

**CONFERENCES HELD IN ROMANIA (1930-1942)  
ABOUT THE REFORMS AND MODERNITY OF THE STATE  
FOUNDED BY KEMAL ATATÜRK (OCTOBER 29, 1923). WITH THE  
OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

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***Abstract***

In our historiography, in the study of Romanian-Turkish relations, circumstantial in the interwar period, the call, in more detail, to contemporary testimonies can also be enriched by highlighting the public conferences held by personalities of scientific or public life (N. Batzaria, Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Petre Gheță, N. Iorga, Ion Gr. Periețeanu et al.), in Bucharest and in other cities of the country; they present to the Romanian reader, above all, the image of the modernizing achievements of the new Eurasian republican state – the Kemalist Turkey. This is the approach we propose, in summary, in the following lines.

**Key words:** *Centennial Turkish Republic, Kemal Atatürk, Interwar Conferences on Republic of Turkey, N. Batzaria, Ion Dragu, Ion Gr. Periețeanu, Petre Gheță.*

**Introduction**

October 29, 1923, represents one of the most important landmark dates in the contemporary history of Europe – a new state was born, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938) (Ghiață, 1975: *passim*; Guboglu, 1981: 89-110) with a republican form of government – on the ruins of the late Ottoman Empire –, whose secularism and continuous transformation, towards prosperity and ensuring national-territorial security, marked its evolution until today.

The progress – truly historic – of the *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*, towards institutional modernization and the morals of the members of the society, her imposition on the international level, gradually becoming a great power – were revealed in conferences (only that of the great Romanian historian N. Iorga, from 1940, is the only one that does not explicitly refer to republican Turkey /Țăranu, 2019: 1229-1250/, but only reveals its premises), by Romanian publicists and intellectuals (but also of two foreign lecturers), during the period interwar period – as the reader can get to know, punctually, through the few period testimonies below.

At the Centenary of the Republic, Turkey – with which the Romanian State had, from the beginning, the most amicable relations, with official visits at the highest level and close cooperation in maintaining a climate of peace and regional cooperation (Ekrem, 1993: *passim*; Anghel, 2014: 435-450; Cojocaru, 2014: *passim*; Boșcan, 2021: *passim*; Gemil, 2022: 183-195) – presents itself as a state with a development, on multiple levels, truly extraordinary, and, no less, as an increasingly distinct voice among the Great Powers of the contemporary World: „The great victory of the Turkish people, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in its fight for national liberation and for the

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creation of a modern Turkey on one hand, and on other the completion of the process of the shaping of the national united Romanian state (on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918) underpinned and directed the development of new relations between the two states in the interwar period” (Gemil, 2022: 183).

### The New Turkey

#### **Mr. N. Batzaria's Conference at the Romanian Social Institute**

[*Noua Turcie. Conferința d-lui N. Batzaria la Institutul Social Român*]

Mr. N. Batzaria was a militant in the revolutionary action of the Young Turks. That movement of 1908 was the expression and even the creation of the Macedonian revolutionary spirit and brought through its successor, the Macedonian Mustafa Kemal Pasa, to the current republican regime (in an absolutist manner) of Mustafa Kemal.

Today there is a nationalist, republican state called New Turkey. In the complex of post-war states, it represents a special formation. That's why the Romanian Social Institute consecrated a conference for such political experimentation, which saved the Turkish state from the serious confusion in which the absolutist monarchical regime had brought it. Mr. N. Batzaria was entrusted with the treatment of this subject, for his competence in the matter, given the effective collaboration he had in the action of the Turkish juries.

The old state of absolutist Turkey is well known, in which the sultan, “the shadow of Allah”, considered himself the master of his estate. The prototype of the Turkish sultan was embodied by Abdul-Hamid, about whom Mr. Batzaria gave some interesting characterizations. The dethronement of Sultan Abdul-Hamid by the Young Turks, in 1909, meant the enthronement of the constitutional regime, i.e., the inclusion of Turkey among the European states; they created the New Turkey, and their work was perfected and deviated at the same time by their successor and student, Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Mr. Batzaria emphasized that Mustafa Kemal, from a political point of view, backed away from the libertarian and rigorous constitutional regime of the Young Turks, because he limited and reduced constitutional freedoms. The new Turkey must be understood as a modern national state. This concept is also due to the Turks, who modified from the beginning the old concept of the state, medieval absolutist from the time of the sultans.

On the other hand, where under the old regime the state did not have an official name, the capital did not have a name and there was no national language – the Young Turks introduced the name of the state, and Mustafa Kemal fixed the national language, as well as the name the capital of Stambul.

What characterizes a modern state, national consciousness and feeling, is due to the Young Turks for the New Turkey; they gave the Turkish people the national ideal for the future.

All of these are undisputed facts, which lead to Mr. Batzaria's conclusion that New Turkey is the work of Young Turks.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the national hero who saved the Turkish state and who was given, as a reward, the leadership of the republican state. The monarchical regime was abolished, and the republican personal regime was introduced. As the basis of all the reforms made by him resides the desire and the will of the man of action to bring the Turkish state closer to the European states of democratic-constitutional form. This

acceptance is a recognition – emphasized Mr. Batzaria – of the superiority of the Christian culture and spirit. The success of President Mustafa Kemal also lies in the luck of ruling over the gentle, honest, and submissive Turkish people.

His reforms are: the abolition of monarchism, the abolition of polygamy, the prohibition of wearing the fez, the abolition of the veil for women. But the most daring reform is the replacement of the Mohammedan religious code – the “golden law” – with the Swiss civil code. Among the great reforms, the adoption of the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic one is included.

The great change and upheaval will result from the economic consequences of the population exchange between the Turks and the Greeks. Through the peace treaty between the two states, it was decided that the population of the Orthodox religion in the Turkish state should pass to the Greek state, and the Mohammedan population in Greece should pass to Turkey. This exodus of human masses immediately produced disturbances, which will be accentuated in the economic field. Economic laws do not know political or other considerations. The experiment with the exodus of the Arabs from Spain and the Huguenots from France was not taken into account. With this phenomenon, serious problems have arisen for the Turkish state, especially economic ones, and they require heavy efforts, enormous expenses. The other innovations are not based on tradition, added Mr. Batzaria. Anyway, Turkey’s life is assured from now on because it has become a nation state. The future of the political regime – dictatorial, personal, and absolutist republic – is an open book. V.G. ([Batzaria], 1930: 5).

„Friends of Turkey” Academic Society Conferences

**New Turkey, the Creative Force. Mr. Ion Dragu’s Conference**

[*Turcia Nouă, forța creatoare. Conferința d-lui Ion Dragu*]

On Thursday, March 9, at 9 o’clock in the evening, in the hall of the Carol I University Foundation, under the patronage of the rector of the University of Bucharest, is opened the series of conferences on Turkey today, organized by the “Friends of Turkey” academic society.

In the presence of members of the delegation led by His Excellency Hamdullah Suphi bey, the Minister of Turkey, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of the university teaching staff and a large audience of intellectuals, freelancers and students, Mr. Ion Dragu held his conference on: “New Turkey, Creative Force”.

The lecturer wanted to show, in this year in which the definitive settlement of the Turkish Republic closes its decade, how, under a burning breath of work and progress, a nation strengthens its renewed life in a modern State that rises on the plateaus of Anatolia assaulted by workers and engineers.

Evoking the times of a quarter of a century ago, when Europe saw in Turkey only the “sick man” when the country and the people of the Osmanli were the object of a summary judgment, invented by greed, supported by contempt, transmitted by ease, adopted by laziness and peddled by each without taking into account the real characteristics of the nation, Mr. Ion Dragu outlined the story of the awakening efforts by restoring society and renewing Turkish thinking under the action of the Young Turks, the birth of the New Turkey after the Great War, in Anatolia, above the ruins and medieval reminiscences. The lecturer then showed how Mustafa Kemala made the

daring plan of establishing a purely Turkish secular and national state, through the Turk people, in the ethnic territory, how the great patriot developed his wonderful qualities as a master of people, stimulating the people's enthusiasm, while also acting on behalf of nation, according to the fundamental principles of democracy.

Mr. Dragu depicted the successive actions of the one who was first the liberator, then the creator, the congresses in Erzerum, and Sivas with the proclamation of the "national pact", the fight for the cleansing of the territory of the homeland, in the West against the Sultan's troops, in the East and South against the English and the French, especially the cruel, heroic struggle against the Greeks, which would, after bloody sacrifices on both sides, end in the reconquest of Smyrna and the abandonment of Asia Minor by the Greek population.

One by one, the lecturer showed the achievements of Marshal Mustafa Kemal Gazi for the definitive gain of independence, the recovery of Constantinople occupied by the allies, the dethronement of the Sultan, the consecration of Turkey's autonomy through the Treaty of Lausanne, finally the proclamation of the Republic, under the presidency of Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

In order, to clarify the work done since then and to judge the creative force of the New Turkey, Mr. Dragu evoked by contrast what Ankara, the center of human energy, means to Constantinople, the symbol of renunciation in world politics.

In the heart of harsh Anatolia, like a new conquest over nature reigns the ceaseless activity, the constructive fever, it is the victory of the creative spirit of Ankara over the paralyzing spirit of Stambul.

The lecturer then presented and explained the successive reforms carried out by the will of Mustafa Kemal, for the social, economic, and cultural transformation: the suppression of the Caliphate and the secularization of the Turkish State with its corollary the suppression of the fez and the veil on the face, the emancipation of women, the reform of the codes, the replacement of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin etc. and so on. He insisted on the new intellectual orientation of Turkey and the work of the famous "*câlamuri turvești*" (Turkish-Hogeac) in which the spiritual unity of the nation is worked on, and the treasures of the best Western experiences are collected, in order pour them into the pattern of the Turkish soul. Here, Mr. Dragu revealed the wonderful work done by Mr. Hamdullah Bey, the minister of Turkey in Bucharest, former president of these homes, their animator and guide, former minister of education of Turkey during the hardest hours of the history of Kemalism.

Mr. Dragu showed the achievements of the New Turkey, in the household field, since it was torn from economic phobia, the great works done, then outlining Turkey's foreign policy, he insisted on the role of the first plan, an active, conciliatory, and peaceful role that Turkey plays today in the Near East and the Balkans.

In conclusion, Mr. Dragu showed that Turkey is moving more and more towards a democracy with normal functioning, that the Gazi is only thinking about consolidating the homeland, he who, as a leader elected by the people, is the servant of this people, that the work done so far, in a few years alone, it proves what a creative force resides in the collective will to work and progress under the command of a superior discipline ([Dragu], 1933: 2).

