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## NEW POWER OF CENTERS -1908-1923- AND GENERAL REVIEWS

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### Öz

Genç Cumhuriyetin oluşumu bir oldu bitti şeklinde değerlendirilse de bunun böyle olmadığı bir realitedir. Cumhuriyetin ilan edilmesi belli bir tarihsel birikime, tarihsel arka plana ve demokrasi mücadelesine dayanmakta olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. İttihatçı kadroların çoğunluğunun aklında yatan da cumhuriyetin ilan edilmesi ve parlamenter demokrasiye geçmekti. Uzun yıllar süren savaşların sonunda ise İttihatçılar ve genç cumhuriyetin kurucularının gönlünde yatan büyük devletler arasında denge politikası izlemektir. Fakat araya Birinci Paylaşım Savaşı'nın ve Balkan Savaşlarının girmesi bu politikanın izlenmesine engel olmuştur. Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın kazanılmasından sonra ise bizzat Atatürk tarafından bu özlemler birer birer hayata geçirildi. Öncelikle Atatürk, dış politikada "Yurtta Sulh Cihanda Sulh" anlayışını hayata geçirmiş, ülke içinde devrimlerini tatbik edebilmek için muhaliflerini saf dışı bırakmayı başarmış ve hem içeride hem de dışarıda istikrarlı bir Türkiye'nin oluşumunu sağlamıştır. Tabi ki bu kolay olmamış bunun için büyük mücadeleler verilmiş, küskünlükler, ayrılıklar, sürgünler hatta ölümler yaşanmıştır. Özellikle İttihatçılarla-Atatürk arasında yaşanan iktidar savaşı döneme damgasını vurmuştur. Atatürk'ün askerlik yıllarından bu yana İttihatçı kadrolarla fikir ayrılıkları yaşadığı malumdur. Kurtuluş Savaşı kazanıldıktan sonra bu çekişme tekrar alevlenecek ve İttihatçıların tasfiye edilmesiyle bu mücadele sonlanacaktır.

Bu çalışmada amacımız Genç cumhuriyetin oluşumunun tarihsel arka planını ve bu arka planın cumhuriyet kadrolarının izlediği dış politikaya etkilerini ifade etmektir. Olayların örgüsünü tamamlayabilmek için iç politikaya da yer verildi. İç politikada yaşanan mücadeleler daha sonra Atatürk'ün olaylara yaklaşımında da kırılmalara yol açmıştır. Çalışmamızda pek çok yazarın makale, gazete ve kitaplarına atıfta bulunarak ifade edilmek istenen tarihsel gerçeklikler anlatıldı.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Devrim, Cumhuriyet, Atatürk, Musul, Hatay.

### Abstract

Although the formation of the Young Republic is regarded as fait accompli, the truth is not like this. We can say that the proclamation of the republic is based on a certain historical accumulation, historical background and struggle for democracy. What was in mind of the majority of the Unionist cadres was the declaration of the republic and the transition to parliamentary democracy. At the end of the long years of war, it was to follow a policy of balance between the Great Powers, which were in the hearts of the Unionists and the founders of the young republic. However, the intervention of the First Sharing War and the Balkan Wars prevented this policy from being followed. After the War of Independence, these aspirations were realized one by one by Atatürk himself. First of all, Atatürk implemented the

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“Peace at Home Peace and Peace at Home” approach in foreign policy, he managed to eliminate his opponents in order to apply his revolutions within the country and he enabled the formation of a stable Turkey both inside and outside. Of course, this has not been easy; great struggles have been made for this, resentment, separations, exiles and even deaths were examined. The war of power, especially between the Unionists and Atatürk, left its mark on the period. It is known that Atatürk has been disagreeing with the Unionist cadres since his military years. After the War of Independence ended with success, this struggle reignited and this struggle would end with the clearing up the Unionists.

Our aim in this study is to express the historical background of the formation of the young republic and its effects on the foreign policy followed by the cadres of the republic. Internal policy was also included to complete the pattern of the events. The struggles in domestic politics later caused breaks in Ataturk's approach to the events. In our study, the historical realities that are desired to be expressed by referring to the articles, newspapers and books of many authors are explained.

