



☞ In some places I saw women who put a piece of cloth or a towel over their heads to hide their faces. When a man passed by they turned their backs or huddled on the ground. What is the meaning of such behavior? How can the mothers and daughters of a civilized nation adopt this bizarre manner, this barbarous posture? Such a spectacle makes a nation the object of ridicule. This must be remedied at once.

☞ Human society consists of two species – women and men. How could one segment of society go forward while the other segment is ignored? When half of the body remains chained to the ground, how could the other half rise to the sky?

☞ Only through education a nation achieves the high status of a free, independent and esteemed society.

☞ There will be no Bolshevism in Turkey. Because the foremost objective of the Turkish government is to provide freedom and happiness for the people, to take good care of the civilian population as well as our military.

☞ Our nation has crushed the enemy forces... But to achieve independence we must observe the following rule: The only power that will propel us to this goal is the economy. Political and military victories - no matter how mighty they are - cannot endure unless they are crowned by economic triumphs.

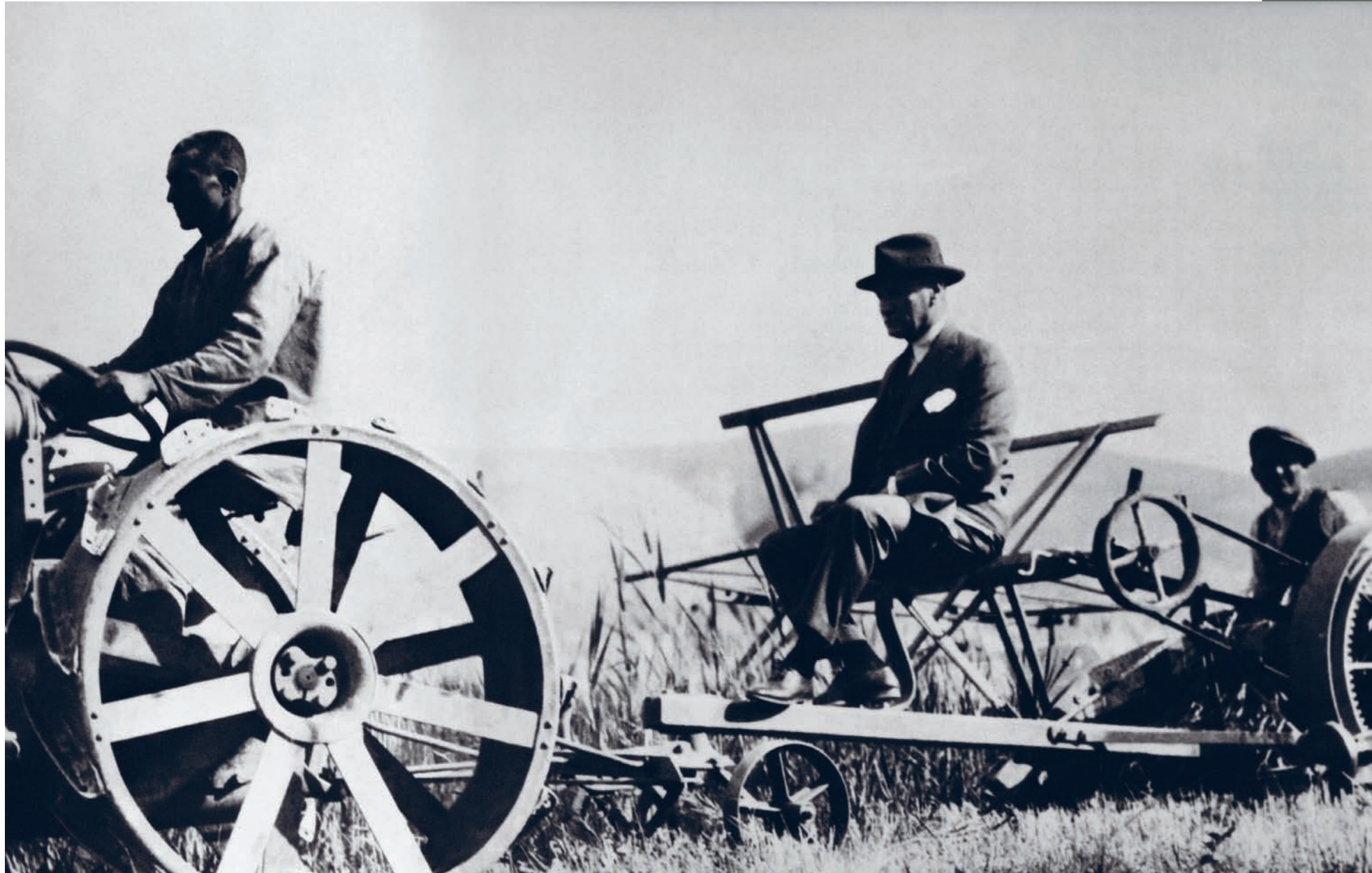
HUMAN SOCIETY CONSISTS OF TWO SPECIES - WOMEN AND MEN. HOW COULD ONE SEGMENT OF SOCIETY GO FORWARD WHILE THE OTHER SEGMENT IS IGNORED?



