12, 1924). A good deal has happened both to Turkey and to the author of the report during the past nine months – so much, in fact, as to suggest the desirability of a re-examination of the report in the light of the situation in Turkey as it exists today and a further tentative evaluation and description of Turkish Nationalism.

Last autumn's report began with an explanation of its title. The present report will do likewise for broadly speaking the difference between the two reports is indicated by the difference in the words “intellectualistic” and

“realistic”. It was possible to speak of the effect of ideas upon the first or idealistic phase of the Nationalist movement – the phase which began its decline after the signature of the peace treaties at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, and which at least at the time of the radical reforms of the winter of 1923-1924 was a thing of the past. It was and it still is possible to study this first period from the point of view of ideas, although with the present situation in mind, opinions will differ as to the degree of comprehension with which these ideas were held. But with the present phase of Turkish Nationalism ideas have nothing to do and an intellectualistic approach would lead directly to rather ludicrous inaccuracies. Realism of a rather crude and materialistic kind is the point of view from which to study present day Turkey, for the Nationalist movement, to use a rather inelegant expression, is rapidly sinking into the mud, mentally and morally speaking.

We have perhaps been too prone to idealize the Nationalist movement. Some of us have idealized by finding political Morality where there was but a passing absence of immorality and others by seeing the substance of ideas where there were at best but shadows. At first at any rate we saw Turkish Nationalism inaccurately. It was something hidden away in Anatolia; there was a mystery about it; a heroism which captivated the imagination and put to sleep the faculties of criticism and rational judgment. Let us be quite frank: we were sentimental over Turkish Nationalism and our judgment was further warped by a close acquaintance with the blundering of Allied diplomacy in the Near East. We saw so vividly the falsity and stupidity of one side that we almost unconsciously ascribed strength and wisdom to the other side. We have since been going through a painful period of disillusionment; sometimes refusing to let go of our hopes and our judgments based on hopes but nevertheless in spite of ourselves, gradually becoming adjusted to reality. The old expressions of optimism may now occur from time to time, but the conviction behind them has gone. There is an obvious danger in such a process. From having been over-idealistic we may become over-naturalistic (see Zola). That is why the term realistic is used in the title of this report – a middle term between a romanticism of the good and a romanticism of the bad.

The Nationalist Movement is sinking into the mud, mentally and morally and it is sinking into the mud because it has degenerated into a dictatorship and a dictatorship, moreover without the temporary justification of unquestionable efficiency. Moustapha Kemal Pasha is the one reality in Turkey today; the rest has significance only in so far as it stands in some definite relationship to him or against him. The real program of the Government is to keep Moustapha Kemal Pasha in power; the real program of the Opposition is to get him out of power or, at least, to put him in a gilded

cage. The value of Deputies of Cabinet Ministers and of other officials is determined by the ruthless application of one criterion: will they work wholeheartedly to keep Moustapha Kemal Pasha in power; will they take orders? If so, they may be stupid, they may be dishonest, they may get drunk but they belong to the governing machine. The results are self-evident. Our first personal impressions of Turkish Nationalism were derived from Reouf Bey, Refet [Bele] Pasha, Adnan Bey, Halidé Hanum, Kiazim Karabekir Pasha – but I am simply giving a catalogue of the Opposition. Whoever heard of the Kiazim Pashas, the Vassif Beys, the Sabri Beys, the Djemil Beys and other “leaders” of today? Either they were in subordinate positions or else they did not participate at all in the first part of the Nationalist movement. Ismet Pasha remains, but Ismet Pasha’s political career has been a complete surrender of his personality, official and individual, to Moustapha Kemal Pasha. The quality of Turkish political leadership has appreciably deteriorated in the past nine months. The concluding sentence of “An Intellectualistic Interpretation of Modern Turkey” must be modified so as to read: “The intellectual power brought to bear upon the solution of Turkey’s present problems is (instead of “threatens to become”) inversely proportional to the number and complexity of these problems.”

The question of an Opposition has always been of primary importance in the political evolution of the new Turkey. Until this question was answered it was difficult to formulate any judgment as to the character of the government of the new Turkey. The answer has been supplied during the last nine months – it is a flat and unqualified negative. There shall be no constitutional Opposition; there shall not even be freedom to express opinions different from those of the Moustapha Kemal machine and, judging from the recent trial of Hussein Djahid Bey, even silence is looked at askance; there must be an open profession of the orthodox opinions, of the Moustapha Kemal doctrine. In short, while the direction of Turkish political life has been changed its quality is much the same as in the days of Abdul Hamid.

A dictatorship, a deterioration in the quality of the governing personnel, an arresting of any real political thinking – what will be the result and when will it come about? The result will be the downfall of the present regime, but the day of downfall may be indefinitely postponed and this for several reasons: (1) Moustapha Kemal Pasha is an extraordinarily able political strategist and tactician and while a government cannot be run indefinitely on clever strategy and tactics it can be so run for a considerable time especially in Turkey where great prestige attaches to those in power and where public opinion is unorganized, if not non-existent; (2) the Army is still apparently loyal to Moustapha Kemal Pasha and the Opposition – the

Progressive Party – is in a rudimentary stage of organization and has not, so far as is known, decided what to do in view of the Government's policy of repression. It is difficult to see how the Progressive Party can permanently avoid the alternative of disbanding completely or carrying on a secret opposition in alliance with other dissatisfied elements, good, bad and indifferent, but mostly bad from the point of view of the development of normal political life in Turkey. This is the tragedy of Turkey today. The Government cannot or will not realize that there will always be opposition, but that the vital question is what kind of opposition. It is unwise to predict the future in Turkey, but present indications point to continued moral and mental degeneration of the governing machine and a simultaneous secret centripetal movement among a member of discontented elements which have no real or positive unity, but merely a temporary and negative unity for the overthrow of the present regime.

G. Howland Shaw

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910-1929, document dated May 22nd, 1925, 867.401/10.

JOSEPH C. GREW

THE "MENEMEN INCIDENT"
(FEBRUARY 24, 1931)

From Joseph C. Grew, Istanbul, February 24, 1931.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 1226

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Menemen¹ was more a symptom than an event and as such suggests the desirability of trying to get at the underlying sequence of the last dozen years of Turkish history.

There was the heroic period when Nationalism meant primarily an armed struggle against Greeks and Allies, and Westernization was well in the background. That period began in May, 1919, with the landing of the Greeks at Smyrna and ended with the signature of the Lausanne Treaty in the summer of 1923. Differences of opinion were for practical purposes held in suspense by the stimulus of war. The abolition of the Sultanate was an act dictated by immediate considerations of self-defense rather than a political act.

But after the Lausanne Conference the picture changes. The Republic was proclaimed. The political impossibility of maintaining a Caliph at Istanbul became clear. He was thrown out; the medresses were abolished; the desire for ruthless reform became apparent but the kind of Government best suited for this purpose had not yet been evolved. The Caliph left in March, 1924. The Progressive Party – essentially a conservative party – came into

¹ "On December 23, 1930, Dervish Mehmed, a Sufi and self-proclaimed prophet, arrived in Menemen with six followers in an attempt to incite rebellion against the secular government and reestablish Islamic law. Mehmed and his enthusiastic supporters overwhelmed the local army garrison and killed the commander, Lieutenant Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay. Kubilay's severed head was put on a pole and paraded through the town. The army soon regained control, killing Mehmed and several of his followers. The young Turkish Republic considered the incident a serious threat against secular reform. After a series of trials, 37 people were sentenced to death and later hanged in the town square; and several others were sent to prison. In 1932 a monument was erected in Menemen to commemorate the incident". Source: "Menemen", <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Menemen> (Ed. note: <https://rantey.org>)

existence in October, 1924. There followed a brief period of indecision – the three months of the Fethi Bey Ministry.

The fall of Fethi Bey in February, 1925, the voting of the Law of the Maintenance of Order and the re-birth of the Tribunals of Independence represent a conscious decision in favor of dictatorship. At the same time the Westernization program became a more explicit and a more clearly formulated policy. The trials at Izmir and at Ankara in 1927 are the high water mark of the dictatorship. Opposition was reduced to silence and ruthlessness ruled.

The Government was right when it decided to put the reforms into effect by strong arm methods. Turkey being what Turkey is, that was the only way they could be put into effect. The method of gradual reform advocated by the Progressives was theoretically admirable but practically impossible. But while the Government was right it paid a price for being right. It ostracised from its service a number of men of ability and independence and its policy of ruthlessness inevitably attracted a type of individual who is not unknown in Turkish history: the man who carries out orders 100% but who is a sycophant and therefore a potential grafter.

In any revolution a time comes when a positive phase must succeed the negative or destructive phase. The timing of the transition is a nice problem of statesmanship. In the case of Turkey the timing has been bungled – hence Menemen.

The results of the dictatorship were not long in making themselves felt. There came a period of complacency. The brutality of the Tribunals of Independence had produced a passivity which Ankara mistook for acquiescence in its reforms. The new Ankara – the city, with its fine new buildings and its self-sufficiency, its isolation from the rest of the country – was a daily and powerful invitation to complacency. The Gazi spent hours at his farm, educated his numerous daughters and harangued till all hours of the night groups of sleepy and semi-intoxicated Cabinet Ministers and Deputies, who assured him that he was quite right in his view that the Hittites were really Turks. The Gazi began to write the history of the ancient Turks and forgot the modern Anatolian peasant. The general acceptance of the reforms was taken for granted; the drive behind them slowed down.

There is a certain irony in the fact that the Gazi himself unwittingly brought the Era of complacency tumbling down in ruins. Last summer he approved, if he did not urge, the founding of Fethi's Opposition Party. Why? Perhaps it was something as naïve as this: there are a lot of modern buildings in Ankara; Turkey is therefore a modern country; modern countries have Opposition Parties; Turkey must have an Opposition Party. It was the inferiority complex which explains so much in Turkey.

Fethi made a mistake; as a result of his contact with the West he acted as a Western leader of an Opposition would act. He organized his party; he went about the country, he made speeches and he made speeches where they would count: Izmir, for instance. The Gazi was ignorant of Turkey because he lived at Ankara and Fethi was ignorant of Turkey because he had lived in Paris. Fethi's reception at Izmir was the most significant event in Turkey since the hanging of Djavid. The second marked the zenith of the dictatorship; the first the initial crack. It disorganized the whole show. Complacency came to an abrupt end and uncertainty followed.

In spite of his genuinely Western attitude, Fethi had enough sense to realize what was going on. He abolished his party. Less than two months later came Menemen. Intrinsically Menemen has no importance: a few people were killed, one of them apparently under circumstances of brutality. But as a symptom Menemen is of incalculable importance. It means that Westernization hasn't penetrated; that while the Ministry of Public Instruction at Ankara may sit at the feet of Professor John Dewey and talk about Teachers College at Columbia and Bergson and Durkheim and all the rest, Sheik Essat, leader of the reactionary Nakshibendi sect, has the inside track. It is impressive to visit the Bacteriological Institute at Ankara and see Zeiss binocular microscopes and all the centrifuges that Paris manufacturers can produce, but muskas (amulets) are being used in all the villages around Ankara itself and a catalogue of muskas is at present of more practical value than a catalogue of Zeiss microscopes.

Should one be pessimistic? Not necessarily. Turkey has learned a lot since August, 1930 – chiefly that it is not quite so simple and completely materialistic a thing as was at first imagined. Ankara isn't at all sure as to just what it wants to teach, but in view of the success of Sheik Essat it is perfectly certain that something must be taught and taught in a hurry. But how? That is the question that is now agitating Ankara. Will it be mass education with Russia and Italy as examples or will it be an attempt to educate individuals in the path of responsibility, initiative and the other qualities that have distinguished Anglo-Saxon countries. I fear the former. I hope for the latter. At any rate momentous thoughts and actions are in the air.

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated February 24, 1931, no. 867.00/2057.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

“THREE TURKISH PROBLEMS”
(JULY 27, 1931)

From Joseph C. Grew, Istanbul, July 27, 1931.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 1311

I enclose herewith a memorandum entitled “Three Turkish Problems” prepared by Mr. G. Howland Shaw.

Strictly Confidential

THREE TURKISH PROBLEMS

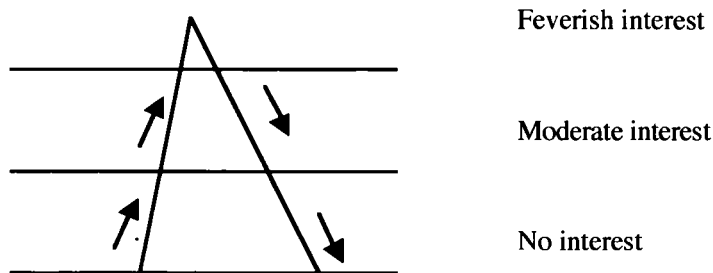
The foreigner, especially when he is a visitor, is always discovering problems in Turkey and he announces with confidence that if Turkey does not solve these problems and solve them quickly, Turkey must fail. But Turkey somehow or other keeps on going which suggests that either the foreigner has observed incorrectly or else Turkey has ways of meeting problems which are not the ways of the West. The following notes – they are no more than that – are an attempt to describe what seem to be three Turkish characteristics and to suggest certain questions which these characteristics raise today.

Nobody can come in contact with Turkish life without at once being struck by the tremendous importance of the Government. The Government, indeed, fills the whole picture and the private individual counts for little. I do not mean that politics as such is particularly important in present-day Turkey; on the contrary even more than in other countries, politics is a game indulged in by a very small group of people and the public at large looks on with indifference. The fact remains, however, that what is done in Turkey is done by the Government and not by the initiative of the private citizen whether

alone or organized in a group. "The Government should do this;" "why doesn't the Government attend to that?"; "let the Government do it" – such remarks are heard on all sides. If one suggests that a group of private citizens should undertake some task or other, the idea, when it is understood – and it often takes time and effort to get the idea across – is at once and emphatically declared to be impossible. In justice to the Turkish private citizen it should be said that the Government is primarily responsible for this state of things. To go back no further than the days of Abdul Hamid II, meetings have never found favor in the eyes of Turkey's rulers and even gatherings of friends, especially if they held office under the Government, were frowned upon. Conditions are by no means as tense nowadays, but the old habits are not easily discarded and the establishment of any organization in Turkey today is attended with so many formalities, so much red tape as to discourage all but the most persistent – and persistence is not a quality possessed by the average Turk. Such "private" organizations as do exist are frequently run by Deputies or Government officials. Such is the case with the Red Crescent, for instance, and at the head of both the Children's Protection Society and the Education Society are Deputies. The burden placed upon the Government by this "Etatisme" can easily be imagined. It would be a serious burden if the Government's task were merely to run more or less inefficiently the normal services of Government. But the present Turkish Government is trying to do far more than that – it is seeking to reform the intimate habits of the people and to modernize and westernize the entire life of the country. In other words the consequences of "Etatisme" under Sultan Hamid were one thing, but in Turkey of 1931 they are something quite different. The present leaders are clear that their objectives have changed but they are anything but clear when it comes to realizing that the change of objective may well necessitate changes in method. Concretely stated here is the question: Can the program of Westernization be made effective without the cooperation of private citizens? Certainly the Government can lead, can take the primary initiative, but must the secondary initiative not come from private citizens?

Turks are past masters at obeying superiors but when it comes to cooperating among equals they are notably deficient. The explanation is obvious. They are a military people, accustomed to giving and receiving orders but more important than that they have a rooted distrust of each other which is derived from their nomadic background and from the very nature of the despotic regime under which they have lived. The self-sufficiency of the family – at least the family of former days – is also to be taken into consideration in this connection. It is usual to say that Turks distrust foreigners and to some extent the statement is accurate, but I am sometimes

tempted to add that they distrust each other even more. Here is an example. I am on friendly terms with a certain official in the Ministry of Justice; we are working together in an effort to improve things for juvenile delinquents in Turkish prisons. To my certain knowledge there are at least seven other Turks in Ankara who are seriously interested in the same problem. I am in frequent touch with all of them. All my efforts, however, to get my friend in the Ministry of Justice in working relations with these seven fellow countrymen of his have so far proved unavailing. He assures me that I am his brother and that all the people I mention to him have defects of one sort or another – at any rate it isn't worth while and it might even be dangerous to try and enlist their support. There are several factors in my friend's attitude. In the first place is distrust; he doesn't personally know the people I mention to him; to try to get in touch with them might get him into trouble; if anything is to be done for the juvenile delinquents he does not want to share the credit for the achievement with anyone else and lastly with an American in the picture there must be quite a bit of money somewhere or other and he would like to get the money – not for himself – but for the particular department of the Ministry for which he is responsible. Here again a question arises. Under the old regime this distrust, this inability to cooperate fitted into the general picture, but it is out of harmony with the aims of modern Turkey. How can business and industry, for instance, develop without confidence and cooperation?



This is a picture of the interest of the average Turk in any particular new thing. It makes no difference what it is. It may be a house, a school, a sport program – anything you can think of. The interest rises to fever point suddenly and falls almost as suddenly as soon as the new idea has been given material expression. Suppose, for instance, there is a question of building a Boys' Club. The latest ideas on the subject are collected; enough of them remain to produce a plan, although not always a coherent plan; one fine day the decision to go ahead is suddenly taken for reasons that are anything but clear; all doubts are cast aside; caution is thrown to the winds; the building is to be built and built with all possible speed and operations must begin tomorrow morning. When a Turk once makes up his mind there is no holding him. The building is put up, the furniture is installed, the gymnasium is filled with the latest apparatus – Turkey has a Boys' Club and that is often all

there is to it. The Boys' Club is soon forgotten, interest declines and nobody cares whether it is fulfilling its purpose or whether a program is efficiently carried out or not. The attendance may fall off; nobody worries; attention is now concentrated upon the new building for the School of Domestic Science. And so it goes. The initial enthusiasm is tremendous but the follow up, the continuity, is negligible.

These then are my problems (1) The Government does too much and the individual too little, (2) there is very little cooperation or team-work, (3) there is scarcely any continuity of action. I am not, however, one of those who believe that the Turk has in some mysterious fashion been endowed with a set of innate characteristics, peculiarly his own and impossible to change. Like most people he is what his experience, his history has made him. In recent years his environment has been considerably modified and as a natural result he is now going through a period of transition. During this period there will inevitably be much chaos, much suffering, much waste. All the signs of disorganization are now present in Turkey: crime, suicides, insanity, divorces, abortion, false standards of luxury – all of these are on the increase. But the picture is not without shadings of light. The primary schools and the popular night schools are teaching an ever greater number of children and adults how to read and write the new characters; there are teachers devoted to their tasks – not a great number, but there are such; sport is steadily developing. There is reason for optimism concerning the future of the Turkish boy and girl who are today in their early teens.

In studying Turkey there is a general rule which should be kept in mind. Nothing is as bad as it ought to be, no issue is as sharply defined as it appears to Western eyes. This is a bold generalization and sounds paradoxical. Here is what I mean. A perfectly accurate and complete description of what goes on in Turkey is liable to give the Western reader a false impression since it does not and perhaps in the nature of things cannot do justice to the atmosphere in which the activity is carried on. For instance, I visit a Turkish prison and describe in great detail just what I have seen. You get a bad impression. But I have omitted the strange give and take, free and easy manner in which the prison is administered and that changes the whole business. The rigidity of American penal administration is lacking. True a prisoner may be beaten, but the next day he is just as likely to be petted and spoiled. Turkish life is endowed with a flexibility, a power of arriving at *modi vivendi* and *modi operandi* that all too often defeat the best intentioned diagnosis by the Western student.

G. Howland Shaw

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated July 27th, 1931, 867.401/16.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

**“THE PALACE MENTALITY AND OTHER
TURKISH PROBLEMS”
(SEPTEMBER 8, 1931)**

From Joseph C. Grew, Istanbul, September 8, 1931.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 1334

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

For the Department's strictly confidential information I transmit herewith a memorandum entitled “The Palace Mentality and other Turkish Problems” prepared by Mr. G. Howland Shaw.

Strictly Confidential

THE PALACE MENTALITY AND OTHER TURKISH PROBLEMS

A few weeks ago a Turk of some prominence killed himself. He was a teacher in the Conservatory of Fine Arts. He was well known in Pera circles. Many explanations of his act have been offered, but there is one which is less often heard than others. Perhaps therefore it is the true one. This is the story.

Mehmet Bey – that is not his real name, but it will do – was a great admirer of the Italian sculptor Canonica.¹ He thought he would show his

¹ Pietro Canonica (1869-1959) was an Italian sculptor of international repute, painter, opera composer, professor of arts and senator for life. He was the sculptor of the monument to Atatürk on horseback in front of the Ankara Ethnography Museum (1927) and monument to Atatürk at Victory Square, Ankara (1927) Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietro_Canonica (Ed. Note).
Ücretsiz PDF Kitap Arşivi - <https://ranney.org>

devotion by giving a radio talk on the monument of the Republic (statue of the Gazi) at Taksim Square. It is the work of Canonica. The talk was given. At Yalova the Gazi listened in. Mehmet Bey had been a favorite of the Gazi's hence the appointment to teach at the Conservatory of Fine Arts. The Gazi listened – he heard Canonica praised, the monument of the Republic eulogized, but nothing, not a word about the central figure of the monument – Himself. He was not alone, a group of his followers sat or stood around. The talk over the radio ended. There was silence interrupted finally by a follower who said, "Great Gazi, he said nothing about you." The Gazi frowned. He said only, "Who is Mehmet Bey anyway?" The conversation switched abruptly – Mehmet Bey had fallen. The next day Istanbul knew he no longer counted. His salary was reduced. He killed himself.

Lieutenant Colonel Rusuhi Bey¹ is principal aide de-camp of the Gazi. The Gazi is never without him. A few days ago the Gazi paid a visit to Istanbul. He stayed as always at Dolma Bahçe Palace. One day Colonel Rusuhi was invited to dinner by a friend at Yeniköy. The dinner was scheduled for 7 o'clock. At 7:30 there was no sign of Colonel Rusuhi. The host telephoned to the Palace. The Colonel said he was just about to leave for Yeniköy and would be there in twenty minutes. Twenty minutes passed, half an hour, three quarters of an hour – no Colonel. At 8:30 the telephone rang. It was Colonel Rusuhi. He said that the Gazi had suddenly decided to leave for Yalova on board the Yacht "ERTOGRUL".

These two stories are trivial enough but they show that the palace mentality still goes on. Favorites rise and fall – rise and fall because they do or fail to do what appeals to one man; decisions are taken on the basis of a whim, not all decisions, but enough of them to justify recording the fact.

Unfortunately, the palace mentality is not confined to the palace. There are signs of it everywhere. It is the reason why almost everything in Turkey is run by one man. Subordinates exist to take orders, to curry favor with the chief and to do as little work as possible. And what is most discouraging is that subordinates who are really able, conscientious men do not dare to take an initiative or to make suggestions. The difference in Turkey between an able subordinate and one who is not is simply that the former does what he is told to do well and faithfully and the second either does no work at all or does it badly.

¹ Major Rusuhi was first aide-de-camp of Atatürk. For his biography please refer to Turgay Tuna, "Tam 11 Yıl Boyunca Seryaver Rusuhi Bey", *Popüler Tarih*, November 2004, pp. 44-49 and Turgay Tuna, "Bir Serginin Ardındaki Seryaver Rusuhi Bey", *Collection*, July-August-September 2005, No. 26, pp. 14-17. (Ed. Note).

A few days ago I spent the better part of a morning in visiting a large Turkish hospital. The Director is an able man and was kindness itself in doing the honors of the Hospital. In going through the infants' ward I noticed that the windows were all open – it was a warm day – and entirely unscreened with the natural result that flies were plentiful. One would expect that such a situation would at once be brought to the attention of the director by the nurse in charge of the ward or by one of the internes and that the windows would be promptly screened. I expressed this obvious thought to a Turkish friend who accompanied me on my visit. He laughed and said that that was not the way things were done in Turkey. If the Director noticed the flies and gave the order to screen the windows, it would be done, but no subordinate would dream of telling the director what he ought to do – it would not be respectful.

The same thing strikes one in the Departments of the Government at Ankara. The characteristic organization is composed, let us say, of forty subordinates who never decide anything and two or three superiors who decide even the most trivial problems. The subordinates never come anywhere near carrying their own weight. The Council of Ministers is no exception to the general rule. Ismet Pasha, it is often said, treats his colleagues as though they were school boys and bad ones at that. I have often thought what a flood of light would be thrown upon the real working of the Turkish Government if one could secure a list of questions taken up at meetings of the Council of Ministers. From such information as I have been able to gather it seems that most of these questions are rather small administrative affairs. Even the transfer of title to certain real estate purchased by the American Hospital at Istanbul was brought up at one meeting. It is not by chance that so many Turkish cabinet officers seek a month or two of medical treatment in Europe during the summer. Lectured by the Prime Minister and plagued with questions by their own subordinates it is no wonder that they show signs of wear and tear.

Turkey is trying to run a modern government and western government. Can it do so with the palace mentality?

G. Howland Shaw

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated September 8th, 1931, no. 867.001 K31/44.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

“TURKISH LANGUAGE”
(APRIL 19, 1932)

From G. Howland Shaw, Ankara, April 19, 1932.

To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 1465

Confidential

Subject: Turkish language

It is now almost three years since the reform of the Turkish language began with the use of the Latin alphabet made obligatory. In conjunction with a wide-spread teaching of the alphabet the government started to purify and popularize Turkish with a program the results of which indicate that the whole language reform is still in a most transitory and nebulous state. The Turkish language is now going through that negative destructive stage necessary in all revolutionary upheavals.

First, as regards spelling. There is as yet no adequate Turkish dictionary in the new characters. The official dictionary begun by the Language Committee was stopped at the third letter of the alphabet when for reasons of economy the Committee was abolished last year. The Committee also published and circularized a small dictionary containing indispensable Arabic words spelled out phonetically in the new alphabet. The Committee held that whereas there was a wide variation in pronouncing an Arabic word owing to its lack of vowels, a purely Turkish word with a wealth of vowels was always pronounced the same, so that its spelling by anyone in phonetic Turkish would also be uniform. Unfortunately, however, Turkish accents and pronunciations differ according to individuals and districts so that there has often been a variety of spellings for the same word. Moreover, each person is at liberty to spell as he pleases since there is no recognized authority to

determine the official spelling. The change to the new alphabet has not affected Turkish grammar and verb declensions the forms of which have always been perfectly definite and well-established. There are several good grammars which have been published in the new alphabet.

The expunging of Persian and Arabic words – the so-called purification of the language – has been attempted largely on the theory that Turkish has always been the spoken language and Persian and Arabic the written language. Even some of the most common words used to be written as words of Arabic origin but spoken in pure Turkish. Sadri Maksudi Bey, perhaps the leading authority on the Turkish language in the country, has written a manual which has been officially accepted and sent to all teachers as a guide in excluding Arabic words and building up Turkish words to take their place.¹ Maksudi Bey contends that the Turkish language is immensely rich in root forms and suffixes. He proposes that the Turks not only draw on the vocabulary of Anatolia which contains many words lost from the language, but also build up their own scientific and technical expressions much as the Germans have done, using Turkish rather than Arabic words. For instance, the Turkish word for metaphysics comes from the Arabic yet there are pure Turkish words for “meta” and “physics” which could be introduced as a compound word. Maksudi Bey did not say by what agency these new words will be introduced, although there has been some talk of an Academy of language to take the place of the Language Committee.

Contrary to the program of the Committee, French and other foreign words are being adopted in large numbers with the introduction of European customs and civilization. These words, usually dealing with technical and industrial terms, are spelled phonetically with Turkish grammatical endings, as for example, “sinema” for cinema, and “otomobil” for automobile. Foreign proper names are also spelled in phonetic Turkish as, “Doç” for Dodge, and “Şevrole” for Chevrolet.

The excluding of Arabic words from newspapers and books has been carried on to such an extent that even educated Turks are often at a loss to understand what the writer is trying to say. A great number of pure Turkish words have to be used to convey the same meaning previously conveyed in a few concise Arabic expressions. By expunging Arabic words the language has become much clumsier, more verbose and much less accurate. Whereas Turkish newspapers formerly used as much as 90 per cent Arabic words, today 30 per cent is about the average. It is expected that this percentage will be

¹ Sadri Maksudi Arsal (1880-1957) was a linguist and historian. Upon the invitation of the Turkish government he came to Turkey and became a Turkish citizen. The book which is mentioned here is *Türk Dili ve Grameri* (Turkish Language and Grammar), İstanbul, 1930. Source: www.kultur.gov.tr (Ed. Note).

reduced even farther, although from 15 to 20 per cent Arabic words have been so thoroughly assimilated that they are considered as indispensable. While the adoption of the new alphabet had behind it a practical purpose – the alphabet taking three months to learn and Arabic script five years – the move to expunge Arabic and Persian words cannot be explained by any other motive than intense nationalism. It is very much as if Greek and Latin words were to be forbidden in the English language and only Anglo-Saxon words used. The result would be what is occurring in Turkish today, an enormous impoverishment of the language, a taking out of a wealth of expressions which cannot be replaced merely by a decree and inventing new words in a few years time. Languages are the result of centuries of growth and not the result of decrees.

The language reform has been responsible for more than doubling the percentage of literates in Turkey since 1927. In 1928 the government inaugurated night schools in all the villages and towns where it was compulsory for adults to learn to read and write the new alphabet. The enthusiasm and novelty with which these schools began gave them an initial momentum which has considerably lessened so that today they are more or less non-existent. Up to date over 1.200.000 literacy diplomas¹ have been given to persons in these schools. These diplomas are given for the most rudimentary knowledge of the alphabet and do not mean that the person can necessarily read or write Turkish. A rough estimate shows that there were almost two and one-half million literate in Turkey in 1931 as compared with a little over one million in 1927. – an increase in literates from 8% to 17 1/2 %.² Practically all writing today in Turkey, however, except in the schools, is carried on in the Arabic script whenever possible. Even officials use it constantly.³ For those who already know the script this system of writing Turkish is much faster and easier than the Latin alphabet.

With the introduction of the new characters in the press the circulation of newspapers fell off considerably so that the government granted annual subsidies to the leading Turkish dailies. These subsidies were withdrawn in 1931, when the normal circulation under the old script was said to be reached. A comparison of the circulation figures of the leading Turkish papers in Istanbul when the alphabet was first used in 1928 and during 1931 shows a great increase in circulation. A careful estimate in 1931 of the circulation of leading daily newspapers in all languages in Turkey gives a total of

¹ Official figures.

² Based on the 1927 census.

³ Arabic script is a form of shorthand and is used for instance by court stenographers, public prosecutors etc.

approximately 130.000 of which 32.000 copies were in foreign languages, about equally divided between French, Greek and Armenian. The total circulation of dailies today is estimated at 150.000 which is about the circulation of newspapers prior to the new alphabet.

As regards periodicals there is no doubt that these have greatly increased, particularly with the growing interest in sport and the movies. There are several Turkish weeklies dealing with the movies of which hundreds of copies are sold with each issue.

Standard books in Turkish of Turkish or foreign authors are woefully lacking. The government during the years following 1928 spent most of its energy and money toward publishing all school text-books in the new characters. A committee in the former Türk Ocak undertook to translate and publish 100 classics of western literature of which 10 were actually completed before lack of funds and the dissolution of the Türk Ocak put an end to the project. Even these translations were hardly suitable to Turkey's needs. For example, 3.000 copies of the translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* were published which would appeal to only a handful of persons in Turkey. The present régime, moreover, has not produced any outstanding author, while the number of intellectuals is very small. A few private social organizations, such as the Himayei Etfal, have published children's books and translations of standard social and educational works for teachers and doctors. The four-volume Turkish history, the work of the Historical Committee, has also just been published for use in the schools.¹

During last Ramazan the government carried out another movement toward popularizing the Turkish language by having selections from the Koran chanted in the mosques in Turkish. The Turkish translations employed, however, are not considered at all satisfactory by the authorities, most of the Arabic words being kept since it was found difficult to make even an approximately accurate translation in pure Turkish. Before the next Ramazan the government hopes to secure better translations which probably means that some way will be found to express the Arabic meaning in the simple language of the Turkish peasant. Selected prayers of the Koran have previously been translated in Turkish and used privately, especially for children.

While the government has stimulated reading and writing the Turkish language, it has failed to provide the public with books and libraries. After all, why teach the peasant to read and write if he cannot put this to use? A Turk desiring to read in the new alphabet has not recourse to more than 20 or 30 standard works which he must purchase himself. It is true that there is also available a far greater choice of books in the old script but publishing and

¹ Ücretsiz PDF Kitap Arşivi - <https://rantey.org>
Kemalist Eğitimin Tarih Dersleri 1931-1941. (Ed. Note).

printing these is now forbidden. This lack of books will be felt more in about five years with the demand for reading material by those boys and girls who know only the new alphabet. For the present this need is not greatly felt by the older Turks who are unaccustomed to reading in any case.

Enclosures:

- 1- Estimate of literates.
- 2- Circulation of leading Turkish papers.
- 3- Circulation of daily papers in Turkey.

ESTIMATE OF LITERATES IN TURKEY, 1931

Literacy diplomas granted to those being unable to read or write in any language 1928-31	306.294 ¹
Literacy diplomas granted to those able to read and write in the old script 1928-31	951.846 ²
Difference between 951.846 and those able to read and write in the old script – census of 1927	159.650 ³
75% of Army recruits for 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931	156.000 ⁴
Primary school graduates from 1928 to 1930, inclusive	384.000 ⁵
Total students at present in all primary schools	<u>479.442</u> ⁶
Total	2.437.232

CIRCULATION OF LEADING TURKISH PAPERS

	<u>December,</u>	<u>1928-1931</u>
CUMHURİYET	8.000	14.000
MİLLİYET	7.200	8.000
VAKİT	4.200	6.125
SON SAAT (SON POSTA)	2.300	9.125
AKŞAM	1.400	13.000

¹ Official figures.

² Official figures.

³ Official figures.

⁴ Unofficial estimate of Military Attaché.

⁵ Approximate estimate taken from official attendance figures of primary schools.

⁶ Official figures.

CIRCULATION OF DAILY PAPERS IN TURKEY¹

Name of Paper	Place	Language	Circulation
AKŞAM	Istanbul	Turkish	12.900
AKŞAM (French)	Istanbul	French	3.437
CUMHURİYET	Istanbul	Turkish	14.375
REPUBLIQUE	Istanbul	Turkish	2.625
MİLLİYET	Istanbul	Turkish	8.375
MİLLİYET (French)	Istanbul	French	1.666
POLİTİKA	Istanbul	Turkish	4.833
YARIN	Istanbul	Turkish	6.000
İNKILAP	Istanbul	Turkish	2.000
SON POSTA	Istanbul	Turkish	9.125
YENİ GÜN	Istanbul	Turkish	5.750
YILMAZ	Brusa	Turkish	4.250
YENİ BURSA	Brusa	Turkish	500
KERARUN	Kiresun	Turkish	500
YENİ ADANA	Adana	Turkish	600
EDİRNE POSTASI	Edirne	Turkish	500
BABALIK	Konia	Turkish	500
TÜRK DİLİ	Istanbul	Turkish	500
ANEXARTTOS	Istanbul	Greek	1.791
APOGHEVMATINI	Istanbul	Greek	3.958
AVGHI	Istanbul	Greek	1.687
CHRONICA	Istanbul	Greek	1.287
ASTARAR	Istanbul	Armenian	3.366
JAMANAK	Istanbul	Armenian	3.600
NORLUR	Istanbul	Armenian	2.766
JOURNAL d'ORIENT	Istanbul	French	2.825
STAMBOUL	Istanbul	French	2.225
VAKIT	Istanbul	Turkish	6.125
UYANIS	Istanbul	Turkish	4.000
ANADOLU	Izmir	Turkish	3.500
YENİ ASIR	Izmir	Turkish	5.000
HAKİMİYETİ MİLLİYE	Ankara	Turkish	5.500
TÜRKISCHE POST	Istanbul	German	1.250
LE LEVANT	Izmir	French	1.500
TURQUIE LIBERALE	Istanbul	French	1.000
IL MESSAGERO DEGLI ITALIANI	Istanbul	Italian	<u>1.000</u>
		TOTAL	130.816

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated April 19, 1932 no. 867.402/42.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

“ANKARA-1932. AN INFORMAL SURVEY”
(MAY 5, 1932)

From G. Howland Shaw, Ankara May 5, 1932
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 1471

SUBJECT: Ankara – 1932. An Informal Survey.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Ankara season is nearing its close. An estimate of the situation in the light of the events of the past seven or eight months is in order.

The financial and economic depression and the problems in connection with it – these are the matters which now engage Ankara’s attention almost to the exclusion of everything else. The blunders, the waste, the incompetence and worse of the past few years are now to some extent realized and attempts to discover and apply remedies are being made. So far these remedies have been of the more conservative and conventional sort – drastic economies in the budget, new taxes, consolidation of monopolies – but there are indications that some Turks are thinking along more fundamental lines and approaching the country’s problems in a more critical spirit. The so-called “Kadro” group (see the Embassy’s despatch No. 1439 of March 9, 1932) with its emphasis upon the necessity of developing Turkish industry and its doctrine that there can be no real political nationalism without a measure of economic self-sufficiency is an example in point. Articles have recently appeared in the press criticising the inefficiency of government officials as a class. In private conversations, especially with younger men, the note of criticism is struck again and again, sometimes with bitterness, sometimes with every sign of discouragement and disillusion. Many of these men are men of ideals, but their enthusiasm for these ideals is subject to fluctuation under the pressure of unpleasant realities.

The essential elements in the picture are these: lack of money, poverty, reduced production and purchasing power, earnest but not very comprehensive or searching efforts to improve things made by government leaders, a growing consciousness on the part of a considerable number of Turks that things are going badly, that government is incompetent and often worse than incompetent, a growing spirit of criticism, a growing discouragement. In a word, Ankara is in a run down condition with reduced psychic energy. This is a different Ankara from the Ankara of 1924. That was an arrogant, self-confident, truculent Ankara, the Ankara that built a new city and started a new régime.

Because I have painted a dark picture let nobody conclude that disaster is about to overtake Turkey. Once again let me say that I have no desire to join the ranks of those who have repeatedly announced the end of Turkey only to discover themselves in the wrong a few months or a few years later. Economic crises do not have political consequences in Turkey. The standard of living is low and probably 80% of the population is living about as it used to a hundred years ago – vaguely admiring the Gazi for having driven out the Greeks, grumbling at taxes but largely ignorant of and impervious to westernization. It matters nothing to these people that new schools and hospitals cannot be built, that the railroad building program must be slowed down, that the whole tempo of westernization has to be keyed to a lower level. The economic depression will mean less and less progress along lines of westernization, at least of the more striking and obvious variety, but the whole westernization program can be scrapped or temporarily put aside and Turkey – the essential Turkey – will go on as Turkey has gone on in the past. Personally I hesitate to believe that westernization will be scrapped or even temporarily put aside. It will be slowed down – it has been slowed down already – and I am far from considering this slowing down as necessarily a misfortune. Turkey has moved ahead too rapidly. The externals of Turkish life having been changed Turkey has deluded itself into believing that the change was real and deep-seated. Of course it has been neither of these and many Turks are now aware of the fact. That is all to the good on condition that it leads to further and wiser effort rather than to mere discouragement. Just here is the question concerning Turkey which is uppermost in my mind towards the close of the present Ankara season. The Turk is essentially of the manic-depressive type of personality. In 1924 he was in a mood of bounding confidence; in 1932 he is not far from a state of depression. Will he lose himself in this depression, in which case the present period of Turkish history will see, not the abandonment of the Reforms but certainly their gradual disintegration; or, sobered but not disheartened by past mistakes, will he labor to achieve the consolidation of the Reforms? That is the essential question.

EUGEN M. HINKLE

“CEVAT – THE PORTRAIT OF
A TURKISH PETTY OFFICIAL”
(SEPTEMBER 6, 1932)

From G. Howland Shaw, Istanbul, September 6, 1932
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

Strictly Confidential

Subject: Portrait of a petty Turkish official.

The small official is an enormously important factor in Government. He does not as a rule receive the thoughtful consideration he merits. Seldom does he break into the press. The “Great Men” do that. Many of them know how, but the fact remains that the “Great Men” can accomplish very little, above all very little that is of permanent value, without the understanding, the loyalty and the active cooperation of the small official. A few “Great Men” are honest and willing, even anxious, to recognize how much they owe to their subordinates, but many are forgetful and ascribe such success as may be their lot to their own unaided greatness.