**Keywords:** Revolution, Republic, Atatürk, Mosul, Hatay.

## **Introduction**

The victors of the First World War, Britain and France have come to Turkey's state counterparts by settling in Syria and Iraq. The issue of Mosul and Hatay, which could not be resolved at the Lausanne Conference, were the issues to be negotiated with these states. The biggest factor hampering Turkey's Middle East policy was that the major states were closely related to trade policies and energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean. The strategic position of the Suez Canal that directs the world trade, the Gulf of Basra, the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, the Mediterranean ports, the airways and the highways shows the importance of this issue. On the other hand, the Mediterranean has maintained its "Political Sea" feature in every period (Üçaroğlu, 1985, 439).

National struggle cadres influenced the social and political structure of the Turkish Republic as an important sign of the ideological structure and historical unity created by those coming from the Union and Progress tradition. The cadres that will direct the foreign policy of the Young Turkish Republic will simultaneously adopt the idea of “saving the state” with the idea of “Perpetuity” (Kahraman, 2010, 54). US President Wilson 'announcement that he will sit at the peace table with democratic governments at the end of the war would come with the pressure of the Allied states to establish democratic governments in the defeated states, the waiver of the German emperor, the proclamation of the establishment of the Republic, and the declaration of republic in Austria and Hungary (Akşin, 1987, 50). This pressure, which was established on the defeated countries, certainly had an impact on the cadres carrying out the National Struggle; but the Young Turk ideology in the beginning of the Committee of Unionists appears as the continuation of the ideology of the cadres coming from the Union and Progress tradition of the idea that we can formulate as republic, parliamentary assembly, progressing with Western values, development, modernization, and Westernization (Oktay, 1997, 72). The opening of the parliament in 1920, proclamation of the republic in 1923, the experience of the founders of the young Republic of Turkey adopting the ideology of the nation-state model of Western countries started in Macedonia and the Military College (Akşin, 1987, 50). It is no doubt that the gangs that make all kinds of sacrifices for their nations are a lively example in front of the Ottoman officers (Akşin, 1987, 50-51).

Turkey's foreign policy has to be understood as official policy pursued by the government (Ayhan, 2012, 31). foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey, was created by Ataturk after the War

of Independence. The main feature of the foreign policy of Atatürk period has been attached to the principle of balance policy against neighboring region states and the world state.

Besides the social and economic problems caused by the war, the disappearance of the young generation in the war, the complete cessation of production in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry, hunger and disease have come to a head and these factors have reached dimensions that affect the future of Turkey. Atatürk's motto "Peace at Home, Peace at the World" constituted the general framework of Turkish foreign policy. As for the Turkish society to realize objectives of socio-economic reforms, it will carry out the stability of Turkey to relieve the new republic and will give the opportunity to reform efforts that will form the basis of the state (Sander, 1995, 305).

### **1. Turkey and Its Tough Story**

Turkism is seen as the ideology of the sections of the bureaucracy and civil intellectuals acting in the idea of defending their own state against the demands of various nations within the Ottoman Empire for independence. Turkism is an ideological-political program systematically written by Ziya Gökalp. The Union-Progress policy that defends the Turks as the dominant nation was defeated by the First World War, and The Union-Progress Party has been unsuccessful due to the shelter of its senior staff abroad. Ziya Gokalp, the ideologist of the ideological-political program of Turkism, is also exiled. With the establishment of a new Turkish Republic state after the war of independence, Gökalp returns from exile but he will never be as effective as before.

The ideology of Turkism adopted by Kemalist cadres were Turkish Turkism and moderate liberal nationalism. Especially the reflections of Turanism in foreign policy were seen as an idea that would put Kemalist cadres in a difficult situation. In order to understand the practical consequences and internal logic of the political thoughts of Kemalist cadres, it is useful to look at Yusuf Akçura's Three Styles of Politics in 1904 (Berktaş, 1991, 23).

Atatürk's condemnation of Panturkism in the speech of Eskişehir in 1921, keeping Turkish nationalism limited to Misak-i Milli (National Oath) on a geographical basis, forcing Turkish mines to carry out their activities within this framework are domestic and foreign policy moves carried out by Atatürk when the Grand National Assembly government negotiated a friendship policy with the Soviet government in Moscow.