THIS COUNTRY, UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES,
WILL BECOME MODERN, CIVILIZED, AND INNOVATIVE.

- Some foreign writers keep praising me personally. They mention nothing about the greatness of the Turkish nation, her humanist values, and the imprint of civilization she has left on the world.
- This country, under all circumstances, will become modern, civilized, and innovative. For us this is a matter of life.
- We shall make the expansion and rise of Turkish culture the mainstay of the Turkish Republic.
- When I speak of a national program of education, I mean a culture freed from antiquated superstitions, from foreign ideas alien to our innate qualities, from outside influences, from the east or the west - I mean a culture worthy of our own national and historical talents.





THOSE WHO LIE ON THEIR BACKS AND WHILE THEIR TIME AWAY WITHOUT DOING ANY WORK CAN HAVE NO PLACE IN OUR SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Our political views are geared to serving the people: They stress the people's direct use of political power, sovereignty and administration.

We are being asked whether our government is democratic or socialist? Ours is neither a democratic nor a socialist government. It is a form of government unlike the types found in textbooks, unlike any of the others. Ours is a government that embodies and represents national sovereignty and the national will. Sociology would define it as "the people's government". In terms of social doctrine, we are workers who are struggling to save our lives and our independence, we are poor people. Each one of us has a right and an authority. We earn this right through work. Those who lie on their backs and while their time away without doing any work can have no place in our social structure.

Ours is a social doctrine which tries to provide a legal basis for building the social structure upon labor.

Our doctrine envisions a national struggle against imperialism which seeks to annihilate us and against capitalism which wants to devour us as a nation.

It is alleged that we do not resemble the democracies or socialism or anything. Actually, we should be proud of bearing no resemblance, because we resemble only ourselves.

Is our dress national? Is it civilized? Is it international? No, it is a grotesque mixture of styles. Our nation is worthy of a civilized, international way of dressing. That is what we are going to wear: Boots or shoes on our feet, trousers on our legs, shirt and tie, jacket and waistcoat... And naturally, to complete all this, a headgear with a brim. I want to make this clear: This is a head-cover called "hat".

It has been necessary to abolish the fez which used to sit on our heads as the symbol of ignorance, of fanaticism, of animosity towards progress and civilization - and to adopt in its place, the hat which is the headdress of the civilized world. Thus we had to demonstrate also that there was no difference in mentality between the Turkish nation and other civilized societies.



OUR NATION IS WORTHY OF A CIVILIZED, INTERNATIONAL WAY OF DRESSING. THAT IS WHAT WE ARE GOING TO WEAR.



☞ The Republic of Turkey can never be the land of sheikhs, dervishes, disciples and lay brothers. The straight and true path is the road to civilization.