In Turkey the small official has always constituted a large and important class. The role of Government in Turkey of today is even more important than formerly. The vast administrative machinery of the Ottoman Empire was engaged in administering, but today the Government of Turkey is not only administering, it is also and primarily reforming. To enlist the small official in the work of efficient administration is hard enough, but to give him the added enthusiasm and drive necessary to convert him into an effective reformer is infinitely harder. And just at this point is where the present Turkish Government has fallen down badly. The Gazi’s ideas and reforms may be splendid. Ismet Paşa’s orders may be of the strictest, but ideas, reforms and orders have to be carried out by subordinates and the resulting attenuation and distortion are doing much to slow down the modernization of Turkey. This unfortunate situation is perhaps in part due to the fact that in order to meet

immediate and pressing personal needs, the Nationalist Government soon took over a considerable number of former Ottoman officials. The limitations of these officials were not realized during the war and peace conference periods, but, as soon as Ankara settled down to the task of building the new régime instead of fighting for it, it was not long before it became clear that these veteran officials had lost none of their intentness on holding their positions at all cost, their cringing attitude towards superiors, their love of intrigue and their essential laziness. Slowly but surely they have made headway in leavening the Government departments. The Soviets, it is understood, did not make this particular mistake of seeking to administer a new regime with a number of officials brought up under and accustomed to the ideals of a previous régime.

To assist the Department in arriving at as clear a picture as possible of the small Turkish official of the present day I enclose herewith a study prepared by Mr. Eugene M. Hinkle, entitled, "Cevat – The Portrait of a Turkish Petty Official". This study is submitted as part of the program of research studies set forth in the Embassy's dispatch No. 1115, August 26, 1930, and approved by the Department in its instruction No. 265, September 19, 1930. Mr. Hinkle has wisely decided to set forth the results of his careful observation of the Turkish official in the form of a composite portrait. Except for the name there is nothing in this portrait that has been imagined. Every detail given represents one or more occurrences, usually observed at first hand.

CEVAT – THE PORTRAIT OF A TURKISH PETTY OFFICIAL

You have seen him often of a holiday afternoon peering out of the windows of one of the better class coffeehouses on the main street of Ankara. His gaze seems to you quite vacant and expressionless. Perhaps he has been sitting thus for hours with his companions, smoking listlessly and fingering his cup of Turkish coffee or his string of conversation beads. His name is Cevat Bey and he represents the petty official class – the backbone of the Turkish Government.*

His appearance is rather unprepossessing; he is dressed in a sack suit which is obviously a cheap imitation of a much better grade European suit.

He is a short puffy little man scarcely five feet seven with a thick crop of black hair and dark eyes stuck in their sockets like a pair of beads. His

swarthy cleanshaven features are completely overshadowed by a hook nose of aristocratic proportions. His complexion has an unhealthy pallor as if he spent most of his time in smoky over-heated rooms. His corpulency is due as much to a lack of exercise as to his eating very fatty foods. His smile, though rare, is most kindly and captivating and discloses several gold teeth. In conversation his face becomes quite animated in contrast to its immobility when he is silent. He is an ageless type of person. To see him shuffling slowly down the street with his head down and his shoulders bent you would never guess he is only 35.

Cevat Bey was born a few years before the turn of the century in a large Turkish house in Fatih, a very respectable quarter of Stamboul. Cevat loved his home even as he loved Stamboul. His thoughts often go back to his childhood when he would spend the day sitting on the balcony, watching the street vendors display their wares or the traveling Karagöz which set up its show before his home. His father had an excellent position with the Customs and had married into a family of considerable influence. As was the habit in those days he lived with his in-laws. Cevat was sent to a Medresse school where he spent several years learning how to read and write the old script. When he was 18 his father secured for him a position as clerk in one of the offices of the local Vilayet. In 1917 he served in the Army and worked at a desk job in the head-quarters of the Engineering Corps in Istanbul. By the end of the World War his family and relatives were more or less ruined, their farms and live stock in Macedonia having been destroyed by the Greeks. Nevertheless he had enough influence to secure a position as apprentice draftsman in the Public Works Department of the local Vilayet. During his service in the Engineer Corps he had been taught a smattering of draftsmanship and scale drawing by one of the German officers assigned to the Turkish Engineers. With that native facility for learning languages Cevat soon spoke German fluently. In 1925 he was sent to Ankara with three other draftsmen to reinforce the growing Ministry of Public Works. He went to Ankara because he had to and because he did not have enough influence to secure another job in Istanbul. Since then his history is uneventful save perhaps for his matrimonial ventures. In 1926 his relatives in Istanbul had arranged his marriage with a well-known family, neither of whose daughters he had ever seen. However, negotiations for the eldest never got far, while those for the second daughter broke down on the question of furnishing the home in Ankara. The following year Cevat had better luck as he married the daughter of an official with a great deal of influence which Cevat's relatives considered would be a great help to him to assure his official position. Cevat went down to Istanbul for ten days, met his fiancée for the first time at the

Municipal Marriage Office and returned with her to a three-room house in Ankara.

Cevat's work as a petty official there resolved itself into a chronic display of negativism along with a certain amount of routine. His section, under the Bridge Department of the Ministry of Public Works, had a chief head draftsman who had under him Cevat and ten other draftsmen. His Chief was distinctly inferior to several of his subordinates but was chosen for the position because he was the personal henchman of a Deputy who had considerable influence with the Ministry. As long as the Deputy remained in power so would the Chief. However, so great was his fear of losing his job that all his efforts were concentrated in centralizing the whole work of the section on himself and of keeping his subordinates as useless as possible. Three of the draftsmen had studied abroad at Government expense and were in an excellent position to give valuable assistance on blue-prints and scale drawing, but the Chief was terrified lest they become of any value in the Ministry and took any criticism they had made at first as a personal insult to himself. The result was that Cevat and the others never criticized at all or used what little initiative they might have had. This had perhaps never occurred to most of them. They were mere automatons doing only what routine drawing they were given. Even these were inaccurate – in true Oriental fashion – and were never 100 per cent perfect. Anything the section did was only an approximation. The work too was very spasmodic and steady conscientious effort was lacking. When the Chief was ill or absent, which was about one-half the time, the office virtually stopped running. There was an assistant chief, but he was never taken into the confidence of his Chief and never knew what was going on. Once the Chief was absent for three weeks and on his return was secretly delighted to find that nothing had been done as all the orders for drawings had remained on his desk during his absence. He was therefore indispensable: he comprised the section. He had considerable power also in holding up drawings for firms which had been awarded contracts under the ministry, so that he was in a position to secure considerable backshish from them. He never divided the spoils with his subordinates unless once in a while he felt there was any danger of their giving him away. Among the draftsmen too there was considerable jealousy and a vast amount of petty intrigue. Personalities played an important rôle. Cevat had a secret fear and mistrust of the three draftsmen who had studied abroad. He feared that others like them might come and replace him. They thought they knew it all and looked down on him. Any objective criticism and help on their part was therefore out of the question. So for years his draftsmanship had advanced but little over the smattering he had learned from the German officer during the

war. Like so many Turks he glorified in the status quo and forgot that technique learned from the West was ever-changing. It was true that recently a foreign expert draftsman had been hired at considerable expense by the Ministry and had spent six months in the division – a big, blunt German who had little patience or time for Turkish susceptibilities. Their childlike qualities clashed with his very adult make-up. Cevat and his fellow-draftsmen immediately became antagonistic and thought the best way to take it out on the haughty foreigner was to dispute all his points and to challenge everything he attempted to teach them. They behaved like naughty schoolboys. Eventually the German left, just as he might have started to learn how to deal effectively with the Turks. His visit had cost the Government considerable and had benefited the Ministry exactly zero.

Some time later on a very eminent Frenchman was hired at a very high price to study Turkey's needs for highways and bridges. His picture appeared in all the papers and he was feted extensively in Ankara. He was reported to have had a significant conversation with Ismet Pasha. He then drew up a most extensive report which was handed most solemnly, done up in an elaborate binding, from the Minister to the Undersecretary and from the Undersecretary to Cevat's Chief and from him to Cevat who has told to read it. When he had done so his Chief told him that he had better keep it in readiness to make a report on it when called for. That was a year ago and the Minister since then had no time to go into the matter. The economic crisis shelved any possibility of further attention being given the report. If it did nothing else, however, it afforded Cevat a quite laugh by himself. He saw the whole matter as a practical joke on the Government and in his own way was immensely fond of practical jokes. He saw the expert getting on the train at Paris and coming many thousands of miles and working for three months just to give him, Cevat, the pleasure of reading a report!

The bond in common which all petty officials in Ankara had was a longing to leave the capital for Istanbul, their native home. Ankara and Anatolia were almost as foreign to them as another land. They had been wrenched from a totally different environment and spirit and found it exceedingly difficult to adjust themselves to Ankara's modern ways. When he worked in Istanbul, for instance, Cevat would drop in any time in the morning to his office, but now all those in Ankara below the rank of chiefs of division had to arrive at their offices at 9:30 a.m. with military precision. It was a habit, however, to which they were becoming accustomed – this idea of time and punctuality in a western sense. Although Cevat's home was only a mile from the Ministry he invariably rode to and fro in the bus. Practically none of the officials in Ankara ever walked between their offices and their homes. Some even used taxis.

Cevat's wife, Nakiye, lived in different surroundings from her conservative mother in Stamboul, but her life was fundamentally the same. There was little in common between her and Cevat – no social intercourse, no intellectual stimulation, not even in planning of household activities to bring them together. To Cevat she was a natural and inevitable commodity. They rarely conversed together or exchanged ideas. Nakiye in an old kimono spent a good part of the day looking out of the window from behind a curtain, although it was difficult to tell just what she was looking at. She also made occasional use of a cheap gramophone with records of Turkish music. Her education was woefully lacking and she never attempted to read anything. She had not learnt the Latin characters. Her three-year old child and her household were taken care of by a Turkish peasant girl, who soon became her only close companion and intimate. Her first child died at the age of six months owing to complications as the result of improper feeding. Had medical advice been sought in time the child would have been saved. Nakiye often had the urge – largely through occasional attendance at the movies – to mix with people in western style. But Cevat who was willing to accept western superficialities, such as modern dress, had changed little from the conservative Turk, particularly when it came to his wife meeting other men. He knew – and rightly so – that the Turks treated unprotected women as fair game. So he virtually kept her under lock and key. Jealousy was one of his fundamental characteristics and because he had no depth of understanding with her he did not trust his wife. There was also fear of public opinion and the criticisms of her women acquaintances which kept her at her complaisant vigil by the window. Cevat had once suggested that she try to learn cooking and sewing at the fine new Ismet Pasha School for Home Economics; but her efforts there failed dismally. She was very enthusiastic at first, but quickly became discouraged when she had a quarrel with the teacher and found that the work was not easy. Yet withal in her own element she was a very pleasant girl and was kindly disposed to everyone and her husband in particular. A woman of 30 she had already grown quite stout from lack of exercise and had acquired a most unhealthy complexion. Her long black lashes and dark eyes and hair showed that at 18 she must have been a handsome girl. In general it might be said that Nakiye lived on a very low level, her sex life constituting the principal factor in her circumscribed existence.

Cevat and his wife occupied the ground floor of a very small two-family house where their standard of living was not as high as that of a day-laborer in an American city. Their home was one of those cheaply built stucco houses hastily thrown together by the German contractors who erected the other houses in the district known as the new city of Yenishehir. Their

landlord was a Turkish deputy who had been given the opportunity by the government to buy the land and house very cheaply from the municipality. He charged an exorbitant rent and refused to do any repairs or upkeep provided for in the lease. Since he was a deputy, there was little Cevat could do about it. The house was in a dreadful state of repair. None of the window and door frames fitted so as to keep out the dust and heat of summer or the cold blasts of winter. There was a combination dining and living room, a bedroom, and a small room in the rear of the house used as a kitchen in daytime and a servant's room at night. The only water tap was in the kitchen which was often dry during the torrid summer months. The bed-room and kitchen were indescribably dirty and in a state of great disorder, while the parlor was kept tolerably neat for visitors, particularly as in Turkish fashion it was devoid of any furniture except a gramophone, a divan, a few chairs and a table. In this room was also the main heating apparatus of the place – a small stove. In the kitchen a mangal* was used. Like the other houses the windows in all the rooms were always kept tight shut. According to Turkish custom the wife had furnished the bed-room and china, cutlery, and the tea and coffee services, while Cevat was responsible for the rest of the establishment. It was all clearly regulated by custom and drawn up in the marriage contract. Also according to custom, Nakiye brought no dowry with her but had her clothes supplied by her family in Stamboul.

Cevat's salary was 108 Turkish pounds per month (roughly \$50), which after taxes had been deducted left him 85 Turkish pounds. This, plus occasional backshish¹ and contributions sent them by their respective families increased the total to 115 Turkish pounds per month. Their bare living cost them that so that they were continually in debt. Sixty Turkish pounds alone went for rent, heat and light, which in Istanbul would have cost them less than one-half. Whenever they had the money the servant received 10 Turkish pounds per month. Meals were purchased ready cooked from a service which supplied many homes with its standard three-course meal consisting of pilaf, a ragout with onions, and a sweet. This meal costing 50 piaster was enough for three people and was considerably cheaper than if it had been home-cooked. Cevat usually invested in one of these meals which satisfied his household for the day and which was consumed at any hour that found Cevat home and hungry. His wife purchased their tea, coffee, bread and olives and other necessities at the local bakal. She had no idea of household economy or of buying judiciously. Cevat himself had no conception of a budget and lived from day to day. Usually by the 15th of each month he had no ready cash and

* An open copper container in which charcoal is burnt.

¹ Bribe. Editor's note.

would have to receive credit from the *bakal* and his coffee-house. Savings on a small scale, however, were carried on no matter how many bills remained unpaid. Two years ago the *Iş Bank* had sent all officials in Ankara small nickel savings boxes with a slit for coins and which opened with a tiny key. This had immediately taken Cevat's fancy and he had become so regular in slipping in small coins that he had filled the box several times and had taken it to be opened at the bank which had the key. His savings account now amounted to 50 Turkish pounds and nothing could induce him to part with this. In fact he had no idea of ever withdrawing it and considered it more as an accomplishment than as an actual cash deposit.

Cevat was also quite free in contracting small loans which he promptly forgot. On the other hand he was ready to lend all the ready cash he had without the slightest hesitancy and with no hope of getting it back, which was usually the case. Like all Turks, Cevat rarely refused beggar's requests for a few piasters. His generosity was as sincere and natural as was his high standard of hospitality to a guest.

Cevat and his little family represent an isolated unit in Ankara's population. Their relations with the outside world are formal, full of suspicion and fear. They live in a society of economic and social instability where every move is interpreted as a possible threat toward their very livelihood. Cevat does not know the meaning of altruistic friendship and has no close friends other than his relatives in Stamboul. One of his cousins married an Army officer who is stationed in Ankara. However, the officer will have nothing to do with Cevat – a civilian, and there is a good deal of jealousy between them. Through his wife's family Cevat has come under the patronage of a deputy and a high official in his Ministry. He has become one of their followers and calls himself their friend, even though his relationship with them is primarily for utilitarian purposes. In reality he is terrified of such superiors and is uncomfortable in their presence. At stated intervals, such as *Bairam*,¹ Cevat and his wife pay formal calls on these officials and other acquaintances, while they receive visits in much the same fashion. There is no informal "dropping in", characteristic of the social life of our small American towns. Besides her family life, Nakiye's social intercourse is confined to a few women acquaintances who come to see her and exchange gossip. The most insignificant childish events are the topics of discussion with their very limited field of interest. Most of Nakiye's information on people and the doings of the outside world she receives from her peasant servant with whom she discusses everything.

¹ Religious holiday. Editor's note.

Cevat's leisure hours are divided between the coffeehouse, an occasional movie, and his home. At the coffeehouse he may spend the evening with an acquaintance – perhaps one of the draftsmen in his section, although the draftsmen do not form a clique and move together as might be expected. Cronies are rare among Ankara officials. They say the town is too small to have close friendships which will always be under suspicion. The well heated coffee-house is most comfortable and has a radio which emits Turkish music until the small hours of the morning. Cevat loves nothing better than to sit there and cover a variety of subjects having nothing to do with Turkey and about which he knows very little himself. His conversation is of the pitter-patter variety and he never gets into a thorough discussion on any one subject – unless it be sex and food, favorite topics in his coffee-house, which are discussed in minutest detail and with considerable understanding.

Political principles and ideas how to run the country are rarely discussed as that is considered too dangerous. Such matters are left entirely to the handful of leaders at the top. Personalities, official and otherwise, however, are subjects of much interminable and indiscreet talk. Finally, there is little reticence shown by Cevat and his companions in airing their own most intimate and personal experiences which the European might not even confide to his closest friends.

Cevat attends a movie once a week sometimes with an acquaintance and sometimes with his wife. This movie represents his greatest diversion since as a rule he does not go with women or frequent the few sordid bars in Ankara. This is not due to any moral scruples on his part or to any ideal of being faithful to his wife. He does not ordinarily go with other women because the opportunity does not present itself and because he is accustomed to following the lines of least resistance. He is also very temperate, seldom indulging in alcohol except for an occasional raki or two before his meals or when he has guests. Most of his evenings he spends quietly at home. Once in his house, he divests himself of his suit and appears in shirt-sleeves, without collar or tie, a disreputable pair of trousers and a pair of slippers. Nakiye never changes from her kimono unless she is going out or receiving visitors. Then she wears the one good dress she has – a showy affair, far more elaborate and pretentious than is necessary. A simple frock at much less cost would have served her purpose. But the wives of other officials wore such pretentious clothes, that Cevat felt his wife must keep up their official position – even though at home they lived in pitiful circumstances. There was an enormous discrepancy between their appearance in public and their home environment.

Cevat was lord and master of the domestic scene. When he arrived, wife and servant rushed to attend to his minutest needs. He had a temper which, though sluggish in responding to emotions in others, could be aroused instantaneously when his own primitive instincts became affected. These were always on the surface and one could never tell when his passion would break out. A show of temper was usually the only way to impress any idea on his servant and his wife. It was the only kind of authority to which they responded. What we would call brutality both in the use of violent language and physical force is often heaped on the phlegmatic Nakiye. Self-control was something that Cevat had never learned. He was often controlled but through fear and other agencies than himself.

At home he occasionally reads the newspapers, chiefly the foreign news and therefore has quite a superficial knowledge of foreign countries. Nakiye sometimes purchases for its illustrations a copy of "HOLIVUT", one of Turkey's magazines glorifying the movies. Cevat himself has had great difficulty in learning the Latin alphabet. He now reads it fluently, however, and if necessary can write it with considerable effort, although he prefers writing in the old script – even in his official work at the Ministry. One of his greatest pastimes at home is to play with his small three-year old son whom he worships and spoils. Like all Turks, he is passionately fond of children – whether his own or not.

Unlike the small American town, there are no social clubs or active political organizations in Ankara for him to join. He is not interested in sport which has a few clubs and he does not meddle in politics or even mix in with political gossip. It is too dangerous. He is a duly registered member of the People's Party which merely means that at election time he votes for the Party's candidate for deputy or for the local administration. He is also a member of the Halk Evi, a recently organized, social, cultural and political body to propagate the ideas of the Party. This organization has had one mass meeting which Cevat attended but has offered nothing since to attract him to active participation. In short, the People's Party have been unable to do anything to affect his leisure hours.

His month's vacation during the summer, both he and his wife look forward to more than anything else. They leave Ankara, amid its dust storms and heat and spend a month with Cevat's family in Stamboul. In the garden are the flowers they love and the noise of running water which is music to Turkish ears. Most of the time Cevat spends lounging in a coffee-house overlooking one of Istanbul's fine beaches, beside the blue waters of the Marmara which he never ceases to miss. His vacation means complete idleness – mentally and physically.

Cevat has had little association with foreigners, yet he spends a good deal of his time reading and discussing foreign things. Foreign ideas puzzle him and, it must be admitted, often annoy him. The luxurious life of foreign cities as shown in the movies and the vivid impressions as a boy of 17 of his one month in Paris with his father have often made him discontented and even a little ambitious. Whereas his father accepted the Islamic philosophy of *kismet*,¹ Cevat does not always believe in accepting circumstances as his inevitable lot. If he gets into difficulty he feels he must do something, even though his action may have no reason behind it. Once when his wife had a violent attack of indigestion he almost killed her by giving her a dose of *raki*. He felt that he must do something about it. This contact with foreign things has given him a certain initiative to better himself in order to secure some of the material luxuries of the west. The recent crisis tax, although decreasing his income by only five Turkish pounds, was most repugnant and discouraging to him, since he felt that his country was forever lost in poverty as compared with the countries of Europe. It was toward the government rather than to his own initiative or to private enterprise that Cevat had always looked for help. He had now begun to lose faith in the government's ability to carry out the reforms it advertised. Now that he was paid less he made the great mistake of putting less into his job. He reasoned that one should give only what the salary was worth. He began to regret he was not in a position which gave him more opportunity for backshish. He did not consider the taking of backshish as unethical any more than he regarded avoiding taxes as dishonest. It was all fair game.

Cevat knows very few foreigners. A young German engineer was the only foreigner who had ever been to his house. He spoke Turkish and had stopped in Cevat's office several times to help him with his problems. His frankness, his sincere interest and above all his boyish simplicity, had appealed to Cevat and had to a large degree broken down in this instance his distrust of foreigners. The engineer treated him as his equal and besides was as poor as himself so that Cevat had no qualms in inviting him to dinner at his house with another Turk. From the kitchen Nakiye passed the food through the half-open door and was not allowed to appear.

Once Cevat had received an invitation to lunch at a foreign embassy and would have refused it had not one of his acquaintances been the Embassy's interpreter who persuaded him that there was no danger in accepting. Although the prospect made him very nervous and uncomfortable, he arrived in a large taxi which he had picked up in the next block as he felt that as a Turkish official he should turn up in style. Cevat had a smattering of French so that he

¹ "fate". Editor's note.

managed to get through the lunch better than he expected. But it was an ordeal during which he had completely camouflaged his real self behind all sorts of protective barriers. At the lunch there were only himself, the counselor of the embassy and a secretary. Cevat immediately became reticent on every subject particularly when the counselor and secretary plied him with all sorts of questions about his work and Turkey. He had never been used to volunteer information. Most of his answers at this lunch therefore were usually monosyllabic. Turks had never been so inquisitive with him and Cevat could not understand why these foreigners were cross-examining him, although he was certain they had some ulterior motive in so doing. If he had been told that their questions were prompted merely by a desire to understand the people and the country in which they lived he certainly would not have comprehended. The more frightened he became the more profuse were his manners. It was not until conversation ran out and until all three sat perfectly silent that Cevat began to feel more at home. (Turkish repasts are marked by their periods of silence and conversation is never forced.) So Cevat folded his hands quietly and continued sitting. It was now the foreigners' turn to become embarrassed. Such silence troubled and bewildered them. If they had not forced the conversation again by some inane remarks Cevat would have sat quite happy digesting an excellent meal until it was time for him to go. But withal he felt uneasy with foreigners and avoided them whenever possible. They gave him an inferiority complex which was most uncomfortable. Besides, the Ministry might begin to doubt his avowed nationalism and class him as pro-foreign.

Nevertheless Cevat's secret desire was to be able to revisit Paris. It was something he did not for a moment believe would ever happen but it was a most pleasant topic on which to daydream and fancy. America, too, fascinated him. He had never known any Americans in Turkey – for Americans meant missionaries – and he had never read any book on that country. It was through the movies that he had received most of his ideas – luxurious night-clubs, beautiful women, limousines, jazz and easily acquired wealth.

Russia made no particular appeal to him. Although the Russians' Oriental temperament was not far removed from his own, the Soviet system was not congenial to him. Moreover, he did not have a clear comprehension of Communism which he sometimes vaguely referred to in talking with his friends.

Cevat was not a religious man. In fact, there was nothing that he believed in very deeply. Religion was more a tradition with him. He had been brought up as a good Moslem and had until recently accepted without question its tenets of the mystic and of the divine. Of late, however, Cevat had begun questioning his belief in Allah and in the life of the Prophet Mahomet. In

talking with young radicals of the Stamboul University he had been thoroughly shaken in some of his ideas on Islam which he had never thought of challenging. This new development had disturbed him a good deal and if he had not been so mentally lazy and unimaginative would have given him many a difficult hour in working out a personal religion for himself. As it was, in a half-hearted way-more through force of habit than anything else- he frequently attended the mosque and still fasted religiously during Ramazan. His wife took his child to the mosque but never went with Cevat. His own religion never progressed much further than this perfunctory half-hearted acceptance of Islam. He was not a thinker. He rarely speculated. While he was not lacking in a fund of excellent ideas, putting them into effect was quite another matter. He was more a dreamer, a contemplative, disinterested spectator of the life that went on around him. He had no desire to learn about his fellowmen or to seek after the ideals of truth. His life was on a more primitive scale. His main purpose always uppermost in his mind was to keep his position at the Ministry. Nothing else mattered or really interested him. This constant fear of being unable to earn his livelihood made Cevat a realist. He never took anything for granted in anybody or in any situation. The exuberance, the trustfulness, the naïve confidence of foreigners almost alarmed him. He was not only incapable of sharing such idealism for his fellows, but he was also much less vulnerable to the ups and downs of life than the Occidental. With a very low-strung nervous system he is not as sensitive – particularly to his surroundings, to physical hardships, to the primitive side of life. He is capable of standing all kinds of strains and difficulties which would completely disorganize and baffle the European. He is not conscious of the acute differentiation foreigners are always making between happiness and unhappiness. He perhaps would not know their meaning. Besides, he is not a man of many moods. His is the continual seriousness of a child with the child's lack of a sense of humor about himself. He often appears to be easily discouraged, but his series of depressions and elations over ideas and plans, hastily begun and hastily dropped, are merely superficial, outward appearances which have done little to disturb the calm of the inner Turk. So we can leave him: kind, brutal, realistic, dreamy, gentle, coarse Cevat – staring out of the window of the coffee-shop, contemplating, staring. At what? He himself could not tell you.

Eugen M. Hinkle



G. HOWLAND SHAW

**“JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN TURKEY”
(SEPTEMBER, 7, 1932)**

From G. Howland Shaw, Istanbul, September 7, 1932
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 167

SUBJECT: Juvenile Delinquency in Turkey.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

For the Department's strictly confidential information there is enclosed herewith a report on "Juvenile Delinquency in Turkey". This report is part of the program of research studies described in the Embassy's despatch No. 1115, August 24, 1930, and approved by the Department's instruction No. 265, September 15, 1930.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN TURKEY

The Turkish Penal Code which went into effect on July 1, 1926, divides juvenile offenders into four categories according to age: under 11, 11-14, 15-17, and 18-20. In general, the penalties specified in the Code for offenses committed by adults are in the case of juveniles reduced in a certain fixed ratio. The most lenient treatment is naturally reserved for the youngest age group, the penalty increasing in severity with the increase in age. The pertinent provisions of the Code are the following:¹

¹ This is a translation from the latest Turkish edition of the Code. The French edition published in 1927 by John A Rizzo contains inaccuracies.

Article 53. Those who have not completed their eleventh year at the time of committing the offense may neither be prosecuted nor penalized.

However, in case the act constitutes an offense for which the law provides imprisonment for more than a year or a heavier penalty, the president of the tribunal shall upon the request of the Prosecutor General order as a revocable measure that the child be placed for a period not to exceed his eighteenth year in an institution of education and reform under the administration or control of the State or to be turned over to its parents or guardian with a warning that they will be held liable to the payment of a fine up to 200 liras if because of their negligence in the care and surveillance of the child they become responsible for his committing an offense.

Article 54. No penalty whatsoever may be inflicted upon those who at the moment of committing the act are over eleven years of age but have not yet completed their fifteenth year in case they lack discernment. Should, however, the act committed be an offense entailing imprisonment above a year or a heavier penalty the provisions of the foregoing article may be applied.

In case the child acted knowing that the act entails punishment, the penalty shall be determined in accordance with the following rules:

1. – Heavy imprisonment from six to fifteen years shall be inflicted instead of a death sentence or life imprisonment
2. – Temporary exile shall be substituted in place of permanent exile.
3. – The other penalties shall be applied after being reduced in accordance with paragraphs 3 and 4 of article 47.¹
4. – The penalties of exclusion from public office and placing under the surveillance of the Department of Public Safety shall not be applied.
5. – The said penalties shall be carried out in special places reserved for children. These sentences shall not be a basis for determining recidivism.

Article 55. Those who at the time of committing the crime or offense have completed their fifteenth but not their eighteenth year shall be penalized in accordance with the following rules:

1. – Heavy imprisonment from ten to fifteen years shall be inflicted instead of a death sentence or life imprisonment.
2. – Temporary exile not less than three years instead of perpetual exile.

¹ Article 47

Paragraph 3. – Instead of permanent exclusion from public office, temporary exclusion

Paragraph 4. – From three to ten years instead of temporary penalties (imprisonment) over twelve years and from one to five years instead of penalties from six to twelve years. In other cases the term shall be less than half of the penalty to be inflicted (normally).

Paragraph 5. – Heavy as well as light fines shall be reduced by one-half.

3. – Temporary imprisonment in excess of twelve years shall be reduced to from six to ten years and penalties from six to twelve years shall be reduced to from three to six years.
4. – In other cases the penalty is reduced by one-half.
5. – Penalties in the form of fines are reduced by one-third.
6. – The penalties of exclusion from public office as well as placing under the surveillance of the Department of Public Safety shall not be inflicted.

If at the time of sentence the delinquent has not completed his eighteenth year the court may order that the sentence restricting personal freedom may be served in a reformatory.

Article 56. – Heavy imprisonment for 24 years shall be pronounced instead of a death sentence or life imprisonment upon those who at the time of the offence have completed their eighteenth but not their twenty-first year as well as upon those who at the moment of the sentence have passed their sixty-fifth year. Temporary exile for a period of five years shall be inflicted instead of permanent exile. In other cases the penalty is reduced by one-sixth.

The “institution of education and reform” mentioned in the second paragraph of Article 53 and the “reformatory” mentioned in the final paragraph of Article 55 do not exist. As to the “special places reserved for children”, presumably in the prison, to which the juvenile is to be committed in accordance with paragraph number 5 of Article 54, they exist in certain of the larger prisons and jails but as a rule there is nothing of the sort. Even where segregation of juvenile from adult prisoners does exist there is usually grave doubt as to the efficiency with which it is carried out.

At the present time a juvenile offender is subjected to the same police and judicial procedure as an adult. He is arrested by a police officer in uniform and is taken to the police station for interrogation. He may even be detained for the night or for several days and nights in the company of adults in the detention – room or lock-up of the station. In connection with arrest and detention at the police station he is often beaten. At Istanbul, if the offense is a serious one, while awaiting trial he will be sent to the special quarter for juveniles at the local jail. A girl delinquent at Istanbul will be sent to the particular room or rooms in the Women’s Section of the Prison used for women under arrest and awaiting trial. In other parts of the country where prison and jail are combined the delinquent boy may find himself in the company of adults serving sentences and awaiting trial. If the offense committed by the juvenile is not so serious as to warrant his being arrested and taken into custody by the police, he will be allowed to remain at home pending trial. There is often considerable delay in bringing a case to trial. The boy described under No. 20 at the close of this report who was sentenced to

four months in prison for theft was kept three months in jail awaiting trial. These three months, however, are considered as part of the sentence. The trial of a juvenile is carried on exactly as in the case of adult offenders. As many spectators, including press representatives, as desire, may attend. It is not to be denied that the paternal attitude and the leniency which characterize the attitude of the judge of the present day Turkish criminal court even when dealing with adults may in juvenile cases be more marked, but there is no sign of any awareness that a radically different procedure should be used in handling juvenile offenders. The Penal Code provides for "judicial admonition" (Articles 26 and 27) and for probation (Articles 89-95), but there are not probation officers attached to the courts and no private societies or institutions to the care of which the juvenile might be turned over. In the days of the Ottoman Empire delinquent children were sometimes sent by the court to private families as servants, but this practice is no longer followed. At the present time the Turkish judge in juvenile cases is confronted by the alternative of prison or nothing and his discretion in determining which of these alternatives to adopt is limited by the Penal Code. Beyond such data as is apparent to the eye or as he can gather by questioning the juvenile during the trial, the judge when he passes upon a juvenile case is entirely ignorant of the mental and physical condition of the accused boy or girl and of his or her social environment. The Institute of Legal Medicine at Istanbul is sometimes requested to examine the child in case there is a difference of opinion concerning age, but as a rule the judge's perspicacity is relied on to solve the age problem to well as other problems.

Since 1926 a certain amount of interest in juvenile delinquency and in the more modern methods of dealing with it have been manifested in Turkey particularly by the present Minister of Justice, Yusuf Kemal Bey, by two or three members of the National Assembly and by a few others at Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. From time to time articles appear in the press to the effect that the Government intends to set up juvenile courts in Turkey. Also the starting of an industrial or agricultural school on the cottage principle at Ankara or at Istanbul, to which delinquent boys might be sent instead of to prison, has been under consideration by the Ministry of Justice for more than a year. Two obstacles have heretofore prevented the taking of any tangible steps along these lines: first and foremost, the necessity of rigid economy in the budget and in the second place, the almost complete lack of personnel with the necessary training and having the spirit of devoted service necessary training and having the spirit of devoted service necessary in this type of work. It is to be hoped that both of these obstacles will in time be removed. During the present summer the Ministry of Justice has acquired by transfer

from the Ministry of Public Instruction a building at Karantina on the outskirts of Izmir formerly used as a Normal School. Eventually, the Ministry of Justice intends to use this building for delinquent boys. Certain it is that since 1929 a considerable amount of information concerning modern methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency has been imparted to persons in important positions at Ankara and Istanbul.¹ At the suggestion of outsiders a survey of juvenile delinquents in Turkish prisons was made by the Ministry of Justice in 1930. This survey and information obtained from judges and other competent persons in various parts of Turkey have been used as the basis of a small book of some hundred and fifty pages on juvenile delinquency in Turkey, its extent and causes, by Hilmi A. Malik Bey, interpreter of the American Embassy at Ankara.² This book which was published in 1932 received favorable attention in the press and steps have been taken to distribute several hundred copies through the Ministries of Justice and of Public Instruction. In 1929 Dr. Miriam van Waters' *YOUTH IN CONFLICT* was translated into Turkish³ and published under the auspices of the Turkish Society for the Protection of Children (Himayei Etfal Cemiyeti). The translation is unfortunately a bad one and not many copies have been sold or distributed. Finally, a Turkish Mental Hygiene Society was established at Istanbul in the summer of 1930 under the leadership of Dr. Fahrettin Kerim Bey and has already shown its interest in the problem of juvenile delinquency and its desire to cooperate in any program which may be adopted to handle this problem. The Society has attempted to foster the use of mental tests in Turkish children, but to date little, if anything, has been accomplished along these lines.

Such facts concerning juvenile delinquency as are set forth in this report refer to delinquent boys only. Little is known concerning delinquent girls although that they exist may be inferred from the fact that in 1929 272⁴ women were sentenced to the Istanbul Central Prison and in 1931 1214,⁵ and in 1930 3,806⁶ women were sentenced to prisons throughout Turkey. How large a proportion of these women were 18 years of age and under it is impossible to say. In the prisons of the large urban centers most of the

¹ This information has had as its purpose to give as clear a picture as possible of the working of (a) The Children's Village at Dobb's Ferry-on-Hudson, New York, (b) the Industrial School for Boys at Shirley, Massachusetts, and (c) The present-day American Juvenile Court with its probation and medical services.

² *Türkiyede Suçlu Çocuk*, Hilmi A. Malik, Ankara, 1932, Hakimiyeti Miliye Matbaası.

³ *Bazı Hayati Çarpışmalar*, Miriam Van Waters, Istanbul, 1939, Resimli Gazete Matbaası.

⁴ Statistical Report on the Istanbul Central Prison for 1929 by Ibrahim Zati Bey, Chief Medical Officer of the Prisons of Istanbul.

⁵ Statistical Report on the Istanbul Central Prison for 1931 by Ibrahim Zati Bey, Chief Medical Officer of the Prisons of Istanbul.

⁶ *İstatistik Yıllığı* (Statistical Annual) 4th Vol. 1930-31, p. 176.

women-prisoners are sentenced for some misdemeanor arising out of prostitution or for clandestine prostitution; (at Istanbul in 1931 945 (77.84%)¹ of the women-prisoners gave prostitution as their occupation); a small group is composed of women convicted of petty theft and once in a while there is a case of homicide. The last named, however, has heretofore been very rare as the Turkish woman has usually been able to find a male relative or friend to execute in her behalf such homicidal designs as she may entertain. Many young girls from Anatolia are employed as servants in houses in the larger cities. They often indulge in petty thieving which, if it becomes sufficiently notorious, may bring them to the police station and even to the prison. Frequently this is the path which leads to prostitution through persons encountered at the police station or at the prison.

As for recent attempts to improve the lot of juvenile prisoners under the existing conditions here are but two events to record. In 1926 an American, Mr. Asa K. Jennings, helped to establish an elementary school in the Prison at Izmir for the benefit of the juvenile prisoners. He also inaugurated a simple program of calisthenics, medicine ball and free play. Since Mr. Jennings' concentration of his work at Ankara in 1929, and a change of Prison Directors at Izmir, these activities have been discontinued. A teacher is still carried on the prison payroll, but it is reported that his work is now exclusively clerical. At the Istanbul Central Prison in the summer of 1931 the Prison Doctor, Ibrahim Zati Bey, took the initiative in starting a school in the prison for the juvenile offenders. A teacher was found among the political prisoners and 15 boys attended the school during 1931-32. The establishment of this school received favorable comment in the press and attracted a certain amount of attention in local circles and at Ankara.

Anything in the nature of a program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency has as yet naturally not even been envisaged as a possibility. In this connection, however, mention should be made of the intention of the Governor of Istanbul, Muhiddin Bey, to establish a trade school for the homeless boys of the city. These boys are in most cases the illegitimate and abandoned sons of the Turkish soldiers who were stranded in Istanbul after the War and who often found precarious temporary shelter in the ruins of houses in the large burned areas of the city. The boys are usually in miserable shape and often use narcotics. Any attempt to care for them may properly be considered as a move to prevent delinquency and crime. The Municipality has already acquired the property of the Scotch Mission in Galata for this purpose.

¹ Dr. Zati's 1931 Report. *op. cit.*

What form does juvenile delinquency take in Turkey? The following are samples of the more serious type of delinquency as reported in the Istanbul press:

Hassan, one of the numberless itinerant vendors of the city, went to the open air cinema which is given every evening during the summer at Taxim Garden. While waiting for the cinema to begin Hassan indulged in some mild teasing of several girls who happened to be in his vicinity. This teasing process excited the disapproval of another Hassan, a newsboy 14 years of age, who was perhaps not altogether uninterested in one of the girls. Hassan No. 2 expressed his views concerning the behavior of Hassan No.1 in no uncertain terms going so far as to call him a cad. A "discussion" not unnaturally followed in the course of which the newsboy produced a knife from his pocket and struck the itinerant vendor several times in the back.

At Balat, a poor quarter along the Golden Horn, a group of children were playing marbles among them Halid and Salih, both aged twelve. Somehow or other a quarrel started and Halid and Salih came to blows. Blows were not enough to satisfy Halid, however, or perhaps he was getting the worst of it. He ran to his house, got a large knife which he proceeded to drive up to the hilt into Salih's abdomen.

Ali, 8 years old and Yani (a Greek) two years his senior lived in the same quarter of Stamboul. One day in July 1931 they started to quarrel in the middle of the street. Yani slapped Ali in the face and he slapped him hard. Ali thereupon went home and got a knife. He later sought out Yani, started the quarrel over again and in short order planted the knife in Yani's right side.

Turkish boys when they fight, which is not often, tend to fight in order to kill. Perhaps Mr. Booth Tarkington's¹ classic description of the fight between the two small negro boys and the bully Rupe Collins in *Penrod*² furnishes as good an explanation as any. It is fighting on a primitive level, fighting for the purpose for which fighting was originally used and still is often used.

In spite of the three cases of homicide or wounding cited above, theft³ is the characteristic offense committed by juveniles in the large cities. It I thought that there are also many cases of rape, far more in fact than police

¹ "Newton Booth Tarkington (1869-1946) was an American novelist and dramatist best known for his Pulitzer Prize-winning novels *The Magnificent Ambersons* and *Alice Adams*" (source http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Booth_Tarkington) (Ed).

² *Penrod* is a novel of Booth Tarkington. (Ed).