## **Relations between Romanians and Turks**

### **The Conference of Mr. C.C. Giurescu**

*[Relațiile dintre români și turci. Conferința d-lui C.C. Giurescu]*

Saturday evening, in the Hall of the Carol I University Foundation, the "Friends of Turkey" academic society under the presidency of Mr. M. Livadaru, inaugurated the second cycle of conferences about Turkey, through the conference of university professor Constantin Giurescu. In the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Hamdullah Suphy Bey, the Minister of Turkey in Bucharest and a select and large audience, the lecturer first shows the importance of the work done by Mustafa Kemal, who must be considered the most significant figure in Turkish history since Suleiman the Magnificent. A political, military and organizing spirit, he is the founder of the Turkish national state, a state profoundly different from the old empire.

It then deals with the relations between Romanians and Turks, meaning by Turks not only the Ottomans, but the Ural-Altaic peoples in general, and shows the duration and intensity of these relations. He mentions the ties that existed with the Cumans, who left lasting traces in the toponymy of the Romanian countries, then moves on to the ties with the actual Turks. The Ottoman political domination over the Principalities is not based on the treaties or capitulations invoked so many times in our country at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These treaties or *hatisherifs* turned out to be late 18th century forgeries.

Maximum Turkish influence on us in the political order is in the Phanariot era.

The consequences of our relations with the Turks can be seen in many areas. If from an ethnic point of view, these consequences were not too significant, which does not mean that we do not have Uralo-Altaic blood in our veins at all – from a language point of view, they are considerable. Almost a fifth of the words of our language – several thousand in total – are of Uralo-Altaic or Turkic origin.

In any field of activity, in housing, in clothing, in food, in trades, in social life, we find a significant number of terms of this origin. Onomastics and toponymy also show an appreciable Turkish influence. And in the political field, our ties with the Turks had significant consequences.

As things stand, it is a duty for the Romanian culture to have thorough knowledge of Turkish history, language, and literature. That is why the Academy took the happy initiative of establishing a scholarship for their study. It is also necessary, concludes the lecturer, to establish a department of Oriental Studies at one of our universities ([Giurescu], 1933: 4).

### Conference of the "European Thinking" association

#### **From the Spirit of Stambul to the Spirit of Ankara**

*[De la spiritul Stambulului la spiritul Ankarei. Conferința asociației „Gândirea Europeană”]*

The "European Thought" cultural association, under the presidency of Mrs. Elena Văcărescu, organized a festive conference on occasion of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic on Friday, Oct. 27, at 9 p.m., in the hall of the Carol I Foundation.

In front of the numerous assistance in which I noted Mr. Hamdullah Suphy-Bey, Minister of Turkey and Ms. Von Schullemburg, Chargé d'affaires of Germany, Robeff, Minister of Bulgaria, Ms. Alexandrina Cantacuzino, Tutunaru, Darvari, Ella Negruzzi, Mrs. Trancu-Iași, Simeon Mehedinți, Prof. Gh. Marinescu, etc. Mr. N. Batzaria, Victor Eftimiu, and Cuza Hotta spoke, and Mrs. Floria Capsali did a study of eurythmy, based on verses written by Mr. Sandu Eliad.

#### The Work of New Turkey' Preparation

Mr. N. Batzaria showed, first of all the ethnic elements of the Romanian-Turkish friendship, after which he went on to a brief history of our relations with the Sublime Gate, emphasizing that the Turks, although they ruled the whole of Eastern Europe, did not denationalize anyone respecting the faith subjects, against what the interested historians asserted.

The lecturer then moves on to the movement of the Young Turks, in which the speaker carried out a fruitful activity, and which overthrew Abdul Hamid's reign of terror, laying the foundations for the organization of the new Turkey.

Batzaria ends his conference emphasizing that the policy of the great Gazi is the policy of the modern world of progress and civilization and that the Romanian-Turkish friendship, recently sealed by the friendship pact in Istanbul, confirms the peaceful feelings of the people of the crescent.

#### Turkish Poetry

Mr. Victor Eftimiu spoke about new and old Turkish poetry, the source of inspiration for so many oriental versifiers. He then read from the works of several Ottoman poets: Mustafa II, Vasif Ender Uni, Selim I, and finally he read an admirable spring poem thanks to E.S. Hamdullah Suphy-Bey, Minister of Turkey in Bucharest.

#### Mister Cuza Hotta's Conference

The subject that had to be addressed by Mr. Ion Dragu, absent due to his mission to Mr. Titulescu, was dealt with by Mr. Cuza Hotta.

She showed that the historical development of the events that led to the proclamation of the Turkish republic were unleashed by the antagonism between the spirit of Stambul and the spirit of Ankara. On the one hand, the rot of anarchy, and on the other the creative force of a national movement that addressed the unaltered forces of the Turkish people and somewhat fatally ensured a complete victory.

The celebration of the ten years since the proclamation of the Turkish republic, concludes Mr. Cuza Hotta, is the triumph of a people friendly to us and of the greatest European chief.

A series of devices followed, with admirable views of the new Turkey, which were explained by Mr. Batzaria.

The festive evening ended with Mrs. Floria Capsali's eurythmy study (xxx De la spiritul Stambulului, 1933: 7).

**“Mustafa Kemal and the New Turkey”.**

***The Conference of Lawyer Eugen Cialic in Călărași-Ialomița***

[„Mustafa Kemal și Turcia nouă“. Conferința dlui avocat Eugen Ciolac la Călărași-Ialomița]

The Section of the Cultural League from Călărași, after a long series of sessions, at which distinguished cultural personalities from here and from the Capital gave lectures, closed the winter cycle of intellectual events that he organized, with the conference of lawyer Eugen Cealic, the former mayor of the city, who spoke about Mustafa Kemal's Turkey.

The lecturer, an excellent speaker, told the audience, which filled the hall of the communal theater, about that work of gigantic intensity, which the present-day ruler of Turkey carried out alone and against everyone, in order to create a new country and a new people.

The child of Ali Riza, the modest customs official, Mustafa Kemal had a brilliant career as a citizen, along which he proved will, courage, understanding for the situations in which he was placed and above all a deep love for the country and the people, in the midst of which he lived.

Trapped from the beginning in the network of nationalist societies, which long wanted a new Turkey and shaken from the yoke of old traditions, he knew how to act in such a way as to join his struggle with all the active factors of the nation, in order to make the great reform of the Turkish soul and create a national state, within natural borders.

The lecturer evoked the stubborn struggle that Kemal led in the steppes of Anatolia, in order to ignite in the soul of the blasé Turkish people the flame of a new life and without any connection with the past full of sins of the Turkey of the Sultans.

He then presented all the reforms that he gradually carried out in order to create the new Turkey: the abolition of the sultanate, the abolition of the caliphate, the secularization of the state, the introduction, instead of the old Islamic laws, of the modern codes of Switzerland, Italy, Germany, then, the realization of the republic, of the parliament and, finally, the reform of morals, with the abolishment of the fez and the *yaşmak*, the introduction of the Latin alphabet and a Western administration, in a Turkey where, until 15 years ago, the morals and sins of the Middle Ages still persisted.

The lecturer ended by showing that Mustafa Kemal's situation is unique and unlike that of other dictators. If Mussolini, Stalin, or Hitler each found in their country an organized nation, with recognized borders, army, budget, etc. the master of Turkey had to make his own country and people, and which is profoundly different from the people of the past.

So, Mustafa Kemal can be considered less of a dictator, but undoubtedly a great creator. The conference, beautifully organized, elegantly delivered, and full of passages of admirable literary character, was long applauded by the fine audience of the League's members ([Cialic], 1934: 9).

**Our Ties with the Turks. A Conference by Mr. Gh. Brătianu**

[*Legăturile noastre cu turcii. O conferință a d-lui Gh. Brătianu*]

Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu held an interesting conference on Saturday on the radio about “Our Ties with the Turks”.

Given the circumstance that the foreign minister of the Turkish Republic has visited us twice lately, in order to establish some important diplomatic relations, the conference of Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu has acquired a lively topical character.

She insisted on this matter, researching in the light of the lessons of history, the possibilities of future development of Turkey’s foreign policy and economic relations with us.

**The Influence of the Ancient Turks on the Principalities**

Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu began by establishing the exact definition of what is meant by the name “Turks”, showing the influence that the ancient Turks, special peoples of Arab-Altaic origin, had on our more distant past. Stopping at a more thorough research of the past of the Osmanli Turks, “the nation that founded the great empire of modern times, from which the last among the national states of our time, the Turkish Republic of today, developed”, the lecturer notes that despite so many wars who made us enemies – and the last of which was the great European slaughter – “it cannot be said that the Romanian people have kept that hereditary enmity towards the Turks that we find today at the root of so many other conflicts between the peoples of our continent”. On the contrary. “In the minds of our people, the word Turkish corresponds to the concept of a feared but valiant enemy, fierce but not disloyal, cruel to anger and easily inclined to cruelty, yet worthy of respect and to a great extent also of trust”.

Going further, Mr. Brătianu shows that the Romanians and the Turks were not always in opposing camps. Recalling the battles of Radu Vodă, allied with the Bulgarians and the Turks in 1377 against Louis of Hungary, the lecturer quotes from a Turkish chronicle, recently discovered, the circumstance when Baiazid had by his side in the great battle of Angora in 1402 against the emperor of the Tatars “the mountain contingent of the Sultan’s army, the last one left on the battlefield”.

Moving on to the period of subjugation, the lecturer recalls the historical researches of the late Constantin Giurescu which proved that “the so-called capitulations of Moldova were political fabrications of our struggle for emancipation”.

However, the Romanian lords redeemed the peace of the country through the pêchesses at the high Gate, which at the beginning were no more a burden than the coupon of a modern loan. Continuing, Mr. Brătianu reaches the more oppressive period of Turkish domination, which translated into an economic guidance, as a result of which the Romanian principalities suffered a lot. The privilege of the sole buyer, which Constantinople had secured to the detriment of Romanian economic development, lasted three centuries and only the Adrianople treaty of 1829 abolished this arbitrary regime. But this “directed economy” belongs to a cosmopolitan empire, heir to Byzantium and Rome.

**Turkey Today**

What followed was nothing but the fulfillment of the laws of history which, says Mr. Brătianu, “the Turkish nation of today, liberated with such determination from



the prejudices of the past, fully understood”. In the fact of moving the capital to Ankara, the lecturer sees the release of the free Turkish people, in control of their destiny, from historical fatalities that guided the development of the Ottoman Empire”.

Highlighting the special value of the conception that put an end to the millennial enmities between Greeks and Turks, Mr. Gh. Brătianu emphasizes the significance of the profession of faith made in Bucharest by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Turkish Republic, who recognized that the current politics of the republic is a point diametrically opposed to that of the empire.

Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu ended his interesting conference as follows:

Current Relations of Romania with Turkey. The Need to Tighten Relations

“With the Turkish nation animated by a regenerated spirit, our nation can only maintain relations of close friendship, which strengthen the important economic interests we have in these parts of the world, and which we have neglected for too long, to the great detriment of our oil industry and the entire Romanian economy. But the new Turkey can still be an example for other countries. When fatal restorations are being attempted in Central Europe, when the resurgence of the oppressive dualisms of the vanished monarchies is increasingly being heard, when the national states, committed to the will of the peoples and treaties, see the old tyrannies rising, the determination of the Turkish nation constitutes a great lesson.

May others also understand, as Turkey has understood, that the road of history does not turn back, that the evocation of ghosts can only disturb the life and peace of the world, and that the future is based on national realities and not on the prejudices of the past, which development wanted to remove them forever ([Brătianu], 1934: 5).

### **New Turkey. The Conference of Mr. I.Gr. Periețeanu**

[*Turcia nouă. Conferința d-lui I.Gr. Periețeanu*]

Under the auspices of the “Association of Magistrates and Lawyers” (A.M.A.) Mr. I.Gr. Periețeanu, a former minister, delivered an interesting conference on the new Turkey on the evening of February 27, at the Carol Foundation.

Today we reproduce the first part of the documented conference, following that in our issues tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, we will publish the rest.

Before talking about the new Turkey – the distinguished lecturer began –, it is absolutely necessary to evoke for a moment the image of that old Turkey, which most of us, from hearing or seeing, were used to reduce to the main object of our concerns: the city of Constantinople and its delightful surroundings.

We were attracted by the millenary citadel of the Paschals, located on the European coast of the Bosphorus with its monumental mosques, which proudly projected their minarets against the azure of the eastern sky; the exuberant vegetation and the appearance of cypresses and persimmons called us - all that magnificent panorama, which the light, at certain times, pastelizes, makes transparent, giving it an almost unreal appearance.

A fairy-tale setting, mysterious, crossed in the evenings by the plaintive song of the muezzins, in the middle of which ant, multicolored and exotic, a world unknown to us. We were tempted by the secret of harems, the feminine beauty hidden under the

folds of sleeveless cloaks; we liked to discover, under the fern, dreamy faces, languid or sparkling eyes.

Accompanied by the inevitable dragomans, the affected characters, who, according to Mr. Herriot's happy expression, solemnized the tip, we witnessed quite impressive and shocking performances for us.

Our attention was held by the dervishes, who danced for hours to the sound of flutes and cymbals, spinning in a frenzy, intoxicated by the rhythm, while their white skirts took the shape of bells; others, swaying their heads back and forth, chained themselves between them and turned scarlet. The dragoman then made us witness the Friday selamlac, when the sultan visited the mosque, with his entire procession of dignitaries, who carried in their suitcases their uniforms of change. Black eunuchs guarded the odalisques, lounging in carriages. You could barely tell the generals from the cavass. After finishing the service, the sultan would quickly return to the palace, followed by the same courtiers, who lost their breath after his phaeton. And after satisfying other exotic curiosities, at night under the lunar spell, our gaze glided far along the glittering waters and deepened into the world of fairy tales.

Today, the exotic charm has largely disappeared from the decoration, along with the disappearance of fess, turbans, salwars and the removal of feregeas.

Selamlac no longer exists, for, as Mr. Herriot observes in the *Orient* the sultan made himself invisible; the dervishes no longer spin and howl, because they are no longer dervishes. In the absence of figuration, the foreign traveler remains only with the landscape, which by itself still inclines us towards dreaming.

As I took care to reveal from the beginning, this old Turkey known to us, and concentrated by our imagination in the old city of Constantinople, was only the apparent old Turkey, because very few of us knew the real one.

#### Anatolian Turkey

Messrs. Deny and Marchand, who compiled a remarkable manual on the new Turkey, were able to affirm, with the right word, that only when the European war tore all the veils that hid the reality of the Muslim world, Europe became aware of the existence of an Anatolian Turkey in Asia Minor, that is, of an essentially Turkish country, whose national aspirations, military vigor and human resources, had once been hidden from him.

This is Turkey, from which the sailing breath would start.

I will try to sketch you, in general lines, without comparisons and without parallels, the structure of the new Turkey, as it came out of the elaboration of its great creator, gas Mustafa Kemal. The German thinker Oswald Spengler (*The Decisive Years*), referring to the German national revolution of 1933, when the event cannot be justly appreciated, only when it has become for us a distant past, and when its successes or failures are of for a long-time fact".

"A great event, says the same author, has nothing to do with the appreciation of its contemporaries. History is those who will take on this task, when none of those who took part in that event will be alive anymore".

There is of course a lot of truth in this statement of Spengler. But if the contemporaries have to resign themselves to leave to the future the appreciation of the great events, in which they participated or witnessed, from far or near, nothing prevents

them, to evoke them simply, in order to draw from them, at least, a relativity of education.

And then there are achievements, so impressive, by the force and rapidity of their development, that the facts they contain speak for themselves, and make appreciation or interpretation unnecessary.

In this category is placed the formidable work of destruction and political-social reconstruction, from which the new Turkey emerged, a successor state that exists and evolves in a completely different framework than that of the former Ottoman Empire.

#### A Cosmopolitan Criteria

Within the limited limits of this conference, I will not deal with the antecedents of the Kemalist revival, except in a brief and suggestive characterization, which I borrowed from René Grousset's work, *Le Réveil de l'Asie*.

"It could be argued, without excessive paradox, that until 1908 there was no Turkish empire, but only an Ottoman empire, a kind of Muslim Austria-Hungary, an international state made up of 20 enemy races.

Undoubtedly in this disparate empire, the dynasty was Turkish, but the army partly Albanian, the clergy partly Arab, Greek, Armenian and Jewish trade, Armenian and Greek diplomacy, instruction in the cultured classes, Persian and French.

In this cosmopolitan empire, add Messrs. Deny and Marchand, the Turkish people still had their land, Asia Minor.

This domain, the «Turkish patrimony of Anatolia», was encumbered in the eyes of antebellum Europe by an Armenian mortgage, which was aggravated by the Kurdish question. These two opposing ethnic elements maintained an endemic revolt whose echo perpetuated in the West an endless hostility towards the old Turkey, so-called unitary and tyrannical".

Because of this the old Turkish state was nicknamed. The "sick man" whenever he was talked about in the chancelleries of the West and prophesied without restraint his near end.

From 1908 until the outbreak of the World War, Turkey was the theater of an uninterrupted series of political and social turmoil. I will limit myself to stating the most important ones: the revolution of July 24, 1908, in which Enver Pasha played the role of the Turkish Robespierre, and the establishment of the Young Turk regime; the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the former Austro-Hungarian Empire (October 5, 1908); the proclamation of Bulgaria's independence, the replacement of Abdul Hamid with an sultan in figuration: Mehmet V (April 27, 1909), who was succeeded by Mehmet VI, the last of the sultans.

All these political events, with great resonance, accompanied and followed by deep and incessant internal struggles, to which the failures of some wars imposed by circumstances were added, had a doubtful and disastrous result: the weakness of governments, foreign interference in the internal affairs of the heterogeneous and disoriented state, and, finally, the reduction of the European territory of Turkey to Constantinople and the Straits (May 30, 1913).

The man, through whose magic the radical transformation of Turkey would later be operated, had only episodic roles during this period of time.

His hour had not yet called.

#### After the Armistice

In this situation, the European war of 1914 broke out. Turkey, under the impetus of Enver Pasha, sided with the central powers and the result is known: after Bulgaria laid down its arms on September 29, 1918, Turkey, in October of the same year, signed the armistice at Mudros, whose main stipulation was contained in art. 7, the allies reserved the right to occupy, as they chose, certain strategic points for their safety.

To the 100 plans for the division of Turkey, conceived throughout the ages, another, discrete and quite obvious, was about to be added. In this critical situation, the unionist leaders fled. General Liman von Sanders and the German officers withdrew.

For Mustafa Kemal Pasha, however, this painful occasion marks the first magnificent hour of his career, as Dr. Herriot observes.

I am quoting the text from his writing *Orient*:

“Mustafa Kemal, after securing the withdrawal to Aleppo, remained on the front the only morally intact leader, as a living symbol of this Turkey to which he devoted his entire existence.

At the head of Yildirm’s army group, he was no longer a man but a flag.

A flag that did not bow before the liberals or the unionists, too politicians, nor before the hideous cowardice of the Sultan”.

Meanwhile, the allies, citing the lack of diligence in the execution of the armistice clauses, on November 13, 1918, had sent their squadrons to the Bosphorus.

This event determines the formation of various associations for saving the Turkish homeland, in Constantinople, Erzerum, and Harput.

Internal political struggles intensified intrigues increased. Taking into account the troubled political atmosphere, Great Britain, which occupied Mosul since November 1918, settled in Cilicia and Urfa in January 1919.

#### The Kemal Pasha Front

In response, Mustafa Kemal organizes a resistance front in Adona and other national defense gangs, which he procures weapons for. However, by virtue of the same stipulation contained in art. 7 of the Armistice, Greece was authorized to occupy Smyrna (today Izmir). This invasion, which took place on May 15, 1919, causes Mustafa Kemal, the next day, to leave Constantinople and go to Samsun, a port on the Black Sea, to organize the national defense. Starting from this date, the personality of the man, meant to create the new Turkey, is designated. “Concentrating in himself, writes d. Herriot, all the resources of his patriotism and energy, the chief had suddenly understood that salvation could not be in Constantinople, the city mined by panic, shaken by fear, torn by intrigues. He realizes that escape can only come from the old ancestral land, from Anatolia”.

Mustafa Kemal! He is the one who, as a child, under the simple name of Mustafa (humble from the name of the prophet with the meaning of “chosen”), while he was on a familiar farm near Thessaloniki, had the opportunity to fall in love with the land and the countryside and to conceive the idea of clearing the “stables of Augias” from his homeland in time. Mustafa, to whom, later, when he was doing his first military studies in Thessaloniki, his mathematics teacher, Captain Mustafa Efendi, to avoid any confusion, added the name Kemal (which in Arabic means “perfection”).

The chosen and accomplished Mustafa Kemal, who after finishing the courses of the military preparatory school in Monastir, entered as a second lieutenant, at the age of 20, in the war school (Pancaldi/Istanbul), where once he completed his military studies, he would continue to work with the research of revolutionary themes.