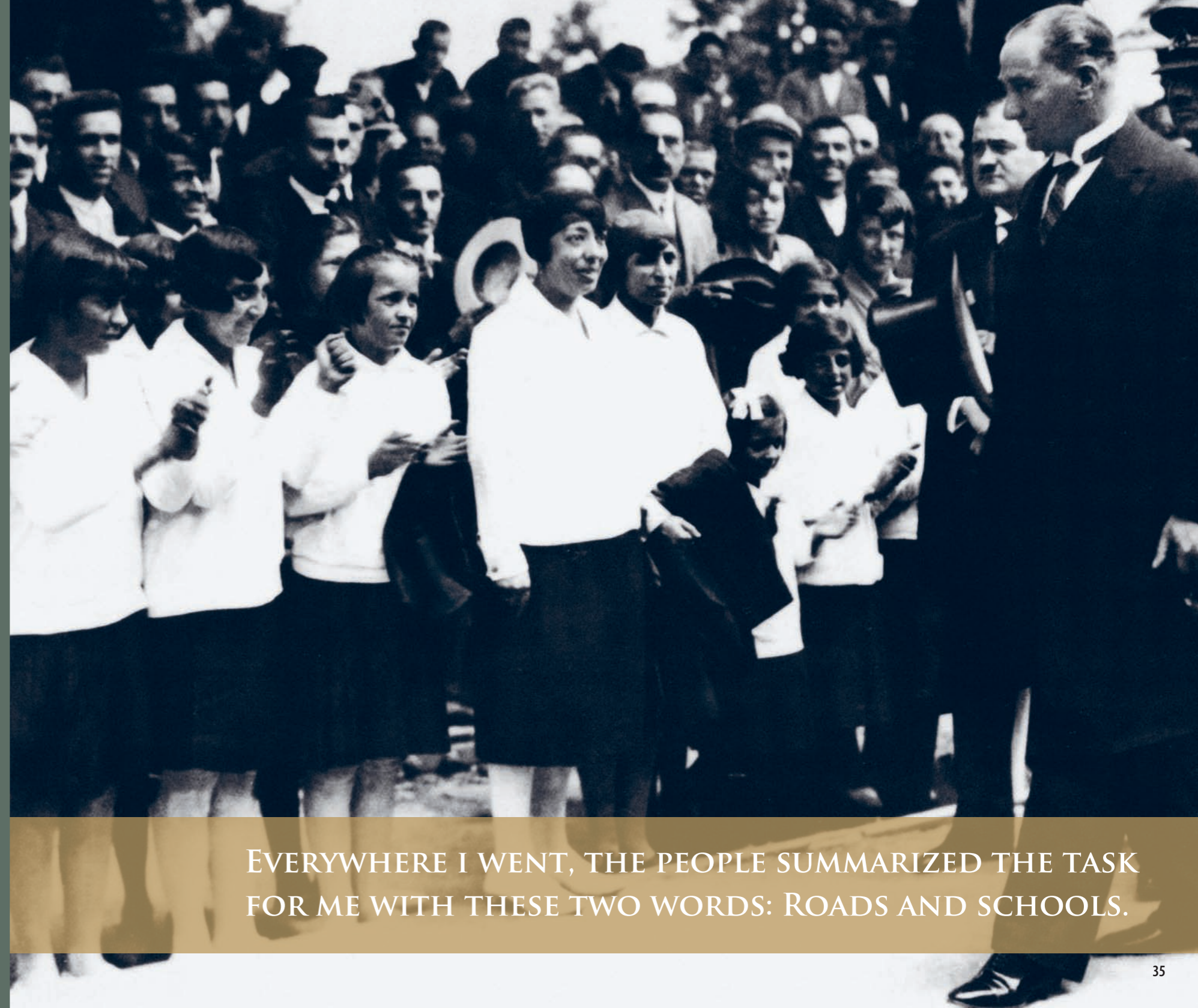
☞ All the sects and their convents, congregation places, and mausolea have been closed and titles such as sheikh, dervish, disciple, chelebi, occultist, necromancer, mausoleum custodian and the like have been abolished. This was necessary in order to prove that our nation is not a primitive tribe enamored of superstitions.

☞ Can a society be called a civilized nation if its members are led by the nose by sheikhs, by the leaders and lords of sects, by spiritual guides? Can it be a civilized nation if it entrusts its destiny and its life to fortune-tellers, sorcerers, soothsayers and amulet peddlers?

☞ If I had not become president of the republic, I would have wanted to serve as minister of public education to play a leading role in national education. In the political and social life of our nation, in her intellectual orientation, we shall be guided by scholarship and science.