³ Throughout this report the term "theft" is used in a broad, non-technical sense and includes robbery, burglary and larceny.

statistics would suggest.¹ In the more rigid atmosphere of the village where the chances of discovery and revenge by relatives of the victim are greater than in the large urban centers, rape is less often and the homoerotic sex offense more often encountered. In the absence of adequate statistical data it is of course impossible to write of these matters in any precise way. The best that can be done at the present time is to say that apparently theft and rape tend to be more characteristic of juvenile offenders in the large cities and homicide and homoerotic sex offenses of those in the rural areas.

The organized juvenile gang engaged in delinquent activities has not as yet played a part in juvenile delinquency in Turkey. It is true that the children of a particular quarter in the larger cities tend to play together and the play may sometimes assume a character destructive to property and to the peace of the neighborhood, but neither Turkish children nor Greek children in Turkey are willing to subordinate themselves to a leader belonging to their own crowd and the cohesion of the play group is therefore exceedingly fragile when it can be said to exist at all. Distrust of others which is such an important factor in Turkish life operates to keep children as well as adults apart. This distrust and absence of loyalty to the group also act as a sort of automatic regulator of the activities of the group in the sense that one member will not usually act in such a way as to allow the others "to get something on him". The code according to which a gangster must never under any circumstances "squeal" on the gang is not generally observed in Turkey. Acts of juvenile delinquency in Turkey are therefore usually carried out by the individual alone or with one other companion. At the present time (August 26, 1932) there are in the Boys' Section of the Istanbul Central Prison 26 inmates. Fourteen are convicted of theft and of these nine acted alone and five with one companion, 7 are convicted of homicide and 5 of wounding and of these all acted alone.

With this very general picture in mind let us examine the results of the only attempt which has so far been made to obtain accurate information concerning the younger inmates of Turkish prisons. This information deals almost exclusively with boys. Not more than a dozen girls are included among the 712 juvenile delinquents described below.

In December, 1930, a circular order requesting certain information concerning prisoners 18 years of age and under was sent by the Ministry of Justice to the Directors of the 393 prisons and jails in Turkey. The questionnaire which accompanied the order was prepared by Hilmi A. Malik Bey and the replies were carefully examined, classified and tabulated by him. Replies were received in 200 cases. Of these eight-one reported that they had

¹ Istanbul Police Statistics as published in the press show only 25 cases of rape during 1931, but from an unofficial source it is understood there were 178.

in custody prisoners within the age limit specified. In view of the inferior type of person usually to be found in charge of Turkish penal institutions, it must be frankly stated that the information furnished in answer to the questionnaire is to be accepted with a certain degree of reservation as to its accuracy. The figures on the offenses committed and on the actual and average number of delinquents may be considered as substantially accurate, but the statements regarding the number of prisons having separate quarters for delinquents, measures to reform the delinquents and trades carried on should be discounted.

It is to be noted that with the single exception of the prison at Ankara, where there are a certain number of cells, the Turkish prison consists of a series of large rooms in which prisoners are quartered with no attempt at classification. To this last statement there are two exceptions: (1) the Prison Regulations provide that in all prisons and jails there shall be special quarters for women prisoners and (2) in 29 (27.93%) of the eighty-one prisons and jails reporting concerning juvenile prisoners it was stated that special quarters were provided for such prisoners. As previously stated, however, it is to be feared, that these special quarters even if they exist in fact do not necessarily mean effective segregation of juvenile from adult prisoners, particularly during recreation periods and in such workshops as exist.¹

The following table shows the measures which according to the prison and jail directors are being taken to reform the juvenile delinquents:

	<u>Number of Prisons.</u>
Advice alone	39
Advice and books	1
Advice and lessons	1
Advice and preventive recreation	1
Advice and teaching	3
Teaching	13
Teaching and lectures	1
Lectures	1
Work and punishment	1
Lessons in conduct	1
School	1
Guarding and controlling	3
Nothing done or failure to report	<u>15</u>
	<u>81</u>

Only in 20 (24.69%) of the prisons and jails is there any opportunity to learn or carry on a trade. These trades and the prisons in which they are carried on are as follows:

¹ In 1926 when Mr. Jennings began his work at Izmir there was no segregation of juvenile from adult inmates in the prison of that city.

<u>Prison.</u>	<u>Trade</u>
Adana	Hosiery
Afyonkarahisar	Socks, underwear, handcars
Antalya	Hosiery and shoemaking
Bartin	Shoemaking and carpentry
Bursa	Hosiery and underwear
Çanakkale	Beade and handbags
Çorum	All kinds of beads
Edirne	Beads
Elâziz	Carpentry
Erzincan	Handwork
Ezine	Shoemaking
Istanbul	Hosiery and slippers
Izmir	Trade taught
Karaman	Shoemaking and carpentry
Kars	Shoemaking
Kastamonu	Weaving
Konya	Tailoring
Urfa	Socks, handbags and beads
Uşak	Handwork
Vezir Köprü	Carpentry

The 81 prisons and jails reported that in December, 1930, they had a total of 712 prisoners 18 years of age and under.¹ The average number of such prisoners per year in the prisons and jails which reported was 1311. The ten prisons reporting the highest annual averages with the population of the vilayets and cities in which these prisons are located and the density of population of the vilayets are as follows: (see also map 1 in Appendix 1):

¹ In considering these and other age figures the reader should bear in mind the vagueness and lack of precision which characterize information about the age of even Turks of prominence. When it comes to trying to find out the exact age of a Turkish peasant boy the task is all but impossible. It is a common practice in Anatolia to delay reporting the birth of a male child in order to postpone his military service and thus enable the boy to work longer in his teens and early twenties. Allowance is also to be made for the obvious incutive to understate age in order to benefit from the reduced sentences provided in the Penal Code for young offenders.

<u>Average number of</u> <u>Delinquents per year</u>		<u>Inhabitants per</u> <u>sq. Kil.²</u>	<u>Population¹</u> <u>Vilayet City.</u>	
Adana	124	11 - 20	227,718	72,577
Istanbul	125	41+	794,444	540,772
(Istanbul & Beyoglou)				
Konya	60	6 - 10	504,384	47,496
Samsun	60	21 - 30	274,065	30,372
Elâziz	55	11 - 20	213,777	20,052
Antalya	50	6 - 10	204,372	17,365
Izmir	50	41+	526,005	10,128
Muğla	50	11 - 20	175,390	153,924
Çorum	40	21 - 30	247,926	19,654
Zonguldak	40	31 - 40	268,909	11,947

As to the offenses for which the juveniles have been sent to prison homicide occupies first place with 310 (43.53%) cases; theft, robbery and brigandage come next with 215 (30.19%) sex offenses account for 100 (14.04%)³ kidnapping for 39 (5.46%) and wounding for 27 (3.79%).

The geographical distribution of offenses is shown in the following table and in the maps of Appendix 1:

<u>Homicide</u>		<u>Theft</u>		<u>Sex</u>	
Erzurum	17	Afyonkarahisar	24	Afyonkarahisar	12
Antalya	16	Adana	22	Anamur	6
Afyonkarahisar	15	Istanbul	20	Kayseri	6
Elâziz	15	Izmir	12	Çorum	5
Adana	14	Diyarbakir	11	Edirne	5
Çorum	14	Gunusu (?)	8	Eskişehir	5
Diyarbakir	12	Konya	8	Kirşehir	5
Gümüşane	11	Mardin	7	Bartın	3
Kayseri	10	Zonguldak	7	Bolu	3
Bilecik	9	Antalya	5	Erzurum	2
Zonguldak	9	Çorum	5	Kars	5
		Kayseri	5		

The average minimum age of the delinquents in prison in December, 1930, was 14 years and four months and the average maximum age 17 years and four months and the average maximum age 17 years and ten months. In the case of the prison at Bucak-Budur, however, the minimum age is given as 10; at Edirne, Duzce and Çankiri as 11 and at Izmir, Yozgat, Elâziz,

¹ These figures are from the 1927 census as set forth in the Statistical Annual for 1931 op. cit.

² &

³ 66% of these 100 sex offenses are cases of sodomy with or without assault.

Diyarbakir, Cebilibereket, Adapazari, Zonguldak, as 12. The Istanbul Central Prison recently had an inmate 10 years of age (see under cases, No. 21).

Eighty-three (11.64%) of the delinquents are married, 155 (21.76%) have neither father nor mother living, in 279 (39.18%) cases the father is dead and in 57 (9.41%) the mother. Five hundred and one (70.36%) therefore come from "broken homes".

Three hundred and sixty-two (50.84%) of the delinquents were born in villages and 318 (44.64%) in towns. In 413 (58%) cases the father's occupation is given as farming. When the offense which led to imprisonment was committed 450 (63.20%) of the delinquents were engaged in farm work, 22 (3.08%) were students and 208 (28.91%) were carrying on other occupations. Four hundred and seventy (66.01%) had never been to school and 224 (31.46%) had left school.

In order to give as concrete a picture as possible of the Turkish delinquent boy there are set forth below summaries of the cases of twenty-three such delinquents in the Istanbul Central Prison. With the exception of Nos. 8, 20 and 21, which are more recent cases, all of these boys were at the prison in December, 1930. Thirteen had been sentenced for theft, five for homicide, one for a sex offense and one for petty swindling.¹ Of the group of 23 delinquents it is to be noted that 18 are first offenders and 5 recidivists. This is typical of the low rate of recidivism characteristic of Turkish prisoners of all ages. It is also to be noted that in 8 cases mental or emotional symptoms more or less serious are mentioned.

No. 1. Five years for homicide. First offense. 19 years old. Born in Rize. (Eastern Black Sea littoral). Parents dead. Never attended school. Shepherd. Killed another shepherd who attempted sexual assault upon him. Works at sock making in prison.

No. 2. Five years for homicide. First offense. 19 years old. 14 when crime committed. Born in Trabzon (eastern Black Sea littoral). Father a sailor. Mother dead. Was attending primary school and can read and write. His brother gave him a revolver and persuaded him to kill a man with whom he (the elder brother) had a quarrel. Elder brother told him that as he was young he would not be punished for long and he would take care of him while in prison. Poor physique and apparently feeble-minded.

No. 3. Four years for homicide committed when 18 years of age. Now 22. First offense. Born in Saloniki. Good education although changed school five times. Studied in a French school in Turkey up to Lycée grade. Completed studies in Switzerland. Speaks French, German, English and

¹ On August 26, 1932 there were 26 inmates in the Boys Section of the Istanbul Central Prison 14 sentenced for theft, 7 for homicide and five for wounding.

Bulgarian. Both parents dead. Father twice married and died at 56. Father had a psychopathic history and record of excessive smoking and coffee drinking. Three brothers and three sisters. Boy worked as commission agent. Gambled and ran into debt everywhere. Needed money for his fiancé and her family. Killed a night watchman who accosted him as he was coming out of an office building where he had gone with the idea of taking money from a safe. Good health, but record of early temper tantrums, petty thieving under influence of certain movie pictures and general irresponsibility. Works in prison printing press.

No. 4. Homicide. First offense. 18 year old. Born in Istanbul. Father, a merchant. Both parents living. Attending one of leading lycées of Istanbul when offense committed. Good reputation. He saw his girl-cousin flirting which upset him very much. A quarrel ensued and he shot the man with the revolver which he had been given while in a military school. Subsequent thoughts of suicide. Good physical health. Neurotic.

No. 5. Accidental homicide while trying to defend himself against sex assault by a 21 year old man. First offense. 16 years old. Born in Istanbul. Father, a naval officer, dead. Can read and write and was attending school when offense committed. Healthy mentally and physically.

No. 6. Four years for sex assault. First offense. 19 years old. Born at Baba Eski (Thrace). Father and mother dead. Father served sentence in prison. Lived with older brother. Attended village school. At 15 assaulted a girl of 14. Reprimanded ten times while in prison and punished ten times.

No. 7. Two and half months for burglary. First offense. 19 years of age. Born in Bulgaria where he received a primary school education. The father who is a workingman drinks and smokes to excess. Both parents living. The boy came alone to Turkey to earn his living as chauffeur. He lived by himself. He broke into a home at Balikesir. He is healthy, mentally and physically, does not smoke and has been generally well-behaved in prison. Works at one of the prison industries.

No. 8. One year, three months and ten days for burglary. Has been four times in prison, thirteen times in jail and count has been lost of the number of times he has been in the police lock-up. 17 years old. Father and mother dead. Has brothers and sisters. Left his birthplace, Diyarbekir (south eastern Anatolia) and started wandering. Began his career as a thief by taking whatever he needed to live. Record of injury to head from a fall. Defective memory and sense of time. Cannot understand difference between one year and five years. Has had epileptic seizures since being in prison.

No. 9. Burglary. First offense. 19 years old. Born in Istanbul. Father and mother dead. Never been to school. Fisherman. Healthy mentally and physically. Works at one of prison industries.

No. 10. Robbery. First offense. 19 years old. Born at Cossia (Levkozia, Cyprus ?). Parents dead. Lives with uncle. Stone-mason when offense committed. Can read and write. Works at carpentering and shoemaking in the prison.

No. 11. Two years three months for theft. Several previous sentences for theft. 18 years old. Born in Istanbul. Parents living. Father a naval officer. Attended school. Married at 17 and has one child. Shoe-marker. Chronic eczema. Has had gonorrhea four years age. Threatment now resumed. Somewhat microcephalic. A "nervous" type. Reprimanded and punished ten times while in prison.

No. 12. One month and fifteen days for theft. First offense. Greek. 18 years old. Born in Istanbul. Father a blacksmith. Both parents living. Has attended school but left to learn a trade. Can read and write. Blacksmith. Reprimanded and severely punished while in prison. Works at sock-making in prison.

No. 13. One year, five months and fifteen days for theft. First offense. 18 years old. Born in Istanbul. Father dead. Completed school with credit. Electrician. Theft committed to avenge himself against his employer. Reprimanded and punished repeatedly while in prison.

No. 14. One month twenty days for theft. Second offense. Previous sentence also for theft. 18 years old. Born in Istanbul. Parents both living. Lived at home. Father a hard drinker. Boy began to drink when 16. Attended school, but left to learn a trade. Can read and write.

No. 15. One year nine months for theft. First offense. 17 years old. Born in Istanbul. Father a judge and subject to violent fits of temper during which he loses control of himself. Mother dead. Educated at Military Lycée from which he was dismissed. Bad companions dockers and vagabonds. Boy had numerous fainting spells when younger. Violent and uncontrollable temper. Has melancholia. Blames his companions and his father for present predicament.

No. 16. One year three months for theft. First offense. 16 years old. Born in Istanbul. Parents dead. Can read and write. Began to smoke at ten years of age. Has used a knife since he was 12-13. Six quarrels when ten years of age. Left his home at that time. Taught how to pick pockets by an expert in that line. Has slept in automobiles for past six years. Left school because laziness. Has been drinking for past two year. Reprimanded ten times for

infractions of rules while in prison. Timid and depressed! Works at shoemaking in the prison.

No. 17. One year, two months and nineteen days for theft, (pickpocket). Fourth offense. Greek. 19 years old. Can read and write. Born in Istanbul. Father and mother dead. Has been a fireman. Psychopathic; health poor, has had "nervous attacks" while in prison. First sentenced to prison (three years) for theft committed when 14 years old. Boasts of his criminal record.

No. 18. One year six months for theft committed when 17 years old. Now 18. First offense. Born at Çatalca (Thrace). Mother living. Attended village school but left to learn a trade. A stone-mason. Good health. Treated in Prison hospital for neurasthenia. Reprimanded ten times since coming to prison. Has acquired habit of smoking hasheesh while in prison!

No. 19. Theft. First offense. 18 years old. Born at Rize, (eastern Black Sea littoral). Can neither read nor write; father, a helmsman, no longer living; the boy worked in the merchant marine and lived with his uncle. His friend who committed various robberies and was sentenced to two years imprisonment denounced him accomplice. Healthy mentally and physically. Has had syphilis (?). Neither drinks nor smokes. Works at various industries in the prison.

No. 20. Four months for petty theft. First offense. Declared to be 16 years old by Institute of Legal Medicine but there is reason to believe he is not more than twelve. Born in Inebolu (Black Sea littoral). Parents both living. Father, stoker on a boat. One elder brother who lives at Castamonu. No schooling. Beaten by parents Was a shepherd until six months ago when he accompanied his uncle to Istanbul to get work. One day while in a grocery store he took 24 piastres (about twelve cents) from a table. Arrested and taken to Police Headquarters where he was held for four days. Spent three months in jail awaiting trial. Good physical condition. Intelligent.

No. 21. Ten days for petty theft. First offense. Ten years old. Born at Amasya. Family moved to Istanbul and father remarried. Father, a painter of boats. No brothers or sisters. Neglected by step-mother and beaten three or four times for failing to turn over all the money he earns (40-80 piasters, about 20-40 cents per day) selling onions in the market of the quarter in which he lives. Went to school but forbidden by parents to study under pain of being beaten. Encouraged by two other boys he stole a pair of shoes which he sold for fifteen piasters (7 1/2 cents) sharing proceeds with his two companions. Arrested and sentenced by Peace Court. A rather frail boy with adenoids, but bright and intelligent.

N.B. This is such an exceptional case as to have aroused the authorities of the Prison. Thanks to the intervention of the Prison Doctor the boy was kept in the hospital of the Prison during the ten days of his sentence and was not put with the other juvenile prisoners.

No. 22. One week for petty theft. Fifth offense. Three previous convictions for robbery and one for drunkenness. First offense committed when eleven and a half years old. Now 19. Born at Harput (Eastern central Anatolia). Parents dead. Can neither read nor write. Claims to have been a sailor. Has tried to kill himself while in prison by strangulation with a handkerchief. Has had gonorrhea. An epileptic. Works at one of the prison industries.

No. 23. Fifteen days for petty swindling. First offense. 17 years old. Born in Istanbul. Parents living. Attended school but left when it was closed. Can read and write.

APPENDIX I.

The four maps in this appendix which are based on the 712 cases of juvenile delinquency covered by the Survey of 1930 show respectively the geographical distribution of (1) juvenile delinquency in general (2) homicide (3) theft in all form and (4) sex offenses.

The territory indicated on the maps is the vilayet or state in which the prison or jail is located. In the three cases in which the prison or jail is located in a town and not in the principal city of the vilayet the town is indicated by a small square.

Heavier shading indicates a greater degree of delinquency in general or of one of its three major forms.

The maps suggest the following possibilities:

1. That the small town and the rural area are at least as important as centers of juvenile delinquency as the larger urban centers.

2. That homicide among juveniles tends to be more in evidence in the eastern and southern sections of the country than in such large cities as Istanbul or Izmir. This is perhaps natural in view of the more primitive manner of life to be found in the eastern vilayets and the migration of labor which takes place every year in certain parts of the South and notably in Adana. The feud is another factor which operates more strongly in Anatolia than in such large cities as Istanbul and Izmir.

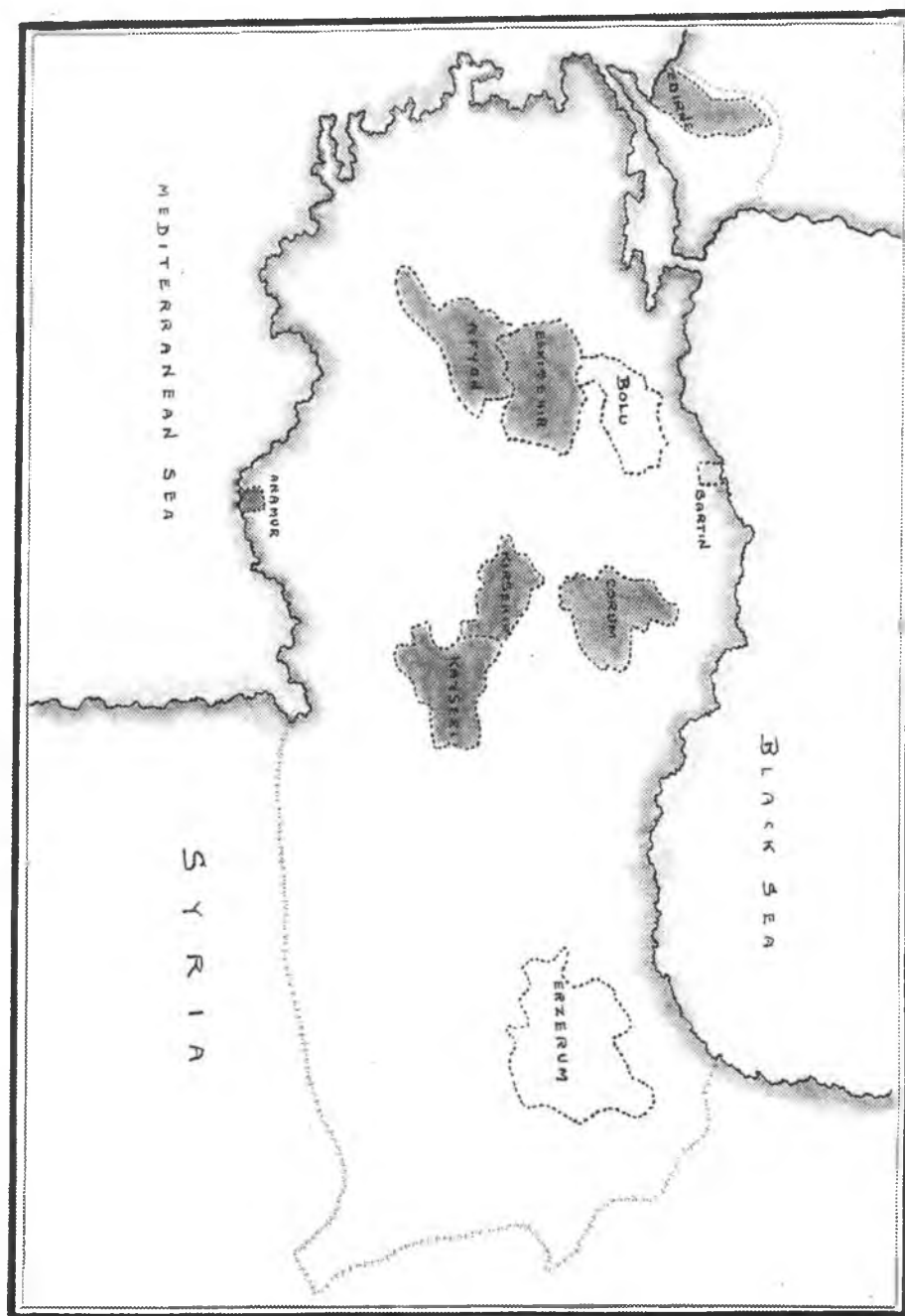
3. That theft tends to take a westernly direction and to gravitate towards the larger cities.

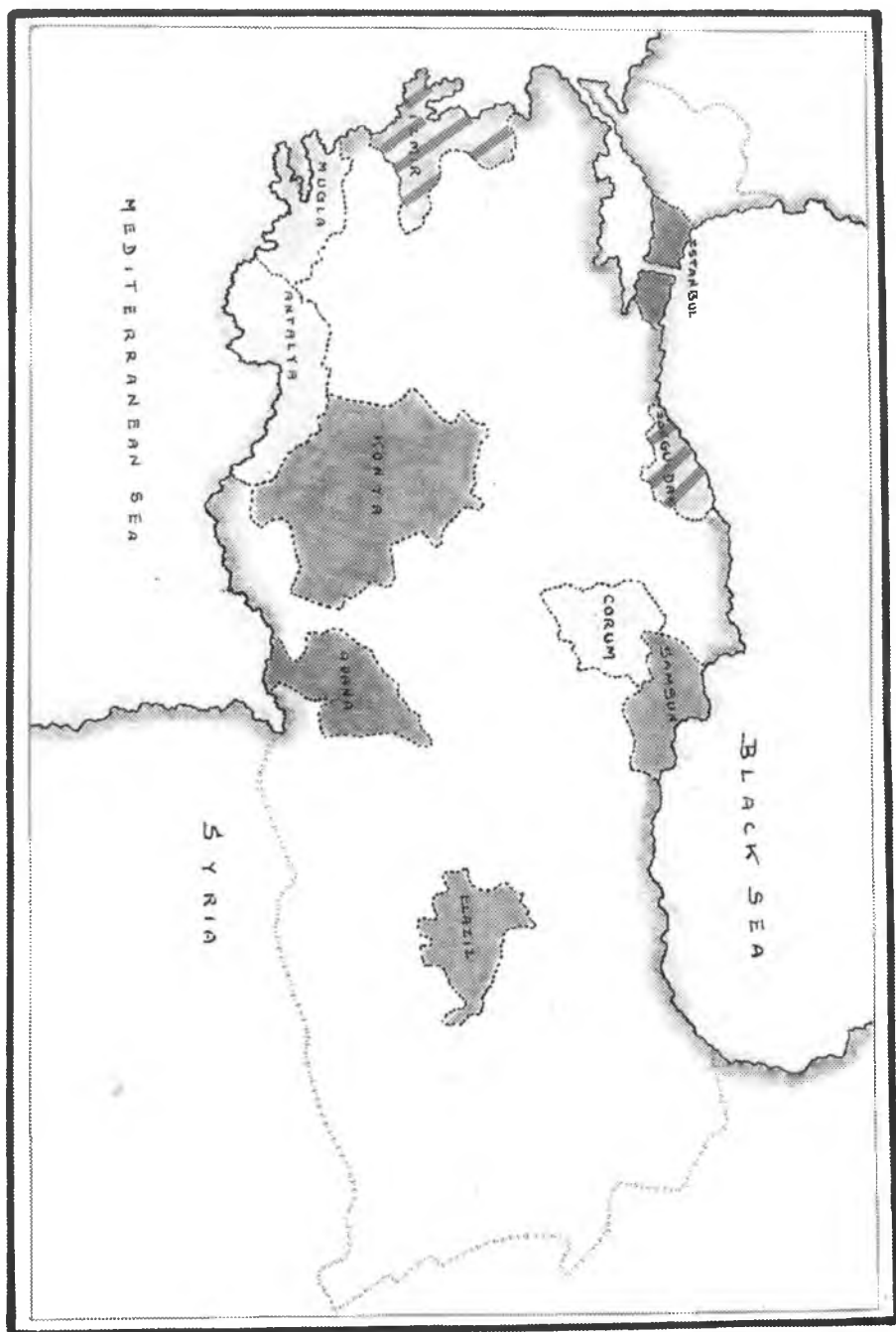
4. That sex offenses, and chiefly homoerotic sex offenses, tend to characterize certain well defined and largely contiguous areas of Anatolia rather than such large cities as Istanbul and Izmir.

5. That there is an interesting concentration of the three major forms of juvenile delinquency in the Vilayet of Afyonkarahisar.

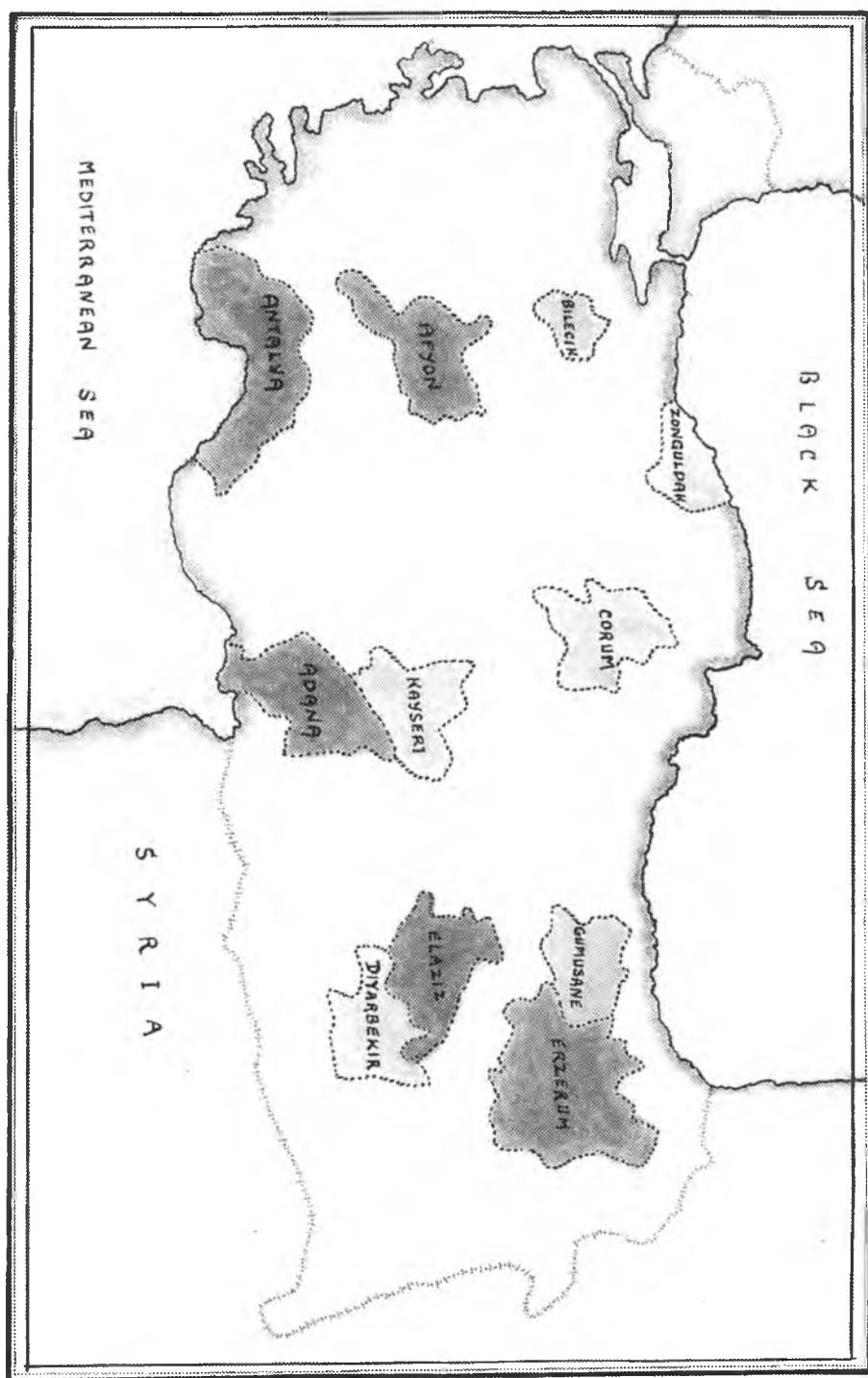
The maps have been drawn by Miss Christine Papadopoulos of the American Consulate at Istanbul.

Distribution of Homicide among 712 Juvenile Delinquents in Turkey

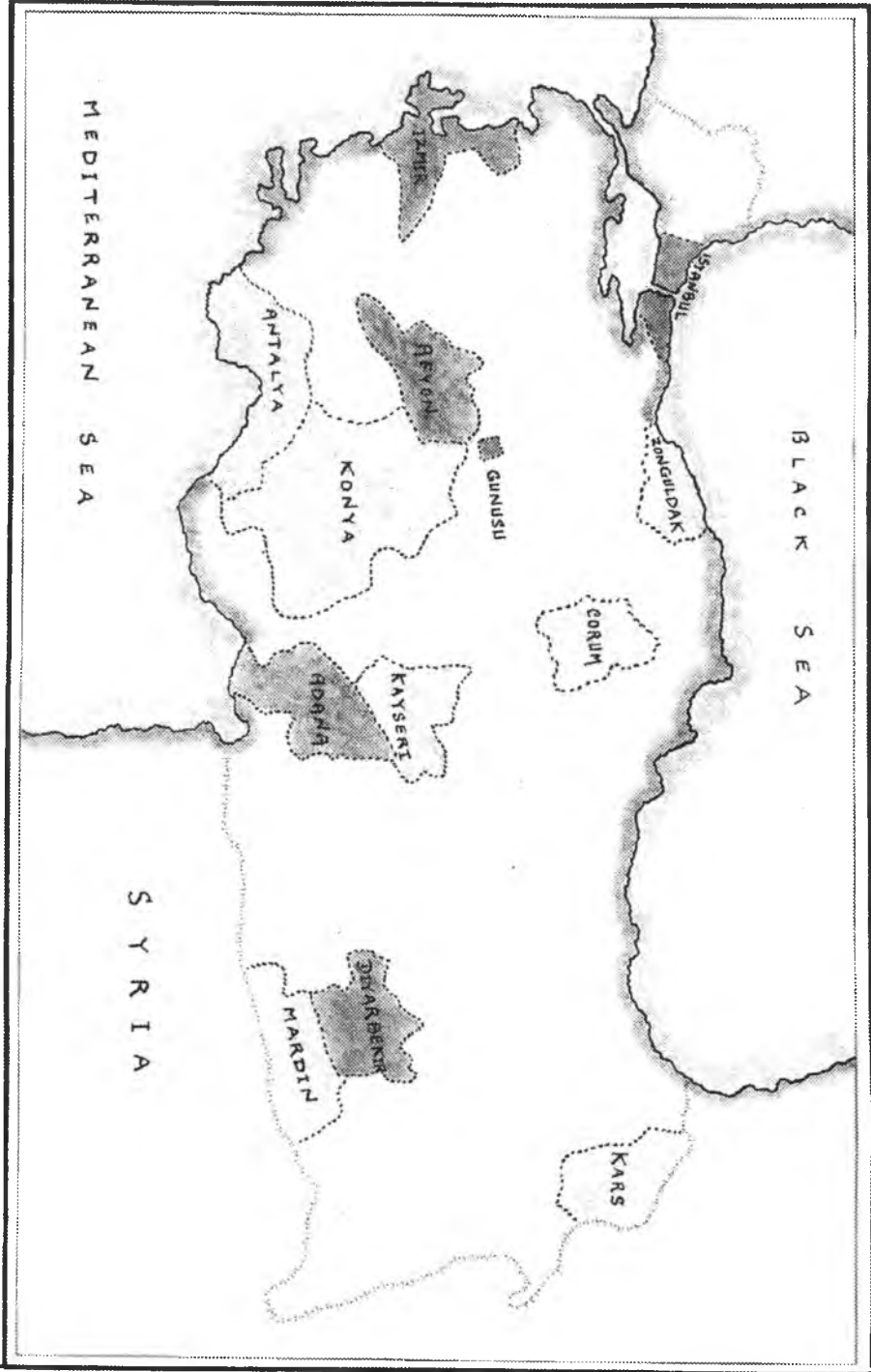




Distribution of Theft among 712 Juvenile Delinquents in Turkey.



Distribution of Sex Offences among 712 Juvenile Delinquents in Turkey.



Distribution of 712 Cases of Juvenile Delinquency in Turkey.

APPENDIX 2

While the information on which it is based is not such as to warrant any but very guarded and tentative observations the following tabulation of percentages relating to the 712 Turkish delinquents, to the admissions to the Prison for Young Delinquents at Sofia, Bulgaria, for 1928, 1929 and 1930 and to the inmates of the Averoff Prison-School at Athens, Greece, for 1930, at least suggests some interesting questions for further investigation and among them the following:

1. Homicide and sex offenses appear to be appreciably more numerous among Turkish juvenile delinquents than among such delinquents in Bulgaria and Greece. If such is the case what are the reasons? More primitive standards? Less effective exercise of governmental authority? Greater instability of living conditions? Religious differences? The feud?

2. While in Turkey about twice as many juvenile delinquents are engaged in some form of agricultural work as in Bulgaria or Greece, an appreciably larger proportion of Bulgarian and Greek delinquents were born in rural areas. Possibly this indicates no more than that the smaller towns of Bulgaria and Greece afford a greater opportunity for non-agricultural occupations whereas in Turkey children born in the small towns, if they work at all, are compelled to engage in agricultural work in the vicinity of the small town. Unfortunately, the terms "village" and "town" in the tabulation cannot be used in any precise way, at least so far as Turkey is concerned.

3. The school systems in Bulgaria and Greece seem to be reaching a larger and a wider group of boys than is the case in Turkey.

The Bulgarian data is taken chiefly from the Annual Reports of the Council of Administration of the Society to combat juvenile crime for the years 1928, 1929 and 1930. The Greek figures are taken from "Statistical Information concerning State Prisons, 1920" published by the Director of the Administration of Prisons of the Ministry of Justice.

Both the Bulgarian and Greek juvenile delinquents are 21 years of age and under. In view of the tendency in Turkey to underestimate the age of juvenile delinquents the discrepancy between the age of the Turkish group and the Bulgarian and Greek groups is more apparent than real.

It is to be noted that the category "broken homes" in the tabulation does not include cases where the break is due to divorce, desertion or separation.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

“THE ISTANBUL CENTRAL PRISON AND ITS INMATES”
(SEPTEMBER 14, 1932)

From G. Howland Shaw, Istanbul, September 14, 1932.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 171

SUBJECT: The Istanbul Central Prison and its Inmates.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

For the Department's strictly confidential information there is enclosed herewith a report on "The Istanbul Central Prison and its Inmates". This report is part of the program of research studies described in the Embassy's despatch No. 1115, August 24, 1930, and approved by the Department's instruction No. 265, September 15, 1930.

PART I

THE PRISON PLANT, ADMINISTRATION AND REGIME

The Prison Plant, Administration and Regime

LOCATION. The Istanbul Central Prison, (Istanbul Hapishane-i Umumiyesi) which has been the principal prison of the city for several hundred years, is located at the Place Sultan Ahmet directly across from the Mosque of the same name and within a short distance of the Mosque of Santa Sophia. It is therefore in the heart of the city and the walls of the Prison property are almost completely surrounded by residences, apartment houses, a café and the

large buildings of the Istanbul Land Office (Tapu). Some ten years ago knives were thrown into the Prison yard from the minaret of a nearby mosque and it is generally suspected that weapons and narcotics are smuggled into the Prison through openings in the walls of adjacent buildings. The buildings which comprise the Prison proper are said to be some 600 years old and to have been used as barracks during the time of the Janissaries.

PLANT. Except for the space occupied by the Administration building which gives directly on to the street, the Prison property is surrounded by a wall which varies in height from 15 to 25 feet. The Prison property is to be thought of as a large yard enclosed by a wall in which a series of buildings including the Prison proper are located. The Prison proper is a barracks-like affair so constructed as to form one fairly large and one smaller inner yard.

Entrance to the Prison property from the street is through a small door in one of the two sections of a large wooden gate. A gendarme with rifle and fixed bayonet patrols in front of the gate. The arrangement does not impress one by its security particularly when the somewhat advanced age and by no means powerful physique of the guard who opens the door are taken into consideration. It should be noted that not very far from this gate some 25 prisoners are working in the printing press and from 150 to 250 more at miscellaneous small trades in another near-by building. However, in the matter of attempts at escape the record of the Istanbul Central Prison is exceptionally good. This is perhaps due more to the fatalism with which the prisoner accepts his imprisonment and his respect for authority than to any precautions taken to insure safe custody. During the war an attempt to escape was made by constructing a tunnel under one of the outer walls. The leader in this attempt, however, was a German and a further attempt to use the half-finished tunnel that took place subsequently was due to the initiative of a Greek prisoner. In 1930 an inmate of the Prison escaped and killed his mistress. Such escapes as occur, however, take place as a rule when the prisoner is being escorted from or to the Prison in charge of a gendarme.

Once inside the Prison property the visitor sees on his right the quarters of the guards which used to be the Women's Section of the Prison but concerning which there is now little to be said beyond mention of the fact that the building is sometimes used to take care of an overflow from the hospital. On the left is the Administration building which on the second floor contains the offices of the Prison Director, the Principal Keeper and the Doctor and the Operating Room for the Hospital. All of these rooms have windows overlooking the street. On this same floor there is the Prison pharmacy and a number of empty rooms facing over the Prison yard. The latter are ordinarily

used for storage purposes, although since the summer of 1931 one of them has been used as a school room for juvenile and adult prisoners.

The Hospital building is a rather flimsy wooden and stucco structure containing two wards with 12 beds in each, a smaller ward accommodating 4 to 6 patients and a rather primitive bath. When it is considered that the normal population of the Prison is between 700 and 800 a 30 bed hospital is anything but adequate. The situation becomes tragic, however, when one realizes that desperately ill prisoners, including those requiring surgical attention, are often sent to this Hospital from prisons in Anatolia which have no hospital facilities at all. Due to the lack of funds the equipment of the hospital is poor. During the winter of 1931-1932 there was not even a sufficient supply of blankets, sheets and pyjamas and medicines run short every now and again. The Hospital has no X-Ray apparatus.