For Ankara cadres who did not forget that Istanbul had applied to the religious authority owned by the Caliph in 1919-1922 in order to protect the "Nizam-ı Alem", they thought that there was a definite link between the defense of the "ancient regimes" and the clergy. Like Thomas Palne, Atatürk found the divine doctrine of kings against both the freedom and reason of the individual, and the discourse that "Religions cause the despotism of the kings and the sultans" (Aksin, 1987, 47). Reflects the inner logic of the orientation of the Kemalist political thought cadres.

In the 19th century world, mobility and nationalism everywhere begin the struggle for the rights of the nation with historiography (Ortaylı, 1987, 73). In other words, national histories, which envisage nations to prove their existence in the depths of history, are often invented with nationalist historians, often filled with mistakes. Thus, it is seen that historians, who at least played the role of the father of the nations in the ideological plan, became the leader in many cases in the nation-state building process with the intellectual prestige and public recognition it provided (Ortaylı, 1987, 23). If we talk about the features of the 19th century, we can say that it was a century when the nation-state building process became fashionable.

Şerif Mardin starts with the following question in his research analysis in the book "Political Ideas of Young Turks 1895-1908": What was the real reason that mobilized the Young Turks? The answer to this question should be sought for deeper problems. One of them is the

mismatch between the “ideal” community that they can envision and the 2nd Abdülhamid era community. Mardin thinks that the difference between a society where social ties are established through individuals and social ties in pursuit of abstract principles lies at the root of this value mismatch and the effects of the enlightenment ideas in Europe have been through the new life values necessarily brought by the new institutions acquired but not through the great thinkers of this era in Turkey.

In 1928, when Atatürk was worried by saying these words “Turkish children who will migrate in the near past will not be the true owner of this country. Turks cannot establish an empire in Anatolia as a tribal. This should have another explanation. The science of history should reveal this.” (İnan, 1939, 243-246), Fuat Köprülü makes a sound and proper explanation of Turkish History, which he describes as "Historical Walk of Anatolian Turkishness". Instead of turning the concepts of state into metaphysical poles that absolutely exclude each other, the step-by-step transition from the Oghuz Turks example to the other proves the qualitative transformation between them meticulously (Köprülü, 1981, 182).

## **2. Turkey's Structural Problems and Changes**

The period started from 1908 and continued in an environment where political ideas such as Ottomanism and Turkism were discussed at the intellectual level through the press. The Ottoman Empire sees Ottomanism as a superior identity that can hold the Ottoman empire together with a pragmatic approach. Some of the Ottoman intellectuals strongly criticized the Turkism political intellectual movement which seems to disrupt this superior identity. They pointed out that the Turks were a new race because they were mixed with other races, and that the Ottomans could no longer be considered Turkish. Proponents of the Ottomanist movement, which claimed further accusations, claimed that the language used by the Turks was Ottoman. Therefore, Ottomanists do not see themselves as Turkish, but do not see their language as Turkish.

Citizenship, which started to become widespread in Europe after the French Revolution, brought forward the understanding of Ottoman identity with its political pragmatism as a new political approach based on legal equality; but it is also seen as a step back from the traditional Ottoman system. Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire had an autonomous position, organized as a congregation and were divided into religious categories (Somel, 2001, 88-89). Among the reasons why the thought of Ottomanism was not seen as a promising movement, there was a situation related to the roots of belonging in Ottoman society in the context of nationalism and religion. With the announcement of the July 24, 1908 Constitutional Monarchy, this break will be accelerated. The staff of the Committee of Union and Progress, which seized state administration, will follow Turkish-liberal policies in their political idea programs. The Jews were involved in the opposite stance of the Young Turks against Abdulhamid's absolutism. The Jews participated in the elections within the framework of the Union and Progress programs, not their national programs. In the same period, Moses Cohen, one of the Jewish intellectuals, wrote articles advocating national economy and national protectionism politics under the name of Munis Tekin Alp (Tunaya, 1992, 504).