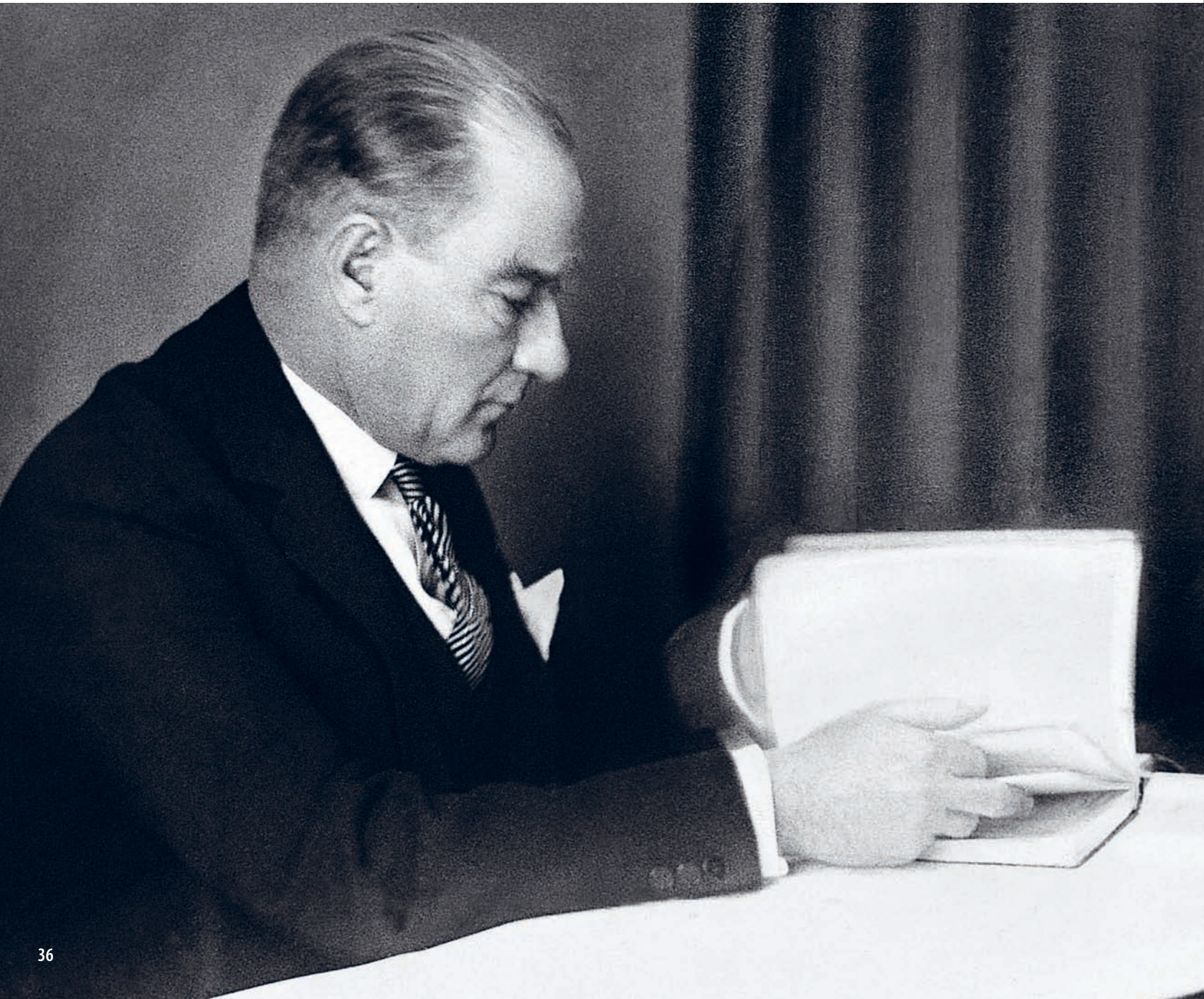
☞ There are those who do not want modern schools. But that is what the nation wants. Leave this poor nation alone! Let the poor children get their education! This nation needs modern schools.

☞ Everywhere I went, the people, the villagers summarized the task for me with these two words: Roads and schools. They referred to roads as “the wings of the villagers”. All economy is imbedded in the term ‘road’ – and everything in the term ‘school’. The individuals trained by our schools should be capable of practising their professions everywhere in the world.



EVERYWHERE I WENT, THE PEOPLE SUMMARIZED THE TASK FOR ME WITH THESE TWO WORDS: ROADS AND SCHOOLS.

IF A NATION IS DEFICIENT IN ART AND LACKS
CREATIVE ARTISTS, IT CANNOT HAVE A FULL LIFE.