Industry at the Prison is carried on in two buildings: a low, one-story building, with earth floor in part covered by boards, houses the printing press and a larger building with a wide gallery around three sides accommodates a variety of small trades. The sock makers, shoemakers and carpenters, occupy the ground floor of this building, and the gallery is devoted to the bead makers and a tailor.

The bath house is of the well-known Turkish type.

An iron bar gate leads into the yard of the Prison proper composed of barracks built of stone set out in a square. These barracks contain six large rooms with stone floors and vaulted ceilings in which the prisoners and their worldly possessions, at least to the extent of bedding, some cooking utensils and a few pictures out from papers or magazines, are deposited without the smallest attempt at classification. A man sentenced for a few days for quarrelling elbows a recidivist with a long and varied record or a murderer serving ten or fifteen years. There may be as many as 100 or even 200 men in one of these large rooms and early in the morning the sight is one of extraordinary confusion and disorder with men sleeping on bedding set at every possible angle and of every kind of color and cooking utensils and other possessions scattered about everywhere. During the summer the heat and lack of air in these rooms are unbearable and the same remark applies to the cold and dampness in winter which are scarcely affected by closed windows and an occasional stove or mangel (charcoal brazier).

The juvenile prisoners 18 years of age and under are housed in a one-story wooden structure composed of a single large room in the smaller of the two yards of the prison proper.

Political prisoners and prisoners who have powerful friends and some means of their own are lodged in quarters somewhat removed from the rest. These quarters consist of a large room holding 20 persons, on one side of which there is a smaller room in which 5 to 10 persons can be placed and on the other side here small rooms each containing two beds.

The Women's Section of the Istanbul Central Prison, which is also the Jail for women awaiting trial, is not on the Prison property which has been described. It is located within the property of the Istanbul Jail and consists of a small two-story modern building set apart from the Jail proper and in charge of women guards. There are six rooms in this building and as in the men's Prison no attempt is made at classification. One set of rooms constitutes the Women's Jail and another set the Prison.

PERSONNEL. The personnel of the Istanbul Central Prison and the annual salaries (1930) they receive are as follows:

	<u>Turkish Pounds</u>	<u>Dollars</u>
Director	900	450
Doctor	780	390
Principal Keeper (2)	540	270
Comptroller ¹	480	240
Secretary	480	240
Guards (40)	<u>456</u>	<u>228</u>
Imam (chaplain)	22,320	11,160

The prison service in Turkey is in no sense professionalized and the personnel, particularly the director and the guards, is often changed, sometimes for political reasons at the instance of the local Prosecutor General, who is the real "boss" of the Prison, but more often because of gross dishonesty. At Istanbul directors have been changed on an average every two years. The present Director, Baha Bey, has been in office for about a year and a half. His predecessor, Halis Bey, and Zia Bey, the Director of the Istanbul Jail, were put on trial late in 1930 for malfeasance in office and while the trial resulted in their acquittal, both Directors were subsequently transferred to less important posts and as a result resigned. Halis Bey was accused of using the Prison printing press to supplement his salary and his colleague at the Jail of compelling his charges to employ the services of a certain lawyer who presumably shared his earnings with the Jail Director.

¹ This official is a sort of inspector and ranks between the Principal Keepers and the Guards.

The present Director takes little interest in the Prison and rather less in the prisoners. He is at his office during normal office hours; he reads the newspaper, drinks a coffee now and again, listens to reports from the Principal Keeper, signs the necessary papers and generally "administers" the Prison, but very rarely does he ever go near the Prison proper and his contact with the prisoners is of the most perfunctory. However, to his credit be it said that, far from obstructing the small improvements sponsored by the Prison Doctor, he taken a certain pride in these improvements once they have been made and endorsed by his superiors and in the press.

The Doctor, Ibrahim Zati Bey, who is chief medical officer not only for the Istanbul Central Prison but also for the Jail and the Üsküdar (Scutari) Prison, is a different sort of person. He has held his position for eighteen years and while in order to support his family he receives private patients, besides being physician to the Feiz-Ati Lyceé, and can only devote his mornings to the Prison, he has not allowed himself to become either discouraged or routine-minded. He is in constant touch with the prisoners and knows them and their histories well. It was due to his initiative that a school for juvenile prisoners was started last summer and that this school has extended its operations to include adults. He secured excellent publicity for the school and loses no opportunity to interest outsiders in the problems of the Prison. Besides his medical duties the Doctor also passes upon such complaints as the inmates may make against the guards. A Surgeon from one of the local hospitals visits the Prison twice a week.

There is little to say concerning the two Principal Keepers beyond recording the fact that one of them, while Principal Keeper at the Jail, was mixed up in narcotics smuggling and, after investigation and trial, was transferred to the Prison – as Principal Keeper!

The guards number 40, but as a rule not more than 20 are on duty at one time. Taking the average daily population of the Prison as 750 this means that there is one guard to 37.5 prisoners. They are changed every six hours. They are often elderly and rather decrepit men who owe their appointments to "influence". The annual turn over in guards is about 25% - two usually die of old age, two more are dismissed for smuggling hashish and the rest are dismissed for other forms of dishonesty. The guarding of the walls of the Prison is entrusted to the Gendarmerie, a detachment of which is quartered on the ground floor of the Administration building. The entrance to this part of the building, however, is from the street and not from inside the Prison. Except when escorting a convicted person from the Jail to the Prison or under conditions of serious emergency, the Gendarmes have no contact with the inside of the Prison. They patrol the walls and the outside gate.

In each one of the six large rooms which compose the Prison proper two prisoners are selected by the Director to act as "Meydancis" and two others as assistants. The "Meydancis" and their assistants are responsible for the discipline and order of their respective rooms. They are also responsible for cleaning the corridors and passages, each prisoner being held responsible for the cleaning of the particular bit of floorspace occupied in the room by himself and by his possessions. The "Meydancis" are seldom changed. It is a much prized position since it is the right of the "Meydanci" to announce visitors to the prisoners in his room and each time he does so he receives from the prisoner concerned a few piasters. When quarrels or disturbances arise the "Meydanci" is first heard by the Principal Keeper.

INSPECTION. Every month the Prison is inspected in behalf of the Ministry of Justice by the Prosecutor General or by his Assistant accompanied by the Medico-Legal Officer. Complaints by prisoners are considered during these inspections.

BUDGET. The 1930-1931 budget of the Prison was as follows:

	<u>Turkish Pounds</u>	<u>Dollars</u>
Salaries	24,000	12,000
Bread	18,000	9,000
Electricity	1,800	900
Food for hospital	1,500	750
Medicines	1,500	750
Coal	1,200	600
Wood	1,200	600
Stationery	1,000	500
Water	1,000	500
Repairs	500	250
Miscellaneous	<u>500</u>	<u>250</u>
	52,200	26,100

INDUSTRY. Work in the Prison is not compulsory. The men can spend the entire day in idleness and talk if they see fit to do so. From 25% - 30% carry on some kind of work more elaborate than the simple small bead work which is done in the Prison itself and is so general as to deserve to be described as the typical Turkish prison industry. There are usually 20-25 prisoners at work in the printing press, about 150 make socks and slippers and some 50 carry on carpentering, shoemaking, tailoring and the making of the

larger type of bead.¹ The printing press is run by an outsider and the machinery is furnished by him. In the other types of work the prisoners supply their own totals and one of the guards is specially designated to buy the necessary raw material for the prisoners and sometimes undertakes to sell the finished products. Relatives of the prisoner also assist in finding a market for these products. Sometimes contracts are made by an outsider with the prisoner in which case the former usually supplies both tools and raw materials and of course markets the finished product.

A new and radical solution of the problem of finding work for prisoners was approved by the Grand National Assembly on June 25, 1932, (Law No. 2023) and is now (September, 1932) being applied in Turkey. Prisoners sentenced to ordinary imprisonment or to imprisonment "with hard labor" up to three years who have served one half of their sentence and prisoners sentenced to imprisonment "with hard labor" for over three years and up to ten years who have served two thirds of their sentence, may, if their conduct has been good and their physical and mental conditions is found satisfactory, work for the State outside the prison during the day-time. They will be renumarated at a rate of not less than one third of what is locally paid for similar work. A list of such prisoners is prepared by the authorities at the prison and submitted for approval to the Ministry of Justice. Prisoners who attempt to escape while at work outside the prison will lose their privilege at once and will receive an additional sentence of from one sixth to one third of their original sentence. If violence is used in effecting or seeking to effect escape Article 299 of the Penal Code which provides for additional sentence of from one third to one half of the original sentence will be applied. The new system is already in effect in Anatolia. It will be applied at the Istanbul Central Prison during the autumn of 1932. The prison authorities in Istanbul are apparently under the impression that prisoners when at work outside the prison will not be guarded. They therefore express some misgivings as to the effects of the prisoners' contact with city life and foresee practical difficulties in insuring the return of the prisoner to the prison at a fixed hour each day.

The far reaching effects which are likely to result from this latest Turkish legislation both upon the administration of prisons and the morale of prisoners is obvious. Whether in such prisons as the Central Prison at Istanbul these effects will be entirely good remains to be seen. Much will depend upon the intelligence and care with which the selection of prisoners for work outside the Prison is made.

¹ In his Statistical Report on the Istanbul Central Prison for 1931 Dr. Zati gives the following figures for industry carried on in the Prison shops: stockings and socks, 154, shoes and slippers, 38, carpentring 23, printing, 19, blacksmithing, 11; miscellaneous, 34; total, 292.

RECEPTION OF PRISONERS. Prisoners are usually brought to the

Prison from the Jail or, if they have not been arrested before trial, from the police station by Gendarmes between 5 and 7 o'clock in the afternoon. They are at once taken to the office of the Principal Keeper who enters upon his register information under the following headings:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Name | 10. Color of eyes |
| 2. Country | 11. Eyebrows |
| 3. Residence | 12. Beard |
| 4. Occupation | 13. Moustache |
| 5. Can he read or write? | 14. Nose |
| 6. Married or single? | 15. Age |
| 7. Nationality | 16. Complexion |
| 8. Citizenship | 17. Type of imprisonment |
| 9. Height | 18. Term of imprisonment. |

These formalities having been accomplished the new prisoner is assigned to one of the rooms in the Prison and forthwith proceeds there with his belongings. No prison clothes are provided; prisoners wear their own clothes no matter what the condition of these clothes may be. Many of them have no shoes and are literally in rags. While theoretically there is an eight-day quarantine in a special quarter of the Prison for new arrivals, in practice there is no quarantine whatever and the new prisoner is assigned to whichever room happens to be the least crowded at the time. The next morning the new prisoner is examined by the Doctor. On the physical side the examination is somewhat routine in character. With respect to each prisoner the Doctor's records contain information on the following points:

1. Age
2. Residence
3. Parents living?
4. Married or single?
5. Occupation.
6. Can he read or write?
7. Previous infectious diseases.

The Wassermann test is not regularly made which may account for the very small percentage (1.9% in 1929 and 1.4% in 1931) of syphilis recorded in the Doctor's annual statistical reports. An effort is made to determine whether the prisoner is addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages. On the psychological and psychiatric sides nothing is done unless the prisoner's mental symptoms are so pronounced as to justify his removal to the section for the Criminal Insane at the Bakirkeuy Hospital.

FOOD. At the present time each prisoner receives a daily ration of one kilogram of bread – one loaf being given out at noon and a second loaf in the evening, but the prisoners may consume this bread or any other food at any time of the day or night and inside the Prison or in the yard as they see fit. While the war was going on the daily ration was reduced to a quarter of a kilogram of bread. During the Armistice Period (1918-1923) thanks to pressure from the Allied authorities who were virtually in control of Istanbul, the ration was greatly improved and soup was added. This improved ration continued until the financial crisis compelled the Government to reduce to one kilogram of bread per day. In the case of prisoners who have money or relatives and friends at Istanbul the official ration may be and is supplemented indefinitely. It is only the destitute prisoner who is too far away from his home to receive help who is compelled to rely upon the inadequate official ration. Unfortunately, this category of prisoners has been increasing in recent years with the transfers to Istanbul necessitated by the overcrowding in the smaller prisons of Anatolia. The Doctor has done what he could for these unfortunate men. Every morning at ten the sick are brought from the Prison. Often there are as many as 120: a tragic crowd suffering from all manner of ailments of the respiratory tract brought on by the bad air and dampness of the prison and from an even greater variety of gastro-intestinal complaints brought on by bad and inadequate food. Some of these sick men are literally starving and the Doctor often puts them on the sick list which enables them to receive a small bowl of soup every day from the hospital. With funds privately subscribed a further attempt has been made to supplement the ration of these prisoners by giving to each a couple of eggs or some olives or cheese every week and adding a small amount of meat during the winter months. Such cooking as takes place in the Prison is carried on by small groups of prisoners who get together for the purpose of utilizing a mangal (charcoal brazier).

RECREATION AND VISITORS. Sitting and talking, most of the time in the prison rooms but part of each day in the yard – this is the prisoners' recreation, but it hard to distinguish it from the ordinary routine of prison life. By groups of ninety the prisoners are daily admitted to the yard for three hours in winter and for four hours in summer. Prisoners can sing if they happen to want to and during the three holidays of Bairam some boxing and wrestling is permitted. Smoking is allowed anywhere and at any time of the day or night. Subject to the usual conditions prisoners may receive letters, books and newspapers. Visitors are permitted once a week – Fridays being reserved for men visitors and Tuesdays for women. Visitors are carefully searched. Visiting takes place in the Prison yard and there is a mater of space

and iron bars between the visitor and the prisoner. There is no limit on the time a visit may last. Lights are put out in the rooms of the Prison at 10 o'clock although to facilitate supervision a small light is kept on during the entire night.

BATHING. The entire Prison population is bathed once a month.

DISCIPLINE AND PUNISHMENT. The problem of preserving discipline among 800 men, 87.2% of whom are sentenced for six months or less, three quarters of whom are idle and who live together by the hundred in large rooms would seem to present unusual difficulties, especially when to these factors are added the location of the Prison in a crowded section of the city and the poor quality and inadequate pay of the guards. There is no time off for good behavior and this incentive to discipline cannot therefore be appealed to. Unless incurable or at least serious organic illness intervenes a five year sentence means five years. Of course, the Turkish idea of discipline is not the American. In the Istanbul Prison there is no fixed daily routine carried out at predetermined hours. Only such prisoners work as want to work; there is no rule of silence – prisoners can talk as much as they want; there is no marching to and from meals at fixed hours – bread is given out twice a day, but it can be eaten whenever the prisoner wants; there is no rule against smoking; such educational program as exists is on a purely voluntary basis; the standard of cleanliness is not of the highest. In short, unless the prisoner's behavior becomes obviously impossible – by which is meant that his quarrelling with his fellow prisoners becomes serious, perhaps to the point of using a knife, or that he is caught with narcotics – he is reasonably sure of being left to his own devices. The two problems – sex perversion and narcotics – which beset prison administrations everywhere are in evidence in the Istanbul Prison. The control of the first under the living conditions which obtain in the Prison is next to impossible and, in spite of what the authorities may declare to the contrary, it may be taken for granted that except for segregating juvenile from adult prisoners very little is done in the matter of endeavoring to solve this problem. Of course when as not infrequently happens, sex perversion leads to serious fighting or even to homicide or attempted homicide the authorities intervene. Such an incident occurred in the summer of 1930 when one inmate killed another with a pair of scissors which had been smuggled into the Prison. It is generally admitted that knives are concealed in the Prison at all times. The complicated lay-out of the Prison, the labyrinth of passages, the numberless odd corners and the rooms crowded with belongings of the prisoners make concealment a simple matter and any adequate search

extraordinarily difficult. The chance of escaping discovery is illustrated – possibly in a rather extreme degree – by the startling fact, duly recorded in the newspapers in 1931, that a prisoner in the Istanbul Prison, Elias Kaptan, who was serving a ten-year sentence for a sexual assault upon a child was able to set up a counterfeiting plant in the Prison itself and to operate this plant to the extent of producing 19 Ltq. 5 notes and 1 Ltq. 10 note.¹ Before coming to the Istanbul Prison he had done the same thing in the Sinop Prison. He is now imprisoned at Bursa. As for drugs there can be no doubt that hashish is often smuggled into the Prison and heroin and morphine occasionally. The guards are often involved in this smuggling and once in a while the higher administrative personnel. Punishment for such smuggling is severe but the relatively small chance of discovery tends to offset the severity of the punishment.

Fighting and quarreling between the racial groups – chiefly Albanians and Lazzes – gives the Prison authorities much trouble. After the last fight which took place in 1931 and as a result of which several inmates were killed, the leaders of the Albanian group were removed to the Üsküdar (Scutari) Prison. During the Ottoman Empire when the Prison population reflected the heterogeneous population of the Empire conditions in this respect were a good deal worse.

In July, 1931, there was a hunger strike at the Prison which affected two prisoners awaiting the carrying out of the death penalty. They abstained from food for twelve days.

The authorities are not very clear as to exactly what punishments are used with refractory prisoners. There are solitary confinement cells, small and perfectly dark, in which prisoners are placed for “a few days”. Leg irons are sometimes used on these prisoners. Unquestionably prisoners are “beaten up” and cases of cruelty do occur, but it would be a serious error to conclude that Prisoners in the Istanbul Prison are subjected to systematic cruelty. There is furthermore a give and take in Turkish prisons between the administration and the prisoners which it is difficult to describe but which colors the whole picture of the actual working of the prison.

EDUCATION. Until the summer of 1931 nothing was done for the education of the inmates of the Prison. At that time the Doctor took it upon himself to start a school for the young prisoners in which they might be taught reading, writing and the elements of geography and history. For Ltq. 15 (\$7.50) a month the services of one of the political prisoners were secured as teacher. During the scholastic year 1931-32 the school has had an enrollment

¹ One Turkish Pound (Ltq.) is worth about fifty cents.

of 15 juveniles and 44 adults. A few months after the school for juveniles had been started some of the adult prisoners approached the Doctor and stated that they would like to go to school too. During the coming school year (1932-33) there will be two classes at the Prison School: one for beginners and a more advanced class for those who attended the school last year. The Doctor has collected a certain number of books for the use of prisoners who can read, but there is nothing as yet in the way of an organized library.

RELIGION. There are a Mosque and a Chapel in the yard of the Prison proper. The first is still used and a hodja (Moslem "priest") is in attendance once a week on Fridays except during the fasting season of Ramazan and the Bairam holidays, when his visits are made daily. The Doctor endeavored last year to arrange for the hodja to give talks to the prisoners along religious and ethical lines, but these efforts were discountenanced by the authorities because of the Government's policy of laicism. The Chapel is no longer used.

PART II

THE INMATES – PERSONS SENTENCED OR TRANSFERRED FROM OTHER PRISONS DURING 1929 AND 1931

The Inmates – Persons sentenced or transferred from other Prisons during 1929 1931.¹

On any one day there are from 700 to 800 inmates in the Istanbul Central Prison.² In the Women's Section, which as previously explained is

¹ The figures concerning inmates in Part II are taken from the Statistical Reports on the Istanbul Central Prison for the years 1929 and 1931 by Dr. Ibrahim Zati Bey, Chief Medical Officer of the Prisons of Istanbul. These reports are printed at the Prison. No report was published for 1930. These figures are the best available and are the result of a conscientious effort on the part of Dr. Zati to maintain a statistical service at the Prison. The result, however, is open to criticism. The admissions in 1929 totalled 1350, but the tabulation by sex and religion accounts for 1349 inmates. The figures for 1931 show greater discrepancies. Admissions in that year totalled 3210, but the tabulations by sex and religion, length of sentences and ages total respectively 3220, 2810 and 3174. Only the tabulation by occupations gives a total of 3210. The Hospital admissions for 1931 total 637 but the tabulation of all causes for admission totals 629. The absence of precise nomenclature in listing the causes for hospitalization is also to be regretted. The total of admissions for 1931 shown on the graph is not 3210, but 3020 – a difference of 190.

² Other prison in Turkey have larger populations: Sinop, 2000 and Izmir and Bursa each about 1000.

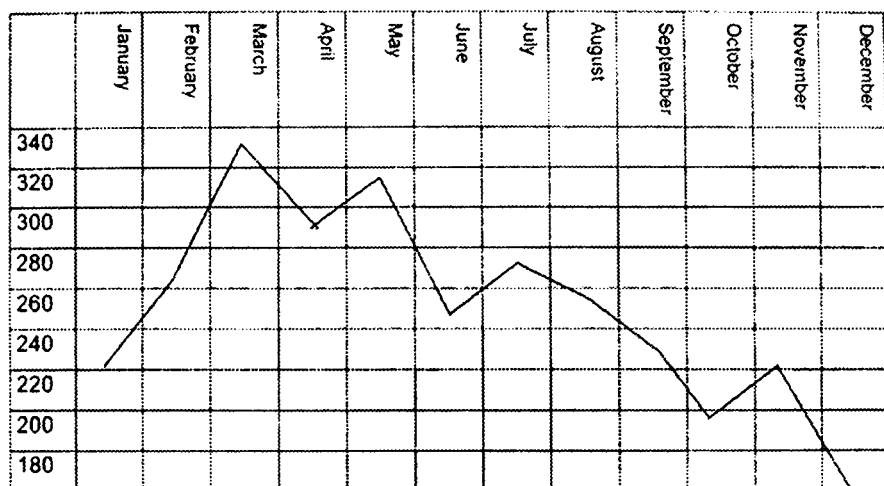
located not on the property of the Central Prison but at the Jail, the normal daily population is between 30 and 40. The number of persons, men and women, sentenced or transferred to the Istanbul Central Prison in 1929 was 1350; in 1930 2006 and in 1931 3210. Taking 1929 as a basis for comparison the number of persons so sentenced or transferred therefore increased 48.6% in 1930 and 137.8% in 1931. In 1931 300 persons left the Prison.

According to sex and religion the inmates were in 1929 and 1931 divided as follows:

	1929		1931	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Moslem Men	840	62.3	1605	49.8
Non-Moslem Men	236	17.5	401	12.5
Moslem Women	164	12.1	571	17.7
Non-Moslem Women	109	8.1	643	20.0

In 1931 it is recorded that there were 98 foreigners sentenced to prison: 65 men and 33 women.

The monthly variations in the number of persons sentenced to the Prison during 1931 are indicated on the following graph which is reproduced from Dr. Zati's report:



The length of the sentence is a particularly interesting feature of the Istanbul Central Prison. In 1931 87.2% of the inmates were sentenced for six months or less. The figures are as follows:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Up to one month	1952	69.5
One to six months	497	17.7
Six months to on year	107	3.8
One year to six years	152	5.4
Five to fifteen years	85	3.0
Fifteen to thirty years	15	0.5
Life	2	0.1

During 1931 the death sentence by hanging was carried out upon one inmate of the Prison.

The offenses committed by the men and women sentenced to the Istanbul Central Prison in 1929 and 1931 were the following:¹

	<u>1929</u>		<u>1931</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
"Ordinary offenses"	628	46.5	1952	60.8
Theft, including robbery and pocket picking	474	35.1	617	19.2
Homicide and wounding	178	13.2	192	6.0
Sex offenses	not given	---	41	1.3
Brigandage	8	.6	11	.3

Concerning the ages of the 1350 persons sentenced in 1929 the only information given is that 301 (22.3%) of them were between 13 and 25. For 1931 the following more comprehensive tabulation is given:

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Persons sentenced</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
15-25	1645	51.83
25-45	1328	41.84
Over 45	<u>201</u>	<u>6.33</u>
	3174	100.00

The occupations of persons sentenced to the Prison in 1931 were the following:

Carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, shoe shiners, tinkers	117
Grocers, butchers, vegetable dealers, fish dealers, coffee vendors, bread makers, restaurant keepers	145
Agents, business men	44
Chauffeurs	29
Porters	168
Employees	21
Prostitutes	945
Beggars	665
Miscellaneous	<u>1076</u>
	3210

¹ According to the report published on page 343 of *Constantinople Today*, C.R. Johnson, New York, 1922, Macmillan Co, 1530 persons were sentenced in 1920 to the Istanbul Central Prison for the following offenses: larceny 761 (49.7), murder 116 (7.7%), wounding 94 (6.1%), sodomy 10 (0.7%), miscellaneous 549.

HEALTH. The information available on this subject for 1929 is very meagre. 549 prisoners were admitted to the Hospital, but how many of these were from the Istanbul Central Prison and how many from outside prisons is not stated.

For 1931 the information is more complete. There were 637 admissions to the Hospital for the following principal causes of whom 109 (17.1%) came from prisons outside of Istanbul:

Respiratory

Tuberculosis	56	
Bronchitis	51	
Grippe	49	
Pneumonia	9	
Pleurisy	1	
Miscellaneous		
respiratory	<u>12</u>	178 (28.3%)

Gastro-Intestinal

Intestines	43	
Stomach	<u>37</u>	80 (12.7)

Neurasthenia	32	
Malaria	48	
Trachoma	13	
Syphilis	8	
Para-typhoid	1	
Old age	2	
Rheumatism	8	
Arterio-Sclerosis	5	
Heart	13	
Kidney	8	
Scabies	9	
Ear	1	
Fistula (types unspecified)	21	

Appendicitis	11	
Hernia	6	
Miscellaneous	<u>185</u>	
	629	

Among the persons sentenced or transferred in 1929 there were 38 (2.8%) cases of tuberculosis and 25 (1.9%) cases of syphilis; in 1931 persons sentenced or transferred suffering from these diseases numbered 56 (1.7%) and 44 (1.4%), respectively.¹

During 1929 eighteen major operations in the fields of general surgery and of surgery of the eye were performed in the operating room of the Prison hospital and in 1931 eight such operations.

In 1929 the Doctor reported that 621 (46%) of the persons sentenced or transferred during that year drank "raki" (the national alcoholic beverage having an alcohol content of about 50%); in 1931, however, an inexplicable improvement seems to have taken place for only 372 (11.6%) drinkers of "raki" could be found.

For 1929 the Doctor reports a total of 16 deaths in the hospital and for 1931 12. This low rate of mortality is doubtless in part at least due to the fact that a Turkish prisoner found to be suffering from an incurable disease may be pardoned by the Grand National Assembly and a prisoner who is certified by the prison doctor and by the competent medical board to have a serious organic sickness may be released from prison for six months subject to further extension or extensions if at the end of the six months he is not cured.² Upon being released the prisoner at once reports to the police and is then free to travel and sojourn anywhere in Turkey without any obligation apparently to report his movements. At the end of the six months he is again examined by the medical authorities and granted a further period of liberty or reincarcerated in the prison depending on his physical condition. 10 prisoners at the Istanbul Central Prison were either pardoned or released because of incurable or serious organic illness in 1929 and 34 in 1931.

¹ In the 33 prisons and reformatories for men tabulated on page 165 of the 1929 *Survey of Health and Medical Service in American Prisons and Reformatories* published by the National Society of Penal Information the percentages of inmates infected with syphilis varied from 1.7% in the Oklahoma State Penitentiary to 50% in the Idaho State Penitentiary. The average was 16%. On Page 153 it is stated that 1.1% of inmates in the prisons and reformatories covered by the Survey had tuberculosis.

² Section 399, Paragraph 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

PART III

STUDY OF 691 MALE INMATES AT THE
PRISON IN JANUARY 1932Study of 691 Male Inmates at the Prison
in January, 1932

The information concerning the inmates of the Istanbul Central Prison given in Part II is based upon the 1350 persons sentenced in 1929 and the 3210 persons sentenced in 1931. The information contained in this part of the report is based upon the 691 male inmates of the prison on a certain day of January, 1932. The information is set forth in the following tables:

- I. Offenses for which the men were sentenced.
- II. Present Age and offense.
- III. Number of previous convictions and offense.
- IV. Family status.
- V. Civil status and offense.
- VI. Illiteracy and offense.
- VIII. Use of alcoholic beverages and offense.

In order to facilitate an understanding of these figures comparisons have been made wherever possible with the inmates of the Massachusetts State Prison, information concerning whom has been taken from Mr. Frank Loveland Jr.'s *A Statistical Analysis of the Inmate Population of the Massachusetts State Prison on September 30, 1929* published by the Department of Correction of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

From Table I. it is clear that the homicide group is the most important since it accounts for more than half of the inmates (55.1%) The theft group accounts for slightly more than a third of the inmates (34.7%) and sex offenses for 5.8%. For purposes of comparison these percentages and the corresponding percentages of the survey of 712 Turkish Juvenile Delinquents and of the Massachusetts State Prison are tabulated as follows:

	Turkish Juvenile		
	<u>Istanbul</u>	<u>Delinquents</u>	<u>Mass.</u>
Homicide group	55.1	47.3	24.9
Theft “	34.7	30.2	51.1
Sex “	5.8	14.0	21.5

In studying Table II the inaccuracy of Turkish information concerning ages should be borne in mind. In this table therefore we are dealing more with tendencies than with precise facts. The table shows the age of inmates at the Prison in January, 1932. For all offenses the 25-29 age group contains the largest number of inmates: 164 or 23.7%. The same age group also contains the largest number of prisoners sentenced for homicide and allied offenses: 95 or 24.9% and for sex offenses: 11 or 27.5. The peak for the theft group, however, is reached in the 20-24 age group with 63 inmates or 26.2%. In Massachusetts for all offenses and for sex offenses the 25-29 group has first place the percentages being respectively 19.8 and 18.3. For homicide the 35-39 group has first place (19.5%) and for theft the 30-34 group (24.7%).

A comparison of present age at the Istanbul Central Prison and at the Massachusetts State Prison shows the following results:

	<u>All Inmates</u>		<u>Homicide Group</u>		<u>Theft Group</u>		<u>Sex Group</u>	
	<u>Ist.</u>	<u>Mass.</u>	<u>Ist.</u>	<u>Mass.</u>	<u>Ist.</u>	<u>Mass.</u>	<u>Ist.</u>	<u>Mass.</u>
Under 30	50.2	30.6	44.5	18.6	62.0	38.2	50.0	27.2
Between 30&40	30.1	34.3	35.7	33.1	20.9	37.7	30.0	28.3
Between 40&50	13.0	20.4	14.0	26.6	11.3	16.5	12.5	23.5
50 and over	6.7	14.7	5.8	21.7	5.8	7.6	7.5	21.0

Table III which shows the number and kind of recidivists is particularly interesting and significant. At Istanbul the percentage of recidivism is 23.6. As might have been expected the theft group shows the largest number of recidivists: 131, or 54.6%. Only 6.8% of the homicide group are recidivists. In the sex offense group there is no recidivism. A comparison with the Massachusetts State Prison shows the following results:

	<u>Istanbul</u>	<u>Massachusetts</u>
All Recidivists	23.6	79.7
Homicide group	6.8	63.8
Theft “	54.6	92.5
Sex “	0.0	68.0

In considering his striking difference a certain allowance should be made for the effects of a presumably more efficient system for the identification of criminals in Massachusetts.

Table IV – Family Status – class for no particular comment. 83.6 of the inmates came from homes broken by the death of one or both parents. In the Survey of 712 Turkish Juvenile delinquents it was found that 70.4% came from “broken homes”. These are far higher percentages than are ordinarily found among the inmates of American penal institutions. In a study of 145 men in state prisons and in the Elmira Reformatory the Crime Commission

of New York State found that 68% were from homes broken by death and separation; of 3053 studies of criminals made by the Catholic Charities' Probation Bureau of the Court of General Sessions of New York 47.1% came from homes broken by the absence of either or both parents.

Table IV also shows that 38.9% of the inmates were married and 61.1% single. Of the married inmates 91.2% had children.

Table V shows that there are more unmarried men in the theft and sex groups than in the homicide group. The percentages are respectively 67.9, 62.5 and 58.

Comparing the data concerning civil status contained in Tables IV and V with the corresponding data for Massachusetts the results are as follows:

	<u>Married</u>		<u>Single</u>	
	<u>Istanbul</u>	<u>Mass.</u>	<u>Istanbul</u>	<u>Mass.</u>
All inmates	38.9	35.4	61.1	47.9
Homicide group	42.0	35.3	58.0	45.2
Theft "	32.1	31.9	67.9	54.2
Sex "	37.5	39.8	62.5	39.3

N.B. Note that the Massachusetts figures do not include the categories of "divorced", "widowed" and "separated" which are given separately in Mr. Loveland's table.

Table VI shows that 54.1%¹ of the inmates can read and write and 45.9% cannot. A comparison with Massachusetts shows the following:

	<u>Illiterate</u>	
	<u>Istanbul</u>	<u>Massachusetts</u>
All Inmates	45.9	10.5
Homicide group	38.8	20.8
Theft "	57.1	3.5
Sex "	65.0	16.2

Table VII shows that 59.9% of the inmates used alcoholic beverages and 40.1% did not. For the three groups of offenses the percentages of those using alcoholic beverages are the following:

Homicide	60.4
Theft	61.7
Sex	47.5

¹ Mr. Eugene M. Hinkle of the American Embassy in Turkey after a study of official statistics and other pertinent data estimated that in 1932 82.5% of the population of Turkey could neither read nor write.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing study of the Istanbul Central Prison and its inmates certain conclusions seem clear. Before enumerating them, however, a preliminary observation is in order. In judging conditions in the Prison the reader should take into careful consideration living conditions in Turkey outside of the Prison, particularly among the poorer classes. There is no use, for instance, in deploring the absence of beds in the prison and forgetting that many of the prisoners have never slept in a bed. It is all very well to criticize the dark, damp rooms of the Prison, but it is in just such rooms that many men and boys of the poorer class live. If discipline in the Prison is enforced by beatings that again is nothing novel to most of the inmates who have as a rule received repeated and hard thrashings from their parents. Turks are accustomed to sit for hours doing nothing. There is even a name for the state of mind which goes with this form of recreation: "Keyf". Whether indulged in at the prison or at the coffee house it is still "keyf" and it is still natural. Finally, it should be recalled that liberty to the energetic American bubbling over with plans and racing against time is one thing, but liberty to the Turk for whom time has very little meaning and who is at heart a fatalist is something very different.

Three conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing study. In the first place the overwhelming majority of inmates of the Prison are sentenced for six months or less. The Prison indeed is more comparable to the American jail than to the American penitentiary or even reformatory. There is an unending coming and going which makes the carrying out of any program of correction next to impossible and ordinary administration difficult and which greatly increases the potential danger of the prison as a "school of crime". In the second place the number of recidivists is exceedingly small and it may properly be concluded therefore that the professional criminal as he is known in Western countries and particularly in the United States is not an important factor even in the Prison of the largest city of Turkey (population in 1927: 665,128). In the third place after making all proper allowance for the considerations set forth in general terms in the preceding paragraph it cannot be denied that the Prison with respect to location, plant and penal regime is thoroughly unsatisfactory. When it comes to condemning the Prison plant and its location responsible Turkish officials are as emphatic as any Westerner could be. They point out, however, and with reason, that when they have not enough money to feed the prisoners properly they are not in a position to effect radical improvements in the Prison itself. When it comes to

dissatisfaction with the Prison from the point of view of the penal regime which is followed it may be doubted whether the Turks are as yet fully oriented. If such is the case, they are by no means alone and Americans are perhaps the last to feel free to throw stones. Until recently the Turk has thought of prison reform in terms of large new prisons built on the cell principle and run on the solitary system which can be seen at the Prison at Fresnes in France and which until July, 1931, used to be followed in Italian prisons. The Turkish Penal Code which came into effect on July 1, 1926, is based on the existence of just such prisons. The possibility of developing prison farms or colonies as an alternative to the construction of large cell prisons is now beginning to be realized in Turkey by a few officials. In fact, it would be unfair to conclude this report without emphasizing that the competent Turkish authorities have recently shown a determination to face the prison problem squarely and to make such reforms as the budget will permit without delay. During the summer of 1932 there are two important achievements to record. The Ministry of Justice has acquired a large barracks at Edirne which is now being transformed into a prison for those serving shorter terms. It is hoped to begin moving into this prison by January 1, 1933. The crowded conditions of the prisons in Anatolia and of the Istanbul Central Prison is in operation. The second achievement of the present summer is the new system for giving work to prisoners which has been described in Part I of his report in the concluding paragraphs under "Industry". To say therefore that the next few years will see important progress in prison reform in Turkey is not an over-optimistic statement. Turkey's limited financial resources will not permit her to make the costly mistakes which penologists in Western countries are only now beginning to recognize as mistakes. These financial limitations may well be just the incentive needed for the development of modern penological methods in Turkey.

TABLE I.OFFENSES OF ALL MALE PERSONS IN THE ISTANBUL CENTRAL PRISON
JANUARY, 1932.

Offense	Number	Per Cent
Homicide	549	50.6
Assault & wounding	18	2.6
Disputes	14	2.0
	381	55.1
Theft	178	25.8
Brigandage	29	4.2
Embezzlement, swindling and forgery	25	3.6
Smuggling	8	1.2
	240	34.7
Sex	40	5.8
Other Offenses:		
Insults	7	
Kidnapping	5	
Political	7	
Spy	3	
Communism	2	
Accident	2	
Carrying Arms	1	
Debts	1	
Joking	1	
Insane	1	
	30	
	691	

TABLE IV. FAMILY STATUS OF PERSONS IN THE ISTANBUL CENTRAL PRISON
- JANUARY, 1932.

	Number	Per Cent
Married	269	38.9
Unmarried	422	61.1
Married inmates having children	250	91.2
Both Parents living	113	16.4
Both parents dead	361	52.2
Father dead	182	26.3
Mother dead	35	5.1
Number from "broken homes"	578	83.6

TABLE V. CIVIL STATUS AND OFFENSE OF PERSONS IN THE ISTANBUL
CENTRAL PRISON - JANUARY, 1932

Offense	Single	Married
Homicide	205	144
Assult & wounding	9	9
Disputes	7	7
Total	221	160
Per Cent	58.	42.
Theft	136	42
Brigandage	16	13
Embezzlement, swindling and forgery	10	15
Smuggling	1	7
Total	163	77
Per Cent	67.9	32.1
Sex	25	15
Per Cent	62.5	37.5
Other Offenses	13	17
TOTAL	422	269
PER CENT	61.1	38.9

TABLE VI. EDUCATIONAL STATUS AND OFFENSES OF PERSONS IN THE
ISTANBUL CENTRAL PRISON - JANUARY, 1932

Offense	Illiterate	Read Write
Homicide	135	214
Assault & wounding	7	11
Disputes	6	8
Total	148	233
Per Cent	38.8	61.2
Theft	168	70
Brigandage	21	8
Embezzlement, swindling and forgery	1	24
Smuggling	7	1
Total	137	103
Per Cent	57.1	42.9
Sex	26	14
Per Cent	65.	35.
Other Offenses	6	24
Total	317	374
Per Cent	45.9	54.1

TABLE VII. USE OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES AND OFFENSE OF PERSONS IN
THE ISTANBUL CENTRAL PRISON - JANUARY, 1932

Offense	<u>Drinkers</u>	<u>Non-Drinkers</u>
Homocide	211	138
Assault & wounding	12	6
Disputes	7	7
Total	230	151
Per Cent	60.4	39.6
Theft	115	63
Brigandage	11	18
Embezzlement, swindling and forgery	15	10
Smuggling	7	1
Total	148	92
Per Cent	61.7	38.3
Sex	19	21
Per Cent	47.5	52.5
Other Offenses	17	13
Total	414	277
Per Cent	59.9	40.1

Due to layout problems tables II and III have not been included (Ed. note).

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910-1929, document dated September 12th, 1924, no. 867.131/2.

G. HOWLAND SHAW

**“TURKEY NEW YEAR’S DAY, 1933”
(DECEMBER 27, 1932)**

From Charles H. Sherrill, Istanbul, December 27, 1932.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 281

SUBJECT: Turkey, New Year’s Day, 1933.

I enclose herewith a memorandum entitled “Turkey New Year’s Day, 1933” prepared by Mr. G. Howland Shaw. It seems to me that this very able document is not only useful for the Department and this Embassy but will also be of especial value to my successor at this post. I wish very much that before I came out here, there had been possible for me to see collected into one despatch so temperate an exposition of affairs in Turkey today. Of course, so fair-minded a man as Mr. Shaw would not expect me to agree entirely with all his conclusions mentioned in this interesting and able document, but its value as a whole to a new Ambassador, ignorant of this post, is incontestable.

Confidential

**TURKEY
NEW YEAR’S DAY, 1933**

This is an attempt at a picture of Turkey at the present time with no thought of omitting the problems which confront the country, but also with no thought of failing to recognize the important achievements of the past and their promise for the future.