#### Convict

Mustafa Kemal, who thanks to this activity, once he obtained the certificate of captain of the general staff (Dec. 29, 1904), was sentenced to prison, from which he was released after three months, to be exiled to Syria, under the pretext that his presence is necessary for the operations military operations taking place in that distant region.

Mustafa Kemal, who after taking part, in Syria, in the expeditions against the Druze, led a life full of tribulations, intertwined with brilliant military acts and revolutionary agitations, always having Enver Pasha as adversary on his way.

The same Mustafa-Kemal, who, during the World War, having only the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but commanding a division, brought back in the battles of the Gallipoli peninsula, the victories of Ari-Burnu and Anafearta, which made him considered the true savior of the Dardanelles.

And he is also the one who, after the re-embarkation of the allied troops, fought bravely on the Caucasian front, where he received the well-deserved rank of brigadier general, and then became, one by one, the commander of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> lea army corps.

After the armistice, on the same day that the Greeks landed in Smyrna (Izmir), Mustafa Kemal was appointed inspector of the 30<sup>th</sup> army (Northern area) and governor general of the Eastern provinces.

On May 16, 1919, he left Istanbul.

On May 19, 1919, he landed in Samsun and from this day the Turkish national struggle began. The national hero was then 39 years old. When Mustafa Kemal landed in Samsun, Turkey only had about 50,000 men under arms, divided into three armies.

In order to escape the surveillance of the English troops, located in Samsun, he retreated to Amasya, where he conceived the plan to form a new state in Anatolia, and established contact, for this purpose, with the commanders of the other armies.

On June 18, 1919, he addressed a letter to the commander of the first army in Edirne in which he talked about a future congress in Sivas intended to ensure the union of the national movements in Thrace and Anatolia to proclaim loudly to the world the rights of the Turkish people.

#### The integrity of power threatened

Then, on June 22, 1919, he sent a confidential circular from Amasya signaling:

That the integrity of the homeland and national independence are in danger and that the nation has the duty to react. As a result, he requested that each vilayet secretly send three delegates to Siva, to meet in congress and announce that another congress of the Eastern vilayets would meet in Erzerum.

This summons obtained the support of the military leaders. Mustafa Kemal left Amasya on June 27, 1919, and went to Siva where he was given a warm welcome. However, as the news from Istanbul was not good, and he was informed of his dismissal from command, he immediately left for Erzerum (July 3, 1919) to prepare the new

congress. On the night of July 8-9, 1919, he sent his resignation to the Sultan, not only from his position, but even from the army.

A little later, the Erzerum branch of the association for the defense of Eastern provincial rights named him chairman of its executive committee. (Continuation in calling from tomorrow) ([Periețeanu], 1935: 4).

“New Turkey”

**From the Regime of the Pashas to the Regime of Kemal Atatürk  
*The Struggle Led by a Man Endowed with Extraordinary Skills for the  
Realization of Today's Democratic and Civilized Republic***

[„Turcia nouă”. De la regimul pașalelor la regimul lui Kemal Atatürk.

*Lupta pe care a dus-o un om dotat cu însușiri extraordinare pentru înfăptuirea democratiei și civilizației republicii de azi*]

We publish below the continuation of the conference of Mr. I.Gr. Periețeanu about “New Turkey”:

The Erzerum Congress met on July 23, 1919, and lasted 14 days (until August 6). Mustafa Kemal was elected president of this congress and a regulation-programme, and a proclamation were drawn up under the inspiration of the following fundamental principles:

The homeland contained within the national borders is one and indivisible.

In case of weakness of the Ottoman government, the nation will defend itself against any foreign occupation or interference. The formation of a provisional government and the establishment, as quickly as possible, of a National Assembly are announced.

A second congress, held in Siva on September 2, 1919, adopted the Erzerum program with the specification that the voted clauses would apply throughout Turkey. It was fatal, however, that the nationalist movement in Anatolia would cause thunder and lightning in Constantinople, and, consequently, cause the government to retaliate, which manifested itself in diverted ways and in different forms.

A certain Ali Galip was commissioned to raise up the fanatical Kurds, against the congress at Siva; the priests were urged to incite the people, to reawaken loyalty to the Caliph and the throne, and thus the civil war was unleashed. A solemn decree removed Mustafa Kemal and his partisans from under the shield of the law, excommunicated them and sentenced them to death, as traitors.

**Disturbing News**

Captain Armstrong, the former English military attaché in Turkey, admirably describes the circumstances in which the tumultuous news was received, and the effect it produced:

“These news arrived in Angora, on a spring evening when the chills of winter were still floating. Mustafa Kemal sits in an armchair, in the hall of the agricultural school, a poor stone house, located on one of the hills that surround the city; beneath it were the ruins of a model farm, all dilapidated and empty for many years.

Next to him, sitting by the window, is the famous Turkish writer Halideh Edib, in whom he used to see a mascot, her husband Adnan and Ali Fuad. Ismet, leaning on the windowsill, looked out.

The sun had set, and the gray twilight was falling over the vast and empty plains of Anatolia.

In the hearth, there were a few sticks covered with ashes. No one thought to hang them. The corners of the hall were already dark.

They commented on the news, in whispers; everyone furtively turned his head to make sure that no agent of the Sultan or some fanatical priest had entered the halls ready to commit the sacred assassination. In every shadow they saw danger. They were heretofore outside the law, some condemned to death; their assassination would have been seen as a virtuous act; they felt the weight of condemnation weighing heavily on their shoulders.

#### The Civil War

All the news was bad. The Greeks advanced again towards Smyrna, massacring and burning everything in their path. The French had won several victories in the South. In the East, the Sultan's agents had rebelled against the Kurds. Civil war was raging everywhere.

A fire that had been smoldering and whose flames rose suddenly here and there. In Bolu, a new uprising had arisen; the rebels were a few leagues from Angora.

Several times the telegraph wires of the great headquarters had been cut. Two officers sent to appease the people had been stoned, imprisoned, then sent to Constantinople and hanged as traitors. A division which had attempted to quell the rebellion had been scattered; the 24<sup>th</sup> division, sent to Handelk, caught in an ambush, had been destroyed.

Everywhere the Caliph's army was victorious. He had occupied Ismid, captured Bigar and was in front of Brusa. Konia, Adabazar, a dozen other cities had declared for the Sultan.

The division had started even in the troops of the national party. The 15<sup>th</sup> division in Samsun had run away. General Kiazim Kara Bekir was displeased and the vilayets of the East threatened to engage in a separate action. In the mountains, in front of Smyrna, the irregular gangs, apart from parties, refused any discipline. Edhem the Circassian, one of their chiefs behaves as an independent sovereign. A wave of defeatism was rising. On that very day, a delegation of women from Angora came to the agricultural school to protest: "Our men were killed at the Dardanelles. Do you want us to be massacred in Angora under the pretext that the English are in Constantinople? Let Constantinople do as it will. The fight is impossible. We want peace!"

Sinking into his armchair, Mustafa Kemal remained silent, wrapped in his gray cloak, with a gray astrakhan fringe pulled up to his eyebrows, his head bowed, his gray furrowed face, he looked before him unwillingly. General without an army, head of a provisional government without power, without money, without administration, he evoked the beautiful plans he had dreamed up to enslave Turkey, to make it great and free. Now, Turkey was torn apart by civil war, in the clutches of foreigners. And he was an outcast, a harassed rebel, his head was at stake!

It was now night outside. Behind the curtain of acacias, in the cold sky, above the black shadow of the mountains, the silver sickle of the new moon was beginning to rise. In the farm, below, Karabaş, the wolf dog, barked at the moon. Mustafa Kemal stood up, stretched like a wild animal, and grunted, the howl of the gray Angora wolf...

shaking off his discouragement. He wants to fight. His energy fills the room and gives his companions new hope. You command light to be brought to dispel the shadows. He had sent for Arif, the general staff, someone to write down the orders and another to start the fire in the hearth.

He wants to fight. He wants to save Turkey and make it great and free”.

He would not fear death. Trajan, when he was just a simple general, said to those who advised him to beware of the plots of his enemies:

No one killed his successor!

These heroic words, writes Maeterlinck, are uttered, deep down, by all those who, kings, chiefs or mere mortals, sacrifice their lives to do their duty. Gazi Mustafa Kemal probably uttered these heroic words in his heroic soul.

He knew, moreover, from past experience that a magical force enveloped his body with an invisible and impenetrable network, which protected him from the danger of enemy bullets and shell shrapnel.

#### Counteroffensive

From this moment, Mustafa Kemal, with all the illness that often tormented him, organizes the defense, which he transforms into a veritable counteroffensive, shows the people and the troops, through his orders and speeches, the confidence and energy, lost for a moment.

“A nation, he said, which is capable of any sacrifices for its life and independence, can never be defeated. If she were defeated, she would perish”.

These words were the vibrant expression of that telluric force, about which Kaiserling speaks, bursting from the burning land of Anatolia and concentrated in the soul of the man whom providence had destined to carry out one of the most formidable political-social reforms.

The wave of defeatism gave way, as if by magic, to a strong unleashing of anger and patriotic enthusiasm. The Turks understood that escape could only come from them, through armed resistance. Men and women of all categories enlisted: peasants to carry supplies and weapons, bourgeois to care for the wounded and sew uniforms.

The bronze statues that adorn the pedestal of the equestrian monument, later erected in his honor, in Ankara, depict a woman bent under the burden of a shell. Impressive symbol of patriotism ignited by its magic.

All Turkey turned their eyes on him. However, if the danger caused by the internal fighting was removed for a moment, through his energy, a new wave of discouragement swept over the country, at the moment when the Greek troops resumed the offensive, on June 23, 1921, and advanced victoriously. This new and unfavorable situation would give him the opportunity to test his military genius once again and to create a solid pedestal for his future political activity.

#### A Serious Accident

He left Ankara, to immediately take the direction of military operations and prepare the line of defense at the Sakaria River. A fall from a horse broke three of his ribs; the kidney disease he was suffering from worsened.

However, this does not prevent him from manning his troops to carry out the defense works and to go to the front. He slept a little, without undressing, and ate at the horse's mouth. At night, by the light of an acetylene lamp, he recapitulated the



situation, moved the small flags on the map, weighed all the possibilities, predicted the future cures and how to resist. The situation was critical. If he had been beaten at Sakaria, he would have had to retreat far to the mountains to the East, to abandon Ankara.

This would have meant the end of Turkey.

The Greeks had 88,000 rifles, 7,000 machine guns, 300 cannons, 1,300 swords and 15-20 planes. The Turks had 40,000 rifles, 700 machine guns (ten times less than the Greeks), 177 cannons, 2,715 swords and 2 planes. Except for the cavalry, the numerical inferiority of the Turkish forces was obvious.