The “İçtihat Journal” published by Dr Ahmet Cevdet in 1913 brings serious criticism to Turkism. The debate between Süleyman Nazif, one of the authors of the journal, and Ahmet Ağayef, the author of the “Türk Yurdu” (Turkish Homeland) , is important. In his article titled “Genghis Disease” by Süleyman Nazif, it was suggested that the Ottoman integrity could be protected not by the memories of Genghis Khan, but by the holy legacy of the Prophet Muhammad, that the politics of Turkism would cause divisive ideas to enter the Ottoman Empire (Somel, 1992, 113). The discussion between Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Satı Bey in 1911 is about

education. Against Gökalp's ideas that highlight the collective consciousness sociology of Emile Durkheim, Satı Bey advocated that psychology should be based on sociology rather than sociology. He claimed that spiritual ties were an important factor in keeping the Empire together, and the understanding of homeland, which is a product of historical and political will were decisive in addition to Islam (Somel, 1992, 114).

In the Ottoman society, Turkish society is the society whose nation consciousness is formed at the latest. With the influence of the Islamic religion, the Islamic ummah or the consciousness of the Islamic nation is more prominent. With the announcement of the Constitutional Monarchy, there was a full explosion in the press world in the sense of newspapers and magazines, and within a year, three hundred and fifty newspapers and magazines started to be published in Istanbul (Şapolyo, 1971, 173). Therewithal, the newspapers published became the intellectual representatives and advocates of political parties as a political party. Among the many newspapers published, Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi directs his criticism to the Committee of Union and Progress with his newspaper "Hikmet". While Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi defines himself as Ottoman Turkish, he underlines that Islam is a unifying factor.

### **3. Ideological Dimensions of Game Disruption**

The results of Mustafa Kemal's reaction to the Union Progress Movement will emerge in the future, with his discourse to the Anadolu Agency on April 14, 1923, "Today, nobody has the authority to act on behalf of the Union and Progress Association or his party" (Kocatürk, 1973, 251).

The grouping formed by a different circle of ideological ideas in the Union and Progress can be mentioned as the environment formed by the Cavit-Karasu and Ali İhsan-Kara Kemal ideologies. The guild organization, which was removed together with Tanzimat, continued as a "shopkeeper". In 1909, the Committee of Union and Progress decided to reorganize the tradesmen and established the Chambers of Tradesmen. Especially Ali İhsan, and Mahmut Şevket (Esental) and Kara Kemal, who play an active role in the establishment of chambers of craftsmen, are regarded as representatives of small tradesmen and small entrepreneurs as theorists of the populist ideology. The interests of the trade sector were made under the leadership of Cavit-Karasu, the defender of the liberal economy in the Union and Progress. Conflicts of interest of these two groups have frequently been on the agenda. The Committee of Union and Progress played an important role in the transfer of the chambers of tradesmen to the Turks. The organization of Istanbul's food business was conquered by the Kara Kemal group, and the cereals bought from Anatolia with wagon trade were brought to Istanbul and distributed to the grocery stores. The mills were in the hands of the Greeks. Cereal trade in Istanbul remained in the hands of the Greek merchant. With the decision of Talat Bey and Kara Kemal, Kara Kemal was purchasing from Anatolia with wagons with the allocation of some of the wagons (Ağaoğlu, 1943, 36-39). The First World War had started and its effects were creating difficulties and hardship for Istanbul in terms of basic needs and food. The food supply method, which is considered among the measures to overcome these troubles, has been successful. However, the high profit it provides will turn into a conflict of interest, and on August 18, 1917, the "General Directorate of Food Management" will be established (Ağaoğlu, 1943, 39). Until the end of the war, this system tries to solve the problem of food. The course of the war did not seem promising. The loss of the war brought the question of what the denouement of the Union and Progress will be. "It was decided to establish a new one called Teceddüt with the persons who were not smudged or involved in embarrassing jobs and the closure of the Committee of Union and Progress was deemed appropriate, and upon the proposal of Kara Kemal, it was decided that the founders of the Committee of the Union and Progress