THE GAZI

The Gazi continues to be the mainspring of modern Turkey. As the years have gone by his rôle in the life of the country has changed. At first, he was the leader of a desperate, hand-to-mouth military effort to expel the enemy from Turkish soil. Gradually, he developed into the Reformer and the Chief of State. For the past couple of years, he has appeared as the leader of an important movement of intellectual rehabilitation of the Turk in terms of history and language. In short, as Turkey has changed and developed under his leadership he also has changed and developed. To be sure, there are those among his followers who contend that almost from his boyhood he foresaw and planned every step that has been taken in the modernization of Turkey. While it is difficult either to prove or disprove this theory, it savors a bit too much of that omniscience which it is often thought necessary to ascribe to great men once their greatness has been established, and its justification may well be questioned. On the other hand, there is plenty of reason to ascribe to the Gazi striking and notable qualities. From the very outset of the Nationalist movement, he has displayed an almost uncanny ability to do the right thing at the right moment; to grasp the implications involved in any particular action and to apply and develop these implications at the appropriate time. Certainly, the Gazi of the war days had no particular interest in history and philology, but the Gazi of today has just such an interest, and not for any reason of personal eccentricity but for the perfectly practical reason that he has grasped the value of the history and language movements for Turkey at the present time. The development of the Gazi is a subject which it is to be hoped some future historian will be in a position to deal with adequately. His development is the more remarkable in view of three handicaps: he is a soldier and naturally has the intellectual limitations of the military mind; he has some of the arbitrariness of the old Palace mentality; and he has received in the past and receives today very little help and stimulation from the members of his entourage. The Gazi's place in history is secure, and one cannot but deplore the tendency of some of his followers to forget this fact and to seek to enhance the Gazi's prestige (and incidentally their own standing with him) by ascribing to him virtues which he has not got and by denying that he has certain vices which everybody knows that he possesses. The Gazi does not need the adulation of the sycophant.

The Gazi's health is a subject on which the Diplomatic Corps delights to speculate. On an average of twice a year, the Diplomatic Corps, more or less in a body, becomes convinced that the Gazi is desperately ill. Such convictions, however, never seem to rest on anything precise, and there is no

good reason for believing that the Gazi is not thoroughly competent, both mentally and physically. It is quite true that he drinks and, on occasions, to excess. It is also true that his manner of life is, from the Western point of view, highly irregular. He is perfectly capable of becoming absorbed in something or other at six o'clock in the afternoon and working steadily at it throughout the entire night, which of course means that he will go to bed at nine o'clock in the morning and sleep through part of the day. He is just as likely to send for a member of the Cabinet or some other official at three o'clock in the morning as well as at three o'clock in the afternoon. His mode of life has about it the unpredictable and unsystematic quality which is normally Turkish. This indigenous quality is doubtless to some extent reinforced by the habits of work which the Gazi has learned as a military commander in the field. Not many Turks, and practically no foreigners, have any first-hand information concerning what goes on at the Presidential Residence at Çankaya. Contrary to the easy accessibility which was one of his outstanding characteristics during the first years of the Nationalist movement, the Gazi has recently held himself very much aloof and does not seek out people – whether his own countrymen or foreigners. One of the reasons for this attitude is the extreme irregularity of his life, which renders the making and keeping of appointments a most precarious matter. The thing can be put in a nutshell by saying that when the Gazi wants to see somebody he wants to see him at once, but he does not like to arrange to see him at 11.30 o'clock the next morning. This is the explanation of what often puzzles foreign visitors to Ankara. If they announce their arrival far enough ahead they are always amazed that an audience with the Gazi cannot be arranged, and it is very difficult to make them understand that they often have more chance of being received with only two or three days' notice than by announcing their arrival two or three weeks ahead of time.

The problem of succession in Turkey is often discussed by foreigners, but usually without reaching any satisfactory conclusions. Since the Gazi has played such an overwhelmingly important part in the development of modern Turkey, surely – so the argument runs – upon his death it is reasonable to foresee a period of reaction, if not of chaos. Without undertaking to give a categorical answer to this question, there are several factors which deserve to be stressed. In the first place, Turkey is not a country of political revolutions. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the population is supremely indifferent to anything political. There is plenty of grumbling and criticism of the Government, especially in Istanbul and Izmir, but the men who grumble and criticize never do anything about it, even through the channels normally and legally open to them. They are a collection of individuals who, for a variety of

reasons, are not happy, but it never occurs to them to organize. On the other hand, there are large groups in Turkey who, for many different reasons, are thoroughly in favor of the present régime. They have become accustomed to modern Turkey, with its hats and schools and cafés and movies and sport; and they would not for the world go back to the old days. Every year sees a considerable increase in the numbers of these groups. The Army – that backbone of any Turkish régime – has never wavered in its loyalty to the present order of things. The Army has been better looked after by the Republic than ever before. The conditions of service are infinitely less onerous than during Ottoman days, with the result that, far from being a potential center of disaffection, the Army has been an important agency for disseminating the principles of modern Turkey throughout the country. In a word, modern Turkey is a *fait accompli* and every year makes it more of a *fait accompli*; and the attitude of the Turk towards a *fait accompli* is to recognize it, and if by any chance he does not particularly like it to accept it nevertheless, with a certain degree of fatalism. The problem of succession, therefore, which to the Westerner looks so ominous is, when judged from the point of view of the Turkish environment and Turkish psychology, a good deal less serious. Should the Gazi die, it is fair to presume that some one of a group of not very distinguished men would be elected President in accordance with the simple machinery provided for in the Constitution. The tempo of Turkish life would probably be slowed down, but as the period of initiating major reforms is past and as Turkey's task for many years to come will be primarily one of consolidation and integration a slowing down process would have its advantages.

SPIRIT OF THE GOVERNMENT

Political democracy does not exist in Turkey at the present time. The forms – Parliament, elections, etc. – are all there and are taken seriously, not to say solemnly, but the substance is deficient. It is true that during the struggle against the Greeks and, indeed, until the winter of 1925 political democracy was to some extent a reality in Turkey. There was a time, strange as it may now seem, when the Gazi himself sat in the Assembly and took an active part in the proceedings, but that was the period when the Nationalist movement was essentially a spontaneous revolt against the presence of a foe on Turkish territory – a movement was essentially a spontaneous revolt against the presence of a foe on Turkish territory – a movement in which Turks of many different points of view could join without in any way

sacrificing their political and other convictions. A very different situation presented itself at the conclusion of the war and after the Lausanne Peace Conference. It then became apparent that the Nationalist movement was made up of a very heterogeneous group of people. There were some who believed in a Caliph; there were some good Moslems who did not believe in a Caliph; there were some who favored modernization in certain directions but not in others; there were remnants of the old Union and Progress group; there were idealists of the Turk Ocak (Odjak), and bandits; there were those who believed in political democracy and those who hated it – in short, there was chaos. In the war against the Greeks, the Gazi until a more regular military force had been constituted had used irregular and lawless bands of freebooters as auxiliaries. As he gradually constituted a regular army, the getting rid of these irregulars gave a lot of trouble and resulted in bloodshed. A somewhat similar problem confronted him on the political field after the war had been won. As his conception of the reformed and modernized Turkey took shape, it became more and more clear that there were among his political followers many irregulars. The process of getting rid of them likewise proved difficult and likewise resulted in bloodshed. Just as the irregular bands had given way before the regular army, so the Second Group, the Progressives and the remnants of the Union and Progress Party gave way to the highly unified Peoples' Party under the complete control of the Gazi himself. No positive program of a political or social character could have been carried through with the heterogeneous elements of the First Assembly. Even a positive program along ordinary lines would have given trouble, but a positive program calling for reforms which deeply affected the habits and convictions of most of the people could only have been achieved by a dictator working through a political party, highly unified and fully responsive to the dictatorship. Those who blame Turkey for developing a dictatorship and not a political democracy – whether they realize it or not – are blaming Turkey for the very thing which made the reforms of the last decade possible. To be sure, a dictatorship has dangers all its own, and Turkey is not escaping these dangers; but at the same time the modernization of the country could only be achieved at that price. That the Gazi has at least some understanding of these dangers and of this price is perhaps evidenced by the care with which the forms associated with democratic government are carried out in Turkey. Other indications pointing in the same direction are the Gazi's attitude towards Fethi Bey's Opposition Party in 1930, as well as the Independent deputies and the Deputies representing the working and agricultural classes in the present Assembly. It almost looks as though the Gazi were thinking of the day when a larger reality can be given to political democracy in Turkey. It is well-known that the Gazi

particularly dislikes to be called a dictator or to hear Turkey referred to as a dictatorship.

THE CABINET AND THE GOVERNING PERSONNEL

Cabinet changes are the exception rather than the rule in Turkey. This, of course, is due to the very nature of the Government and to the existence of but one political party. Ismet Pasha's loyalty to his colleagues, once they have secured his confidence, is another factor in the situation. Taken as a whole, the present Cabinet is the strongest which Turkey has had. The two changes made last summer represented improvement. A meticulous - minded doctrinaire was succeeded as Minister of National Economy by a practical-minded banker; and a timid and vacillating Minister of Public Instruction was given as successor a vigorous man of action who, unquestionably, enjoys the support of the Gazi. Ismet Pasha is so much a part of the picture of modern Turkey that it is difficult to detach him from his background for purposes of analysis. He is not a great man. He treats his colleagues of the Cabinet like school children and he is said to be of a suspicious turn of mind; but he is certainly patriotic and he approaches his heavy task with a very high sense of duty. The Ministers of Justice, National Economy, Finance, Public Health, Public Instruction and Customs and Monopolies are all hard-working and conscientious individuals. There can be no question of their seriousness of purpose. If they are to be criticized, it would be rather for working too hard and concerning themselves too closely with the detailed questions of their respective departments. If criticized along these lines, however, they would have a convincing reply to the effect that their subordinates are all too often ill-equipped for their tasks - either through lack of education or the necessary experience. This remark leads naturally to mention of what is a serious problem in Turkey at the present time. The small official does not carry his share of the burden. The reasons are not far to seek. Two of them have already been mentioned, namely, lack of education and experience. To these should be added certain habits carried over from Ottoman days: a fear of superiors, a fear of losing one's job, jealousy of others and last - but by no means least - a tendency on the part of the superiors themselves, if not to resent, at least not to welcome suggestions or criticisms. These qualities, of course, are not wanting in the Government Services of other countries. In the Turkey of Ottoman days, however, they were fashioned almost into a system and Turkey, at the present time, is still suffering from the effects of this system. Time will be needed before a thoroughgoing change can be made. The whole

atmosphere of Ankara and the example set by more and more individuals are bearing fruit and what is more encouraging, on the whole, there is a reasonable amount of understanding of the nature and importance of this particular problem.

TURKISH PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

Turkish parliamentary life at the present time is not an exciting affair. The factor of party strife is altogether absent and the obvious stimuli under which the Assembly worked during the war period and later during the period of the Great reforms are no longer brought to bear. The important task confronting Turkey now is not the voting of new laws but, rather, the intelligent application of laws already voted and their modification in the light of experience. This is not exhilarating work, but it is important work and, on the whole, the National Assembly is doing it. With a certain amount of compulsion, the deputies are paying more attention to their constituencies. They are visiting them with some regularity and they are reporting to the Assembly what they see and hear. Actual conditions throughout the country are therefore being thought about and discussed in Ankara, as was not the case three or four years ago. Parliamentary life in Turkey, while it may be considered as artificial when judged in terms of party conflicts and the strategy and tactics engendered by these conflicts, nevertheless is becoming more workmanlike and generally better integrated. The rather obvious prosaic ness of the Grand National Assembly should not blind the observer to its usefulness.

THE YOUNGER GENERATION IN TURKEY

There is no use denying that the younger generation in Turkey – on the whole – does not amount to much. The reasons are not far to seek. From 1911 to 1922 Turkey was almost continuously at war; and no sooner had the war period closed than the period of radical reforms began. These reforms, constituting as they did, the negative aspect of the Turkish Revolution, unquestionably have done much, especially in the larger cities, to break down parental authority and to persuade many young people that the essence of Modernism and Westernism is to be found in the café or bar, or at the cinema. The result is a younger generation somewhat rudderless, pleasure-loving and without any particular ideals. Doubtless, the mere lapse of time and the results

of a number of trial and error experiments will eventually bring about a greater stability among these young people. Losses will of course be sustained in the process, but it is difficult to see how this can be avoided. The Turkish Government is quite aware of the problem of the younger generation, and for the past two years has been actively engaged in trying to work out plans whereby the ideals of modern Turkey may be more clearly formulated, and once formulated, brought to the attention of the younger people of the country in some effective way. The establishment of the Halk Evi and the history and language movements are examples of this activity.

It would be a mistake to conclude from the foregoing that all the young people in Turkey are irresponsible and pleasure-loving. There is a minority of idealists, the intelligent handling and utilization of whom present problems of considerable difficulty. In fact, an interesting chapter of any work on modern Turkey might be entitled "The Problem of the Turkish Idealist". The essence of the problem is that the Turkish idealist tends to be a particularly intense sort of person and the conditions of Turkish life are such that an adequate expression for the idealism is frequently lacking. Hence, the constant danger that the idealism will become ingrowing, with destructive results to the individual in question or to his environment. The Turkish idealist is all too often trying to do the impossible. He becomes so possessed with the conviction that Turkey is almost hopelessly far behind other countries and that superhuman efforts must be made to improve things that he forgets the limitations of human activity, as well as the fact that the achieving of important and lasting results requires the patient and intelligent activity of a great number of people over a considerable period of time. The idealist is a lonely figure in any part of the world, but in Turkey at the present time his loneliness is more complete than would be the case in other countries where activities which appeal to the idealist are more fully developed. Normally, the idealist, especially the young idealist, receives a certain amount of guidance from older and more experienced persons. In Turkey, there is such a radical cleavage between the ideals of the older generation and the ideals of the younger men and women who have ideals that this process of guidance becomes exceedingly difficult.

With respect to the younger generation in Turkey, one can only say for the great majority that there is a crying need for some sort of ideal, and in the course of furnishing this ideal for what a Turk who is particularly alive to this problem has called "Moralising Modernism". For the small minority who do have ideals of one sort or another, the problem is two-fold: guidance on the one hand the discovery of channels of expression for this idealism.

WHY ANKARA?

It seems an enormous waste of effort and money for a poor country to spend millions of Turkish pounds in building a new capital when such a place as Istanbul exists. As a rule, especially by the foreigners, an attempt is made to justify Ankara in military terms. It is said that with the neutralization of The Straits the protection of Istanbul against an enemy is impossible, hence Ankara. It is not to be denied that military considerations enter into the picture, but they do not furnish the answer which is so utterly convincing to anybody who knows Ankara and Istanbul at first-hand. There are doubtless many reasons for the fact, but it is a fact, that Istanbul represents a negative and a disintegrating force in Turkish life.

Istanbul is more than a symbol of the past: it is a force insidiously attractive which almost compels a belief that nothing is worth while. Possibly it is the force of something that has been dead ever since the Ottoman Turks came into close contact with it – Byzantinism; possibly it is a matter of climate; possibly the cause is to be sought in the combination of great natural beauty with tangible evidence of the crumbling of what men have been able to fashion in the past; possibly it is due to the peculiar mentality of a group of people whose fathers and grandfathers occupied positions of prominence under the Ottoman Empire and who themselves had received many educational advantages but whose traditions and education are now, from the point of view of any real participation in the life of their country, completely sterile. With all of this Ankara is in startling contrast. The setting is harsh, the countryside unattractive and forbidding to look upon; the new Ankara is crudely new and the atmosphere of the place is quite frankly materialistic; but there is energy in Ankara and, in spite of all the blunders that have been made, one never gets the feeling of futility and hopelessness that is so much in evidence in Istanbul. Under the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia was not Turkey, but rather a despised and ignored land from which a certain number of soldiers and some taxes were derived. The Ottoman despised the Anatolian peasant and knew little of him or his surroundings. Ankara is the sign of a complete reversal in these respects. Anatolia is now Turkey and the Anatolian peasant is the Turk whose words are being collected to form the language of the country and whose history is being studied in order that he may be aware of his past and be proud of it. The answer to the question "Why Ankara?" it reaches down further than any of these: it is profoundly psychological and moral.

EDUCATION

The United States and Russia are not the only countries where economic determinism has obscured basic facts. Turkey, also, has its economic determinists: intransigent dogmatists and theorists, who believe that by building up industry or tinkering with tariffs the happiness and well-being of mankind can be assured. Economic determinists to the contrary notwithstanding, it is a fact that the most important single problem in Turkey at the present time is the problem of education in the broad sense of that word, rather than in the sense which would make education synonymous with the imparting of factual information to a more or less protesting child. From the outset of the Nationalist movement, problems of education have engaged the attention of the new régime. The first task was to pull down the old medresse system and establish, at least on paper, a unified system of public instruction. This was a comparatively easy task, but the creation of the new system in practice has proved quite a different matter. In this respect, Turkey is still in the formative stage. True, a great many schools, especially primary schools, have been built in even the more remote parts of the country in the last ten years. It is also true that there are more and better teachers. Solid progress has been made, but it has not been enough; and, be it said to the credit of the Turks that they, themselves, realize it is not enough. The attention which for the past two years is being given to the formation of a national ideology is one of the most important moves made since the nationalist régime came into existence. The Turks have been wise enough to see that the building of schools is an excellent thing; but that the problem of the ideals to be imparted to the children in those schools is something even more important. Nothing is easier than to poke fun at the present history and language movements in Turkey. With respect to both movements the scientist can find plenty of fault; but it is not from the scientific point of view exclusively that these movements should be judged. They are essentially attempts on the part of Turkey to fashion a national ideology; and, as such, they should be studied rather from the religious and philosophical points of view than from the historical and philological. The inaccuracies and discrepancies from the scientific point of view will inevitably be taken care of in the contact with Western scholarship which must necessarily take place. There will doubtless be more or less acrimonious controversy and, as a result of this controversy, history and perhaps also philology will be enriched. But, meanwhile, if the ideological value of the history and language movements is considerable the Turkish people will have gained something of far greater practical importance than any enriching of abstract science. The dyspeptic pedant who scoffs at the

over-enthusiastic adolescent follower of Marx or Pater, or of any one of the other numerous intellectual heroes of youth, fails to detect under a somewhat ridiculous exterior a genuine attempt at orientation in the world of ideas and, as such, an indubitable sign of growth and vitality. The same criticism can be made of many of those who scoff at the history and language movements in Turkey.

RELIGION

The attitude of official Turkey towards religion is both complex and contradictory. It is composed of at least three quite distinct elements: (1) a profound conviction based upon knowledge of the past that the machinery of religion in Turkey has always been on the side of reaction; (2) a conviction derived primarily from France but also to some extent from Soviet Russia that religion is something that the modern man must despise in order to be modern; and (3) a deep-seated instinct that anybody who is not a Moslem cannot be a real Turk. In referring to this third factor, the term "instinct" is used advisedly, for logically the third factor is obviously out of harmony with the first two factors and with other factors in contemporary Turkish life. Nevertheless it exists and plays a part of unpredictable importance. It has a little of the flavor of the attitude of Charles Maurras and the Action Française group¹ towards Roman Catholicism. It is, of course, a profoundly Near Eastern attitude, since in the Near East the welding together of the religious and of the political is traditional. These three basic factors do not give the complete picture of the official attitude towards religion in Turkey. There can be little doubt that the Gazi is personally at least non-religious and possibly even anti-religious. The declarations, amounting almost to lectures, which he has delivered on this subject towards the close of several balls at Ankara are well-known. It is an unfortunate thing, but it is true, that if some day the Gazi declares himself in favor of Einstein's Theory of Relativity the following morning most of Ankara's leading imitators will have discovered in themselves a devoted attachment to relativity and Einstein. The same thing has happened with respect to religion. The Gazi's sentiments have been swallowed by the less creditable among his entourage and have been reproduced by them, doubtless in exaggerated form and doubtless with the object of standing in well at Çankaya. This fact, however, should not be

¹ Charles Maurras (1868-1952) was a French author, poet and critic. He was a leader and principal thinker of the reactionary Action Française, a political movement that was monarchist, anti-parliamentarist and counter-revolutionary. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Maurras (Ed. Note).

allowed to obscure other facts of possibly greater significance. In the first place, at no time has the Turkish Government ever interfered with religious worship – Moslem, Christian, or Jewish. On the contrary, there is today and there always has been in the Prime Minister's Department a Bureau of Religious Affairs, the head of which is a former Mufti of Ankara. It is the duty of this Bureau to supply imams and muezzins for the mosques and to see that Moslem worship is carried out properly. There is a theological faculty at Istanbul University; and while at the present time it has only twenty-two students for its thirteen professors, the mere existence of the faculty is not without significance. It is easy to say that the governing crowd at Ankara is a godless lot, but that statement does not represent the whole truth. Fevzi Pasha, the Chief of Staff and head of the Turkish Army, is a strong and practicing Moslem who says his prayers five times a day and observes meticulously the Ramazan fast. The same statement can be made of the present Minister of Finance, Abdülhalik Bey, and also at least to some extent of Ismet Pasha, Ali Rana Bey, the Minister of Customs and Monopolies, and other persons in Ankara whose important official status cannot be brought into question. The former Dervish Orders had a number of lay members grouped together in somewhat the same manner as the Third Orders of the Roman Catholics. The Dervish tekkes and the professional Dervishes, so to speak, have been abolished in Turkey; but the lay members still meet together for religious purposes and together constitute an important and probably numerous group interested in and practicing the more mystical side of Islam. Important members of the Foreign Office at Ankara and of the Turkish Diplomatic Service have been and still are actively interested in this kind of thing. To complete the picture, some mention should be made of a certain primitive religion and a highly complex set of indigenous superstitions which are to be found among the Anatolian peasantry.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There is perhaps no chapter of contemporary Turkish history which reflects more credit upon the present régime than the gradual building up of Turkey's position, internationally speaking. To realize the full measure of what has been accomplished in this respect, it is necessary to think of the Turkey represented at Lausanne in 1922-23. With the exception of the obviously not disinterested friendship of Soviet Russia, the Turks at that time were literally friendless. Then years has seen an amazing change. In fact, as the change has come gradually and without much fuss and feathers it is very

easy to forget its amazing character. Without exception, Turkey today is on friendly terms not only with the Great Powers but also with her neighbors. The understanding reached with Greece only eight years after the Turkish-Greek war and last winter's boundary agreement with Persia represent the most sensationally important of the achievements of Turkey's foreign policy. Turkey's rôle in Balkan affairs generally has been a developing one. The Balkan Congress was held at Istanbul and at Ankara in 1931 and there can be no doubt that Tefvîk Rüştü Bey, if a suitable opportunity presents itself, will bring Turkey's influence to bear in favor of peaceful settlements of such classic questions as those of the Dobrudsha, Bulgaria's outlet to the Aegean Sea, and even the Macedonian Question. This rôle of Peacemaker will doubtless be facilitated by Turkey's recent membership in the League of Nations. In short, there can be no question that Turkey desires to be on good terms with the whole world and to avoid, scrupulously, entering into any combination or grouping of Powers, great or small.

The case of Turkey's political relations with Russia will doubtless be cited against the foregoing thesis. It is true that Russian-Turkish political relations are not without a certain quality of sentiment, predicated upon the fact that the Soviets were the first to come to the help of the Nationalists during the darkest hours of the Nationalist movement. On the other hand, there can be no question that Turkish diplomacy, both during the war and the Lausanne Peace Conference, consciously used the idea of a Turkish-Russian alliance to frighten the Western Powers. The impression made in the West at that time has not altogether worn off, and the theory that Russia and Turkey are very close together is often dwelt upon. It is true, of course, that no Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs could afford the suicidal policy of having bad relations with Russia. That does not depend upon the personal views of the Minister, but upon geography. It is nevertheless not to be gainsaid that Turkey is as unwilling to be a political ally of the Soviets as of Great Britain, or France, or Italy; and at no time, since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, has the Turkish Government failed to make it quite clear that it will not tolerate Communism or Communist propaganda within its territory. What might be termed cultural relations is another matter. Both Russians and Turks have the task of popularizing a revolutionary point of view and so far, judging from all accounts, the former have made far more progress in this respect than the latter. The possibility that Turkey will borrow ideas from the Soviets in the fields of education, propaganda and methods of indoctrination is therefore obvious.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

If Turkey were not Turkey, the economic crisis would be exceedingly serious. By this it is meant that if industry were considerably developed in Turkey and if there were not such an extraordinary variety of small trades and petty activities as to reduce unemployment virtually to nothing; and if the Anatolian peasant were a farmer in the economic sense of the word, rather than an individual who supplies his own small wants and those of his family from what he produces and if he has a small surplus to sell afterwards that is all to the good, and if all these "ifs" were not as they are, then we might find the Turkish economic situation serious. To be sure, it is hard to balance the budget and taxation is beginning to bear heavily upon not only the small employee class but also upon the peasants; but suffering, hunger and real want are not very much in evidence. The Westernization program has certainly had to be slowed down. Money cannot be found for new schools, new railroad stations, new Government buildings, etc., etc. But with the standard of living to which the Turk has become accustomed in mind, all of these things are essentially works of supererogation. In these days of economic chaos, Turkey's lack of development is very much to her advantage.

MINORITIES

What might have been suspected ten years ago is now clear: the Minorities problem in Turkey was essentially a problem of the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the modern homogeneous Nationalist Turkey. When the Ottoman Empire was really the Ottoman Empire and when the Millet System really functioned there was no Minority problem. The nineteenth century, however, saw the spread of Nationalism among the various racial groups of the Ottoman Empire. The Powers, and notably Russia, found this development very much to their taste. Interventions, ostensibly for humanitarian purposes, became increasingly frequent. Of course, as soon as Nationalism appeared upon the scene the very conception of the Ottoman Empire became impossible. The Turks themselves were very slow to see this. In 1908 they were even naïve enough to believe that with Constitutions, Parliaments and the Other furnishings of Liberalism they could regalanize the Ottoman ideal. Of course, the attempt was a failure, and it was shortly afterwards that Turkish Nationalism saw the light of day as a conscious movement. Whether it would have ever been anything more than a movement of a more or less intellectual character if the Greeks had not

occupied Izmir and the British Istanbul is an interesting subject of speculation. At any rate, Nationalism grew and developed in Turkey until at the present time it is the avowed political philosophy of a State small in territory and, with the exception of Kurds and a relatively insignificant number of Greeks, Armenians, Jews and foreigners, having a homogeneous population. The logic of the situation has worked itself out until today nobody so much as talks about Minority problems in Turkey. The most important and politically dangerous Minority, of course, has always been the Greek Minority. Mr. Venizelos's epoch-making visit to Ankara in 1930 changed the position of the Greek Minority almost literally overnight. Underlying all that was said and done during that memorable visit was the recognition that both the Ottoman and Byzantine empires and ideals were dead and buried and that both Greece and Turkey were modern countries inspired by nationalism. If the Greeks wanted to be Greek, let them go to Greece. If they stayed in Turkey they would be Turkish citizens and act as such. Contrast, if you please, what Mr. Venizelos did in 1930 for the cause of peace in the Near East with what the Allies accomplished with the Minority clauses of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923. These clauses represented an enormous effort on the part of the Allies and were supposed to accomplish a great deal in the protection of Greeks and Armenians and Jews living in Turkey. Actually, they accomplished rather less than nothing, could never be invoked and had to be ceremoniously buried by the various Minorities before it was possible to get down to brass tacks and work out sound relationships between Turks of various religions. As a matter of fact, the Lausanne Minority clauses were a clumsy attempt at turning back the hands of the clock and perpetuating a bit of Ottomanism under conditions as far removed as possible from everything Ottoman. Mr. Venizelos, on the other hand, in 1930 recognized facts and thought of the present and future rather than of the past. As a result, Greek-Turkish relations have developed steadily in understanding and cordiality. Ismet Pasha and Tevfik Rüşti Bey when they paid their official return visit to Athens in 1931 received a reception in the nature of an ovation. It wasn't merely official. It was essentially popular and genuine. Unofficial relations are usually more important than official ones. Then unofficial relations between Greece and Turkey have steadily developed in scope and significance. Greek actors come to Istanbul and play to full houses; Turkish athletes go to Athens and are received with applause. We are, indeed, far from the days in 1925 when the expulsion of the Ecumenical Patriarch from Istanbul almost provoked war. In fact, we are so far that to recall that five years intervened between the expulsion of the Patriarch and the visit of Mr. Venizelos to Ankara gives no idea at all of the difference.

FOREIGNERS AND FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS IN TURKEY

It is usually forgotten that practically all of the foreign institutions in Turkey, especially schools, have been imposed upon Turkey. The Turk was never consulted on the subject at all. The foreigner was convinced that the institutions were good for Turkey and that was all there was to it. Ambassadors wrung the necessary irades from rather reluctant Turkish authorities and, if necessary, fleets cruised in the Aegean to help on the good work. This was quite all right from the point of view of the foreigner, but hardly calculated to win over the Turks. Since the Turk became master in his own country in 1923, the task has been to try and persuade him that what had been imposed upon him was really not as bad as he thought and, in fact, could be developed along lines beneficial to him. This has been a very difficult and delicate task and it is still going on. It has necessitated a complete change in the point of view of foreigners carrying on educational work in Turkey. In the days of the Capitulations, they could tell the Turks what was good for them without giving reasons. They could also tell the Turks that the institutions were very fine indeed, and the Turks, through ignorance and the Capitulations, weren't in any position to raise questions. But all this is now changed – the Turks want to be shown and some of the foreigners are not equipped temperamentally or otherwise to do it. Perhaps it is unfair to expect persons brought up under the older point of view to adjust themselves to the new state of things in Turkey. Foreign institutions in Turkey are therefore essentially in a transition state; and while, on the whole, the Turks have shown themselves well disposed, it is not possible to forecast the future of these institutions. One thing, however, is clear, whatever the fate of the existing institutions: no new institutions like them will be created in Turkey. Turkey has no intention of cutting herself off from the benefits of the technical knowledge and experience of foreigners; but the foreigners who come to Turkey to help the Turks will come because they are expressly invited and the activities which these foreigners will carry on in Turkey will henceforth be determined by the Turks themselves. The day is long past when the Turk can be told what is good for him and “improved” against his will.

G. Howland Shaw

G. HOWLAND SHAW

**“A NOTE ON RELIGION IN TURKEY”
(JULY 14, 1933)**

From G. Howland Shaw, Istanbul, Turkey, July 14, 1933.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 510

For the Department's confidential edification I enclose herewith “A Note on Religion in Turkey”.

Confidential

A NOTE ON RELIGION IN TURKEY

This note contains some suggestions concerning the rôle, past, present and future, of religion in Turkey. The suggestions, however, are based not on any systematic research, but are the result of observations such as any intelligent person who has lived for a moderately long time in Turkey might make.

At the outset let me dwell upon what I have come to believe is an important point. Americans tend to over-emphasize the importance of the rôle of religion in Turkey. It has been and is still an element in the Turkish picture, but in the United States this single element has been so distorted and exaggerated as to have become almost the picture itself. When the average American thinks of Turkey, which is surely not often, he pictures to himself two things: first of all, a heathen land where the massacring of Christians is second nature to the Moslem inhabitants, and then the harem or a picturesque setting for unlimited sexual promiscuity. The prevalence of the heathen land view of Turkey in the United States is after all natural. Our early trade with the Levant failed to produce any picture of Turkey for popular consumption, probably because of the absence of any emotional element in trade. Quite the

contrary has been the case with the missionary. In thousands of churches and for close on to a century he has pictured Turkey as a place of darkness and the Turk as a heathen awaiting the light of conversion. The efforts of the missionary have been ably seconded by many native Christians of the Ottoman Empire, notably Armenians, settled in America. The massacres and other outrages inflicted upon the Armenians under the Ottoman Empire furnished an excellent outlet for the more emotional side of American religious life and in furnishing that outlet at the same time seemed to confirm the idea of a struggle between Christianity and Islam. The significance of the massacres as the clumsy defense of a dying political system in its warfare against awakening nationalism entirely escaped the American people, and for that matter still does to a considerable extent. We have consistently misjudged Turkey and the Turk because we have persisted in looking at them through religious spectacles.

If we define religion as a method by which man establishes a personal relationship with a Being conceived of as Divine or as the pursuit, intellectual and moral, of the Absolute, it can hardly be said that the average Turk is a naturally religious individual. In fact, to many Turks this definition of religion would be meaningless. Religion in the Near East whether Moslem or Christian is very much of an alloy and the separation of the mineral from what we should call impurities is not easy. Religion as a function of the State is a deeply ingrained tradition of the Near East. In the Constantinople of the Ottoman Empire the Byzantine and Moslem ideas on this subject fused in an impressive ecclesiasticism. To the outward manifestation of that ecclesiasticism the Imperial mosques, the medresses, etc. – to the astute use made by Sultan Abdul Hamid II of the Caliphate and the Pan-Islamic Movement and to the Armenian massacres erroneously conceived of as a religious rather than a political and economic phenomenon – to these three factors do we owe the idea prevalent in the West that the Turk was and is a fanatical Moslem.

Other conceptions of religion must be mentioned in judging of the rôle of religion in Turkey. Religion as a law minutely regulating the habits and daily routine of the believer and as a set of social attitudes enjoying, or supposed to enjoy – whether justifiably or otherwise the sanction of religion – these are elements of importance since they have been primarily affected by the secularization policy of the present Turkish Government. There is also religion as an elaborate set of superstitious practices, some of which antedate the advent of Islam in Turkey and which are deeply rooted in the Near Eastern mentality. Here we are in an amazingly complex field where Christian, Moslem and Jew mingle on the field of sympathetic magic in a manner most

reprehensible from the point of view of their respective constituted ecclesiastical authorities. Greek ayasmas, or sacred springs, are visited by Moslems; a Hoca with a reputation for healing is consulted by Christians, and a shrine of St. Anthony is visited by both Orthodox Greeks and Moslems. This is popular religion; quite unecclesiastical, unethical, materialistic, naïve, utterly formalistic. With the Moslem it is vaguely colored by the tenets of Islam; with the Christian it may have the Orthodox or Armenian or Roman Catholic veneer, but whatever the appearances it is essentially a bargaining and placating process carried on a severely quid pro quo basis. This popular religion is found among all classes of the population to whatever ecclesiastical organization they may claim allegiance. The modernization movement has had little effect upon it and many years must elapse of necessity before any change can be made.

But there is more in the religious picture of Turkey than ecclesiasticism and popular superstition. There has been and there is the mystical side and it is hard enough to describe and still harder to evaluate quantitatively or qualitatively. Turkish Islam is wrongly thought of as exclusively Sunnite. True, the ecclesiastical machinery at Istanbul was Sunnite, but in much neglected Anatolia the Shlite was strongly in evidence and the Dervish Tekké, wherever found, represented something quite different from the medressé. We have over-simplified Islam and nowhere more so than when thinking of Islam in Turkey. Visitors to Turkey in the old days saw Whirling and Howling Dervishes and classed them thoughtlessly among the picturesque manifestations of Moslem superstition. But these visitors had no contact with the groups of laymen attached to each of the great Dervish sects somewhat as Third Orders are to be found among Roman Catholics. These groups met around some notable Sheik or Master of the mystical way; they still meet secretly and still carry on the practices of mysticism in some form. How extensive are these groups it is impossible to say. All that can be said is that they exist and that they have their roots in the religious past of Turkey and particularly of Anatolia. They have certain ties with popular superstition; their spirit is eclectic – there is a bit of Christianity, of Platonism, of occultism. The Dervish Sects no longer have a recognized existence in Turkey but the present régime has scarcely touched the religious life carried on in these “Third Order” groups.

The religious attitudes of the present Turkish Government are complex and often inconsistent and no particular generalization is satisfactorily descriptive. For instance, to refer to an anti-religious policy fails to account for such a well-known fact as that public worship is and since the beginning of the Republic has been maintained by the Government. On the other hand, if

the term anti-religious is used to describe the personal ideas of the Gazi and his entourage there is some truth in it, although non-religious or agnostic might be more accurate terms. Personally, I think that the Government's religious policy started in a very simple and obvious way. Enemies were actually on Turkish soil and in Istanbul. The ecclesiastical machinery and its head the Sultan-Caliph inevitably became identified with those enemies. The Sultanate was abolished and also the Caliphate, but only after it had become clear that the latter, established in Istanbul, was rapidly becoming a political rival of the new régime at Ankara. Politics dominated in both these acts. The necessity of new codes of law was driven home to the Turks at Lausanne in discussing the abolition of the Capitulations with the Allies. Again it was a matter of politics. One of the first of the reforms was the unification of the educational system, the carrying out of which necessarily led to doing away with the medrèsses. Nobody gave any particular thought to the Dervishes until the Naksebandi Order became involved in the Kurdish revolt of 1925. Then the Dervishes were abolished. The essential aims were the carrying on of the War, the achievement of liberty at Lausanne, the setting up of a modern school system, the preservation of the new State against enemies at home – all practical objectives, the attaining of each one of which involved acts having definite anti-ecclesiastical consequences. It would be even more accurate to speak of anti-clerical consequences, although in the Latin countries the line between what is anti-clerical and what is anti-religious is often hard to draw. Let us say then that up to the day in 1928 when the Assembly voted to do away with the provision of the Constitution which provided that Islam was the established religion of the Turkish Republic there was really no religious policy, and it may fairly be doubted whether there is a religious policy now. Two factors do duty for a religious policy. In the first place, religion apparently means little or nothing to the Gazi personally and there are doubtless many of his followers who think to win favor in his sight by imitating him in this as in other respects; in the second place, Ankara, always somewhat naïve in its approach to Westernization and Modernization, has caught modern science from the text-book and the more popular type of writer who, of course, always tends to reflect the scientific thought of other days. For Ankara, Science is something very clear, very definite and very systematic which has been settled once for all. Ankara, therefore, thinks that religion is quite out of harmony with Science and that to be modern and scientific it is essential to reject Religion with as much contempt as possible. In other words, Ankara has little or no conception of the groupings, the uncertainties of the Science of today, nor of what the Science of today has done to the

Science of yesterday. “Robert Elsmere”¹ would probably be understood in Ankara but Jeans and Eddington² would not be. This is natural enough, since with one possible exception nobody is doing scientific work in Turkey. Science in Turkey is represented by the “Manual” and the “Manual” without research cannot help but propagate the simplest and dogmatic view of Science. This Scientism is of course the intellectual baggage of a small minority. It is totally unknown to the Anatolian peasant and to the small trader or artisan of the town.

In a certain sense the change in the religious life of Turkey under the Republic has been more apparent than real. The ecclesiastical Framework has been swept out of existence, but then it may fairly be doubted how large a part that framework or machinery played in the religious life of the country. Certainly very little in the popular religion. There is talk of replacing the Hoca with the village doctor or teacher, and some progress has certainly been made in that direction, but it will be a long time before any large scale effects are visible. In the towns – especially in such centres as Istanbul and Izmir – the disintegration of religion as a series of rules for every-day life has left the younger generation without guidance and support. Whether they can eventually fashion a substitute from Nationalism, or from a purified Turkish language, or from the conviction that the Hittites are Turks may fairly be doubted, but the younger generation always contains some idealists; and after a certain amount of floundering and suffering, they will perhaps rediscover God as men and women in other parts of the world have been known to do. In these more intimate searchings and experiences I do not believe that they will receive much assistance from foreigners, whether missionaries or not. Personally, I think they should be left to themselves.

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944, document dated July 14, 1933, 867.404/226.

¹ *Robert Elsmere*, a novel by Mary Augusta Ward is the story of a young clergyman who loose faith in his church and who gives up everything to help the poor in the slums in the East End of London. Source: <http://www3.shropshire-cc.gov.uk/intros/T000822.htm> (Ed. Note).

² James Jeans (1877-1946) and Arthur Eddington (1882-1944) were both “science popularizers” in the 1920-1950 era. Source: <http://www.asa3.org/archive/asa/199602/0104.html> (Ed. Note).

ROBERT D. COE

“WOMEN IN TURKEY”
(MARCH 31, 1935)

From Robert P. Skinner, Ankara, March 31, 1935.
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 595

I have the honor to transmit herewith a report prepared by Mr. Robert D. Coe, Third Secretary of Embassy entitled “Women in Turkey”, which is interesting and timely, having regard to the fact that within a week or two an International Congress of Women will assemble at Istanbul. It would be a pity if a report prepared with so much care should get no further than the Department’s files.

INTRODUCTION

The following report on women in Turkey naturally falls into two sections: one – under the Ottoman Empire; and two – under the Republic. Stress has been particularly laid on the first period for the good reason that the position of the Turkish woman of today – at least in the urban districts – is very similar to that of other women in Western countries. There is nothing remarkable to point out in her present attitude or deportment, except when judged in comparison with the place she occupied until after the close of the Great War. The vast gap that lies between her former and present existence shows the tremendous upheaval that has occurred in the ordinary life, the legal status, and the functions of Turkish women.