In these conditions of inferiority, at the beginning of September 1921, after 14 days of continuous fighting, the situation was still undecided, but Mustafa Kemal realized that the decisive moment was approaching.

He tells the troops that he will take command of the last assault; ordered all the reserves to be thrown into battle in the North, and beyond that the enemy's line of retreat be threatened.

Descended on the front. According to his custom, as in the battles of Gallipoli, he mingled among the soldiers, living like him in the trenches, exposing himself to enemy fire, without taking any precautions.

As at Gallipoli, while soldiers fell around him, he remained untouched by bullets and shrapnel. On the twelfth day, the Greek army retreated, taking care to completely destroy and burn in its path and return to the positions occupied before.

Mustafa Kemal gave up the pursuit, the moment he realized that his troops were nothing more than a simulacrum of an army.

The prudence of a tried commander aware of his responsibilities.

#### Victorious

On September 19, 1921, the Great National Assembly in Ankara awarded the savior of Turkey the military title of marshal of the new Turkey and the honorary name of "Gazi", which means "victorious" in Muslim countries.

He had been the soul of the national resistance and the soul of the famous battle, considered as a Marne of the Turks. The people recognized him as their ruler. Congratulatory telegrams arrived from Russia and Afghanistan, from India and Italy.

After this victory, which without a doubt had not yet put an end to the war, there followed a mediation of the powers of understanding, which, however, remained without effect.

Mustafa Kemal made every effort to reorganize and strengthen the army. In 1922, the Greek army consisted of 130 thousand rifles, 8,060 machine guns, 348 cannons and 1,300 swords, and the Turkish army numbered 98,770 rifles, 1,864 machine guns, 232 cannons and 5,286 swords.

On August 22, Gazi secretly left Ankara by car, arrived at the Akchehir Headquarters and, after conferring with Izmet Pasha, arranged for the offensive to begin on the morning of August 26, with the following order of the day: "Soldiers, the objective yours is the Mediterranean. Before!" On September 9, the Turkish army triumphantly entered Smyrna (today Izmir), and at the end of this month, Western Anatolia was completely cleared of Greek troops.

The events that followed: the armistice of Mudania (October 11, 1922) and the Franco-Turkish agreement in Ankara (October 20, 1922), did nothing but facilitate the great political and social work, which Gazi Mustafa would carry out Kemal, under the auspices of his military glory.

#### Abolition of the Sultanate

from the National Assembly. The abolition of the Sultan [October 30, 1922], thus opening the door to future reforms, which would change the foundation of the structure of the Turkish state. In October 1923, after the evacuation of Constantinople (Istanbul) by the allies, the Great National Assembly voted a law by virtue of which Ankara became the capital of Turkey, proclaimed the republic and in March [1924] voted to abolish the Caliphate [the institution of the Caliphate dating from 1517] and at the same time to secularize education, the suppression of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations as well as the Ministry of the General Staff. The legal texts voted were short, but significant. They involved the suppression of the old legislations.

On November 1, 1922, it obtained schools of religious education and the distinction between the courts of human law and those of divine law. Caliph Abdul Mechid Efendi [Halife İkinci Abdülmecit Efendi] was expelled on March 4 [1924], that is, the very day after the law was voted, with all the members of his dynasty.

This is how the current political regime of the new Turkey was developed and strengthened. It remains now to briefly analyze its institutions and legislation, which defined the current regime ([Periețeanu], 1935<sup>1</sup>).

#### „New Turkey”

#### **The Radical Reform of Justice**

#### **Adoption of the Swiss Civil Code. One of the Most Remarkable Modernizations**

*[Reforma radicală a Justiției. Adoptarea codului civil elvețian. Una din modernizările cele mai remarcabile]*

We publish below the continuation of Mr. I.Gr. Periețeanu's conference on “New Turkey”.

We will start with the new Turkish law and the organization of justice. The new Turkish legislation was taken entirely from Europe: The Criminal Code from France, the Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure from France, the Commercial Code from Germany. The Civil Code is that of the canton of Neuchâtel from 1925, i.e., the most modern in Switzerland.

In addition to this, the National Assembly adopted, since 1926, an interesting statute for the judiciary, by virtue of which magistrates, judges or members of the Public Prosecutor's Office are not appointed, but elected by an elective commission, which functions under the Ministry of Justice.

This commission is composed of 9 members, directors in ministries and advisers of the Court of Cassation, under the presidency of a vice-president of that Court, who replaces the Minister. The advancement of the magistrate also depends exclusively on this commission, whose decisions are automatically subject to the signature of the minister, then the president of the council and the president of the republic.

To reach the Court of Cassation, the magistrate must climb 6 hierarchical steps and in each of them he must work for 3 years, which represents 18 years of service. The Elective Commission may reduce by one year the duration of the internship in each grade, to reward exceptional service. She can, likewise, if she considers that a magistrate is insufficiently prepared, to keep him for 3 additional years in the same rank, but after 6 years, he must either be promoted to a higher rank or put on ex officio retirement. Any magistrate who, after 3 years of experience, to some degree, does not see himself listed in the promotion table, can appeal the commission's decision to the Court of Cassation. Candidates who have completed their studies at the law faculties of Istanbul, Paris, Fribourg, and Geneva can ask to be appointed right to the second degree. For appointments to the Court of Cassation, the Minister presents to it, when a list of candidates appears, of course of the 6<sup>th</sup> degree, from which its new member is chosen.

The Court of Cassation is composed of 8 sections, each with a vice president and 7 councilors. There is a section for heavy punishments, 3 criminal sections – the Turkish penal code does not recognize the distinction we make between misdemeanor and crime – 3 civil sections and a section for commercial reasons.

The Minister directly chooses the general prosecutor from among the members of the Court of Cassation and the first president from a list of 3 vice-presidents presented by the Court.

#### Jury Courts

Turkey today has 84 Jury Courts, of which 22 judge exclusively criminal cases and 62 judge at the same time criminal trials and competition trials of the courts of first instance.

There are 436 courts of first instance, of which 413 have a single judge. There are 141 justices of the peace and 16 special courts. According to the latest statistics, the number of civil and criminal cases tried by all these courts amounts to one million annually.

There are no Courts of Appeal. A case goes from the first instance directly to the Cassation. The courts are, in principle, composed of 3 members in the important centers, but in the localities where the trials are few, a single judge works.

In the penal principles, likely to attract heavy punishments, which in our country are the competence of the Jury Court, the tribunal is always composed of 5 members. The jury institution does not exist in Turkey.

Finally, there are commercial courts in important centers, especially in Istanbul and Izmir. In each Kaza, there is a prosecutor and in each vilayet a general prosecutor. The summons must be signed by the investigating judge, the prosecutor, and the president of the court. No suspect can be interrogated except in the presence of his lawyer outside unless he waives this right. The right of pardon belongs to the National Assembly. The president of the republic can only sign release decrees due to serious illness.

According to statistics, it is found that in the Muslim population the most frequent convictions are for beatings and injuries.

Convictions for theft are very rare and do not reach an important figure except in Istanbul, where they are applied, above all, to the non-Muslim element (Jews and Greeks). Among the Turkish population, very few convictions are pronounced against women; the proportion of the latter does not exceed half a percent of the number of detainees.

### The Most Important Reform

The radical reform of the Turkish Justice and the adoption of the Swiss civil code, constitute one of the most remarkable modernizations of the new Turkey, it now offers the maximum guarantees that can be claimed by a state in today's international life. This was recognized by the decision of the Court of Justice in The Hague in the approach known as "Lotus". Otherwise, as noted by Baron Aloisi, former Italian ambassador, in the dictionary of the International Diplomatic Academy:

"Foreign legal advisers who worked in the Turkish Republic during the five-year period (imposed by the Treaty of Lausanne, as a guarantee of the legislative modernization on which the definitive abolition of the capitulations had been conditioned) had a very easy task and, restricting themselves, was able to note and proclaim the rapid progress achieved by Turkish legislation".

From the point of view of the penitentiary regime, the reform was no less significant.

Among all the institutions of the old empire, the prisons were the ones that were distinguished above all by the total absence of any idea of progress, or rather of any humanitarian sense. Under the regime of the absolute monarchy, the dominant concept in this field was the essentially primitive one of punishment, the harsh application of the punishment law without any softening, by improving the prisoner's moral level.

In the cases of political crimes, especially, the director of the prison who hastened the end of the prisoners entrusted to his guard, was sure that by doing so he was faithfully interpreting the secrets of desire from Yıldız-Kiosc.

But even within the framework of common law crimes, the detainee ceased to be considered as a member of the social body.

Officials, of all ranks, sought to profit from the small funds intended to satisfy the most basic needs of the convicts, who were hounded by phthisis and all the consequences of continuous malnutrition. The abject contacts and the abuse of narcotics completed the work of destruction. After the constitution of 1908 and, especially, after the proclamation of the republic, numerous and generous efforts were made to remedy this harmful state of affairs. The guiding ideas of the penitentiary system were deeply revised; the legislator was convinced that what interests the collectivity, first of all is not the punishment, but the fine of the guilty, his moral recovery, intended to transform a dangerous criminal into a useful element of society. Consequently, modern prisons were built in the big cities, especially in Istanbul and Ankara. The Italian government was asked to communicate the regulations it applies in this field and information on the facilities in prisons and preventive institutes.

The current government is even thinking of dedicating the island of Emir-Ali İmralı in Marmara to common law prisoners, where they will be subject to a special regime, likely to allow gradual moral recovery and to awaken in them the desire for remunerative work.

### In the Economic Realm

In the field of economic life, the republican regime favored an important development of industry, through a series of rational measures, thanks to the establishment of an industrial property section in the Ministry of National Economy, which, completely reorganized, is itself a creation of the republic.

The number of factories, mills and factories of all kinds has increased considerably.

Machine factories and agricultural implements were established.

Industrial enterprises in Turkey constitute four categories: state-owned, in participation with the state or subsidized, manipal, and mostly private.

The premiums are paid directly by the Bank of Mines and Industries, which has its own autonomous budget and whose capital is constituted by the respective enterprises.

In the enterprises of the second category, the Bank is represented in the board of directors according to the importance of its participation.

The government, which at the beginning granted the Bank a subsidy to encourage industry, ended up withdrawing all financial support to force it to work by its own means and thus cause an acceleration of the rate of development of the national capital. The number of joint-stock companies has also significantly increased, a tangible manifestation of the capital pooling process, which operates in the country where the economy and credit grow in parallel.

The new law on companies, which established the existence of limited liability companies, which did not exist before in Turkey, put them all, without exception, even cooperatives, under the control of the state, the establishment of any company requiring a prior authorization.

Situation motivated by the current economic conditions, which called for a systematic coordination of commercial and industrial activity (directed economy).