should go abroad" at the last congress attended by all the Union and Progress leaders. On the night of 2-3 November 1918, the leaders of the Union and Progress Association fled abroad, and on November 11, 1908, the Party of Teceddüd was officially established (Tunaya, 2015, 407-410). Despite this, the Committee of Union and Progress remained intact. To ensure this integrity, with the directive of Talat Pasha, Kara Kemal Bey and Kara Vasıf Bey founded the secret police station (Himmetoğlu, 1975, 81). Intense intelligence gathering activities would attract the attention of British intelligence, Kara Kemal Bey would be arrested by putting pressure on the Izzet Pasha cabinet, he would be released upon the intervention of Cavit Bey, and then would be arrested again by the Tevfik Pasha cabinet on 29-30 January 1919 (Akşin, 1976, 142).

On March 16, 1920, the First Parliament was actually disbanded, the fourth Damat Ferit Pasha Cabinet officially dissolved the assembly on April 11, 1920. With the closure of the assembly and the forced intelligence, the staff of Headquarters and Ali İhsan Bey had to go to Ankara. After coming to Ankara, they met with Mustafa Kemal through Celal Bayar (Tunaya, 2015, 454). Teşkilatı Mahsusa (A Special Organisation) was established by the order of Talat, Cemal, and Enver Pasha. The agency has undertaken not only military intelligence but also services that are not exposed in the basic policy pursued by the state. (Kutay, 1980, 168) The organization was completely independent in its work, it only gave information to the Grand Vizier and the Minister of War (Avşar, 2002, 52). They sent many aid to Anatolia during the National Struggle period and they had useful services. Disturbed by the independent movements of the Karakol Association, Mustafa Kemal reported his reaction to the Karakol Association's army chief Kara Vasıf Bey at the Sivas Congress. The transfer of the Karakol Association to bilateral relations with the Bolsheviks without the permission of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the signing of the agreement as the "Representative of the Turkish Intervention Government" (Karabekir, 1960, 628-630) caused the National Struggle to show a two-headed situation.

Another struggle will take place in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The "People's group", which was a group within the Turkish Grand National Assembly, consisted of leftist Unionists. They also included Çerkez Ethem and his friends in the country. Enver Pasha, who tried to reorganize the Unionists inside and outside the country, and then the organization named "People's Council", was in contact and taking an attitude against Mustafa Kemal (Güloğlu, 2010, 261-274). At the Deputy of Internal Medicine on September 4, 1920 Nazım Bey, the candidate of the opposing group, won instead of Mustafa Kemal's candidate Refet Bey. This led to Mustafa Kemal taking steps to require different tactical measures. The (Official), "Communist Party of Turkey" was founded By adding friends and prominent people of the People's Class to this formation. (<https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/mustafa-kemal-pasa-ve-turkiye-komunist-firkasi>) "Professional Representation" program, in which Ali İhsan Bey spent effort is placed in the program of the Turkey Communist Party. Ali İhsan Bey's program was introduced in Yeni Gün newspaper as "Ideologist of the Communist Party of Turkey" and "Turkish Karl Marx", which attracted the reaction of the Russians. (*Anadolu'da Yedi Gün*, 20.10.1920)

Rebuffing the Greek offensive in Anatolia will reinforce the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha with the Turkish Army winning a definite victory in Sakarya. Committee of Union and Progress opposition will go to a different organization and will seek to strengthen the opposition. Cavit Bey returned to Istanbul in 1922 and attended the Lausanne Conference as a delegate. With the interruption of the Lausanne Peace talks, he returned to politics again. During a trip to the west, Mustafa Kemal meets Kara Kemal in Izmit. We can evaluate this initiative for the purpose of establishing an agreement ground.