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“.... but the men are a step above the women. God is Mighty, Wise.”
(Sure II, verse 228 of the Koran).

The above quotation from the Koran epitomizes the Moslem mentality regarding women. Men are definitely the superior sex; and in this fixed relationship is found the basis of the régime determined by the Koranic law as regards women. Personal status, matrimony and guardianship were governed by Moslem religious law under the theocratic principles which were so important in the Ottoman Empire. To a certain extent the commercial, penal and common codes of law were modified and modernized in 1839 by the reforms known as the Tanzimat; but the personal status of Moslem Turks remained static, with the result that emancipation for the Turkish women was impossible so long as the theocratic régime continued.

Seclusion. To convey an idea of the status of Turkish women in the Empire, it is necessary to emphasize the rigidity of their lives. Restrictions were observed to the letter; and from the modern point of view those concerning the separation of the sexes were the most anachronistic. Under no circumstances were women allowed to mix with men in public; and they were permitted to see only their close male relatives indoors.

Special sections were set apart for women in all means of transportation – boats, trams, railway carriages; and of course harems divided the women from the men in the houses. In public, complete isolation from men was the rule if a woman wished to take a walk she was obliged to go alone or was accompanied by other women; not even their fathers, brothers or husbands could escort them. Women were not allowed to attend theatres, concerts, or cinemas in the company of men, and therefore special performances were organized for lady spectators.

The houses were provided with latticed screens giving onto the streets, through which the inmates of the harem could see without being seen. Men, visiting a Turkish house, never saw a woman. If they were invited to a meal they were entertained by the host and served by male servants. Ladies who had been invited, including foreigners, were in like fashion received in the harem and permitted to eat with the family. No exceptions were made to these restrictions, the theocratic law being rigorous in its application.

Before the war the women in public wore a thick black veil, but afterwards this was gradually replaced by a thin veil and a becomingly shaped turban. In the seclusion of the harems naturally no veils were worn, and the women were attired in beautiful brocades and wore splendid jewelry.

The Matrimonial Régime. The Koran enumerates the obligations engaged in under the matrimonial régime by husband and wife, but the actual personal status of Moslem women under Islamic law was determined by jurists and their subsequent interpretations of the Book of God. According to the Koran a man could take four legal wives and as many odalisques –

mistresses or concubines – as he could afford. In point of fact, the number of men who were sufficiently wealthy to have a number of wives was extremely limited. Also the parents of a desirable bride were exceedingly loath to give their daughter in marriage to a man who already had a wife or wives. It is quite understandable why the women wished to be the first wife in the harem. From the point of view of expense a second wife meant an extra suite of apartments, extra slaves according to her rank, and extra pin money, for a dowry was relatively rare. Towards the end of the Nineteenth century two wives seemed to be the limit.

Under the Ottoman Empire a Moslem woman could only marry a Moslem and she was married off without her consent, and without her having seen her future husband. Later, with the invention of photography, it became customary to exchange photographs on both sides, but everything was settled between intermediaries or by the parents themselves. Romance was out of the question, and consideration was given solely to the respective standing and wealth of the families involved. The woman had to accept any decision which her parents might make, and once married she had to do her best to love her husband and bear her fate without complaint or murmur. Without doubt a great number of women under this régime led happy and contented lives, particularly if they were fortunate enough to be the only wife.

Under the divorce laws great facilities were granted to the husband, but on the other hand, the wives were safeguarded in their rights by certain regulations obligating the husband to give fair treatment to the wife he was divorcing. Mohammed said: "The curse of Allah rests on him who capriciously repudiates his wife". Repudiation of a wife could be made by a husband for any reason, such repudiation taking a legal form and effect after the husband had stated three times in the presence of witnesses: "I have repudiated her". However, if it happened that a husband wished to take back his divorced wife, the Koran states that the wife in question should prior to returning to her former husband, marry another husband. A serious obstacle to divorce lay in the *nikiah*, a settlement, at the time of betrothal, upon the wife of a considerable sum of money which had to be paid to her in the event of a divorce. Moreover, the wife after a divorce returned to her father's house, taking not only the *nikiah*, but also all the possessions which she had brought with her at the time of the marriage, or which she had obtained since. A wife could only obtain a divorce by application to the religious courts. She could claim a release from her marriage without the consent of the husband, with payment of the *nikiah*, for various reasons such as desertion or cruelty.

As to the question of the custody of children, Mohammed decreed that a son must remain with his mother so long as he requires her care, and a daughter until she arrives at the age of puberty. Should the mother die, the right of custody reverts to her female relatives; should the mother be without female kin, the father's mother and sisters bring up the children. The result of this wise provision of the Prophet is that the mother occupies the most honorable position in Moslem family life.

Legal Status: The legal position of a free Moslem woman had many advantages. She was entitled on the decease of her father to inherit his property in common with her brothers, in a proportion determined by law according to the number of children. As a wife she had the uncontrolled possession and disposal of the wealth which she possessed before marriage, and of that which she obtained subsequently. She could inherit property without the intervention of trustees, and dispose of it as she pleased. Husbands were legally bound to support their wives and slaves or servants, according to their rank and means.

Slaves. The system of slavery in practice during the latter days of the Ottoman Empire was in direct contravention to the tenets of Islamism which only recognizes as real property those infidels who have been captured in time of war. Most of the slave girls in the XIX Century were Circassians, and therefore Moslems. The wealthy Turks who purchased these girls eased their consciences by pretending that the onus and blame lay on the slave trader and not on the purchaser who by buying the slaves from these evil persons released them from hardship and brought them into a life of luxury. By no means all the slave girls purchased were destined for the lighter duties in the household of a pasha; the majority were occupied with the menial work of the harem. The system of dividing the sexes into separate apartments made it necessary for the women to have servants and attendants of their sex; and therefore the institution of slavery flourished as a necessary part of the family life of the Turks.

Those who were more fortunately endowed by nature often became the concubines of the pashas, and frequently the wives. Many Turks preferred to marry a slave than a girl of the same social stratum as marriage with equals was infinitely more expensive. A very important factor in the life of those slaves who became highly placed was that the children born to them as a result of a liaison with their owners had definite legal rights, and in fact shared the division of the owner's estates on his death equally with the legitimate offspring.

Slavery in general is admittedly an evil system, but in the part which it played in the Turkish social system, there were advantages for many of those who were fitted into the structure. The journey of candidates for the harems

from their native countries to Constantinople and other parts of the Empire was hazardous and terrifying. Due to the rise of morality in the XIX Century the slaves had to be concealed below decks from foreign men-of-war, and a large percentage died before reaching their destinations. Yet when they had been safely landed and sold, their lot was often infinitely superior to their previous existence. Either they became odalisques or well treated members of a household – those who did menial work were placed under the supervision of women who had formerly been in the very same situation, and these *kalfas*, as they were called, occupied the position of foster mother to the new slave girls. Thus the system of slavery was not so vicious as is generally supposed by those exponents of morality who envisage the slave girls as subject to the lust of Turkish pashas, or to their horse-whips.

Education. Before the accession to the throne of Abdul Hamid (1876) the education of girls of the upper class was chiefly concerned with purely Turkish and Mohammedan features of life – the Turkish language and literature, the reading of the Koran, singing, dancing, the composition of verses, and the playing of the lute or guitar. In the Hamidian régime, however, an entirely different character was given to the teaching of girls of the wealthy families by the introduction of foreign governesses – English, French, and German. Occidental education became the fashion. Foreign languages, drawing and painting and piano-playing were featured. In addition a *hoca*, or religious teacher, frequently played a part in the education of the girls, his instruction covering the Turkish language and literature and the Koran. The point that must be emphasized in the education of these girls is that it all took place in the privacy of the houses and consequently there was no academic instruction. The system was adequate for the needs of the women, and it was eminently satisfactory as many of the upper-class women were as cultivated and polished as women of the same type in western European countries.

Education of girls of the middle class was limited. Until the age of about twelve they attended schools which were located in each quarter of Constantinople and the large provincial cities. The girls and boys were both taught in these schools by the *hocas*, and their instruction was restricted to the Turkish language and literature and religious studies. After they left these schools the girls received no further instruction. The girls, as well as the boys, of the poorer classes obtained no education at all under the Ottoman Empire; this situation to a large degree still exists under the Republic, as there are schools for only about half the youth of Turkey.

The Women of the Palace. In striking contrast to effacement of ordinary women in the Ottoman Empire was the omnipotent influence at times exerted on the destinies of the Empire by the feminine element in the Ottoman palaces. A perfunctory survey of the intimate history of the Ottoman rulers shows that women have on various occasions been the undisputed rulers of the Empire.

The prominent role played by women in the Ottoman courts starts almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, practically every conquest under Sultan Osman's reign was marked with an amorous prologue or epilogue. Orkhan, his son, waged war against the Greeks while his wife, Nilofer, at Nicea, received the guests of her royal husband, conferred with statesmen and entered into negotiations with deputations. With a view to increasing his influence and territorial possessions Orkhan also entered into marital relations with the Byzantine dynasty of Cantacuzenus, and three of his successors married into the Paleologus dynasty.

Although not at all insensible to the charms of the Byzantine beauties who filled the Ottoman palace after the conquest of Constantinople, Mohammed the conqueror, never let himself be guided by feminine influence. Nor did the influence of women make itself felt during the reigns of his successors Bayazit II and Selim I.

Matters, however, underwent a great change during the reign of Soliman I, the Magnificent. In an environment fully reflecting in richness the splendour of the Empire moved a capricious being whose rebellious attitude against the monotony of palace life attracted the attention of the young Sultan who rapidly succumbed to her charms. This young woman, Roxelana by name, was the alleged daughter of a Russian priest and had been captured during a raid and presented to the palace. It was she who actually commenced the influence of women in affairs of state. The birth of prince Selim (later Selim II) greatly consolidated her position in the palace. Anxious to extend her influence beyond the palace her first move was to instigate the execution of the able Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, who enjoyed the implicit faith of the Sultan, thus dealing an irreparable blow to the interests of the Empire. Her further intrigues brought to the Grand Vizierat Rustem Pasha, her son-in-law, with whose assistance, in order to assure the sultanate to her son, she induced Soliman to murder his eldest son Mustafa, a popular and most promising prince, born of another sultana.

Soliman was succeeded by his son Selim II, who passed his time in drunken debauchery. The principal influence in the palace during his reign was that of his wife, the Sultana Nurbanu, and the affairs of state were in the hands

of her son-in-law, Sokolli, who however did his utmost to check the Sultana's influence outside of the palace.

Murat III, Selim II's successor, inaugurated his reign with the murder of his five younger brothers to which the Sultana Nurbanu raised no objection, her principal preoccupation being the consolidation of her influence during her son's reign. However, she encountered a more able rival, the Venetian wife of Murat III, Sultana Safiye (Baffo). The assassination of the able Sokolli is generally ascribed to the endless intrigues instigated by the two rival Sultanas which lasted until the death of Murat's mother, leaving Sultana Safiye as undisputed ruler. The Sultana lived a secluded life in his harem, and throughout the remainder of his reign Safiye had an absolutely free hand in shaping the destinies of the Empire. She interfered in all state affairs, made appointments, openly influenced government relations with foreign countries and accepted bribes from right and left.

Mehmet III's advent to the Ottoman throne did not in the least change conditions: Sultana Safiye continued to wield her powerful influence. Her favorite, Ibrahim Pasha, became Grand Vizier, but nothing could be done without her consent. Her son led a life similar to that of his father; but after his death, during the reign of her second son Ahmet I, the Sultana's plans for a continued domination were utterly frustrated by the firm determination of the new Sultan to put an end to feminine interference and intrigue in affairs of state, with the result that Safiye was banished.

Five years later, however, there appeared in the palace another feminine figure who was destined to play a most influential role – Anastasia, the daughter of a Bosnian priest. With the accession to the throne of her son, a minor, the Empire was entirely in the hands of Anastasia, known to the Turks as Sultana Kösem. Her efforts to subdue the mutinous army and reform the corrupt government were fruitless, and one revolt succeeded another. When Murad became of age, the Sultana's reign experienced an eclipse. He restored order by terrorizing his officials; and he also murdered all his brothers with the exception of Ibrahim, the last member of the dynasty whose life was spared thanks to the forceful intervention of the Sultana, thus preventing the extinction of the Ottoman dynasty. The death of Murad IV in 1640, and the accession to the throne of the weak-minded Ibrahim meant the beginning of an era of unlimited power for Sultana Kösem. Although various concubines of the Sultan, who gave himself up entirely to pleasure, played at various moments of his reign more or less important parts, the Sultana's influence and power were supreme. Finally, having become irritated with the extravagance of her son who also began to show some signs of emancipation, Sultana Kösem, in alliance with the Janissaries, overthrew Ibrahim.

Mohammed IV, the seven year old Sultan succeeded his father. For another period of ten years the affairs of state remained in the hands of Sultana Kösem who now shared her power with the Janissaries. Gradually, however, there developed in the palace another influence which seriously threatened her position.

Sultana Turhan, the mother of Mehmet IV, a woman of Russian origin, supported by those discontented with the unscrupulous methods of exploitation practiced by the Janissaries, endeavored to get the power into her hands. Chaotic conditions prevailing in the Empire were thus prolonged by the struggle which ensued between the two rival Sultanas. Realizing the steady growth of her rival's influence, Kösem Sultana decided to dispose of Sultana Turhan by poisoning her son Mehmet IV. This diabolical plan of the ambitious grandmother was, however, averted and Sultana Turhan's partisans one evening entered Sultana Kösem's apartments and strangled her with the cords of her bed curtains.

Sultana Turhan, simple but endowed with common sense, realized that only a capable mind could put an end to the existing anarchic conditions. After a period of continued confusion, during which the Janissaries were subjugated, she finally succeeded in raising to power Köpreli Mehmet Pasha as Grand Vizier. This choice was a most fortunate one. Order was restored and conditions improved all over the country. The appointment of Köpreli, and later of his son Fazil Ahmet Pasha, marks the end of female influence in Ottoman affairs.

The Emancipation of Turkish Women. In July, 1908, under the Young Turks, and after the restoration of the Constitution, a movement for independence and emancipation began to show itself among the Turkish women. Naturally it was at first rather a timid effort and it was not in any way successful. Some encouragement was given by the Young Turks, especially in the opening of schools of higher grade for girls. However, the country, although it enjoyed the advantages of a constitution, continued to be governed by the theocratic legislation of the Koran as regards the personal and legal status of the woman and the family. Moreover, important foreign problems immediately arose and as a result the conditions were not in any way favorable for a feminist movement, and the Turkish woman was perforce obliged to await the rise of the Turkish Republic.

Nevertheless an important stage in the emancipation of the woman, especially in Constantinople, was at the time of the Armistice. During this period the women commenced to appear more freely in public, mixing with foreigners, attending plays and dressing differently. This liberty was so pleasing to the women that after the departure of the allied forces of

occupation they continued to follow these practices. The period was significant because it really marked the first free public appearance of women, and in this time the men, too, became accustomed to this liberty of the women.

The struggle of Mustafa Kemal for the liberation of Turkey proper from foreign yoke, to be followed later by the still persistent struggle against foreign influence, was materially aided by the courageous behavior of Turkish women. Intellectually he was advised by the intelligent handful who were at Ankara when the struggle was at its height – women like Halidé Edip and Madame Ruşen Eşref. Materially he was helped by the laborious energy of the peasant women in bringing munitions and supplies to the armies. Perhaps it was during these difficult times that Mustafa Kemal realized the necessity of granting women freedom and equality; it had been successfully done in other countries. However, he was wise enough to make the process a gradual one – some say due to a feeling of delicacy and chivalry; others that it was because of political expediency and a desire not to arouse the masses by too many radical changes in the personal status of Turkish citizens. The last theory is probably the correct one. Mustafa Kemal certainly had no wish to antagonize the women of Turkey who were far more reactionary than the men who had fought under his leadership and now looked up to him as a hero and the fountain head of all that was good for the country. The Gazi's policy was to introduce reforms gradually; firstly, in connection with the population in general and with the men, and afterwards with the women who would have become accustomed by this time to the incredible changes which had already been made and which would minimize the importance of changes involving the status and customs of the women themselves.

In the decade after the inauguration of the Republican régime, there was a clamorous effort on the part of certain feminists to obtain equal rights with men. They were banded together in a organization known as the "Union of Turkish Women" but there was another group labeled the "Women's Home" which opposed the political claims for women and maintained that woman's place is in the home. The Union obtained little encouragement, and indeed was officially frowned upon in Ankara. It was only tolerated by the capital because besides its political character it carried on philanthropic work. Nevertheless, the feminist movement gradually gained ground. It must, however, be pointed out that equal rights for women would never have been granted unless the approval of the "powers-that-be" had been obtained. This approval may have been indulgence, but it is more likely to have been a political gesture, or a whim.

The Swiss Civil Code (October 6, 1926). The Civil Code of Switzerland was taken over by the Turkish Government and revolutionized the personal and family status of the Turkish citizenry. No traces whatever remained of the Koranic law. Thus, civil rights on a footing of complete equality with men were granted to the Turkish women.

Polygamy was abolished. Women were free to marry anyone, even a non-Moslem, whereas under the Koranic law for such action she would have suffered the pain of death. According to the new civil code Moslem men and women are obliged to obtain divorces before the ordinary courts of law. The usual grounds for divorce were opened to both sexes, and in addition, whereas formerly the husband could repudiate his wife for any reason, now the validity of his motives, like those of a wife, are subject to the jurisdiction of the courts.

According to the Civil Code, the marriage age of a girl is fixed at eighteen years in place of the former Koranic age of twelve. Furthermore, the girls having obtained majority, can marry without the consent of the parents, providing that a license has been obtained.

In addition, no discrimination is made under the Civil Code between men and women in the many fields of human activity. Women could now work in private as well as in official business establishments, administrations, and banks.

Education. Under the Republican régime a large number of primary secondary, and superior schools for girls were created, supplementing and extending the first steps in this direction that had been taken during the domination of the Young Turks. Whenever it was impossible to open new schools exclusively for girls, the co-educational system was introduced and they were permitted to enter the existing schools for boys. A Normal School was created for girls at Istanbul, the graduates of which are sent into the interior to teach in or direct the schools for girls which have been opened by the Government. In addition, there are a number of training schools, the principal of which is the Ismet Paşa institute at Ankara, a school which is directly under the patronage of the Prime Minister.

Most important of all is the fact that superior education is open to women; all institutions, except naturally the military schools, have women students – the University, the Law School, the Agricultural Institute, the Engineering School, etc. As a consequence there are now women doctors, lawyers, etc., and there are also women Justices of the Peace who deal not only with trials involving women and children but in proceedings of a civil and commercial nature. To complete the picture women judges have been

assigned to sit in penal courts and in many cases the woman magistrate has shown remarkably good judgment.

The statistics on the education of girls for the years 1923 and 1933 are significant.

<u>1923</u>			<u>1933</u>
Primary schools	62,954		201,619
High schools	543		9,619
Lycées	230		1,854
Normal schools	783		1,007
Superior education	<u>385</u>		<u>876</u>
Total	64,795		214,975

Municipal Rights. In 1930 access was given to women in the contests for participation in public civil service.

In the same year, a law was passed by the Grand National Assembly whereby women were granted rights in municipal affairs. As a consequence, there are women on municipal councils and on the general councils of the vilayets. These new officers show extraordinary interest and activity, particularly in questions concerning public welfare.

General Suffrage. The year 1934 marked the apogee of the emancipation of the Turkish woman. In December the Grand National Assembly altered the Constitution of the Republic by granting to women the right to vote and to deputyship. Every Turkish citizen, man or woman, who has completed his or her twenty-second year has the right to elect deputies, and those who have completed their thirtieth year may be elected to deputyships. The granting to women of suffrage and the right to sit in the Assembly is doubtless a step in the direction of political education fully in harmony with the policy of the Kemalist régime to encourage women to adopt public careers. As a mark of esteem for Turkish women the Prime Minister in his speech in the Assembly said that the ballot and the eligibility to the Chamber were not given to women as favors, but as just rights. Thus, the last obstacles in the way of equal rights have been removed.

The newly elected Grand National Assembly met for the first time on March 1st of this year, at which time seventeen duly elected women were admitted to it. They represent a cross-section of Turkish womanhood, the largest number coming from the pedagogical profession, one of them being a doctor and still another an ordinary peasant.

Dress. At the time that the wearing of the fez was prohibited nothing was said about the veil. Yet it became gradually known that official Ankara considered this just as antedated as the fez; and as a result the women in the towns have slowly been persuaded to uncover their faces before men. The first legal step in the abandonment of the veil was made at the time that women were granted suffrage, when one of the rules regarding voting was that the faces of the voters must be clearly and entirely visible to the persons in charge of the ballots.

The actual dress of the women in large centers has also changed. Although one often sees women attired in the old-fashioned loose clothes in sombre colors, frequently the urban dwellers appear in what are considered smart, up-to-date copies of French and European dresses and hats. The aesthetic effect is frequently unhappy.

In the rural districts, however, the prevailing tendencies of the towns in regard to dress are virtually ignored. The women are nearly all veiled and they wear the vari-colored baggy trousers and loose clothes of tradition. It will be a long time before they change, and this is quite understandable because their present garments are warm and practical from the point of view of their hard-working existence.

Prostitution. Prostitution was unknown among Moslem women under the Empire. Of course there were many prostitutes among the minority races settled in Turkey – Greek, Jewish, Armenian, and so forth. Now, however, prostitution has taken on a legal aspect due to the measures of the Government in this regard; because of the breakdown of the ancient tradition as regards the personal status of Moslem women, there are today a large number of prostitutes of this creed. In a survey completed at the end of 1932, it was calculated that of the total number of prostitutes in licensed houses, between 50 and 60 per cent were Turkish, the others being Greek, Jewish, or Armenian. This situation is calculated to inspire some doubts as to the improvement in the lot of a certain type of woman through emancipation. Formerly she occupied an honorable position in the household of a Turkish family, a position of considerable standing in the harem, and now she has been driven out of this security into the practice of the world's most ancient profession.

Conclusion. Emphasis has been laid on the position of women under the Ottoman Empire for the purpose of bringing out the contrast in the Turkish woman of today and of fifteen years ago. The same women have emerged with dignity and celerity from the restrictions of theocratic seclusion into the light of modern age. Today the Turkish woman is as emancipated as any European woman, and indeed she has more rights than those of some

highly civilized countries, particularly France, where the women have not yet been given the suffrage. One must admire them.

Nevertheless, it seems necessary to indicate that this report deals exclusively with women of the urban districts, a small percentage of the number of women in Turkey. The peasants are still living in the seclusion and inhibitions of the former days; and one of the great problems of the Republic is to break down these traditions and effectively to secure sure for all Turkish women the rights that have been granted them by the Republican Government.

NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1930-1944 document dated March 31st, 1935, 867.401/23.

ANONYMOUS REPORT “ANGORA NOTES”

CONFIDENTIAL

ANGORA NOTES *The Journey*

There was a time when the thought of the discomforts incidental to a journey between Angora and Constantinople was all but sufficient to deter a foreign resident once settled at the capital from leaving. And when the journey was accomplished the victim often arrived at Constantinople in a deplorable mental and physical state. I recall the last trip of Mr. Arthur Chester¹ and his all hut bursting into tears upon his arrival, but perhaps this was due to his dismissal by Colonel Clayton Kennedy² just as the train was pulling out from Angora and also to his having brought along an attractive variety of canned provisions, but no can opener. These heroic days however, are of the past and now the journey between Constantinople and Angora is accomplished in a wagon lits – a wagon lits which saw services in Europe some twenty years ago, but which has been renovated and which, in spite of narrow compartments, is still a wagon lits. There is no dining-car on the Anatolia express, as the train is called or rather misnamed, but that is a small and easily remedied defect. I have noticed that on the platform at the Haidar Pasha Station (Asiatic side of Constantinople) there are as a rule almost as many people to see the Anatolia Express off as there are passengers on the Express itself. This, I have sometimes thought, is a sign of sympathy for the departed or those who are about to depart for a sojourn at Angora and who may return either a physical or political casualty or both. The journey from Haidar Pasha

¹ Commander Arthur Chester was the son of Admiral (retired) Colby M. Chester who obtained the concession which bears his name from the Turkish government. The Chester Concession was supposed to allow American development of oil and railways in Anatolia. However the deal collapsed because of financing problems. A dispute erupted between the partners of the company holding the concession and Arthur Chester. (Ed. note). Sources: “Chester Dissension”, *Time*, November 19, 1923 / “Chester Concession”, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chester_Concession

² Colonel Clayton Kennedy was one-fifth owner of the Chester Concession. (Ed. note)

to Angora is a matter of twentyfive and a half hours – decidedly a low going when one considers that the distance traveled is but Three Hundred and Fiftyseven miles. The explanation is simple. Between Haidar Pasha and Eski Shehir the bridges are in a very bad, not to say positively dangerous, state. I make this statement on the authority of the Assistant General Manager of the railroad. I met him at Haidar Pasha station early one morning just as I was about to leave for Angora and his minute description of the deplorable condition of each of the bridges did much to make my journey as far as Eski Shehir somewhat restless. From Eski Shehir to Angora the rate of speed is still slower – the train barely moves ahead through a country of the most dreary description – but the reason is different. Here there are no bridges, but the rails are made of small bits of the original rails in some cases no longer than three or four feet laboriously pieced together after the Greek War. From the point of view of scenery the journey from Haidar Pasha to Eski Shehir which is made during the day time is very fine, but it is not as a rule appreciated by travelers to Angora. Between Eski Shehir and Angora the country is beyond words dull, flat and above all harsh and depressing. Fortunately, on the way to Angora most of this country is traversed during the night and can be altogether avoided by sleeping late. Returning to Constantinople this dreary waste has a Garden of Eden aspect throughout the entire day's journey but this of course is psychological.

Angora: the Place.

To put the matter as prosaically as possible Angora is simply one tolerably big hill and a couple of nearby smaller hills set down in a large arid plain with a fringe of mountains on all sides of the horizon. The top of the big hill is encircled by the Seljuk fortifications; below these there is a broad strip of burned area and then comes the town composed mostly of wooden and mud houses. Afterwards comes the famous swamp, which is to be made into a park as soon as all the inhabitants have got malaria at which time it will, I suppose, make little differences whether the swamp is disposed of or not. At one end of the swamp are the railroad station and adjacent buildings in one of which Ismet Pasha used to live until last autumn. General Mougin¹ several years ago used to find shelter in another one of these buildings – the one that in Ottoman days was the Station Hotel. This building is now occupied by Killidj Ali Bey, Deputy of Aintab, and his vast family.² Not far from the

¹ General Louis Mougin was Chargé d'Affaires of France starting from June 2, 1922 (Source: List of French ambassadors, www.ambafrance-tr.org/article.php?id_article=344 (Ed. note).

² Kılıç Ali (1888-1971) was one of the close associates of Mustafa Kemal and a member of Parliament from Gaziantep in the years 1920-1938 (Ed. note).

station is a house which was occupied last autumn by Raouf Bey,¹ Adnan Bey and Refet Pasha.² After all of them had fallen ill – mostly with malaria – they vacated these premises and are now living in two rooms in a house in the town. But in giving these “addresses” I am departing from my attempt to describe Angora and a place. The subjective element plays such a decisive part that I find it difficult to put into words an impartial picture. I might say that there is but one decent street in Angora and it is not decent all the way. Just where it becomes decidedly bad it begins to be known as the “Grande Rue de Stamboul” where it is good and, from an Angora standpoint, a marvel of excellence – between the Station and the old Assembly building – it has, so far as I am aware no name at all. Perhaps this is a subtle insult to Constantinople. Besides the one and only boulevard, I might say something of dust and dirt one camel trains with their bells and squeaking bullock carts and a few narrow and quiet streets reminiscent of certain quarters of Stamboul, but I should still be giving a very inaccurate idea of Angora, so I shall say quite frankly that there are several Angora, and that their existence depends upon the weather and upon one’s own moral, mental and physical state. There is a superb Angora (this is not sarcasm) – the Angora of a clear, cold and sunny day of January, for instance. This Angora is best seen from the railroad station during sunset and if one enjoys color it is very fine indeed. The ugly details of the town are not apparent at a distance and one can enjoy the old fortifications touched at first with pink, then with purple and finally losing all color and sharp outline in the growing darkness. Or there is the early morning Angora with the ugliness shrouded in mist and an indescribable color from the rising sun on the distant snow capped mountains. But there is also the Angora of dark, rainy days when all the harshness of the countryside lays siege to you and you have to draw upon all your reserves of sense of humor and shout at yourself and at the forces of depression “*Ils ne passeront pas*”. You can’t get out-of-doors or if you do it is only to slide around in mud and every time you look out of your window the country-side seems to reach out to draw you down to its level of gloom. This fight with an environment is conducted on equal terms and with a good change of victory as long as you are well and strong. But just let your physical machine not run smoothly – even if it is nothing more than an irritating cold in your head – and then strike a period of bad weather and see what happens! You will soon find yourself hating Angora, everything about it and everybody in it with an intensity of hatred that you never suspected in yourself. Angora is a place of ups and downs. With good

¹ Rauf Orbay (1881-1964) was one of the close associates of Mustafa Kemal during the War of Independence. (Ed. note).

² Refet Bele (1881-1963) was one of the close associates of Mustafa Kemal during the War of Independence. (Ed. note).

look and a reasonable amount of determination, the former element will preponderate throughout one's sojourn but the other element is under the best of conditions never absent for long.

Living at Angora.

There is little or no real discomfort in living at Angora – at least from the point of view of an American Delegate. Doubtless these visitors who have lived in a room over the kitchen of Fresco's restaurant, especially during the summer months, or found accommodations in one or other of the half dozen native hotels would not agree with this opinion. But an American Delegate of the present day cannot claim to have experienced any real, active discomfort that is worthy of mention. This does not mean that living in Angora is a source of joy and refreshment. Far from it! There is always something going wrong and when something goes wrong in Angora it is invariably difficult to set it right. Let us say that a small leak in the water pipe has been discovered. Surely a matter that can be easily repaired – merely a question of giving an order and then forgetting all about it. Not at all. There is but one reasonably competent carpenter-plumber in Angora – a Greek. Naturally he is not idle. The first difficulty is to get in touch with this important personage. He is reported to be at Tchankaya installing a shower bath for Moustapha Kemal Pasha. A day is lost and the leak has grown larger. More efforts resulting in definitely locating the plumber. He consents to come after 7 P.M. He comes. It is dark and his unskillful use of a torch threatens to set fire to the house. After an hour during which the house is turned upside down and work is impossible, the leak is declared to be a thing of the past. Peace settles down upon the Delegation until the next morning when the Delegate in the course of his ablutions discovers that the leak is a thing of startling actuality. More efforts to get hold of the plumber and two more natural attempts to effect repairs the last one unaccountably and unexpectedly successful.

And what trials in connection with the servant problem! It is next to impossible to induce a Constantinople servant to go to Angora even by bribery. Ant the servant is all but useless if he does not speak Turkish. I refer feelingly to this subject as my first servant was an ex-German soldier whose marketing was strictly limited and very expensive because of his inability to speak Turkish. This servant was also something of a thief and generally a bad character, so he did not last long. The present incumbent is a Crest and is really ideal except that he seems to be taking to drink and after a few glasses of dousico, is capable of little else but sleep. He claims that he is curing a tooth-ache. My Hungarian colleague has had an even more trying experience. I

once met him at the door of his house and was somewhat surprised to see him holding in his hand about a dozen keys. He volunteered the information that he had discovered a few days previously that his servant was a thief. It was impossible to get another servant at once, so meanwhile whenever he left his house he locked the doors of all the rooms and left the thieving servant nothing but bare hells within which to exercise her avocation.

The residence of the American Delegate at Angora is really not half bad. From an Angora point of view it is a palace; in America it would be considered a badly constructed and inconveniently arranged village house, but fortunately nobody thinks of applying American standards. It has two interacting features. In the first place there is a shower bath and this last enables the Delegate to sympathize in a practical sort of way with people who come to Angora. Your attitude towards these people is roughly indicated by the terms in which you extend to them the hospitality of the bath room. On a winter morning, however, the bath room is not a thing of joy to the Delegate. It is in the so-called cellar and the thought of going down two flights of stairs for the pleasure of getting under a shower the water from which, whether cold or hot, is of such a character chemically speaking as to make the use of soap impossible – such a thought is not exactly stimulating and I regret to record that the Delegate has been known to find convincing reasons for not making this trip to the cellar between 7 and 7.50 in the morning. Statistics on this matter, however, are not available.

The Delegate's residence has many windows, - this is its second interesting feature. Some explanation is required since obviously houses with windows are not unusual. But at the Delegation the windows are really remarkably numerous: there are six or seven of them, for instance, as you descend a very short flight of stairs from the first to the second story – and they are extraordinary windows into the bargain. It really makes no practical difference whether they are shut or open – just about the same amount of dust comes in during the summer months and the same amount of cold air in winter. There is no mystery about it. The windows don't fit very well into the frames and in certain cases the adjustment of the frames to the house itself seems to leave a good deal to be desired. Once when I was in Constantinople I invested in some putty, a putty knife and enough absorbent cotton to equip a hospital and when I returned to Angora I started to remedy the defects described above. I worked for all over an hour; large pieces of absorbent cotton and a good deal of putty had disappeared into some sort of void but nevertheless I was still looking at cracks.

I am not unmindful of the responsibility of running a household at Angora. In order to come into personal contact with every part of the house it is my practice to make a weekly inspection of the premises. Having summoned my servant and armed myself with an electric flash light I ascend to what I am pleased to call my dining room. Here the inspection begins with the counting of the spoons and the small but miscellaneous collection of table linen. Other rooms follow. The inspection is most rigidly conducted. I run my hand over the furniture and invariably find dust, but sometimes not in unreasonable quantities. The carpets are turned back — a different corner each time in order to make deception impossible. Special attention is given to the kitchen. Before going to Angora I studied the section in field kitchens in the United States Army Regulations. This study has enabled me to appreciate vividly the failings of my servant and to foresee the probable consequences.

Distractions in Angora.

There are no distractions in Angora. This is said to be one of the most convincing reasons for believing in the stability of the present regime in Turkey. I am really exaggerating. There were three distractions in Angora and there are now two. The first of these was going to the Station about 10.30 in the morning to see the train for Constantinople leave and the train from Constantinople get in. It used to be very pleasant. Ministers, Deputies and diplomats promenaded up and down in front of the station; there were bowing and bits of conversation sometimes informing, sometimes not. You discerned the people who were leaving for Constantinople, wondered why they were going and in your heart of hearts envied them a lot. Then when the Constantinople train pulled in you noted carefully the new arrivals, speculated on the concessions they were after but would not get, — unless they were Germans, — and as an old inhabitant indulged in a comfortable feeling of superiority and sympathy which really carried you through the rest of the morning until you sat down before a bad luncheon. This distraction is now a thing of the past. The train for Constantinople now leaves at 8 A.M. and the train from Constantinople arrives at 10.30 A.M. It is inexpressibly sad.

Three afternoon a week as a rule there are meetings of the Grand National Assembly. The Assembly is the second distraction. It is the only Club and Theatre in Angora. There are movies to be sure, but I am now referring to a good farce or to melodrama once in a while. The Assembly naturally must not be taken seriously. A serious student of parliamentary life would be out of place in Angora. The Assembly is a play that goes on in order to make a few unobservant people forget what Moustapha Kemal Pasha

is doing. Sometimes the Ghazi President is present while the play is going on and then, of course, the acting is even better. But it is as a club that the Assembly is a joy forever to the foreigner. The diplomatic corps is always well represented and it is possible to have much agreeable conversation while walking up and down the corridor on the second floor of the Assembly building. General Mougin in blue uniform and red and gold kepi is usually on hand having just left the presence of one or other of the three or four most prominent statesmen in Angora upon which occasion he exerted a decisive influence in a matter of first rate importance for Turkey. He tells you all about it in rather loud voice. The General does a great deal of good in Angora. He is so optimistic! Then there are the Poles with their Minister, Counselor and Second Secretary – all very serious minded and intent upon waging diplomacy for all it is worth – and more. The Afghan Ambassador turns up and undertakes to converse with General Mougin in broken English. He has two secretaries with him one of whom wears a khaki flannel shirt. Colonel Tevfik Bey, the President's Secretary, comes up and General Mougin pats him on the back. The Russian Secretary emerges from the Diplomatic Tribune. He finds the discussion of the budget uninteresting. He is a lean, unattractive person with front teeth that look sharp and pointed. He is said to have been a member of the Ochrena.¹ The conversation swings over to the eternal question: "How long will the Fethi Bey Cabinet last and what will take its place?" General Mougin in tones of ringing conviction announces that, in answer to a direct question, Fethi,² as he calls him, has said that his Cabinet is stronger than ever and that he and Rejeb³ love each other very much. The General added that he has seen Fethi and Redjeb together in the same room and that they have actually used terms of political endearment in referring to each other. The General declares that as soon as he came upon this sight so full of significance for the future of Turkey or even sooner he telegraphed to Mr. Herriot.⁴ When they get tired of each other the diplomats go down-stairs and walk up and down the corridor on the first floor with Ministers or Deputies.

Fresco's! What a wealth of meaning there is in this word for a resident of Angora! It is the third distraction, or rather the second now that the morning promenade at the Station is a thing of the past. Fresco's is the only even superficially Christian restaurant at Angora. I am using the term

¹ The correct spelling is Okhrama. Okhrama was the secret police force of the Russian Empire Source: "Okhrama", <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/okhrama> (Ed. note).

² Fethi Okyar (1880-1943) served as Prime Minister between August 14, 1923 and October 27, 1923. (Ed. note)

³ Recep Peker (1889-1950), a close associate of Mustafa Kemal, was Secretary General of the Republican People's Party. (Ed. note)

⁴ Édouard Herriot served three times as Prime Minister of France (Ed. note)

Christian as synonymous with western; otherwise, I should be speaking quite inaccurately since the Fresco brothers are Jews. We owe them a great debt of gratitude. Thanks to their enlightened sense of financial self-interest it is now possible to take one's dinner in the evening in company with a collection of anywhere from fifty to a hundred people; a quarter of them are Germans, another quarter are nondescript and a half are Turks and not second rate Turks by any manner of means, but Ministers and Deputies many of whom are drunk by ten o'clock. The dinner itself is not very appetizing – stringy meat, canned vegetables or an omelette cooked in goat's grease – but at Angora one soon gets in the habit of eating simply in order to supply the physical machine with fuel. During the winter months the windows are boarded up to keep out the cold with the result that the atmosphere goes impossibly heavy with tobacco smoke, etc. by 9 o'clock. When the windows are not boarded up it is the time of the year which is not winter and then there are armies of flies or, if, one prefers to dine in the garden, plenty of mosquitoes and the slowness of the service gives one ample time to think of the possibilities of malaria. But there is music at Fresco's in the evening – a Russian orchestra which goes on strike every now and then and is at such times replaced by a sad person who plays the piano. And there are electric lights at Fresco's – at least there are as a rule, but the electric light plant has no accumulator so every now and then the electricity gives out and then you dine with a candle-stick on the plate on every other table. Finally, Fresco's is very expensive. Prices are almost as high as in the hotels of Pera and when you think of what you get for the price, it is more than high. But you never do think at Fresco's – you are so glad to see a lot of people, to be warm and to hear some lively mate, that you forget all about the heavy atmosphere, the bad food and the prices and you don't pay any particular attention to the Minister of Foreign Affairs who is getting disgustingly drunk at the table next to you in company with the editor of the leading Government newspaper in Constantinople and a group of other "tough" Deputies.