The peasant economy gained considerable momentum, thanks to the agricultural credit cooperatives and the aid granted to farmers by the Agricultural Bank, established specifically for this purpose.

State revenues were increased by establishing new monopolies.

A ministry of customs and monopolies was even created.

In order to balance the budget, in order to ensure the civil servants a sufficient remuneration, services were rationalized, and the number of staff was reduced.

The main items of the expenditure budget are those devoted to national defense (approximately 36% of the total), railways, the construction of which required a sustained effort of approximately twenty-five million Turkish lira per year, the development of ports, the establishment of the telegraph and telephone network.

The expenses required by public instruction were not neglected either.

The reorganization of finances was based on a radical overhaul of the tax systems.

The first concern was to improve the lot of the peasants, who today constitute the most solid support of the republic.

The old tax system had as its main basis the tithe; in other words, the peasantry worked for the city, which took over a privileged situation; the republic, on the contrary, considerably relieved the villages, burdening, instead, rather heavily, the cities, especially in the field of commercial benefits and that of real estate.

Later, in order to relieve urban activity to a certain extent, the turnover tax was replaced by a tax on the first buyer and the last seller, in other words on import and export, agricultural products being exempt from import tax, by virtue of the principle

that what has not been transformed does not pay, and on the other hand all articles subject to a monopoly are entirely exempt both on import and export. (The following and the end of the conference in the Monday issue) ([Periețeanu], 1935<sup>2</sup>: 4).

**Social Reforms. Suppression of the Feregale, the Fez, the Modernization of the Port, the Introduction of the Latin Alphabet**

[*Reformele sociale. Suprimarea feregelei, a fesului, modernizarea portului, introducerea alfabetului latin*]

We publish below the end of the documented conference of Mr. I.Gr. Periețeanu.

The peasant is currently taxed first on the land (six thousandths of its value). The total product of this tax, which exceeds nine million lire, is divided into eight, three-eighths go to the Agricultural Bank, whose capital is thus constituted for the entire rural population, then to the primary instruction.

Then comes the cattle tax (28 piasters per sheep, half a pound per cow and one pound per horse). This tax amounts to a total of thirteen million pounds per year.

Finally, the peasant is also subject to a road tax.

As for agricultural exploitation, it is hit only for export, in the proportion of about 21/2 percent. If there is a nickname, which the republican government has well deserved, it is that of the “railway” government, which is usually given to it by the Turkish people. In truth, his first concern was to Europeanize Anatolia under this ratio and thus allow the valorization of its riches, as well as its rapid economic development.

After the complete restoration of the Istanbul-Ankara line (580 km), completely destroyed by the Greeks during the war of independence, new railway networks were built, a construction that required important works, the establishment of a large metal bridge over the Kizil-Irmak River, and he was digging numerous tunnels. Parallel to the vast network of railways, which completely changed the previous appearance of Anatolia, to the extent that it turned it into a world communication center, another line of 400 km was created to connect Ankara directly to the Black Sea, allowing the immediate intensification of the exploitation of the rich coal basin. In the same vein of railway policy, the government pursued and is pursuing the redemption of the concessioned railways.

The development of maritime trade took remarkable proportions.

The number of parcel boats is constantly increasing. A shipbuilding company has established a special ship repair yard in Istanbul, where a thousand workers work.

There, the republic modernized its best cruise ships, equipped today with luxury cabins, winter gardens and covered terraces.

The Turkish Republic did not want to be left behind even in the aviation report. Several important centers are today connected by several regular air services, when a few years ago there was only “Didna” as a regular line, which connected Istanbul with the Balkans and with central Europe and the interior thanks to the Istanbul-Ankara line.

Tourism was not neglected either. The various existing tourist organizations, which make up a national group, bring their valuable collaboration to the Ministry of Public Works for the development of the road network and contribute, in close contact with this ministry, to the establishment of a network of roadways, which will connect the main cities.

Certain new roads have been built according to all modern requirements.

There are more than 30,000 km in Turkey today of the roads, suitable for the circulation of all vehicles and even for automobile traffic.

Finally, modern comforts for tourists were created at various points and the thermal resort of Yalova was highlighted, whose waters were known since the time of the Romans, for their therapeutic properties, especially for the treatment of rheumatism.

#### The Abolition of the Ferecale

In the social field, Gazi Mustafa Kemal managed to achieve an important reform, without having to resort to reprisals, proclaiming the abolition of the veil, under which the woman's face was hidden from view. In one of those popular interpellations, through which he used to prepare the public opinion with the great reforms, which he wanted to make understood and accepted by the people before carrying them out, the Gazi one day asked the following question, categorical and explicit: "An honest person has nothing to hide. Doesn't the Turkish woman have the right to wear her forehead uncovered?"

The women answered in unison: yes.

In the conversation that Gazi had with Mr. Herriot, on the occasion of his visit to Ankara, he told the former French prime minister the following: "in terms of women's veils, I relied on coquetry; I let it fall without forcing its suppression".

It was not the same with the suppression of the fez and with the modernization of the port. The historic phrase he uttered in the National Assembly on this occasion is memorable: "Ladies and gentlemen, the international attitude of civilized peoples suits our nation perfectly.

We will put on shoes and boots, we will wear trousers, vest, hard collar, tie, and coat, we will put on a hat!

We will wear a jacket, a frock coat, a tuxedo, a tailcoat and – be careful! – if some will remain undecided, I will tell them that they are ignorant, with a dark mind".

The assistance froze, but the proposal was unanimously approved.

As a result, the Italian factory Borsalino had a shipload of bowler hats, top hats and soft hats of all colors set off from Geneva.

The Koran fanatics locked themselves in the house, raising imprecations; many had committed suicide in order not to take off their hair.

The recalcitrant and obstinate preferred to be pursued to the mosque and thrown into prison; the fezs shops were guarded by the Kemalist volunteer militiamen; the fezs disappear from circulation in the blink of an eye.

And thus, after he had his martyrs, he gave way to hats.

The benefits of the Turkish republican program also extended in other directions, organizing institutions for the protection of maternity, children, the elderly and the infirm.

Schools were created for professional education, preventive schools.

#### Modernization of Education

University education was expanded and modernized; the chairs were entrusted to numerous foreign professors.

The University of Istanbul has a faculty of letters, a faculty of law, a faculty of science, another faculty of medicine with an advanced dental school and an advanced

pharmacy school, as well as advanced courses for midwives; finally, a faculty of theology.

There are 300 professors at this University and over 3,000 students. The Faculty of Law in Ankara has more than 600 students, since 1926, of which about 100 receive housing and food, with the obligation to do a 5-year internship at the Ministry of Justice, after finishing their university studies.

There is also a higher normal school at Koniah and Istanbul, a school of political science (three years of courses and free boarding), a school of fine arts, institutes of history, geography, anthropology, physics, and chemistry and turkology.

One of the most daring and profound reforms of the republic was the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the reformation of the Turkish language, undertaken in parallel. It brought with it a disturbance which a less energetic will might have met, for it necessitated the reprinting and revision of all books, schoolbooks, dictionaries, and of course caused a momentary disturbance in popular education.

All these shortcomings had to be defeated, because the European characters, making it easier for the masses to read and write, would determine the progressive disappearance of illiteracy, and break down the wall that the Arabic alphabet had erected between the Turks and the other civilized peoples.

Finally, the Turkish army, regularly trained by severe maneuvers and long prepared by the general staff, is especially equipped with heavy cavalry, which is in reality mounted infantry, the idea of Mustafa Kemal!

At the first call, it can put on a war footing a minimum of 600,000 men, who, commanded, trained, and equipped as they are today, represent a serious force, sufficient in any case to repel any foreign attack.

I stop here. The new Turkey is a complex of huge achievements, the complete examination of which exceeds the framework of a conference.

An unprecedented work, as Mr. Herriot very well expresses it, carried out by the will of a single man, whose name, accompanied by the nickname of "Atatürk" (Father of the Turks) recently conferred by the National Assembly, history will inscribe him among those of the great founders.

A great lesson can be learned from this brief sketch of the new Turkey, which is confused with the biography of Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

The most tragic events, befalling a nation, can become for it a source of prosperity, if luck detaches from its bosom in time the thoughtful statesman, who knows how to light his illuminating torch at the sacred fire of pure and self-sacrificing patriotism and, if above all, he is guided by faith ([Periețeanu], 1935<sup>3</sup>: 4).

### **The Political and Social Reforms in Kemalist Turkey.**

#### **Mr. H. Hartmann's Lecture at the European Southeast Institute**

[*Reforme politice și sociale din Turcia Kemalistă. Conferința d-lui H. Hartmann la Institutul Sud-Est european*]

Under the auspices of the South-Eastern European Institute under the direction of Prof. N. Iorga, Mr. H. Hartmann, a Swiss journalist (at the Neuenfürischer Zeitung) and a zealous researcher of current Turkish relations, on which he published (*Die neue Türkei*, 1933) and announces some studies for the future. The lecture begins



with the exposition of the events that Kemal Pasha took advantage of to organize the new Turkey at the same time as the victories that strengthened his political authority from a military point of view. The Treaty of Lausanne consecrating his revolutionary work makes him master of Turkey freed from the tyranny of the Ottoman dynasty. A whole work remained to be done: the Europeanization of Turkey, which Gazi carried out with a lot of energy but also with a tact that would ensure an even more brilliant victory in his difficult undertaking. The executive body of his will was the republican party of the people, organized in a dictatorial manner, as a single, exclusive organization of citizens capable of political activity.

The lecturer analyzes the organization of this strange unique party, which emerged from a patriotic association founded by Kemal in 1919; his activity is strictly regulated and the deputies, who are his emanation, obey the authority of the supreme council of this party. But in the hands of the dictator is the party, and the political life of the country is summed up in this party – any opposition being suppressed.

With the help of this statist party, obedient to the creator of modernized Turkey, Kemal Gazi carried out all his reforms. He proceeded very tactfully in this work, without sudden things. The lecturer then explains some of the essential reforms that transformed the political and social order in Turkey: the abolition of titles and the introduction of the new onomastic regime, required by the relinquishment of titles and the needs of the recently introduced Civil Code. When, for example, Kemal Pasha, will be called Kemal Atatürk, the national problem was solved either by the excesses committed on the allogenes (Armenians) or by the exchange of populations with Greece, except for the Greeks of Thrace and Constantinople. Closely related to the national question was the religious one, which was resolved by the abolition of the Caliphate and the purification of religion from traditional formalism – the separation between the “church” and the State – eliminated any ambiguity in public life. In connection with this, the caliphate, monasteries, religious orders, tribunals, and religious schools – even the ecclesiastical costume – regardless of denomination were abolished. In this way, the republic was completely secularized, and the medieval theocratic state was definitively abolished. The introduction of codes from Western countries completed the transformation of Arab-Mohammedan life into a national one. The consequences are very important especially for the civilian regime (the abolition of harems and the emancipation of the Turkish woman – who proved her social qualities during the revenge war).