Returning to politics again, Cavit Bey and Kara Kemal would join the business of organizing the opposition within active politics. Mustafa Kemal's move was not delayed. As of

1924, the privileges of porters, greengrocers and guilds were abolished. With the decree issued on September 17, 1925, the powers given to the artisans associations were transferred to the Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Ağaoğlu, 1943, 63). Economic support of the Union and Progress supporters was weakened. The Izmir assassination attempt would have brought a dramatic result for the Unionist opposition group. Among the leaders, Cavit Bey, Dr Nazım, Hilmi Bey, İsmail Canbolat (Istanbul Deputy) Mehmet Hafız (Trabzon Deputy) Rüştü Pasha (Erzurum Deputy) Rasim (Retired Baytar Colonel) Şükrü (Izmit Deputy) Ziya Hurşit (Former Lazistan Deputy) Edip (Sarı Efe) Eskişehir Deputy, Arıdın (Deputy of Saruhan) Nais Turgut (Deputy of Sivas) Hilmi (Çopur) İsmail (Laz) will be executed with an additional decision on 3.1.1926. Kılıç Ali says in his memories that Kara Kemal directed the assassination. In the two-year trial, 2436 people went to trial. 1343 of these people were acquitted, during the first year, 76 direct and 52 defaulting deaths were decided (Aybars, 2006, 334-341). Ali İhsan was acquitted because he gave detailed information to the court. When Kara Kemal realized that he would be arrested regarding İzmir Assassination, he would escape and hide. When the place where Kara Kemal was hiding was determined after a certain time and asked to surrender, he would enter the records that he committed suicide with his own weapon.

#### **4. Mental Approaches and Political Crises**

Republican cadres from the cadres of the Young Ottomans movement, which prepared the First and Second Constitutionalism, explained the answer to the question of how to save the country with the formula of establishing a republic based on national will. After Mustafa Kemal declares the republic, his gunmate Kazım Karabekir and his friends from the period of struggle will be offended because they do not know that the Republic will be established. Constitutional Law (Constitution) is accepted on 20 January 1921. Article-1 and Article 2 of the Constitutional Law meant that "no power above the assembly was recognized" and Article 4 of the Constitutional Law "State of Turkey will be managed by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey" meant that the sultan and the caliphate were actually abolished.

Sultanate and caliphate were abolished on March 3, 1924. Kazım Karabekir's claim states that Mustafa Kemal wanted these authorities, but that they prevented them from seizing him. (Karabekir, 2005, 195) Mete Tuncay considers this process as closely related to Mustafa Kemal Pasha's walking towards personal sovereignty (Tuncay, 1989, 70-71). The opening of the First Assembly and the groupings will reflect the political thought tendencies of today's world. Since the beginning of the Union and Progress Association (1912), we know the efforts to create a national bourgeois and maintain international trade relations with Cavit and Karasu. We see that the founding cadres of the Republic are also turning towards the same economic target. The first group in the First Assembly is Kör Ali İhsan People's Group, which is formed on the idea of "Professional Representation". It is known as a left-leaning group. In the process that follows comes the group that supports Mustafa Kemal under the name of Istiklal Group. Anadolu and Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Group, which was established on April 10, 1921 with the directive of Mustafa Kemal, follows this group (Demirel, 1995, 214). Hüseyin Avni Bey will establish the Second Group. In July 1922, we see the program of the group in the newspaper Tan, published by Ali Şükrü Bey, one of the leading names of the Second Group (Demirel, 1995, 398-401). The aim of the group was, in their own words, the attempts of Mustafa Kemal to assume full authority, take over the control of the parliament and reinforce his personal power, based on the Commander-in-Chief Law (Demirel, 1995, 232). While the harsh opposition of Ali Şükrü Bey led to mutual hardening by Mustafa Kemal's group, the environment, which was strained by the death of Ali Şükrü Bey by Mustafa Kemal's guard regiment Commander Osman, led to the election decision of

the assembly (April 1, 1923). On April 3, 1923, the important amendments were made in the election law and the parliament was closed. As the parliament started working again, a change was made in the "Law on Treason" on April 15, 1923. The law leading to this change has been associated with the Unionists. After this amendment to the "Law on Treason", nobody can act on behalf of this party anymore (Demirel, 2012, 32). Unionists were prevented from entering the elections on their behalf. Hüseyin Avni (Ulaş), who formed the opposition of the second group in the First Assembly, told the Istanbul press that they will not participate in the election as a group, that the members of the group will work personally and that he is undecided about his candidacy (Demirel 2012, 33). The People's Party, which entered the 1923 elections unrivaled, wins the elections.