Protocol at Angora

It would be wrong to send a well brought up diplomat to Angora – as wrong as it would be to send a little boy brought up on Fifty Avenue to play with little Italian boys on Mulberry Street or little Jewish boys on Ludlow Street – for the protocol at Angora is rather like an American automobile of about 1900. You never know when it will work and usually it doesn't work at all. It would really be much simpler if Angora made no pretence at protocol at all; then you could simply fall back on an unrestrained common sense, but as

it is now once in a while you are thoroughly startled by having something done as it ought to be done. Take, for instance, the matter of official calls. Occasionally they are returned in person and sometimes by card, and what cards! I remember receiving from a certain Minister of Agriculture what looked like an ordinary place card for dinner. It even had gilt edges and the Minister's name was written on this card in ink! But frequently calls are not returned at all, either in person or by card. The natural thing under these circumstances would be to become irritated or at least worried. I did both as first when I knew no better, but it lasted only for a week. Returning calls is also full of pitfalls for the well-trained. Raouf Bey and Adnan Bey for instance, came to see me one afternoon. Naturally, for personal as well as official reasons, I wanted to return the call, but I know something of the ways of Angora by then, so I instructed my interpreter to inquire very discreetly whether my call would be welcomed. Within a couple of days I was informed that my call would not be in the least degree welcome since the ex-Prime Minister and the ex-Vice President of the Assembly occupied two rooms with the ex-Minister of war, Refet Pacha. However, since I couldn't call upon them, Raouf Bey and Adnan Bey told my interpreter that they would call upon me again shortly – and they did about a week after the first call.

What should one wear at an official dinner in Angora? I shall be quite honest and say I don't know. The great trouble is that most of the Cabinet Ministers do not own dinner coats. At the dinner given in the Grand National Assembly building early in January for the Mosul Commission every one had on dinner jackets. At the Greek Legation one evening recently some of the dinner guests appeared in dinner coats, some in dinner jackets and the Afghan Ambassador in a frock coat or "Stambouline". In fact, the question of what to wear at Angora is rather bothersome. Mr. Montagna, for instance, somewhat lowered Italian prestige during his visit to Angora last April by appearing for dinner at Fresco's in a dinner jacket. It was generally felt that he was attempting to teach Angora how things ought to be done and Angora is decidedly not teachable.

The Diplomatic Corps at Angora has been greatly troubled during the past autumn and early winter by the presence at the capital of a Turkish theatrical company. This company developed a habit of giving benefit performances under the high patronage of some Minister or other and then getting the Diplomats to take boxes for these performances. You were handed a beautiful ticket and informed that a box had been reserved for you – that was all, but the implication was that you might give whatever large sum of money you thought proper and you were not left in ignorance of the fact that the Russian Ambassador had given Ltq. 200 and the Polish Minister Ltq. 50.

It required some courage with such precedents before you to produce Ltq. 20 as the contribution of the American Delegation, and I have on several occasions had to point out that in view of my rank it would be in the last degree impertinent for me to seem to rival the generosity of an Ambassador, even though he might be a Comrade.

Working at Angora

Angora is not a bad place as long as you don't expect any results from the efforts you make. Only Germans accomplish things in Angora. The other foreigners imagine they are accomplishing something ones in a great while, but, if they are honest, they soon see how mistaken they are. In the first place it is difficult to see the officials. They are sick a good deal of the time and when they aren't sick they are usually attending a meeting of the Assembly or of the People's Party. When you finally get to an official and talk with him, you find it impossible to get any answer from him. How many foreigners in Angora have prayed that they might at least get the answer "No!" The subordinates in a given Minister must consult the Minister: the Minister must consult his colleagues: the Cabinet must do something or other with the Assembly or with the President and so it goes: a daily exhibition of recondite ways of "passing the buck." The word "study" has a most ominous significance in Angora. The studying process once begun never ends. If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs you that a certain matter is being studied by the Ministry of the Interior, for instance, give up all hope at once and telegraph your Government that no action need be anticipated within one year at least. And don't delude yourself into believing that reason has anything to do with getting results at Angora. Imagine two diplomats at Angora, one a master of dialectic and an irresistible logician; the other a plain ass- the results recurred by the two in the course of a year will be very much the same: in other words, nothing. The only valuable work that a diplomat can do under present conditions an Angora is the study of an intensely interesting situation and the preparation of as honest and truthful reports concerning it as he can.

A Medley of Politics

There is only one determining factor in Angora: Moustapha Kemal Pasha. The rest, including the Assembly and the Cabinet, is chiefly camouflage. There is no semblance of democracy or of self-government at Angora. The Government is a disguised dictatorship and often the disguise is very thin indeed. Is Moustapha Kemal Pasha patriotic? This is a hard question

to answer but there are many nowadays who contend that he has a crudely possessory attitude towards Turkey and that all he cares for is to maintain his domination over the country. Like most Turks he has no loyalty to his subordinates – he uses them to the limit and beyond and then throws them into the discard. He cannot abide men of first rate ability and independent views around him. He wants a chief of staff instead of a Prime Minister and as for the rest they are to be more servants. He has found his chief of staff in Ismet Pasha and his servants in a gang of touchés in the Assembly. The expression is not elegant, but it is an accurate description of such Deputies as Kilidj Ali Bey, Ali Bey, Rauf Bey of Rize and others. All that can be said of these men is that the ward leaders of Tammany¹ in its balmy days – the Monk Eastmans² and the Kid Twists³ – would have welcomed them as brothers. They speak the same language.

The outside world – Europe – America – seem very remote at Angora. It is an ideal environment in which a narrow nationalism can develop to its logical extreme and in time kill itself. This process is now going on rapidly: Turkey will not adopt the reforms and especially the secularization of Angora, the reforms, these reforms and this secularization are to be forced down the throats of the Turks by tribunals of independence, suppressing newspapers and other kindred practices. The tragedy of it all is that there is not enough intelligence in the Angora crowd to see that Turkey is once more back in the old vicious circle of tyranny begetting revolutionary opposition which, when it comes to power follows in the footsteps of the tyranny which has been overthrown. Only superficially has Turkey progressed since the days of Abdul Hamid.

Source: Library of Congress, Manuscript division, Admiral Mark L. Bristol papers, Box 61, document reference MLB164-25.

¹ "Tamanend or Tammany (c. 1628-1698) was a chief of one of the clans that made up the Lenni-Lenape nation in the Delaware Valley at the time Philadelphia was established. Tamanend is best known as a lover of peace and friendship who played a prominent role in the establishment of peaceful relations among the Native American tribes and the English settlers who established Pennsylvania, led by William Penn." Source: "Tammany", <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tammany> (Ed. note).

² Monk Eastman (c. 1873-1920) was the best known alias of Edward Osterman, a New York City gangster. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monk_Eastman (Ed. note).

³ "Kid Twist" was the nick name of Max Zwerbach an American gangster who, during the turn of the century, belonged to the Eastman Gang and later succeeded the New York gang leader following his arrest in 1904. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Zwerbach (Ed. note).

ROBERT D. COE

“ANKARA”
(OCTOBER 1, 1934)

From Robert P. Skinner, Istanbul, November 14, 1934.
To The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

No. 436

I have the honor to transmit herewith an admirably prepared bound copy of a report entitled “Ankara” written by Third Secretary of Embassy Robert D. Coe. Mr. Coe has succeeded in making the most of what might have been an arid subject. He has given not only an account of Ankara from a historical and architectural point of view, but he has explained the reasons for the transfer of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara in a clear and intelligent manner. The photographs which accompany the report are an interesting addition and I have no doubt that the Department will be glad to have this communication not only for reference purposes but for actual reading.

Incidentally, this report strengthens considerably my request that steps be taken as soon as practicable to transfer the Embassy to the capital where, only, the staff can be utilized to the fullest extent and most useful results obtained for the Government of the United States. The present arrangement is not only out of line with what it should be, but is displeasing to the Government. It is utterly impossible to make any sort of showing at Ankara until we are provided with a Government-owned Embassy building suitable to our needs and reasonably comparable to the fine establishments maintained by other powers. It would be very satisfactory if, as a first step, a site could be acquired as such a purchase would conclusively demonstrate our intention to build eventually.

FOREWORD

This report has been prepared with particular emphasis on the physical aspect of modern Ankara—its architectural development under the republic. In order to throw the city's new importance into proper perspective, an historical outline has been found necessary. The report in no way pretends to exhaust the subject, but it will have some value as a record of the historical and architectural development of Ankara.

ANKARA

I. Factual

Ankara is situated in the heart of Anatolia, at a distance of 360 miles by rail from Istanbul. Its exact geographic position is 32° 49' 54" east and 39° 56' 24" north. The altitude at the station and in the modern districts around the base of the hills is 3,625 feet above sea level and the residential sections progress from this altitude to a height of 3,120 feet at the palace of the President at Çankaya.

The climate of Ankara is rigorous because of its extremes of heat and cold. The winters can be healthful under proper conditions because of the large proportion of sunshine and the bracing qualities of the air. But the air is very dry, with the result that dust storms are frequent, except in the winter months when snow has moistened the ground. Aridity is the most objectionable feature of Ankara as a place of residence.

As regards land communications Ankara is peculiarly well fitted to be the Turkish capital. Due to its central location it is equally accessible to all parts of the country from the point of view of distance. When it was selected as the capital, Ankara was the railhead of a spur branching off from the so-called incomplected Berlin-Baghdad Railway. Turkey's political leaders, and especially Ismet Pasha, have realized the importance of railways to the country, and now the spur to Ankara has been extended to Kaiseri, Sivas, and Samsun on the Black Sea. The construction is under way of a line from Sivas eastwards to Erzerum, which will connect with the international line into Russia, and a line is projected from Kaiseri to the south. Of course, the most important railway from Ankara is that to Istanbul, the journey taking about fourteen and one-half hours by the night express. The capital is twelve hours distant by train from Kaiseri and thirty hours from Izmir.

An elaborate program has been worked out for mail and passenger air services in Turkey. The line between Istanbul and Ankara has been established and functions in the summer months, the flight taking two hours. It is proposed to continue this line on through Kaiseri to Diabekir and Van in the oriental provinces. Other services will likewise be established connecting Ankara with such important towns as Samsun, Trabzon, Konya, Antalya and Adana. The lines to the south and southeast envisage extensions to Aleppo and Baghdad.

Omnibuses are run by independent operators, radiating from the capital. These services are frequent and very cheap, and consequently they attract a large clientele among the villagers and peasantry.

The penetration of railways beyond Ankara into Anatolia has minimized the geographical importance of that city from the point of view of the peasants. Formerly the camel trains and carts brought the products of the hinterland to the railhead, but now that the territory to the east has been tapped by modern transportation, only the territory to the north and west is still dependent on the city in this regard, the area in the south being unimportant productively because of a large salt desert.

II. First Impressions

The usual approach to Ankara is by train from the west. After many hours' journey along the dry bed of a stream, through a parched, treeless plain, with mountains in the distance, signs of some activity begin to manifest themselves. It may be the model village of Eti-Mesût, or it may be a gang of workmen, or a consignment of rusted tractors from the Soviet Union, but still evidences of activity are apparent. Then the train stops at a station called Gazi, an imposing edifice out of proportion to the area it serves; nevertheless it represents an ideal as it is the station for the Gazi's Farm. Tens of thousands of small trees line the slopes of the hill which is crowned by the President's villa; there are stables, workshops and irrigation ditches. It is an inspiration for the Anatolian peasant. Shortly after the train leaves the Farm the capital city comes into view. Out of the plain, which is ringed with low mountains, rises Ankara, or rather the eminence on and around which the city is built. It is in reality two hills, cut by the gorge of the Ankara River. The hill to the north rises gently from the terrain, but its greater counterpart to the south is abruptly steep and more imposing because it is crowned by ramparts and a citadel. A modern touch is given to the distant view by the six gigantic girders of the wireless station. The first view of the capital certainly is impressive.

The station at Ankara plays a most important part in the life of the capital. On first view its inconspicuous shabbiness is rather surprising, but an examination of the waiting crowds, particularly if a notable should be in the train, eclipses the undistinguished qualities of the station itself. Turkish officials, even cabinet Ministers, lesser lights in governmental circles, diplomats, foreign contractors, uniformed kavasses and hotel barkers are ranked on the platform beside the sleeping cars. "Meeting" and "seeing off" is a recognized feature of Ankara life, and so deeply ingrained is this that the train never arrives or departs without the attendance of local and international celebrities. The crowd is always dense, as the train is always crowded.

On emerging from the station the first sensation is one of intense glare for there is a tremendous horizon in Anatolia. The city commences at a distance of half a mile from the station, the intervening reclaimed flats stretching on either side of the causeway that bears the carelessly finished boulevard to the beginning of the city proper. Saplings have been planted along the roadway but they are not yet of sufficient growth to give any protection from the sun. A wide avenue rises from the terminus of this boulevard straight up to the city's principal square where a heroic equestrian statue of the Gazi dominates the scene. On the north side of the avenue is the parliament building and on the other the Ankara Palace hotel. At a distance of one hundred yards from the latter is the American Embassy.

The focal point of American interests in Ankara is of course the Embassy. The Government offices and residential quarters for the commissioned personnel are housed in a rented building which in size would correspond in the United States to a two-family dwelling house. To one side is a small lawn edged with borders of flowers, at the further end of which is the garage. The house itself is built in a sort of neo-Italian-Turkish style, and, although not spacious, is sufficiently large to house completely the chancery and to furnish the necessary living quarters. A medium sized dining-room and two small drawing rooms permit entertaining on a modest scale; and there are three masters' bedrooms and two bathrooms. Perhaps the chief drawback to the building is its location, and this is purely a matter of personal comfort, as its accessibility cannot be questioned. It is located at short distances from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prime Ministry, Grand National Assembly, the Post Office, the station and the two principal hotels. But all these advantages are forgotten when one of the frequent dust storms occurs. A pall of very fine alkaline powder descends like a blanket over the Embassy, and although the windows are closed tightly the dust penetrates and permeates the building in a suffocating manner. Doubtless those countries which have constructed their

own missions have been wise in selecting sites on the ascending slopes towards Çankaya where they are free from these dust storms.

The principal commercial thoroughfare of Ankara is a continuation of the boulevard and avenue leading from the station to the main square. It cuts uphill into the heart of the ancient town. Both sides are lined with coffee shop, cheap stores and second-rate apartment or business houses. Some of the government offices are also situated in this street, but they also are undistinguished. There are several new schools on the thoroughfare, room having been made for one of these by the demolition of a fine Byzantine church. The street is always crowded, and in the late afternoon it is a favorite sauntering area (in the Spanish manner) for the students and military.

The street ends disconcertingly at what was intended to be a small park; but this is now a dusty, ill-kempt piece of ground. Here the bazaars start, and a narrow, steep thoroughfare leads through them to the entrance of the citadel. The Bazaar is full of life and not different to other Turkish bazaars in its picturesque qualities. This is the old city, and one feels that the real "Angorite" is more truly represented by the types and the shops here than by the modern, grandiose buildings and avenues of the new government city and by the great and petty officials who have perforce been installed in the new area. The attitude of the official world to the old city is stern; the legacy of the centuries is tolerated but frowned upon; cameras are forbidden and the police eye with suspicion foreign sight-seers. This mentality is however not confined to the new element, for the old inhabitants are ultra-conservative, the women being generally veiled and camera-shy. One senses a different world in old Angora, a world that is remotely conscious of the changes at its very feet. It is the reactionary mind against modernism, and it is significant that the Republican government has not yet been able to impose the new ideas on the permanent inhabitants of the capital itself. Also it is a very good example of the difficulties with which official Ankara has to contend in its determination to modernize the Turkish nation.

A twisting, narrow street, lined with dilapidated but solidly built houses, the second storeys of which protrude, leads to the highest point of the citadel. Here the view is superb. To the north and far below is the gorge of the Ankara River, dividing the two peaks; to the west is the station and all the new part of the town-modern Ankara faces west literally and spiritually: to the south lies the residential district of Yenışehir, cut by the boulevard leading up to Çankaya; and to the east are the less prominent parts of the city, the Music School, the prison and in the distance the mountain of Huseyin Gazi. It is a stupendous view. The color is uniformly earthy, but the sky is brilliant. This is true of Anatolia in general, the drabness is everywhere, it is a hard-bitten,

bitter landscape. The choice by the Kemalists of Ankara as capital demonstrates the force of the movement; the efforts displayed at making a real capital in this remote aridity must be admired; and the results achieved are remarkable.

III. Historical

I. Through the Ages.

The Various Names Borne by the City.

The emphasis placed by the Republican Turkish Government on the Hittites had led to research into that early civilization; and it is claimed by certain scientists that the name Ankara comes down from the Hittite word Ankuwa, the name of a Hittite town in central Anatolia that is frequently mentioned in ancient tablets having to do with that area. Herodotus, Pausanias and Strabo state on the other hand that the name comes from the Greek word "ankyra", which means anchor. During the Moslem period the official name was Ankara, although the town was vulgarly known as Angura, but since Ankara is now the official name it is becoming more general among foreigners to refer to it by this name.

The Hittites

The Government's interest in the Hittite civilization has uncovered a wealth of material, some of which is significant and much of which is interpreted by Turkish historians in the manner desired by officialdom for the building up of an ideology – to inspire present day Turks regarding their ancestors, or, to be accurate, the ancestors selected by the Republican Government. Conjecture has resulted in the theory that an elaborate Hittite civilization existed in Anatolia from 4000 to 800 B.C.

It had long been believed that the Hittites came to Europe through the Balkans, but as proofs were lacking this was only a hazard on the part of the historian. Recently, however, numerous inscriptions and rock carvings have been found in the northeast of Anatolia; and the conclusion is reached that the Hittites must have come via the Caucasus. It has been deduced from inscriptions found at Boğazköy (some 100 miles from Ankara) that the first Hittites, who were not of the Indo-European race, came into Anatolia about 4,000 B.C. A thousand years later these tribes were submerged by an invasion of Indo-Europeans who captured Hattousas (Bogazköy), the capital of their predecessors, and henceforth the new rulers were known as Hittites, after the name of this capital. These people ruled over all of Asia Minor, with the

exception of the Aegean seacoast – facts which are known from the tablets found at Bogazköy, Egyptian inscriptions, Assyrian tablets, and the Bible. Ankara was within the limits of this Hittite Empire.

The height of power was reached by these people at about 1400 B.C., during the reign of Shoubbiliouma, son of Khatousil I. Some two hundred years later the Phrygians invaded the Empire and pushed the Hittites eastward, after the destruction of the capital. In approximately 1060 B.C., however, the Hittites threw out the invaders, and reestablished and rebuilt Hattusas. The eighth century marked the complete disappearance of the Hittites from the history of Asia Minor. No mention of the race appears in the available material after that time; and this fact emphasizes the nebulousness of the theories that these were official ancestors of the Turks.

Although some of these theories are fanciful it is well-established that Ankara was an important town in the Hittite Empire. The large bas-reliefs, sphinxes, lions and other sculpture found in the environs of Ankara testify that the city was of importance, such ornamentation probably was used to embellish public buildings, palaces and the like; and therefore it is concluded that the city was a residential, governmental center. The selection of this site was an obvious one – it is a strategic position for a stronghold by virtue of its topography and situation. That the Hittites built a citadel on the summit of the peak seems a reasonable deduction, although no excavations have so far proved this theory. Domination, however, of the main roads and the surrounding plain was a sufficiently strong motive for the construction of a fortress at Ankara.

The Phrygians and the Galatas

At the beginning of the XII Century B.C. when the Phrygians invaded the Hittite Empire Ankara fell under their domination. These people, who were of Indo-European origin, had crossed the Straits from the Balkans. In 1100 (circa) the Assyrian King, Tiglath Pileser I, defeated the Phrygians on the left bank of the Euphrates, and their territory became more limited by their withdrawal to the Kızıl Irmak River, with the capital at Gordion. The Phrygian city of Ankara was probably not located on the twinpeaks of the present-day capital, because the tumuli of this period found in the vicinity indicate that the city was on the rolling hills between Çankaya and the Gazi's Farm, approximately three miles from peaks.

In the course of the VII and VI Centuries B.C. the Phrygians fell under the power of the Cimmerians, the Lydians and in 540 the Persians. Alexander the Great in 334, after the outing of the Gordion Knot, came to Ankara where he stayed for a considerable time. After the break-up of Alexander's Empire the

plateau of Anatolia fell under the domination of Antiochus III, and then under that of the Selcucides and the Galates.

The latter were Gallic people who migrated down the Danube valley, conquered Macedonia and in 279 B.C. were before the walls of Byzantium. Here they became involved in a struggle between the brothers Princes Nicodemus and Zipoctes, who reigned over Bithynia. Fortunately for the Gauls they supported the victor Nicodemus, who as a reward gave them territories in Anatolia. They found their lands limited in area and consequently waged war against their neighbors, conquering as far as Syria whose King Antiochus Soter paid them tribute. Attala I, King of Pergamos, finally defeated them and they settled down peacefully.

The Gallic invaders were divided into three tribes: a) the Tectosages who settled around Ankara which they selected as their capital; b) the Trocmiens who established themselves to the northwest of Ankara with Tavium (the modern Nefezköy) as their capital; and c) the Tolistokoians who were concentrated to the west of Ankara with Pessimunte (the Turkish Balahissar) as their center. These Gallic tribes mingled freely with the already established inhabitants of the region, and from this mixture sprang the peoples known as the Galates.

Until 25 B.C. when Galatia was annexed as a Roman province there was continual warfare on the Anatolian plateau. In 190 B.C. the Galatians were defeated by the two scipies; in 189 they were beaten again by the Roman Consul Manlius who demanded and obtained a treaty fixing the borders of the Galatian state; in 168 King Eumenes of Pergamos conquered the Galatians, who shortly after, with the assistance of the Roman armies, regained their territory; Sulla was defeated by the famous Mithridates of Pontus in 85 B.C., and the entire Galatian State was annexed to his Kingdom, but this was merely a temporary state of affairs as the King of Pontus was soon conquered by Pompey and Galatia again became free. At this time the form of government was changed from a confederation to a kingdom, with the creation of the Tetrarch Dejotarme as King of Galatia. This situation existed until 25 B.C. when Augustus set up a Roman province consisting of Galatia and Lycaonia with Ankara as the capital.

The Galates were assimilated by the Romans, abandoning their language (of which no trace remains) and finally under Tiberius changing their names to Roman forms.

The Romans and Byzantines.

The Roman period at Ankara was the most magnificent era of the city. It was lavished with monuments; A Hippodrome, an Agora, the Temple of Augustus, baths and other public buildings. Walls were laid out around the new quarters at the base of the peaks. The inscription or testament of Augustus on the temple walls is perhaps the most important legacy of Ankara to the civilized world. The city was one of the most cultured and refined in Asia Minor: and literature and art were highly esteemed. Ankara remained pagan until Constantine moved his capital to the shores of the Bosphorus in the IV Century A.B.; but it is believed that the city was visited in ca. 10 A.D. by St. Peter, and Sts. Timothy and Paul came in 51 A.D. The latter Saint addressed his Epistle to the Galatians to the inhabitants of the area; and he and Timothy founded an Apostolic Church at Ankara, one of the first to be established in Anatolia.

The city had an untroubled existence under the efficient away of the Romans from Rome and Constantinople until 620 A.D. when it was captured and pillaged by Choaroes of Persia. The Arabian expansion was now in full swing, and after Ankara's recapture by the Constantinople government it became a strongly fortified outpost against the incursions of the followers of Mohammed. The city was actually taken by the Arabs in 695, but Emperor Leo the Isaurian reconquered it ca. 730. Comparative peace was enjoyed until 797 when one of Haroun-al-Reshid's generals captured and sacked the city. It was a sort of see-saw game between Constantinople and Arabs for Ankara was twice again captured by the Mohammedans and retaken by the Byzantines in the next sixty years. It was finally the Emperor Michael III who revived and rebuilt the city.

For two centuries the attacks from the south stopped and Ankara became the great metropolis of the Byzantine provinces. It was the most important point of communication between Constantinople and Eastern Anatolia; and it was the headquarters of an army corps.

The second great Islamic wave began in the middle of the XI Century. The Emperor Romanus Diogenos was disastrously defeated in 1071 at Manzikert by Alp Arslan, the Seljukian Sultan of Persia. Ankara itself was not captured for several years, the exact date is unknown as is the personality of the conqueror. It is generally believed that it fell after various minor engagements and that its capturer was either a seljukian prince or some Turkish prince like Danishmend who at that time took large areas of the upper Anatolian plateau as well as the cities of Smyrna, Ephesus and Nicea.

The Seljuks.

The Crusades brought to the Levant an era of chaos, and anarchy reigned supreme in Anatolia. Internecine warfare between Christians was the order of the day, and similarly the Seljukian Turkish princes were embroiled continually with each other. In 1101 Raymond de Toulouse captured Ankara and gave it over to the Byzantine Empire. This was the last time that city was in the possession of the Christians – Raymond de Toulouse was defeated by Gumushtigin, son of Danishmend; and Ankara passed definitely into the hands of the Moslems. But this did not mean peace, for it was the bone of contention between the family of Danishmend and the Seljukian princes of Konya. In 1143 Ankara fell into the hands of Massud, son of Kilidj Arslan I, Sultan of Konya, after whose death (1156) during the division of his empire between his two sons, Ankara was allotted to Shahanshah, from whom it was taken away by his brother Izzedin Kilidj Arslan. Upon the death of the latter his empire was divided among his eleven sons – in 1192 – and Muhieddin Messud became Sultan of Ankara. In 1204 his brother Rukneddin Suleiman II besieged him in his capital, took the city and killed him and his two sons; the conqueror, however, had a short reign of glory as he suddenly died five days after the conquest of the city. In the next four decades internal dissension within the dynasty complicated the local situation in Anatolia – the Seljuk family were continually attacking each other, and there was a procession of rulers, the most notable of whom was Keikobad (1219-1234). This Sultan was the most distinguished of his branch of the Seljuk dynasty, renowned for his military prowess and for the splendid monuments erected during his reign in Anatolia. This is the period of the greatest development of Seljuk art and architecture. Fine structures were built at Konya, Sivas and elsewhere, and Ankara was endowed with a bridge, the Ak-Köprü, in 1222. Keikobad's warlike ability was of fateful import to the Seljuk dynasty – in 1230 he defeated a rival power in Eastern Anatolia, this defeat having far reaching results because it wiped out the buffer state between the Seljuks and the Mongols.

Interregnum.

The first invasion of Anatolia by the Mongolians, in 1243, was shortlived – but Ankara was under their domination for several years. By 1249, they had been expelled according to the records which state that the Sultan of Konya at that time began certain fortifications of the city. But the star of the Seljuks was definitely on the wane. With the capture of Konya by Mohammed Bey, Prince of Karaman, in 1276 the Empire began to disintegrate; and the various cities became less reliant on their nominal rulers,

arrogating to themselves more and more autonomy under the local governors. Ankara followed this tendency and became semi-independent. During this period the Mongolians gradually increased their authority in Anatolia, and in 1302 the Seljuk Empire was finally eclipsed.

Ankara was jointly governed at this time by the chief of the brotherhood of the Ahis and by the family of the Guermeyans of Kutahya. The Ahis were descended from an Arab sect known as the Futuvvat which had its origin at Baghdad. The Ahi brotherhood was based on religion, but the fathers played important parts politically and commercially. The headquarters were in the convent of Ahi-guren at Kırşehir. At Ankara the chiefs of the Ahis were for a century the real governors of the city, although actually under the suzerainty of less powerful princes. When Ankara was first taken by the Osmanli Turks under Orkhan, in 1354, the Ahi father who was chief of the city handed over the keys of the city to the conqueror.

The Ottomans.

In 1360, Ankara which had fallen into the hands of the Turcomans, was again captured by the Ottomans, this time by the new Sultan, Murad I, who had succeeded his father Orkhan in the same year. Although the city was now incorporated into the new Ottoman Empire, Ankara continued to enjoy a certain amount of autonomy under the Ahi brotherhood, with theoretical dependence on a local prince.

Ankara's chief claim to fame under the Ottomans was the disastrous defeat that took place near the city in 1402. Sultan Bayazit I (1289-1403) had extended his Anatolian domains by the capture of Kayseri, Sivas and Tokat from Tatar invaders; but at the very beginning of the new century Tamerlane commenced his invasions from Samarkand, eventually reaching Ankara where the Sultan was defeated and made prisoner. During the siege of the city itself by the Tatars it was Yakub, a scion of the Guermeyan dynasty of Kutahya, who defended the city, this man being joint governor with one of the Ahi brotherhood. After further victories, Tamerlane obtained pledges of allegiance from Bayazit's three sons and divided the conquered territories into three vassal states, Ankara falling within the domains of Prince Mohammed Tchelebi. The latter was eventually recognized as Sultan, and in 1415 he recovered Ankara, subsequently pushing the boundaries of the Turkish state eastward. Henceforth Ankara remained, with the exception of one year in the XIX Century, within the Ottoman Empire.

During the last centuries Ankara lost all the prestige it previously had enjoyed. It became a small town on the Anatolian plateau, of no greater importance than many similar towns. It was on the regular caravan routes and

produced shelter for those who were obliged to travel; but commercially it was of no significance until the construction of the railway, at the end of the last century, which joined it to Constantinople. Its temporary occupation (1832-33) by Mehmet Ali Pasha, the Egyptian secessionist, focused the eyes of the sublime Porte on the town, but from that time until the Kemalists arrived there it lay in its torpor.

2. The Choice of Ankara as Capital.

The situation of Turkey in 1919 was deplorable. The Greeks were in possession of Smyrna and the greater part of the littoral of the Aegean; Italy had landed forces in Antalya and France had acted similarly in Cilicia. And most important – Constantinople was occupied by Allied forces while a helpless Sultan was obliged to follow the dictates of the Allied Commissioners in the capital. He could do nothing, and he was not of sufficient strength to head a movement of resurgence. He was hidebound by tradition and sat patiently in his palace hoping for some divine or earthly action to relieve him of his embarrassment. Assistance seemed most likely to come from one of the Allied Powers, and the Sultan was inclined to favor the British. A protected monarchy like Egypt would perhaps be humiliating in many respects but it would insure an easy, assured continuation of the imperial dynasty.

Mustafa Kemal was at this time Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty. This doughty soldier had led a checkered career; he was generally in trouble, but he had courage and ingenuity. Moreover he had earned his spurs by his able manoeuvres in the Dardanelles Campaign. Naturally patriotic he endeavored to inject some backbone into the Ottoman Government, but the supine behaviour of the Sultan and the endless trickery of the politicians convinced him that nothing could be done by the use of old formulae. Ancient loyalties must be tampered with, and even severed; the result was that there grew up a secret organization of courageous patriots who were seeking a road by which Turkey could regain its pride and prestige. By a skilful bit of diplomacy Mustafa Kemal got himself appointed Inspector of the Third Army which, under Kazim Kara Bekir Pasha, was fighting on the Caucasian front.

The Inspector landed at Samsun on May 19, 1919. Until this time the Nationalist Movement had been in the embryonic stage, but this early period was largely ground-work- the organization of the movement itself, the establishment of communications and the gaining of supporters. With the landing of Mustafa Kemal in Samsun the movement took on an active character. On July 23, 1919, he presided at the Congress of Nationalist leaders

called at Erzurum, and on September 4th he acted in like fashion at Sivas. At the last mentioned assembly it was decided that future councils should be held at Ankara. This decision was taken because of the geographical advantages of that town. It was a railhead, and therefore could be easily defended; its railway facilitated transportation of troops and equipment; it was in telegraphic touch with Constantinople and Smyrna. Obviously the Nationalist center of operations had to be secure from attack by the Allied Powers, or the Greeks, or the Sultan's troops. Inasmuch as Ankara's position was strategically more satisfactory, it was selected rather than the more inaccessible Sivas or Erzurum. It was simply a choice of semi-permanent quarters for a revolutionary organization and not a selection as capital by the organization in question. On December 27, 1919, Mustafa Kemal arrived at Ankara, and an executive body was constituted from the delegates which the vilayets not occupied by the Allies or Greeks had sent on the leader's orders. The first election of deputies for the Grand National Assembly, as the executive body was called, was on April 23, 1920.

In 1921 Ankara was in grave danger – the Greek armies had advanced to a point on the Sakarya River, 60 miles west of the town. In August and September a battle of twenty-two days duration ended in the victory of the Turks, the Greeks were thrown back to the sea, and Ankara was liberated from the danger of capture. The situation now began to clear. In Turkey there had been two governments: one, the legitimate, limited and nominal Imperial Government in Constantinople; and the other the revolutionary, bellicose, increasingly powerful Nationalist organization in Ankara. After the triumphal march of the Kemalist armies to the sea in 1922 the Sultan fled on a British warship, and with him went the last vestige of governmental authority in Constantinople. The Grand National Assembly in Ankara abolished the Sultanate; and in the following year, after negotiation, the Lausanne Treaties were signed recognizing Turkey's independent status and consecrating the Government at Ankara. On October 6, 1923, the Allied forces evacuated Constantinople and Turkey was left for the Turks to govern.

The question of the capital of the Turkish Republic now became of major importance. In the early part of 1923 a great drive was made by many politicians for the establishing of Constantinople as capital. Their arguments were many – the city's geographical position, its commercial importance, its many palaces and large buildings suitable for administration, the arsenals and military factories, the docks, barracks, schools, the large population and its international prestige. The foreign governments also put what pressure they could on the Turks, even stating bluntly that they would not send their Ambassadors to Ankara should it be chosen as capital. In the autumn of 1923

Mustafa Kemal came to Constantinople; and upon his return to Ankara he decided to take up the question of a permanent governmental seat before the Grand National Assembly. Therefore a law was prepared stating that the "capital of Turkey is the City of Ankara". This was carried by a majority of votes in the Assembly after lengthy debates.

The abandonment of Constantinople was not due to a feeling of resentment by the leader of the Nationalist movement or his followers against the ancient city because it had been the city of the Ottoman Government and polluted by the occupation of foreign forces. Mustafa Kemal in his famous six-day speech in 1927 justified the choice of Ankara. He said, "due to Turkey's geographic and strategic position it was necessary to choose the new capital in Anatolia". The Gazi himself has a warm affection for Constantinople and in the same speech he said, "Eight years have passed since my last stay in Constantinople. If one realizes that one single minute of separation seems too long to me one will easily understand my deep affection for Constantinople which, I may say, has increased during these long years of separation. Constantinople — the glamour of our country, the glory of our history, the best beloved city of our Nation, which dies on the junction of two worlds — is a city which lives deeply in the heart of every Turk". Constantinople from the military point of view, lying within a zone partly deprived of its military organization, no longer enjoyed freedom of action; it was at the mercy of the great powers; it could never be fortified nor defended, and the straits were no longer protected against attack. Therefore its practical value as capital of the new Republic was negligible.

There were other more subtle reasons for the abandonment of Constantinople. True, the city had many fine buildings and historic associations, and commercially it was of vital importance to the country, but due to its connections with the inglorious days of the late Ottoman Empire it was no longer suited to serve as a frame for the development of the new ideas of State. If the Government had remained at Constantinople it would have been obliged to utilize the old buildings, and the old spirit would gradually have vitiated the energy and enthusiasm of the Kemalist movement. Thus the move from Constantinople was wise from a psychological as well as a strategic point of view. Ankara, on the contrary, is vulnerable only from the air and therefore is out of reach of foreign navies and well able to be defended against enemy armies. Due to its geographic situation in the heart of the country it has all the facilities of administration. Moreover, there are none of the diversions and degenerating pleasures of Constantinople. In Ankara the Government officials must work for there is nothing else to do to relieve the

boredom. Thus the choice of Ankara was wise from both the psychological and strategic angles.

Concentration of effort, unhampered expansion, centralization of administration, geographical location and military security were the combined causes for the selection of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic of Turkey.

IV. Architectural

1. Introduction

Architecture is the only art that man has created out of his own ideas. There were no forms or values to copy or interpret as in sculpture or painting – architecture is essentially a growth, an adaptation to the necessities of man. It is a physical necessity, whereas the other arts are spiritual. Moreover, architecture by its natural development or progression reflects the manners, customs and needs of a people – its evolution is itself a history. In Western civilizations architecture has progressed normally and rationally. A violent social upheaval has a radical effect, but nevertheless there is still an evolution. Architectural forms developed easily and along certain lines in England from period to period. In France the styles gracefully progressed in a similar but more stilted fashion from Francis I through the Louis's until the Revolution when a change took place in architecture, and in dress, painting, furniture, etc. This change took a radical turn but the direction taken was a reversion to classic influences, a natural procedure to the French who are not apt to seek new forms hastily. This return to classicism was an interlude in the search for new ideas; and the paths eventually chosen were essentially French.

Architectural expression under the Ottoman Empire was in itself non-evolutionary, the early flowering having been under the greatest Turkish architect, Sinan, in the VI century. There were later isolated buildings of character and charm, but the type was stylized. The religious constructions – mosques – reflected the same ideas but were debased in detail to a greater or lesser degree. Palace architecture was even worse, and in the XVIII century adaptations of Italian or French influence were very common. An exception must be made in regard to minarets which showed the introduction of new ideas in decoration and detail. With the scrapping by the Republic of Ottoman traditions there came a distinct break the Kemalist turned his face to the West, and Eastern forms were consigned to the past.

At first Turkish architects thought along old lines and it seemed possible that an evolutionary character might be evolved in the architecture. But with the distaste of the Republican government for the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanian movements the traditions of Ottoman architecture were finally abandoned. Unfortunately for Ankara this was the period (1924-1925) when many buildings were erected in the new capital. After 1928 western, modern styles have been preeminent with the result that today one finds a confusion that is deplorable in effect. For instance, on the main avenue leading up from the station there are five buildings, one of which was built at the time of the Young Turk régime, the second is a government building in ultra-modern German style, and alongside it is the Grand National Assembly in a neo-Turkish style. Across the street is the hotel of a neo-Italian character, with pointed Turkish windows and a pseudo-Russian dome over the center; and the corner of the square is occupied by a modernistic coffee-shop. This avenue is typical of the confusion, or lack of rhythm, that characterized Turkish architecture in the early years of the Republic.

2. Pre-Republican

a. Construction through the Centuries. (See Annex No. 1)

Classical buildings are rare at Ankara; all that remains is the Temple of Augustus, dating back to the first years of the Christian era, and the so-called Julian Column, built in the IV century A.D. and recently taken down to be set up elsewhere.

During the Arab attacks, which began in the VII and lasted till the IX century, numerous temples, the hippodrome, the Agora and other edifices were destroyed (to make room for fortifications) by the Emperors Constantine II (641-668), Leo the Isaurian (717-741), and Michael III (842-867). Little remains of the Byzantine and the first Islamic periods, and of the Seljukian period, there exists the bridge of Ak-Köprü (built in 1222 during the reign of Alaeddin Keikobad, first Sultan of Konya) and a part of the city walls. The Ahis who came afterwards built a large number of mosques, vaults and fountains, many of which are still in existence. The Ottomans left numerous religious monuments, such as mosques, mescids (small mosques), tombs; and buildings of public utility such as baths, fountains, hans, etc. In the course of the last century they constructed schools, governmental buildings, the railroad station, etc.

The ancient mosques, mescids, hans and baths were built of stone blocks usually taken from old buildings. The cement was made of sand and badly diluted chalk; and burnt bricks were frequently used as decoration, either in layers or placed around the stone blocks. During the Ottoman period the stones were smaller in size and the cement of a more grayish color due to the admixture of sand, ashes, coal dust and sometimes earth. Towards the end of the XVII century the mosques, as for instance the Zincerli Mosque, were no longer built of stone but of a wooden frame-work the intervening spaces of which were filled with burnt bricks. The same construction method was used for private buildings.

Governmental edifices towards the end of the XIX century were in general solidly built of good material; the stones, taken from one of the two city peaks, were well squared and fitted. The Governmental Konak, situated on the Hukümet square belonged to this period as did the Lycée for boys at Namazgiah, the school of Arts and Trades on the Gazi Boulevard, and the present Ministry of Public Instruction, which was formerly a secondary school for girls. Nearly all these massive and heavy buildings have but one storey; the windows are high and the rooms large with high ceilings, the corridors and staircases are very spacious, to the detriment of convenience and comfort. Although the exteriors are made of stone there is a superabundance of wood in the interior which increases the danger of fire. These buildings are of a type found all over Turkey. The Taş Han (Stone House) situated on the principal square, was built in 1892, at the time of the construction of the Haydar Pasha-Ankara railroad, and it lodged the Angora Hotel which was the only local hotel of the city prior to its transformation into the new capital. The so-called building of "The People's Party", situated on the same square, in which the Grand National Assembly held its meeting until 1924, is a pre-war construction which apparently underwent certain changes; its architecture is that of the "Young Turk" style. It constitutes the link between the last period of the Sultanate and the first period of the Republic.

b. Old Turkish Dwelling Houses.

The old patriarchal houses built in Ankara in the Imperial days are rapidly disappearing. They are being torn down to make room for modern buildings or for one of the new boulevards or streets being out through the city. A small number of the stone houses remain but the majority are built of wood and brick, and these latter naturally fall down after a number of years or long periods of neglect.

All these houses are subject to one architectural feature – the façades of the building have upper floors which jut out over the ground storey, thus narrowing and darkening the street.