- ❧ High achievement in the fine arts is the most decisive proof that all reforms have succeeded. What a pity about those nations who fail to accomplish this.
- ❧ If a nation is deficient in art and lacks creative artists, it cannot have a full life.
- ❧ An historical attribute of the Turkish nation is to love the fine arts and to attain greater heights through them.
- ❧ We shall make the expansion and rise of Turkish culture in every era the mainstay of the republic.
- ❧ I know how anxious you are to give impetus to our youth's advancement in all the arts. In this, the greatest stride should be in Turkish music. Music is life's joy, spirit, bliss, everything. But we ought to take note of what genre of music. Life is music. Our genuine music may be heard from the people of Anatolia.
- ❧ The criterion of a nation's transformation is its ability to realize and accept changes in music. Only by adapting national themes to contemporary musical norms could our national music make progress and take its place in universal music. This is an action for reform!
- ❧ Gentlemen, you can all become members of parliament or cabinet members or even president, but you cannot become creative artists.
- ❧ No one is a nation's master. There can only be service to the nation.
- ❧ Republic is a form of government which is predicated upon virtue. Republic is virtue.
- ❧ Government has two objectives. One is the country's defense, the other is providing for the nation's welfare. The government that can secure these is a good government... The one that cannot is a bad government.

- ☞ The cornerstone of education is an easy system of reading and writing. The key to this is the new Turkish alphabet based on the Latin script.
- ☞ We are adopting the new Turkish alphabet in order to better express our beautiful language. Our lovely, melodious, rich language will reveal itself through the new script. We are forced to save ourselves from symbols which for centuries kept our minds in their iron grip and baffled us.
- ☞ The citizens must quickly learn the new alphabet. Teach it to every citizen, woman, man, porter, boatman... Remember, it is shameful if ten or twenty per cent of a nation is literate and eighty or ninety per cent is illiterate. Human beings should be ashamed of this... This nation has not been created to live in such shame.
- ☞ Secularism brings to the citizens freedom of conscience and worship. Religion and faith are a matter of conscience. Everyone is free to act in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience. We are respectful of religions. All we are doing is to separate religious affairs from governmental affairs.
- ☞ As my moral legacy, I am not leaving behind any stricture, any dogma, any frozen or set rule. My moral legacy is science and reason. Those who choose to accept me as their own after I am gone will be my moral heirs if they accede to the guidance of rationalism and science.

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- ❧ We are a nation without classes or special privileges.
- ❧ The true owner and master of Turkey is the peasant who is the real producer.
- ❧ In order to raise our new Turkey to the level that she is worthy of, we must, under all circumstances, attach the highest importance to the national economy.
- ❧ We must liberate our concepts of justice, our laws and legal institutions from the bonds which hold a tight grip on us although they are incompatible with the requirements of this century.
- ❧ There are three hundred million Moslems in the world who are raised by their parents and teachers from whom they learn morality. But the regrettable fact is that these millions are in chains of bondage. The education they receive and the moral values they acquire have failed to instill in them the humanistic virtues necessary to break their fetters of slavery, because these masses have not also been through national education.
- ❧ The nation has placed its faith in the precept that all laws should be inspired by actual needs here on earth as a basic fact of national life.

- ❧ The major challenge facing us is to elevate our national life to the highest level of civilization and prosperity.
- ❧ Never fear to speak the truth. Ideas can never be killed by force or violence, by artillery or rifle. The means that can best eliminate the dilemmas arising from freedom of the press is the freedom of the press itself.
- ❧ I am not a dictator. It is said that I am powerful. Yes, this is true: There is nothing I want that I cannot achieve. I simply do not know how to act coercively and ruthlessly. A dictator subjugates other people. I would rather rule by winning hearts than by breaking hearts.
- ❧ Even the guard at the door has no fear of me. Ask him if you like. It is impossible to build authority on fear.
- ❧ I am a man of the heart. I always feel compelled to tell what I feel openly to the people. If I err, the people will contradict me.
- ❧ Whatever we see on the face of the earth is the creative work of women... Women have not lagged behind men in science, scholarship and culture. Perhaps they have even gone farther ahead.



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Turkish nation!

This is the tenth anniversary of our Republic. It is the greatest holiday.

In a short period we have accomplished many major tasks. The greatest among them is the Turkish Republic whose foundation is Turkish heroism and high culture.