The 1924 Constitutional amendment is accepted as a result of intensive discussions in the parliament. After the constitutional amendment process, Kazım Karabekir and Ali Fuat Cebesoy resign from their military duties alternately and begin to attend parliamentary meetings. On December 17, 1924, an opposition party is established under the name of Progressive Republican Party (TPCF). Mustafa Kemal Pasha will call these developments the "Pasha Conspiracy". On November 10, 1924, it will be renamed Republican People's Party by adding the word Republic as the People's Party. Hüseyin Avni (Ulaş) Bey, who opposes the administration of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, states in his statement to the "Vakit" newspaper dated 23 November 1924, "TPCF is the product of the need that gave birth to the Second Group". The continuation of the Second Group opposition, which was excluded from the 1923 elections, can be considered an indicator of continuity (Demirel, 2012, 73).

##### **5. The Factors Directing Turkish Foreign Policy**

The founders of the Young Republic established it at a time when socialism and capitalism were on the rise. The Republic, which draws a devastating path to itself, has continued its legacy from the Ottoman intellectuals in its revolutions and decided to pursue a free market and then a statist policy. In fact, when we look at the conditions of the period, there was no alternative that could be a model in front of the Young Republic. Because most of the Islamic countries had become colonial and modernism was now considered the other for Islamic countries. The Islamic countries trying to unravel the realities of the 20th century with centuries-old understanding were left behind. At this point, the Turkish intellectuals who fought for a democracy for 150 years were influenced by the understanding of civilization of the West. Therefore, they drew their domestic and foreign policies on a Western axis. The struggle was the struggle to reach a true civilization. When we examine the conditions of the period without falling into anachronism, there were two alternatives: either Marxism or the free market Western model. Turkey, was able to implement planned statism successfully as a third way especially in 1930s. During this period, Turkey was able to establish good relations with neighboring countries as well aware of its power and it could be the leading actor in various alliances. Turkey was able to use the most valid ways to counter the threat from Germany and Italy.

The cadres of the Young Republic have chosen to be cautious in foreign relations, being aware of their own strength. They avoided the adventurism that would leave the Ottoman in a difficult situation such as Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. Although these two ideologies as consistent in themselves as well, they were the main factors that adversely affected Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union in the conditions of that period. So there were valid reasons for a self-sufficient policy in foreign policy.

The fact that the Republican cadres draw the National Pact borders to themselves was not only due to their lack of visibility, but rather the conditions of the period. Therefore, it was



necessary to get along with neighbors and great powers in foreign politics. It is a foreign policy success to be able to get along with its neighbors, even with Greece, with pro-active politics.

## Conclusion

In one dimension of the ideological conflict of the 19th and 20th centuries, there is a philosophical-political view of the interests of capital groups concentrated in the capitalist system, and on the other hand, Marxism. The philosophical-political ideology that Marxism advocates as the anti-thesis of capitalism, has put forward itself on the political platform as the ideological view advocated by intellectuals and artists of many countries as it promises aspirations such as national liberation, national development, equality, social justice and disappearance of exploitation. They opposed the existing order and called themselves revolutionary. In a period when many intellectuals regarded it as a radical theory but utopically, Marxist-Socialism came to power with the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which caused hopes to increase. Socialist statism holds itself together with the oppressed and exploited classes.

There were some who were affected by Marxism during the National Struggle, but they did not have enough power. Neither Atatürk nor most of his friends were Marxists. We can say that Atatürk is a free marketer as seen in the dismissal of İnönü from the prime ministry. It is not a coincidence that the Deputy of Economics is Celal Bayar who is a liberal. We can take Atatürk as an example since he was frowning on Marxism due to the weakness of the working class.

It may not be wrong to associate the factors that shape Turkish foreign policy with domestic issues; because almost all of the important decisions taken inside are reflected in foreign policy like Sheikh Said Rebellion. After the Sheikh Said Rebellion, foreign policy has ceased to be a reactionary and turned into a defensive identity. The origin of the founders of the Young Republic from the Unionist cadres led to a Western policy in domestic and foreign affairs. There was no other alternative as a system at that time. The problematic of the ideology of the new state was also important. Consisting of western and liberal nationalist cadres, the founders managed to liquidate the caliphate-sultanate group by acting strategically. While doing this, they lollid against the army.

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