This method of construction (“with corbels”) enlarges the floor space in the second storey and is often able to correct the irregularities of the ground storeys. The brick and wooden houses are made of a wooden frame, the empty spaces of which are filled in with either sun-dried or burned bricks, thereby obtaining a certain decorative effect. The rooms in general have two rows of superimposed windows, the lower ones being fitted with lattice and the small upper ones framed in ornamental plaster into which are set glass panes. The ground floors almost invariably are occupied by the kitchen, the storage room for fuel, the stable, and the hay bins. The first floor is reached by an outside staircase, usually made of wood, which leads straight into a covered gallery with columns and large windows. This cool gallery serves on summer evenings as a gathering place for the inhabitants of the house and in turn leads into the men’s quarters (*selamlık*), the women’s and children’s apartment (*haremlık*) and the quarters of the women servants. These rooms are furnished with divans which are converted at night into comfortable beds; and the furniture consists only of strict necessities such as a table, stools, consoles, et cetera. The fireplace and the cupboards are built into the walls. The ceilings and wooden parts are usually decorated with mouldings or paintings representing floral motives; and the walls are whitewashed.

The old corbelled houses of this type are scattered all over the old city and date back to the 17th century; those of the 18th and 19th centuries are mostly situated in the so-called *Haci Bairam* and *Haci Dogan* quarters of the city. These old dwelling houses were built to be inhabited by one family only; and in accordance with Islamic religious principle it was arranged that the family only; and in accordance with Islamic religious principles it was arranged that the men and women should live in separate quarters. Naturally many of the old religious-minded Turks objected to the breaking of the Islamic laws and therefore there are still a good many houses of this type in use. The new ideas, however, of the Republican Government are gradually infiltrating with the result that the old houses are vanishing and families have begun to move into the new dwelling or apartment houses.

3. NEW ANKARA

a. The City Plan.

Unfortunately for the logical development of Ankara and its transformation into the administrative center of Turkey the necessity of a proper plan was not at first realized. The architects immediately after the city's designation as capital were Turkish; and these men who had been trained in Turkey had little idea of the problems of urban development. The Republican Government saw that something had to be done as the old city was cramped and unsuitable for the erection of large buildings; and therefore local talent was employed for the planning of the new city. The modernist tendencies of the Gazi were not understood by these men, and in 1927 it was obvious that foreign aid must be sought.

A Viennese urbanist called Hermann Jansen was selected to undertake this new plan for the capital. His task was two-fold: a) to "haussmennize" the old city and b) to lay out the new one. Already the section of the city near the station had been laid out by Turkish architects, and likewise the area close to the Grand National Assembly. Jansen attacked the problem as a whole, and, basing his ideas on contemplated construction and anticipated population, he submitted his plan in May, 1929.

The orientation of the proposed city is towards the South. The commercial center will remain where it now is – in the vicinity of the main square, and the industrial section will be near the station. But the chief business of the capital, administrative, is moved entirely to the South on the main boulevard to Çankaya, an avenue lined with all the foreign missions which have been constructed and which leads up the hill to the Presidential Palace. This section also comprises the newly-developed residential suburb known as Yeni Şehir. The city in its full development, according to the Jansen plan, will have an area of 20,000,000 square meters.

b. Public Buildings.

b. i. 1924-1927-28. – Conflict between the East and the West.

When Ankara was selected in 1924 as the capital immediate attention had to be given to the building problem. It was necessary to install the Grand National Assembly in a larger building; the Ministries had to be properly housed and the appropriate public buildings constructed. Also, of course, there arose the difficulty of finding living quarters for the many government officials and others that were attracted to Ankara. It was realized that the old

city was not suitable for the vast building program that arose, and therefore a new city was envisaged.

Prior to embarking on a detailed study of the various periods and buildings a glance at lists of the new buildings and their architects is necessary (annexes Nos. 2 and 3). These lists first of all illustrate the struggle between the eastern and the western conception of architecture. This struggle was a direct conflict of Pan-Islamism versus Occidentalism, a rift which permeated the country in various other fields. The conflict between the Sultanate and the Republic led to the existence at the same time of two capitals, two leaders, two Parliaments, two foreign policies, two internal policies, Capitulations versus freedom, religion versus a lay state, and finally Istanbul versus Ankara. With the disappearance of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanism vanished completely; these two ideas, however, continued to exist for a few more years in architecture.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a strong exponent of Occidentalism, but he was also a believer in nationalism. The logical and patriotic result was that Turkish architects were employed in the designing of the buildings for the administration of the country. As the lists of the architects and buildings constructed from 1924 to 1927 reveal, all such edifices were designed by Turkish architects, with the exception of the Post Office building.

The leading architects of this period were Kemaleddin and Vedat Beys, both professors at the school of Fine Arts in Istanbul. They were distinguished in their profession, but they were restricted by pre-Revolutionary ideas of architecture in Turkey. Kemaleddin Bey enjoyed considerable influence during the Young Turk period, and he was the more or less official architect of Constantinople under the Empire. The Evkaf (the Department of Pious Foundations) employed him as chief architect, and he built at Constantinople and elsewhere mosques, public buildings and fountains. From a technical point of view he drew inspiration from the old Turkish and Islamic buildings; and in accordance with this tradition he made use on the façades of his constructions of moulded pillars, ogival arches, sculptured ornaments and tiles. Kemaleddin Bey and his pupils, Hikmet and Nazim Beys, as well as Vedat, Tahsin and Halim Beys (all employed as architects of the new Ankara) were traditionalists of Islamic architecture purely because they had been instructed in these ideas, and other forms and architectural conceptions were unknown to them. The result was that they felt that they were justified in their ideas and visualized the regeneration of Turkey architecturally in the guise of the Islamic principles which they had learned. (Parenthatically it must here be stated that Kemaleddin Bey was the only Turkish architect of this first period who broke loose from strictly Ottoman traditions – and at the very end

of his life, in 1927-28, he commenced three important buildings in Ankara which showed considerable emancipation – the Gazi Institute, the Railway Administration Building and the Evkaf Apartment House.)

This mentality, however, did not keep pace with the republican spirit of innovation; and consequently the constructions were adaptations of Islamic architectural forms. A glance at the public buildings constructed by these architects bears witness to their limitations. Their principal constructions were the Prime Ministry, the Grand National Assembly, the Ankara Palace Hotel, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ethnographic Museum, the Turk Ocak (later re-named the Halk Evi) and various schools.

A detailed study of some of the principal buildings is necessary.

The Prime Ministry

This building houses the offices of the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Finance. The first part was built in 1922 and the second part in 1927 at a total cost of about 800,000 Turkish Pounds. The architect was Halim Bey who had associated with him Irfan Bey, an engineer by profession. This building drew its inspiration from architectural ideas prevalent under the Young Turks. The roof has large caves supported by beams; and the decorations are partly sculpture, partly colored tiles. This use of tiles was more or less prevalent in the early period of construction under the Republic, but it was later abandoned because tiles cannot withstand the bitter cold winters.

The Grand National Assembly

The building which houses the Turkish Parliament was constructed by the Turkish architect Vedat Bey. It is not a great success. Its general outline and details have an unfinished and ugly appearance. The façades are uneven and the stones of the walls badly out and fitted, and the window arches are different. The building betrays the hurry in which it had to be constructed. The interior is a curious mixture, particularly the Chamber itself which has an Ottoman corbelled ceiling, various types of arches and inner galleries in the form of balconies, and glass chandeliers in the Venetian style.

Post Office

This unattractive building was the work of the Sodet Company, a German concern. Its architectural details include ogival arches and other traditional elements.

The Ankara Palace Hotel

The Hotel was originally intended to be a ministry, and it was adapted to its present purpose during the last period of its construction. The architects were Kemaleddin and Vedat Beys. Additional reconstruction had to be undertaken by a local architect-contractor called Aggiman; and its cost was approximately 800,000 Turkish Pounds. Its architectural features include a pointed cupola over the main façade, lateral bell turrets, pointed windows, decoration in the form of arabesques and Saracenic arches and columns in the interior. In spite of the mixture of styles it is not an unpleasant building from the aesthetic point of view.

The Ethnographic Museum

Hikmet Bey, the architect of the Museum, was entirely dependent on tradition. He drew his inspiration from the 16th and 17th centuries, and this inspiration was really a servile submission and close adherence to these periods. The Museum is no higher than an old time medressé. It has a portico of columns with stalactite capitals, windows of broken arches, heavy moulded friezes, ornamented with arabesques and an octagonal drum like that of an ancient vault on which rests the large cupola over the center of the façade. It is certainly reminiscent of a number of Ottoman constructions and seems to be a combination of various elements of pre-revolutionary buildings. There is an open court containing a fountain in the center. Strictly speaking, it is unsuitable as a museum because although its rooms are spacious they lack light and if it is ever necessary to enlarge the museum it would be impossible to retain its architectural unity.

Halk Evi (ex Türk Ocak)

Along side of the Ethnographic Museum is another building by Hikmet Bey – the Halk Evi (House of the People). This was constructed at a cost of approximately 1,000,000 Turkish Pounds through the generosity of an American. Artistically the building is far from a success. It is a three-storey construction and like the Museum, appears to be a conglomeration of features from ancient Ottoman Constructions. There is a large semi-circular arch over the vestibule; above the pointed windows of the upper floors are smaller windows with polygonal panes similar to those used in old Ankara houses; the balustrades of the balconies and terraces resemble those of certain mosques in Istanbul and the lofty façades are decorated with mouldings, friezes and latticework ornaments reminiscent of old religious buildings. The interior, from the ornamental point of view, shows the same influences. The spacious inner hall is an exact copy, on a bigger scale, of the large room of an old

Turkish house at Erzurum. The building in addition to large study halls contains a library and a spacious theatre which is used for the more grandiose concerts and theatricals which occasionally are held in the capital.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

At the base of the hill on which stand the two previously mentioned buildings is located the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also built by Hikmet Bey at a cost of approximately 700,000 Turkish Pounds. This building is subsequent to the Museum and the Halk Evi but it shows no evolution in the architectural conceptions of Hikmet Bey. The façade consists of a protruding central mass preceded by a pillared pedestal which is surmounted by pointed arches with alternating colored voussoirs, and there are two wings which protrude from the central part of the façade. The building is two stories in height and the windows of the wings are ogival in form. The decoration is taken from traditional Ottoman forms. The interior of the building is undistinguished and ugly; and its stairways and corridors are far too spacious from the point of view of usefulness.

The Gazi Institute

This building, designed by Kemaleddin Bey, was completed by M. Egli, a foreign architect. At the time of Kemaleddin Bey's death the ground floor was already in process of construction and it is quite possible that M. Egli made certain changes in its design. Its cost was approximately 1,000,000 Turkish Pounds. Many features of the Institute are in the direct tradition of the past – the portico with its columns, the closed lateral galleries, the central cupola, the windows of the first floor, the heavy eaves of the roof and many decorative details; but the large windows and the general arrangement of the building make of it a modern building. Practically speaking, however, it has not been a great success as appropriate heating arrangements were not installed with the result that the large corridors and rooms are extremely cold in winter.

The Administration of Railways

This building, also commenced by Kemaleddin Bey, cost approximately 700,000 Turkish Pounds. It shows many new ideas, particularly in the large number of storeys, decorative treatment and the interior plan.

The Eykaf Apartment House

This building cost over 1,000,000 Turkish Pounds. It was likewise begun by Kemaleddin Bey, and in character is very much like the Administration of Railways Building. It is five storeys in height, and its architectural treatment shows the new ideas in decoration and window spacing.

The Bureau of Accounts – First Phase

The Bureau of Accounts was originally designed by Nazim Bey, but altered in 1930 by M. Egli. It cost in its first construction about 250,000 Turkish Pounds. It could have been classified as the same general style of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ankara Palace Hotel, etc. It had ogival windows, roofs with large eaves supported by beams and was decorated in traditional Ottoman style. The entire external character of the building was changed upon its alteration.

The Ministry of Justice

The building for this Ministry cost 400,000 Turkish Pounds and was designed by an engineer named Tahsin Bey. It is an undistinguished building; devoid of character. It bears the usual characteristics of the architecture of this first period, namely, a central cupola placed over an octagonal drum, protruding windows, and pointed windows on the upper floor.

The Agricultural Bank

The cost of this building was 1,800,000 Turkish Pounds, including the land, decoration and furniture. The architect was an Italian named Mongeri, formerly Professor in the School of Fine Arts and a permanent resident of Istanbul. He followed the lead of Turkish architects of the first period. The Agricultural Bank is a most impressive building with its four corner turrets crowned by eaved roofs. The majority of its arched windows are ogival in form and the architectural details such as ornaments, balustrades and pillars belong to the same architectural school as other buildings of this first period. From the outside it is eminently successful, but practically speaking faulty construction or estimates have rendered it impracticable because the building began to sink, with the result that it was impossible to open or close the doors of the vaults. At the present time operations are under way to correct this flaw.

The Ottoman Bank

This bank was also designed by M. Mongeri and its cost was 300,000 Turkish Pounds. It is a graceful, simple building and from the European architectural point of view eminently successful. Its decoration is more restrained than that of many other buildings of this period but the detail is in the Ottoman tradition.

The İş Bank

M. Mongeri was also the architect of this building, the cost of which is estimated to have been approximately 800,000 Turkish Pounds. The building is constructed of a reddish stone quarried at Ankara. It has a pillared entrance portal, pointed windows, friezes and Ottoman details in its decoration.

The above detailed description of the principal buildings of this first period demonstrates clearly the architectural principles followed by the architects. It was a manifestation or continuation of the Young Turk spirit. Properly speaking, the ideas might have evolved into successful architectural conceptions but such ideas would not have been in accord with the revolutionary innovations of the Gazi and his followers. The ideal was to create a modern capital, and it was in the west that such an ideal was sought. Therefore architecture had also to be Western; and the final triumph of the new ideas led official Ankara to seek its architects in the Occident.

b. ii. 1928 and After. The triumph of Western ideas.

The year 1928 has been chosen as the dividing line in post-revolutionary architecture in Ankara because it marks the definite relegation to the past of architecture in the evolutionary manner – from then on a different spirit, more in harmony with the mentality of the administration, manifested itself. The new era which may be called the Occidental period ushered in the arrival of foreign architects in the Turkish capital – and their almost exclusive use up till the present time. The Turkish and Turkish-trained architects had not been able to grasp the Western ideas and therefore resort was made to foreigners. In 1927 M.F. Jost, a Viennese architect, was invited to build the Ministry of Hygiene at Ankara; and he was soon followed by M. F. Egli, R. Derley and C. Holzmeister.

The Ministry of Hygiene and the Institute of Hygiene

This ministry cost over Ltqs. 1,500,000 and was the first important truly modern building at Ankara. The traditional Ottoman decorations and elements were entirely done away with – there were no more ogives nor

arabesques and no more large eaves. The façade of the Ministry of Hygiene is extremely plain and decoration is obtained by the use of a purplish stone quarried at Ankara – in contrast with the gray cement of the building. Incidentally this combination of materials has dominated the architecture of Government buildings since 1928. Whatever decoration there is on the Ministry of Hygiene is obtained by horizontal lines on each side and vertical lines in the center. These lines are salient in this particular building, but in many others they are sunken. Large windows give light to spacious rooms; and the interior is admirably planned for the purpose for which it is intended.

The Institute of Hygiene was built afterwards by M. Jost and it is extremely modern in conception. Over the central doorway is a semi-circular plain mass on which has been carved in high relief the figure of an athlete; and the many windows of the laboratories are treated as part of the exterior decorative elements.

The construction of these two buildings had a great effect on architecture in Ankara, and they were the forerunners of the work done today.

The Conservatory of Music

The Conservatory is one of the most pleasing buildings at Ankara in the modern style. It is admirably constructed as regards its practicability, for the class rooms and concert hall are equipped with everything necessary for such a school. The chief objection to this school is its location as it is situated to the east of the city in the new suburb of Cebeci. Its architect was M. F. Egli.

Ismet Paşa School for Girls

The same architect is responsible for the Girl's School, and many consider it the most successful of the modern buildings at Ankara. The emphasis is entirely on the horizontal and the building is constructed of gray cement with the exception of the ground floor which is of dark red material. The class rooms have large windows and the various spacious halls, sanitary installations, etc., make this building an admirable example of modern planning. Its cost was approximately Ltqs. 400,000.

Commercial School

Professor Egli was also responsible for the construction of the Commercial School, an agreeable mass which is also very successfully arranged. Like the Ismet Paşa School emphasis is on the horizontal but the building is less exaggerated in its architecture.

The Agricultural School

Unlike other modern construction in Ankara the Agricultural Institute is located in an entirely different section of the town, that is, at the base of the northern slopes. It is planned to construct twelve different buildings for the teaching of agriculture and for research work. The principal edifice was completed in 1933 and the architect again was K. Egli. It is a simple building with closely set elongated windows. Enormous square pillars supporting a roof are effectively used to connect the two parts of the building which are at right angles. The result is somewhat eccentric, but one cannot, however, criticize the building from the point of view of its practical qualities as the study halls and the scientific laboratories are well lighted and arranged. The cost of the whole group of the Agricultural Institute will be over Ltqs. 2,000,000.

The Bureau of Accounts – Second Phase

In 1930 the exterior of this building was altered by M. Egli at a cost of approximately Ltqs. 250.000. In its new form it is very modern with the accent on the horizontal again. It contrasts sharply and somewhat unpleasantly with the three other large buildings on the principal boulevard leading from the station, which are built in the Ottoman tradition. The alterations cost Ltqs. 250,000.

The Marmara Kiosk

This building is the residence of the Gazi on his farm, some four miles to the west of the city. It is a perfectly pleasant – not too modern – country residence. There are four semi-circular arches on the façade and the second story has squared windows and terraces on each side. Modernity is compromised by the eaved roof. The interior is not so happy as it is badly arranged from a residential point of view.

The Municipal Hospital

This imposing building is very well situated on a hill facing south and has a commending view over the new suburb of Yeni Şehir and the boulevard leading to Çankaya. The architect was N. R. Oerley. Its cost was more than a million Turkish Pounds. The hospital is not so modern in appearance as many other new buildings in Ankara and its exterior is dignified and pleasing. The interior, however, was very badly planned and entirely unsuitable for a hospital until alterations were carried out at considerable cost.

The Red Crescent Building

The Turkish equivalent of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent, erected a building at the beginning of the Çankaya Boulevard. The architect was also M. Oerley, but the building is not particularly important architecturally. The characteristic features are the many closely set windows of three storeys and two modernistic pediments on the sides of the façade. The interior is very plain and quite undistinguished.

The Market

M. Oerley is also responsible for the Municipal Market. This is a four-sided construction built around a large open space. The various small shops are modernistic in the advanced type of roof which juts out from them and in the general use of broken panes of glass as decoration over the doors and windows of the shop.

The Ministry of National Defense

In 1926 the Ministry of National Defense summoned from Vienne an architect called C. Holzmeister for the construction of its various buildings. M. Holzmeister is today the most prominent architect in Ankara. Not only has he worked for the Ministry of National Defense, but also he has designed various other administrative buildings. Under the heading of Ministry of National Defense comes the construction of three buildings for that governmental department – the Ministry itself, the General Staff building, and the Military School. The outstanding characteristic is their general massive appearance; decoration on the exterior is obtained by the rows of closely set windows and a few projecting or receding masses. The buildings are not pleasant and indeed have a grim appearance suggestive of barracks. But in the interiors there can be no criticism for they are admirably planned. Every detail is the result of the most careful calculation. The Ministry and the General Staff building cost Ltqs. 2,800,000.

The Military Club

This is a most curious building designed by the same architect. It owes its eccentric appearance to the retreating upper and middle parts of its façades which resemble large embrasures into which balconies have been built.

The Central Bank

M. Holzmeister recently built this building which contrasts markedly with the other banks in the section of the town. He separates the groups of windows by large string courses in relief, carefully avoiding continuous

horizontal lines, thus placing the emphasis on the vertical. The interior again is admirably worked out for the purposes for which it was intended. The upper two floors house the Anatolian Club.

The Ministry of the Interior

This building is constructed in close proximity to the buildings of the Ministry of National Defense as it is intended to concentrate all the new ministries in this area. The Ministry of the Interior is heavy and grim in appearance like the war buildings. It cost one million Turkish Pounds and was the work of M. Holzmeister.

The Presidential Palace

The residence of the Gazi, also designed by M. Holzmeister, has a commanding position on the heights of Çankaya overlooking the foreign embassies and legations, the new suburb of Yeni Şehir and the city in the distance. The Palace is open to serious criticism from the aesthetic point of view. Its roof is severely flat and the façade is very modernistic in character. The large terrace and columns forming a gallery are the only breaks in the plain front. The interior is also unhappy, with the exception of a large patio and swimming pool in the center. The rooms do not seem to be suitably distributed for the Presidential residence and the architectural features and heavy and Teutonic.

Government Buildings to be Constructed

The construction is under way of a new Ministry of Public works and a Court of Cassation; and there are plans for a new Grand National Assembly and a new Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These will all be situated in the new administrative district, and they will presumably be in the same style of architecture as M. Holzmeister is to design them.

c. Dwelling Houses

In 1930 Ankara became virtually, if not officially, the capital of Turkey, but very little building was done until 1924. The Gazi took up his residence at a small house in Çankaya, the Grand National Assembly held its meetings in the former building of the People's Party, the Ministers and Deputies lodged wherever they chanced to find accommodations, and the Ministries were established in a haphazard fashion in dilapidated old buildings. This state of affairs was due to the uncertainty which prevailed regarding the future of Ankara; there was great doubt as to whether it would continue to be

the Turkish capital, for a return to Istanbul was heartily desired by most Turks. The result was that people were reluctant to embark on the construction of extensive buildings which might perforce be evacuated.

It was not a comfortable time for those persons who were unfortunate enough to have business in the capital. Those foreigners who ventured to Ankara either stayed at the old Taş Han where a bed in a room with half a dozen other people was at a premium, or else railway carriages or box cars were rented at the station. Others who were obliged to stay longer took up their quarters wherever they happened to find them – generally in sordid houses frequently built of mud and in impossible hygienic conditions. Certain far-seeing architects began to build small villas to meet the existing conditions. These were constructed of stone or brick and not only were they flimsy but more often than not the windows and doors did not keep out the cold in winter. The houses were rented at fabulous prices by Ministers, Deputies and other high officials with sufficient means. There were no architects and ordinary overseers took the plans from foreign magazines or books on architecture, no consideration being given to the particular living requirements of the tenants or the climatic conditions of the country. Thus one can find heterogeneous edifices built in every possible style – suburban houses like those in Paris, London, Berlin, Amsterdam or Vienna – at least in so far as concerns their exteriors. The interiors were poorly built of cheap material, without proper sanitary arrangements, and often in the sunken parts of the city where the houses were flooded in times of continuous rain. These houses were a makeshift to meet the existing conditions and their poor and rapid construction was unavoidable.

They were, moreover, built for one family only, because of the traditional Islamic customs in this regard. Each family lived in seclusion; and the old custom of division into selamlık (men's quarters) and haremlik (women's quarters) was still strictly observed. Occidental ideas were strongly opposed and women continued to be veiled. Many of the converts to the western outlook were of the opinion that this referred only to thought and action of the state and in no way should interfere with their existence or living conditions. Gradually, however, this conservatism was dissipated.

With the education of the Turkish city dwellers to occidental ideas old Islamic traditions were gradually abandoned. Single family houses are still built in Ankara, but the tendency of late has been to erect small apartment houses. Most of these have been influenced by western styles and those constructed in the past five or six years are similar in feeling, but on a smaller scale, to their equivalents in Amsterdam or Berlin. There has been an improvement in construction methods and materials and now these

unpretentious apartment houses are built with some thought towards the comfort of the occupants. The great majority of such apartment houses are built in the suburb of Yeni Şehir.

d. The Statues of the Gazi.

The President of the Republic seemingly has no aversion to the widespread display of his likeness in Turkey. Indeed, every shop, restaurant, hotel and public place has a picture, generally life size, of the Gazi. It is understood that the display of such pictures is compulsory. Statues of the national hero are also epidemic in the country. The most sensational is undoubtedly that on the Seraglio point overlooking the waters of Istanbul. Here the Gazi is shown in a defiant attitude, attired in a dinner jacket.

In Ankara there are three statues of the President, conventionally clothed in military uniform. Artistically the most important is that in the principal square of the city. This heroic equestrian statue has a commanding position dominating the approach to the city from the station. The sculptor was a Viennese named Krippel, and the statue was erected in 1926. On the base are fine bas-reliefs, depicting episodes in the war against the Greeks. There are three statues at the base of the monument, two soldiers and the third a woman symbolizing the aid given to the Turkish armies by the womanhood of the country.

A second equestrian statue was erected in 1927 by the Italian sculptor Canonice. This is situated before the Ethnographic Museum, and the Gazi is portrayed in a military cape.

The third statue of the President of the Republic stands at Yeni Şehir in the center of the boulevard leading to Çankaya. Here he is likewise in military dress, but on foot rather than mounted. It was also the work of M. Canonica, but is the least interesting or artistic of the three statues of the Gazi in Ankara.

e. Foreign Embassies and Legations

The Embassies and Legations which have been constructed by a number of countries are treated separately because they were either built by architects of the countries concerned or by a foreign-trained local architect who adapts his ideas to the wishes of his employer. Therefore, the foreign missions offer no homogeneity in style or execution. They are all situated on one side or the other of the Çankaya Boulevard, on the ascending slopes of the hill crowned by the Presidential Palace. They are described in the order of their location on an ascent from the city.

The Belgian Legation

This legation was designed by M. J. Aggiman (a local architect-contractor who has studied abroad), at a cost of Ltqs. 150,000. It is a simple, European type of house, well arranged for its purpose. It was completed I 1930.

The Soviet Embassy

A Russian architect planned this large Embassy and upon its completion in 1926 it was the first foreign mission built by its government in Ankara. The cost is unknown. Eccentric is the most suitable description of its exterior – the accompanying photograph is eloquent in this regard. The interior is bare and inconveniently arranged.

The German Embassy

This Embassy is a sort of complete community – it is similar to the missions in compounds that are found in Oriental countries. The architect was German. There is a central building which contains the Chancery and the Ambassador's residence and reception rooms. On each side of the driveway leading to the principal building are two smaller houses for the accommodation of the Embassy's personnel. The style is conventional and simple, and the arrangement seems admirable and perhaps the best type for other countries to adopt when building at Ankara. It was finished in 1927, and the cost was about Ltqs. 200,000.

The Hungarian Legation

This legation was designed by M. Aggiman, and completed in 1933 at a cost of Ltqs. 150,000. It is dignified and European in style, and its interior is suitably arranged. The legation serves only as a residence for the Minister.

The Persian Embassy

This grandiose building, completed in 1930 at a cost of Ltqs. 350,000 was also the work of M. Aggiman. It is unusual but not out of place as it seems to fit into the landscape. The architect has used Oriental motifs in the central mass of the façade, and in the many pointed arches on the sides. The interior is spacious and well-suited for large receptions, but the furniture is sparse and ill-placed.

The Polish Embassy

This large embassy was built by a Polish architect in 1930. It is in the style of a Polish country house, and as it is set in a pocket where there are a number of trees it is perhaps the most attractive of the missions in Ankara. It cost approximately Ltqs. 400,000 and all the fittings, including the marble stairway, were imported from Poland. The interior is spacious but not very well planned.

The Swedish Legation

An Austrian architect designed this legation which was completed in September, 1934, at a cost of Ltqs. 70,000. It is modern in style on the exterior. Inside it is well-arranged and comfortable.

The British Embassy

M. Aggiman was also the architect of this Embassy. It was finished in 1930 and cost Ltqs. 150,000. Architecturally it is uninteresting and conventional. The façade facing the city is ugly, whereas the other side is more successful. The Embassy is purely a residence; and the interior is well-planned but limited in space. The chancery is housed in a neighboring wooden building.

f. Conclusions.

The extraordinary metamorphosis of Ankara's appearance under the Republic is one of the greatest achievements of Kemalism. The results are by no means always happy; the inevitable confusion of a mixture of the old town and the new city, and the two trends in architectural influence show the ill-assorted ideas that prevailed in the new government with respect to architecture. How the path has been chosen, and Occidentailism prevails in construction figuratively and literally.

Westernism is not the ideal style for the Turkish capital's buildings – it is unsuitable for the country. The use of numerous large windows is necessary in northern countries, but in the Anatolian glare they are ill-advised and uncomfortable. Old Turkish architecture with its small windows and narrow streets endeavored to obtain as much relief as possible from the excessive sunlight. It would, of course, be unthinkable to return to narrow streets and the old-fashioned houses; but inevitably there will arise a school of young Turkish architects who will affect a compromise between the extremes of Occidental modernism and the more natural and practical ideas of a national architecture. The pity is that so much has already been built at Ankara in the exaggerated modern style.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The future of Ankara is a frequent topic of conversation in Turkey. Many Turks as well as foreigners would welcome a return of the Government to Istanbul – the inconvenience of having the capital so far from the commercial center of the country is obvious; and these who have to live at Ankara yearn to come down to the Bosphorus. Officials who talk with enthusiasm and affection about the capital leave it at every opportunity – even the Gazi, the Cabinet Ministers and the Deputies.

An abandonment of Ankara will certainly never take place while the Gazi is alive, and it is very doubtful if such a move would be made after his death. First of all there is the idealistic effort of the new Republic which it represents; then its usefulness as an administrative center has been manifested on many occasions; and finally the vast expenditures on the development of the city (approximately Ltqs. 300,000,000) would never be willfully abandoned. It seems more than reasonably safe to make the statement that Ankara will for a long time remain the capital of the Turkish Republic.

ANNEX NO. I

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY EXTANT
MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS, ETC., IN ANKARARoman Epoch

About 20 A.D. – The temple of Augustus.

Byzantine Epoch

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 362 | - The column of Julian. |
| 659-668 | - The lower walls of the Citadel. |
| 720-740 | - The upper walls of the Citadel. |
| 859 | - Reconstruction of the southern front of the upper walls of the citadel. |

Seldjukian Epoch

- | | |
|------------|---|
| 1197 | - First Mosque of Alaeddin. |
| 1222 | - The Ak-Köprü bridge. |
| 1233 | - Fountain of Cüce Mustafa. |
| 1250 | - The new walls of the citadel along the hollow of the Hatib river. |
| about 1250 | - The Armenian Convent of Vank. |
| about 1250 | - The Kuyul Mescit. |

Ahis Epoch

1268	- The Baklaci Mosque.
1288	- The Saraçınan Mosque.
before 1290	- The Yeşil Ahi Mosque.
1290	- The Aslan Hane Mosque.
1350	- The vault of Ahi Şerefettin.

Ottoman Epoch

before	1382 - The Ahi Elvan Mosque.
	1391 - The Ahi Yakup Mosque.
	1400 - The Hacı Bairam Mosque.
	1421 - The Hacı Musa Mosque.
	1427 - The İmaret Mosque.
	1427 - The Karaca Bey Bath.
	1441 - The Nadi Mustafa Fountain.
	1444 - The Karaca Bey vault.
	1444 - The Dabaghane Mescit.
	1450 - The Mukaddem Mescit.
	1471 - The Bedestan.
End of	XV c.- The Kurşunlu Han.
	1565 - The Cenabe Ahmet paşa Mosque.
Middle of	XVI c. - The Sofra Han.
	1685 - The Zincerli Mosque.
	1685 - The Sula Han.
	1704 - The Hacı İlyas Mosque.
	1705 - The agao Ayak Mosque.
Middle of	XVIII c.- The Piriç Han.
	XVIII c.- The Çengel Han.
	? - The Konak.
	? - The Lycée for Boys.
	? - The School of Arts and Trades.
	1892 - The Railroad Station.
	1892 - The Taş Han.
About	1900 - Ministry of Public Instruction.
About	1910 - The former People's Party Building.

ANNEX NO. 2.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL TURKISH BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED AT
ANKARA
from 1924 to 1934,
with the names of the Architects.

<u>beginning</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>completion</u>	<u>Name of</u> <u>Buildings</u>	<u>Name of</u> <u>Architects</u>
1922	1923	Presidency of the Council and Ministry of Finance 1 st part	Halim Bey, architect, and Irfan Bey, engineer.
1924		Grand National Assembly	Vedat Bey
1925	1926	Posts and Telegraphs	Sodet Concern, foreign architect and engineer
1926	1927	Ankara Palace Hotel	Vedat and Kemaleddin Beys.
1926	1927	Presidency of the Council and Ministry of Finance 2 nd part	Halim Bey, architect, and Irfan Bey, engineer.
1926	1927	Ethnographic Museum	Hikmet Bey.
1926	1927	Bureau of Accounts	Nazim Bey.
1926	1927	Ismet Pasha School	Kemaleddin Bey, Jr.
1927	1928	Ministry of Hygiene	F. Jost.
1927	1929	Halk Evi (People's Home)	Hikmet Bey.
1927	1928	Ministry of Justice	Tahsin Bey.
1927	1928	The Gazi Institute	Begun by Kemaleddin and completed by E. Egli.
1927	1928	General Direction of Railroads	Kemaleddin Bey.
1927	1928	Evkaf Apartment Houses	Kemaleddin Bey.
1928	1929	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Hikmet Bey.
1928	1928	Conservatory of Music	E. Egli.
1928	1929	Institute of Hygiene.	F. Jost.
1928	1929	Ottoman Bank	Mongeri.
1929	1931	Ministry of National Defense	C. Holzmeister.
1929	1931	General Staff	C. Holzmeister.
1929	1931	Military School	C. Holzmeister
1929	1930	Tobacco Monopoly	Mongeri.
1929	1934	Lycée for Girls (1 st and 2 nd parts)	E. Egli.
1929	1930	Commercial School	E. Egli.
1929	1933	Hospital	R. Oerley.
1929	1933	Scientific Institute of the Ministry of Hygiene	R. Oerley.
1929	1929	Marmara Kiosk (Gazi's Farm)	E. Egli
	1931	Agricultural Bank	Mongeri.
	1930	Iş Bank	Mongeri.

<u>beginning</u>	<u>Year completion</u>	<u>Name of Buildings</u>	<u>Name of Architects</u>
1930	1930	Red Crescent Building	R. Oerley.
1930	1930	Market	R. Oerley.
1930	1931	Bureau of Accounts (remodeling)	E. Egli
1930	1932	Presidential Palace	C. Holzmeister.
1931	1932	Ministry of Public Works	C. Holzmeister.
1931	1933	Central Bank of the Government	C. Holzmeister.
1932	1932	Military Club	C. Holzmeister.
1933	1934	Agricultural School	E. Egli
1933	1934	Ministry of the Interior	C. Holzmeister.

ANNEX NO. 3

LIST OF THE MOST PROMINENT TURKISH AND FOREIGN
ARCHITECTS WHO HAVE WORKED AT ANKARAFirst Period – 1924 to 1927-1928Turkish Architects Only.

Vedat Bey	Istanbul architect; professor at the School of Fine Arts of that city; the constructor of numerous apartment houses.
Kemaleddin Bey	Architect from Istanbul; professor at the School of Fine Arts in that city; Builder of the famous Vakuf Hans built at Istanbul in a modernized Turkish style; considered as being the promoter of a new school.
Hikmet Bey	A pupil of Kemaleddin Bey; has built considerably in Istanbul.
Nazim Bey	Likewise a pupil of Kemaleddin Bey, known as a good builder.
Tahsin Bey	Engineer from Istanbul who by chance took up architecture.
Halim Bey	Architect from Istanbul (little known).
Kemaleddin Bey, Jr.	A young architect who in 1927 went to The United States.

Foreign Architects Residing in Turkey

Second Period – 1929 and after.

Foreign Architects

E. Egli	A naturalized Austrian of Swiss origin; professor at the School of Fine Arts in Vienna; came to Turkey at the invitation of the Ministry of Public Instruction; occupies the post of professor at the School of Fine Arts at Istanbul.
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C. Holzmeister	Came to Turkey at the request of the Ministry of National Defense toward the end of 1928 in order to build that ministry. Still in Turkey (at present the leading Ankara architect).
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M. Jansen	Came to Turkey in 1927 in order to lay out the plan for the development of the city of Ankara.
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REPORT
BY J.V.A. MACMURRAY
(JUNE 3, 1936)

From J.V.A. MacMurray, Istanbul, Turkey, June 3, 1936
To The Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 43

SUBJECT: The Turkish totalitarian State and some of
its problems.

Confidential.

The Secretary-General of the People's Party has publicly announced that the six fundamental principles of the Party will be incorporated in the Constitution. According to these principles the Party is republican, nationalist, populist, étatist, laical and revolutionary. Also, there are rumors to the effect that new provisions will be added to the Penal Code to enable the authorities to deal more effectively with offenses against the State. Of course these two steps represent a logical development of Turkish political thought. That development has been steadily away from individualism, liberalism and democracy and towards the ideal of the totalitarian State. With this development in mind it may be of interest to try and describe some of Turkey's problems as they appear to a person whose sympathies naturally incline to the individualistic and liberal point of view.

There can of course be no question of denying the impressive quality of Turkey's progress under the Republican régime nor of minimizing in any degree what has been accomplished. At the same time one who looks beneath the surface can hardly fail to be struck by a certain superficiality, a certain discrepancy between the external machinery and the characteristics of those who are seeking to use that machinery. The superficiality and the discrepancy are, of course, quite natural given the fact that the Turkish Revolution has been imposed from above and its driving force has been one man: a very great man assuredly, but nevertheless one man who by his genius and will power

has imposed from above rather than created from below. It is true that the modernization of Turkey could probably not have come in any other way, but there are disadvantages and to a brief account of these disadvantages we shall now turn.

The men who fought the first battles of the nationalist cause and shaped the Turkish Republic were young men. They are now in their fifties and sixties with still a good many years of power to look forward to. They are therefore holding on to their power and the last thing that they are prepared to envisage, much less prepare for, is the taking of their places by younger men. A list of the leaders in Turkey today would hardly differ from a similar list drawn up ten years ago. No new and outstanding personalities have arisen during that time, which, considering the revolution through which Turkey has passed, is a striking fact.

But the problem of recruiting leaders is not the only aspect of the problem of personnel in Turkey. There is the whole problem of the younger generation, the generation which has grown up under the Republic, to consider. Much has been said about this younger generation. It has not come through the revolutionary period unscathed. It could not have been expected to do so. There have been and there are those who express their emancipation by drinking, disorderly living and participating in sport—generally as spectators. But there are others who are aflame with enthusiasm for the new régime and eager to labor in its behalf; and it is all too often these others, for whose idealism no outlet is provided and who frequently lose their idealism in holding down some small government job or who dissipate in in some form of childish radicalism. An American youngster with an idealistic bent has any number of well-worn paths in traversing which his idealism can find suitable constructive expression. Not so his Turkish counterpart, who must fashion his own path as well as preserve intact the idealism which will enable him to travel over it.

The Turkish Government is of course highly centralized. In fact, centralization of authority is characteristic of any Turkish organization. Traditions of the past and the military example doubtless are among the causes. The result is that a few men at the top are working for disgracefully long hours and are so loaded down with detail as to have little time left for the larger and more important issues, and an increasingly large number of subordinates are not carrying their weight. Naturally, with the passing of time, the Government has become far more complex and far more highly organized. The rôle of the subordinate has become therefore increasingly important and the consequences of his inadequacy more and more costly. The problem of the subordinate is one of the essential problems of Turkey, but

there are as yet few signs that the leaders perceive its importance for the future.

We have mentioned three internal problems of Turkey. In reality they are but three phases of one and the same problem: the problem of the individual in a State which is essentially authoritarian and which, because of its history, traditions and position at the present time, naturally favors the method of domination rather than that of leadership and cooperation. With the examples of the U.S.S.R., Italy and Germany before us it would be idle to contend that it is not possible so to regiment and indoctrinate the individual that he becomes a mechanically efficient cog in the machine of State. And there are those who would call this process and its result by quite different names. They would doubtless refer to education for social living and to the achievement of a new unity vastly to be preferred to the atomic character of individualistic society. But whatever the terminology used, it is a fact that much remains to be done before Turkey can be brought to any such stage of perfection. Just at present Turkey is in an intermediate stage. The will to create the totalitarian State is more and more in evidence and progress along that path has certainly been made. But much remains to be done before a totalitarian State can be achieved, and we may well question whether the Turkish character and Turkish finances will permit the achievement, or, if something of the sort is achieved, whether it will not in any event represent a distinctively Turkish version of the totalitarian State differing in important respects from other versions.

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