The abolition of spiritual tribunals and religious schools, as a result of the introduction of these codes, raised the issue of the organization of justice and education. Illiteracy of 85 and 95% is being fought seriously – and successfully especially since the introduction of the Latin alphabet. Mr. H. Hartmann concludes his interesting analysis by posing the question of whether this political and social resolution will be only external or will penetrate deep into psychological and intellectual life. Indications can give us the current development of literature and arts that have not yet found a decided character and remain only in simple speculations. However, the new generation that is rising will be able to break the chains of a medieval heritage under a leadership; her role is to be the mediator between the East and the West – she will also be the harbinger of the new Turkish culture ([Hartmann], 1935: 1).

## Reform Trends in the New Turkey

[*Tendențele de reformă în noua Turcie*]

Mr.dr. Neumark, professor at the University of Istanbul, gave an interesting conference yesterday evening, in the Hall of the Academy of Higher Commercial Studies and Industries in Bucharest, in front of a select audience, on: „Tendencies of Reform in the New Turkey”.

Dr. Neumark was introduced to the audience by Professor I. Răducanu, who expressed his full gratitude to the lecturer. She emphasized the qualities of Prof. Neumark, showing his scientific activity both in the field of public finance and in that of economic theory, an activity appreciated by our circles of specialists.

The lecturer began by outlining the reform trends in the new Turkey in the political, cultural, and economic realm. Although the geographical and demographic center of Turkey today is in Asia, the lecturer emphasizes in the introduction, in its current form, Turkey aims to become and will become the bridge between Eastern and Western culture. Regarding the political character of Turkey today, it tends to become a democratic republic.

Atatürk himself recently refused to introduce dictatorship in Turkey. But he is the one who, thanks to his prestige and energy, as the president of the Turkish Republic and the only existing political party (the People's Party), can decide the political fate of this country. The democratic character of the constitution does not allow any kind of privilege. The Turkish constitution recognizes only Turkish citizens, regardless of religion or race. Here the secularist principle is highlighted once again, that along with democracy, republicanism, statism, nationalism, and revolutionaryism constitute the pillars on which the State and political parties rest.

The lecturer shows that with all the nationalism that the leaders of Turkey are inspired by today, they reject any absolutist tendencies. The pacifist sentiments they are animated by are reflected in the foreign policy of recent years, which led to the conclusion of the Balkan Pact, thus strengthening friendly relations with all neighboring States.

The trends of cultural reform can be seen especially in the fact of removing the dominant position of Islam and replacing it with the new principle of secularism (separation between the State and the Church). Of particular importance is the emancipation of women who were recently granted the right to vote.

The lecturer then deals with the reform trends in the legal and educational fields. He mentions the interesting reforms regarding the language, the innovations regarding the introduction of the family name, the reform trends in the field of music and others.

The new economic policy of Turkey is compared by the lecturer to European mercantilism. Its goal is an industrialization strongly encouraged by the state and with pronounced autarky tendencies. However, Turkey will remain for a long time an agricultural country par excellence.

After a detailed description of the current situation of agriculture and its importance for export, the lecturer insists on the achievements as well as the future plans of the industrialization policy. In the end, the trend of nationalization in the field of transport is highlighted and the situation of the commercial, financial, and monetary policy is outlined ([Neumark], 1936: 3).

Academic Extension Conferences

**Through Atatürk's Turkey**

[*Conferințele Extensiunii Academice. Prin Turcia lui Atatürk*]

The "Academic Extension" of the teachers from the Academy of Advanced Commercial and Industrial Studies "King Carol II" Cluj, inaugurated its activity for the academic year 1937-38, through the conference of Mr. Prof. Sabin Opreanu, who treated with great skill about "Ataturk's Turkey". The conference was all the more interesting as it was with projections, through which the audience made a clear image of what the Turkish renaissance really means in Kemalist Turkey.

The lecturer started by showing the geographical and climatic situation, then the economic situation conditioned by the mentioned elements. After reviewing the situation of the Ottoman Empire, the "sick man of Europe", which collapsed under familiar circumstances, he shows us how, under the energetic and wise leadership of Atatürk, Turkey was reborn from its own ashes.

It is enough to recall that old Turkey imported grain, a trade balance that was always passive, with approximately 3,000 km of railway, all foreign. Today, Turkey has enough grain, its trade balance is active, it has about 7,000 km of its own railway. After the expulsion of the Greeks (1923) in the cities of the Aegean coast, work began for the realization of the Turkish state. So, in Smyrna, which is the main export port, Atatürk began a policy of urban renewal. He moved the capital to Ankara from which he made a real modern capital, isolating the state services from the ideas of the influences from the cosmopolitan Constantinopol.

Through the projections he shows us, he walks us through the most characteristic and picturesque corners of Turkey.

The lecturer was loudly applauded at the end when he showed the figure of Kemal Atatürk, highlighting that everything new and good in Turkey is achieved by this energetic man, good leader, the true father of the Turks ([Opreanu], 1937: 3).

New Turkey

**Mr. Nicolae Batzaria's Conference**

[*Turcia Nouă. Conferința d-lui Nicolae Batzaria*]

Mr. Nicolae Batzaria, lectured this year [in Vălenii de Munte] on "New Turkey". The lecturer presented a history of everything that could mean the Turkey of yesterday, i.e., the absolutist Turkey, and what the New Turkey means, i.e., those of our times, amazing by the progress made under the leadership of the admirable man, Kemal Atatürk. The lecturer divides the history of the Turks into two periods: a) In which they fought to conquer and b) In which they fought to lose those they had conquered.

The causes of the decline and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire:

I. The Sultan's wrong conception of the state, considering himself the owner of the land he ruled. The Ottoman Empire was not a collectivity of aspirations. There was a state, a people, a capital, and a language without a name.

II. The Turks did not have a middle class, merchants and industrialists were the foreigners. A country without a middle class is subject to destruction, and when we want to have a national middle class, we are not anti-Semitic but pro-Romanian. The

government of ancient Turkey had a devouring basis, the Koran being the very foundation.

Here, however, is what Kemal Atatürk achieved:

He abolished religious education and the position of head of Islam;

He created a nation, because the Turks did not have a national consciousness;

He abolished fez considered as a cradle of prejudices;

He abolished polygamy;

He replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin one and introduced the Swiss civil code.

These great reforms brought about a great and powerful New Turkey ([Batzaria], 1938: 2).

### **The Life of Kemal Atatürk**

#### **Monday Morning's Tribute Session in the Dalles Hall**

[*Viața lui Kemal Atatürk. Ședința omagială de Luni dimineață din sala Dalles*]

On the occasion of the funeral of the great president Atatürk, in the framework of the friends of Turkey preceded by a lively introduction of Mr. Nicolae Batzaria, former minister in Turkey before the World War, Mr. Emil Riegler Dinu spoke on Monday morning about the personality and work of the creator of modern Turkey.

The legend, as the lecturer said, tends to simplify the figure of Atatürk into that of Gazi, conqueror of the Greeks. It would be false to stop at this characterization. Atatürk was a complex personality. From the conqueror of the Greeks, he became their friend and that of all his neighbors, signing alliance treaties one by one, the Balkan Pact and then the Asian. From a general he became a politician. He knew how to dominate the war, using the prestige he had acquired. Through his policy, breaking away from the government in Istanbul and convening a national assembly in Ankara, he removed the other enemy from within, the sultan and the caliph. He proclaimed the republic, secularized the wealth, schools, hospitals and monastic libraries, and hand in hand with the success of the Lausanne peace, through which, thanks to the diplomacy of Prime Minister Ismet İnönü, he regained the lost Turkish provinces, he proceeded to the radical reforms that would change the face of Turkey.

The great president visited villages and towns, urging the people to adapt to the benefits of Western culture. He suppressed the veil for women and the fez for men, he suppressed the harem, enthroning monogamous marriage together with the new code copied from the Swiss one. He raised the state of agriculture and industry by building new roads and communication routes, built a new capital, rationalized taxes, and brought prosperity. Later he introduced the Latin alphabet, purifying the Turkish language from Persian and Arabic neologisms. The national assembly, grateful for these reforms that suddenly brought western culture to Turkey, which was illiterate until then, proclaimed him the first teacher of the republic.

The lecturer read some of Atatürk's proclamations and then the characterizations of the writer Ahmet Hasim and those of the current president, His Excellency Ismet İnönü, which shed light from different sides on the indomitable energy and ever-renewed work power of the great reformer Under the impulse of Kemal Atatürk a major state of historians, ethnologists and archaeologists, convened in the

conference under the presidency of the Gazi, established the noble origin of the Turks, not from the Mongolian race, but from the white Hittites from Asia Minor, in whose old settlements works of art dating back to 1200 years before Christ.

He never stopped leading the destinies of his homeland, cultivating the closest relations with his neighbors. Romania's friendship was recently proven by the surprisingly long and cordial meeting that took place last year on board the presidential yacht in the Bosphorus, between Atatürk and M.s. King Carol II. A man of delightful simplicity, authoritative, but also friendly among the people he liked to mingle with, an example of selflessness, hard work, and generosity. Atatürk, like many other great people, lived as a widower, without a family. His works are also his true children. They remain a beautiful legacy, a considerable legacy left to the younger generations who will have to learn from his life the task incumbent upon them to preserve and increase the patrimony of the imperishable Republic of Turkey ([Riegler-Dinu], 1938: 3).

### **Mr. Petre Ghiață's First Conference About Atatürk**

*[Prima conferință a d-lui Petre Ghiață despre Atatürk]*

Mr. Petre Ghiață started at "The Dalles" the series of conferences aimed at presenting the life and work of President Atatürk, who died last November at Dolma Batche, in the white palace on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Little is known about Atatürk, and vaguely. Not so much about his youth.

The son of Ali-Rıza and Zubeida, Mustafa Kemal, the creator of modern Turkey, had a sad childhood. He kept only one memory, later, from the fog of these years: his mother's tender love. Against her will – she wanted to make him mufti – he enrolled at the Cadet School in Thessaloniki.

Even then, young Kemal harbored ambitions far too exaggerated for his age and modest origin. At the military school in Monastır, where he entered without difficulty and even among the first, he is appreciated for his exceptional skills. From the comrades he knew, a shy admiration, but that's all. He was not loved. He was capricious and solitary, proud, but also aloof, devoted to his studies and self-confident. He is discovered active in a revolutionary movement, the famous "Vatan" organization, which had established a nucleus right in the officers' school.