But we cannot regard what we have achieved as sufficient. We are obliged to, determined to do more, to accomplish greater things.

We shall raise our country to the level of the world's most advanced civilized nations. We shall provide our nation with the most encompassing means and resources of welfare. We shall place our national culture above the level of contemporary civilization.

Marching on the road to progress and civilization, the Turkish nation holds in her hands and in her head the torch of rational science. The entire civilized world will once again realize that the Turkish nation is a great nation.

Happy is the person who can say I am a Turk!



HAPPY IS THE PERSON WHO CAN SAY I AM A TURK!



PEACE IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY FOR NATIONS
TO ATTAIN PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS.

- ☞ Peace is the most effective way for nations to attain prosperity and happiness.
- ☞ As clearly as I see daybreak, I have the vision of the rise of the oppressed nations to their independence.
- ☞ If lasting peace is sought, it is essential to adopt international measures to improve the lot of the masses.
- ☞ Unless the life of the nation faces peril, war is a crime.
- ☞ Turks are the friends of all civilized nations.
- ☞ If war were to explode all of a sudden, like a bomb - nations would immediately join together their armed forces and their national resources to prevent it. The quickest and the most effective way to do this is to establish an international organization which would prove to the aggressor that its aggression would not pay.
- ☞ The prosperity of all humanity should take the place of hunger and misery... The citizens of the world should be brought up in such a way that they shall be free of envy, greed and hatred.
- ☞ Some leaders, who fail to consider what a terrible tragedy war is, have been pursuing aggressive objectives. They are corrupting the true meaning of nationalism, they are deceiving and leading astray their own nations. In these difficult times, the destiny of the world should be in the hands of leaders who have a conscience and character.

❧ I have heard rumors about my health: "He is ill," they say, "he is paralyzed. His days are numbered." Here we are, face to face. You see I am in perfect health, not paralyzed at all... The man who has devoted his whole life and his health to work in your interest is in good shape and will continue to strive for you. Because he lives for you. My strength comes from our mutual affection. Under the new system, this country and this nation will become one of the world's most effective. I shall not die before I see this achieved.

❧ Even if others will not respond to me in kind I will forgive them. Forgiving is part of my nature.



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- ❧ The new Turkish society, with her new alphabet, national history, her own purified language, her science and music, her technological institutions, with her women and men equal in all their rights – is the work of the past few years.
- ❧ In the family of nations the Turkish Republic wants to serve as a useful, diligent, and peace-loving member.
- ❧ We do not adhere to any one school of economic thought. Neither laissez-faire, nor socialist, nor communist, nor statist, nor protectionist. New Turkey must maintain a mixed economic style.
- ❧ It should not be assumed that we are antagonistic to foreign capital. There are certain economic problems which we cannot solve with our own resources and our own capital. We have to look for friends willing to help us.

WE DO NOT ADHERE TO ANY ONE SCHOOL OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. NEW TURKEY MUST MAINTAIN A MIXED ECONOMIC STYLE.



☞ Democracy provides for the free development of individuals and refrains from government activities which might impede their economic freedom and private enterprise.

☞ If I had wanted to, I could have set up a military dictatorship and governed the country through it. But all I had in mind was to help create a modern state for my nation.

☞ The extraordinary achievements of the Turkish nation, including the political and social reforms of recent years, are truly the work of the nation herself. If our nation had lacked this talent and ability to progress, no force or power could have galvanized her to create all this. The source of our inspiration has been directly the conscience of the Turkish nation.

☞ The problem is not dying. It is to bring our ideals to fruition before we die.

THE PROBLEM IS NOT DYING.
IT IS TO BRING OUR IDEALS TO FRUITION
BEFORE WE DIE.





Turkish youth!

Your foremost duty is to preserve and defend forever the Turkish independence and the Republic. This is the very foundation of your existence, and of your future. This is your most precious treasure. In the future, too, you will have enemies, at home and abroad, who will try to deprive you of this treasure. If some day you are compelled to defend your independence and Republic, you will not think within the limitations and constraints of the situation in which you find yourself. The prospects and conditions might look quite unfavorable. The enemies conspiring against your independence and Republic might represent a victory unprecedented in the world.