Until the world war, when his military skills are confirmed in the battle of Gallipoli, the officer Mustafa Kemal goes through a series of unbelievable adventures, arrested countless times, two steps away from being shot.

Dr. Petre Ghiață still said many more, from the vicious youth of the great reformer, events that merge into legend, the preludes of a festive life, which is more like a story that you can't believe, which nevertheless it happened, under our eyes without us knowing it.

The second conference of Prof. Petre Ghiață: "Hero, from Gallipoli", the second stage in Kemal Atatürk's life of great reforms, will take place on Sunday 26 crt. ([Ghiață], 1939: 11).

**Mr. N. Iorga's Conference at the "Cultural League"**

[*Conferința d-lui N. Iorga la „Liga Culturală”*]

The attitude of the West towards Turkey and what Turkey represents at the beginning of the great war formed the subject of last night's conference, what is remarkable is the total ignorance of the Western diplomats towards the new Turkey, which diplomats did not in the least realize that the problem can be solved from there. So little was it known to the diplomacy of the past – a diplomacy that never traveled – that a hundred plans had been made for the division of the Ottoman empire, the “sick man” who was to die, the inheritance of Constantinople to fall to Russia. Of course, if Russia had come to Constantinople, the English and French fleets would also have come before this port. It was also known at that time - very vaguely – that German instructors had come to Turkey, one von Sanders and others. As for information, we have very little: the works of the Swiss officer Egli, the memoirs of the American ambassador in Constantinople, [Henry] Morgenthau, would be almost the only sources.

Another proof of the insufficient knowledge of Turkey by the Westerners was the defeat at the Dardanelles. The Allies imagined that they would be able to open the straits very easily.

The revolution of the “Young Turks” was more Masonic in character: a military movement with some local connections, not a national movement. The Westerners, who knew how to deal with the old Turkey where everyone had his fare and even Abdul-Hamid – with all his cunning, with all his intelligence – often fell into their nets, the Westerners did not understand how to behave with the “Young Turks”, especially since these “Young Turks” were not old enemies of Abdul-Hamid.

Osman's dynasty in its last years had nothing of its former appearance: there were sultans a few incompetent men, an Abdul-Aziz, a Mahmud-Resid – or other perfectly Western-bred princes. On the contrary, Enver Bey had nothing to do with the West, but neither with the Turkish people. He did not come from Asiatic Turkey – the real cradle of the Ottoman Empire, but from Macedonia, and as a political tendency he was an international liberal. In the name of the Masonic idea of brotherhood between peoples, friendships were won for the ideal of the “Young Turks”, first for the constitutionalizing, then for the expulsion of Abdul-Hamid. At first, the movement was uncertain: Macedonian soldiers were poorly trained, something was expected from the population, not much. But what sustained the “Young Turks” was the ideal of reconstituting the old Ottoman, “Anatolian” empire in place of Suleiman the Magnificent's empire of international essence. This belief, extraordinarily strong, reminds of those, so fanatical, of the people of '89, the people of the French Revolution. These people, so little informed, lived in the most tempting illusions, which illusions led them to a catastrophic result.

At one point, the Turks wanted to win over us, hoping to draw Romania into a war alongside Germany, with which the “Young Turks” had more or less sincere ties; a new proof of the naivety of the “Young Turks”. It was also hoped that, as soon as the Ottoman empire regained its power, the Christian peoples would consent to be the auxiliaries of the regenerated Turkish race. And the “Young Turks” – people from the upper class, who had so little pure Turkish blood – left Bucharest convinced that Romania was won. The people of the West were before a superficial form over a living

people; they have dealt very much with the superficial form – there are whole reports of the English and French diplomats at Constantinople on the organization of the Turkish banks, as are the very detailed reports of someone very clever, the French ambassador Constance – but the living people have not seen it.

And here, the prophecy of Professor Iorga, from the end of volume V of the *History of the Ottoman Empire*: “Turkey, in order to renew itself, will have to return to its Asian national base, relying on its admirable peasantry”. Rodica Ciocan ([Iorga], 1940: 1).

### **From the Popular University “N. Iorga” in Vălenii de Munte /Dr. Nicolae J. Sarru’s Conference/**

[*De la Universitatea populară „N. Iorga” din Vălenii de Munte. /Conferința Dr. Nicolae J. Sarru/*]

During the courses and conferences of the above institution, Dr. Nic.J. Sarru, the director of the general secretariat and of the staff of the Council of Patronage of Social Works, held, on July 18, a conference about the national and social positions of the Council of Patronage”, showing what the activity of this Council consists of, under the active presidency of Mrs. Maria Marshal Antonescu.

On July 20, she held the second conference, speaking about “Atatürk’s Turkey”. The lecturer, a Romanian-Macedonian who knew the Turkey of the Sultans and Kemalist Turkey, showed the causes of the decadence of the Turkey of the Sultans and what is the immortal work of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first President of the Turkish Republic ([Sarru], 1942).

### **Conclusions**

As could be seen from the summary of the conferences, the Romanian public was presented with the essential coordinates of the development of interwar Turkey - republican and secular regime founded by Kemal Mustafa Atatürk. It is an invigorating image of the Republic of Turkey, in a continuous process of modernization, of increasing its role in international life and in the context of good relations between it and the Kingdom of Romania:

“The new Turkey must be understood as a modern national state. Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the national hero who saved the Turkish state and who was given, as a reward, the leadership of the republican state. The monarchical regime was abolished, and the republican personal regime was introduced. As the basis of all the reforms made by him resides the desire and the will of the man of action to bring the Turkish state closer to the European states of democratic-constitutional form”; “The Turks, although they ruled the whole of Eastern Europe, did not denationalize anyone respecting the faith subjects, against what the interested historians asserted. The policy of the great Gazi is the policy of the modern world of progress and civilization and that the Romanian-Turkish friendship, recently sealed by the friendship pact in Istanbul, confirms the peaceful feelings of the people of the crescent”; “The New Turkey means, i.e., those of our times, amazing by the progress made under the leadership of the admirable man, Kemal Atatürk” (*N. Batzaria*: 1930, 1933, 1938).

“Mr. Dragu showed that Turkey is moving more and more towards a democracy with normal functioning, that the Gazi is only thinking about consolidating

the homeland, he who, as a leader elected by the people, is the servant of this people, that the work done so far, in a few years alone, it proves what a creative force resides in the collective will to work and progress under the command of a superior discipline” (Ion Dragu: 1933).

“It is a duty for Romanian culture to have thorough knowledge of Turkish history, language, and literature. That is why the Romanian Academy took the happy initiative, establishing a scholarship for their study. It is also necessary, concludes the lecturer, to establish a department of Oriental studies at one of our universities” (Constantin C. Giurescu: 1933).

“Mustafa Kemal’s situation is unique and unlike that of other dictators. If Mussolini, Stalin or Hitler each found in their country an organized nation, with recognized borders, army, budget, etc. the master of Turkey had to make his own country and people, and which is profoundly different from the people of the past. So, Mustafa Kemal can be considered less of a dictator, but undoubtedly a great creator” (Eugen Cialic: 1934).

“But the new Turkey can still be an example for other countries. When fatal restorations are being attempted in Central Europe, when the resurgence of the oppressive dualisms of the vanished monarchies is increasingly being heard, when the national states, committed to the will of the peoples and treaties, see the old tyrannies rising, the determination of the Turkish nation constitutes a great lesson” (Gheorghe I. Brătianu: 1934).

“Then, there are achievements, so impressive, by the force and rapidity of their development, that the facts they contain speak for themselves, and make appreciation or interpretation unnecessary. In this category is placed the formidable work of destruction and political-social reconstruction, from which the new Turkey emerged, a successor state that exists and evolves in a completely different framework than that of the former Ottoman Empire”; The radical reform of the Turkish Justice and the adoption of the Swiss civil code, constitute one of the most remarkable modernizations of the new Turkey, it now offers the maximum guarantees that can be claimed by a state in today's international life”; “In the field of economic life, the republican regime favored an important development of industry, through a series of rational measures, thanks to the establishment of an industrial property section in the Ministry of National Economy, which, completely reorganized, is itself a creation of the republic. The number of factories, mills and factories of all kinds has increased considerably. Machine factories and agricultural implements were established”; “In the social field, Gazi Mustafa Kemal managed to achieve an important reform, without having to resort to reprisals, proclaiming the abolition of the veil, under which the woman's face was hidden from view” (I.Gr. Periețeanu: 1934).

“With the help of this statist party, obedient to the creator of modernized Turkey, Kemal Gazi carried out all his reforms. He proceeded very tactfully in this work, without sudden things. The lecturer then explains some of the essential reforms that transformed the political and social order in Turkey: the abolition of titles and the introduction of the new onomastic regime, required by the relinquishment of titles and the needs of the recently introduced Civil Code”; “The new generation that is rising up will be able to break the chains of a medieval heritage under a leadership; her role is to



be the mediator between the East and the West – she will also be the harbinger of the new Turkish culture” (H. Hartmann: 1935).

“Although the geographical and demographic center of Turkey today is in Asia, in its current form, Turkey aims to become and will become the bridge between Eastern and Western culture. Regarding the political character of Turkey today, it tends to become a democratic republic. Atatürk himself recently refused to introduce dictatorship in Turkey. But he is the one who, thanks to his prestige and energy, as the president of the Turkish Republic and the only existing political party (the People’s Party), can decide the political fate of this country. The democratic character of the constitution does not allow any kind of privilege” (Fritz Neumark: 1936).

“Today, Turkey has enough grain, its trade balance is active, it has about 7,000 km of its own railway. After the expulsion of the Greeks (1923) in the cities of the Aegean coast, work began for the realization of the Turkish state. So, in Smyrna, which is the main export port, Atatürk began a policy of urban renewal. He moved the capital to Ankara from which he made a real modern capital, isolating the state services from the ideas of the influences from the cosmopolitan Constantinople” (Sabin Opreanu: 1937).

“The great president visited villages and towns, urging the people to adapt to the benefits of Western culture. He suppressed the veil for women and the fez for men, he suppressed the harem, enthroning monogamous marriage together with the new code copied from the Swiss one. He raised the state of agriculture and industry by building new roads and communication routes, built a new capital, rationalized taxes, and brought prosperity. Later he introduced the Latin alphabet, purifying the Turkish language from Persian and Arabic neologisms. The national assembly, grateful for these reforms that suddenly brought western culture to Turkey, which was illiterate until then, proclaimed him the first teacher of the republic” (Emil Riegler-Dinu: 1938).

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