By force and by subterfuge, all of our beloved country's fortresses may have been captured, all of its shipyards occupied, all of its armies dispersed, all of its land invaded. To make matters far more sad and grave, those in power in the country may be misguided or corrupt; they may even be traitors. Furthermore, those in power might identify their personal interests with the political designs of the invaders. The nation may be foundering in poverty and distress; it may be devastated and exhausted.

The youth of Turkey's future!

Even in such circumstances, it is your duty to save the Turkish independence and the Republic. The strength you need is in the noble blood that flows in your veins.

Photos

- 4 Ottoman soldiers discharged following the Armistice of Moudros walking from the Taurus Mountains towards the train station to return home.
- 6 General Franchet d'Esperey, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies in the East being met at Sarayburnu pier by Cevat Pasha and British General Wilson (23 November 1918).
- 7 Sultan Mehmed Vahdeddin VI on his way to the Hamidiye Mosque in Yıldız for the Friday parade.
- 8 Field Marshal Fevzi Çakmak (seated) who served as Chief of General Staff during the War of Independence and his deputy Asım (Gündüz) Pasha (on his left, standing).
- 11 The National Forces, from all corners of the land, who took up arms upon the invasion of Anatolia.
- 12 Ceremony organized in Ankara on the occasion of the second anniversary of the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (23 April 1922).
- 13 Gazi Mustafa Kemal.
- 14 Gazi Mustafa Kemal addressing the people of Bursa on the occasion of the second anniversary of the liberation of Bursa (11 September 1924).
- 17 Gazi Mustafa Kemal in Eskişehir after the grand victory (15 January 1923).
- 18 The founders of the Republic leaving the Turkish Grand National Assembly for the ceremonies on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic (29 October 1930).
- 20 Atatürk with students at the Adana Girls Institute (19 November 1937).
- 21 Atatürk watching Turkish planes during a field exercise at the Metris Artillery School (29 May 1936).
- 22 Gazi Mustafa Kemal reading the "Speech" (Nutuk) at the rostrum of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (15 October 1927).
- 25 Gazi Mustafa Kemal at the tea party organized by the Society for the Study of Turkish History in honour of the French Professor Delaport (7 June 1931).
- 26 Gazi Mustafa Kemal at the invitation in honour of Amanullah Khan, the king of Afghanistan (May 1928).
- 28 Gazi Mustafa Kemal dancing at the wedding of his adoptive daughter Nebile (17 January 1929).
- 29 A group of female students in front of the İstanbul Darülfünun, later transformed into İstanbul University, in the early 1930s (*Bir Yurttaş Yaratmak*, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1998, p. 107).
- 30 Gazi Mustafa Kemal on a tractor during his inspection at the Gazi Farm and Forest in Ankara (July 1928).
- 32 Gazi Mustafa Kemal being greeted by a delegation wearing hats on his return from his visit to Kastamonu where he announced the "Hat Reform" (1 September 1925).
- 33 Gazi Mustafa Kemal at the İstanbul Haydarpaşa Station with Kâzım Özalp and the greeting delegation (6 August 1929).
- 35 Gazi Mustafa Kemal greeting the public and female students in İzmit amidst an enthusiastic welcome (5 June 1928).
- 36 Gazi Mustafa Kemal at work during a travel to İzmir (31 January 1931).
- 39 Gazi Mustafa Kemal introducing the new Latin letters to the public in Kayseri (20 September 1928). This photograph was published on the cover of the 13 October 1928 issue of the journal *Illustration*.
- 40 Gazi Mustafa Kemal following a lesson with students at the İstanbul University Law Faculty (15 December 1930).
- 42 Atatürk and İsmet İnönü at Yeşilköy Airport (16 June 1936).
- 45 Gazi Mustafa Kemal giving his famous speech during the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Republic (29 October 1933).
- 46 Gazi Mustafa Kemal on his way to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Republic (29 October 1933).
- 48 Gazi Mustafa Kemal resting on the Ege ferry (27 November 1930).
- 49 Atatürk, greeting the public gathered to meet him from the ferry (1936).
- 50 Atatürk, at the industry exhibition with Afet İnan and Kâzım Özalp, the President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly.
- 51 Mine workers in the 1920s.
- 53 Gazi Mustafa Kemal, travelling to Samsun on the İzmir ferry (14 September 1928).
- 54 Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

