

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims to analyze the National Education Councils (*Milli Eđitim Şuraları*) and the decisions of the meetings during the single-party era in relation to the development of education policies in Turkey. Furthermore, this study will examine, the the three National Education Councils' and the decicions' implications on transformations in the Turkish education system.

There is a wide literature about the role of education in society. According to Ballantine (2001), three theoretical approaches define the role of education in society. Functionalist theory, as one of them, implies that society and education are made up of interdependent parts and each discussed in terms of its functions or purposes, so the degree of interdependence among parts in the system based on the integration among these parts. Drawing from the field of biology, this theory asserts that various systems serve different survival functions, carrying this insight from biological one to the social one, integrated parts are expected to work to meet for the survival of the social system (Feinber & Soltis, 1992). For the functionalists, schooling is an instrument to develop the skills and attitudes which are appropriate for the industrialized, modern society and their changing economic and social structures.

In contrast to functionalist theory, conflict theory believes that schools reproduce the social classes and maintain hierarcy in society (Ballantine, 2001). Conflict theory argues a tension in society, created by competing groups and social conditions are explained according to the class system. The role of education is to differentiate society by training in order to create "status", a human model aim is to reach higher positions

in the economic system, so schools become agents in order to create a dominant culture which teaches the forms, values, and culture of dominant groups to contribute to their hegemony. According to Bowles and Gintis (1976) schools “reproduce” inequality by serving the interests of those who hold the greatest power and wealth.

The third theoretical approach, interaction theory, focuses on individuals, interactions in the educational system and dynamics of school life in order to focus on dialogues between these components (Ballantine, 2001).

The basic functions of education are the same in most societies, but the ways of achieving them vary greatly among societies, and even among groups. In Turkey, the transition of Turkish society from an Islamic empire to that of a secular, constitutional Republic was more than a political event; it was a cultural, social and economic revolution which aimed not only to overthrow a political system, but to transform the society along modern Western lines (Kazamias, 1966). In this nation-building process, the striking changes in socio-economical and political fields without taking into account the concept of modernization, would not be deep enough to grasp the process of transformation in education (Ahmad, 1993).

In 1923, from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire a new nation-state emerged. The role assigned to education was stated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as follows;

Our national system of education should be different from the old one, and a new system should grow up from our national culture...education makes a nation free, famous and enlightened, or poor and under the domination of others” (Yücel,1994, pp.20; Kazamias,1966, pp.115; Akyüz,1993).

In the following years, the İzmir Economic Congress, which was held in February 1923, was organized to reaffirm the desire for economic sovereignty and the acceptance of liberal economic policies. The Congress also had a meaning to construct the

educational system which would become one of the engines of economic development and would serve the aims of the liberal economic policies (Gök, 1999; Ahmad, 1993). Thus, the Turkish education system would be a part of a building up of a national culture process and would be an engine in the economic development process of the country.

In the early years of the Republic, modernization became a total instructional and cultural change. One of the most important reforms in the first years of Republic was the Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) acted on March 3, 1924. The Law was a landmark in the establishment of the principle of secular education. It placed the medreses and all religious educational institutions under the control of the Ministry of Education. Another historically significant law was relating to the Adoption of the New Turkish Alphabet, which replaced the Arabic script with the Roman alphabet in 1928 (Oğuzkan, 1997). This reform movement had cultural, nationalistic and religious implications, and was part of a developing sense of national belonging among the people. The Republican People's Party (RPP) members thought that education was one of the most important element in the foundation of transformation.

With the foundation of the Republic, it was started to constitute scientific consultation and decision-making bodies so that Turkish National Education would acquire a national essence and a scientific identity. Through these bodies it was aimed to determine the problems of the education system and then to regulate the system trying to renovate it. Therefore, Scientific Council meetings were held to regulate the education and thereafter National Education Council meetings started to be held. Under the Republic, administration and control of education has been centred in the National

Ministry of Education, and the Minister had three bodies: the Educational Council, the Committee on Instruction and Education, and the Commission of General Directors. The Educational Council is made up of high officials in the ministry, principals, inspectors, rectors of the universities, deans of the faculties, and other specialist nominated by the Minister, in order to discuss all matters of education policy making process and its components (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968). The first studies of the council was to organize the Scientific Council meetings.

In the first Scientific Council meeting, all levels of education extensively covered in the meeting agenda and discussed. One of the glaring part of the meeting was the emphasis on the creation of “national” culture, language, and moral values. The following list was derived from the first Scientific Council Meeting agenda: National Education Curriculum; National Culture; National Dictionary; National Music, Language and Literature; Library of National History; National Museum. The second and third Science Council were held respectively in 1924, and 1925. Compared to first Scientific Council Meeting, the second one was not extensively covered the issues related to all levels of education, and includes more specific, and technical issues. When we look at the agenda of the Scientific Councils, apart from the examination of the all stages of education it has been seen that operations were carried out concerning national culture, language and history which are crucial to constitute a new nation-state and to strengthen this constitution. Therefore, during the first years of nation-building process, the evaluation of the education system involved all education stages and at the same time the official state ideology was tried to be constituted. In Board of Education was established and Science Council responsibilities were transferred to the Board, and the National Education Council (NEC) was formed in 1933 with the Law no.2287

(Okçabol, 2005). With this Law, the role assigned to National Education Council by the Ministry of Education was to organize, to control and to conclude the rules and regulations, the curriculums of the schools. The National Education Council was holding once in three years and the Council was consisting of an undersecretary of the Ministry of Education, commissioners of the Istanbul University, principals and teachers of the schools and the members that appointed by the Ministry of Education (Yücel, 1994). Between 1939 and 1945 during the single-party era, three National Education Councils took place: First National Education Council held on July 17-19, 1939; Second National Education Council held on February 15-21, 1943; Third National Education Council held on December 2-10, 1946 (Ergün, 1982; Zelyut, 1983; Üner, 1998; Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1995).

Statement of the Problem

This study analyzes the works of the three NEC's and decisions reached at the meetings which took place during the single-party era. The particular focus of analysis will be the development of the Turkish Education system after the establishment of the Republican Turkey. The single-party era years were chosen in order to analyze the construction and development of the Turkish education system within the years of the nation-building process in Turkey. The affects of nation-building process in the formation of education policies will be examined via three National Education Councils.

Significance of the Study

To analyze National Education Councils and reached decisions during the single-party era will be meaningful to understand the ways of social and political spheres are closely tied to each other. Analyzing the role of educational, economic, cultural and political changes during the single-party era is crucial to understand the development and construction period of the Turkish education system. In embarking on building a new nation-state, education was conceived as the most important element. As it developed under the Republic, the NEC as one of the policy making bodies of the National Ministry of Education, NEC's and the reports are important in terms of understanding the forces and factors behind the formulation and implementation of all educational policies during the single-party era.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The modernization processes of the societies has shown its effects at on spheres of the society. In Turkey, the transition from the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic had socio-economic, cultural and political causes. The establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, regulated all aspects of life changing them from traditional ones to modern ones, and the role assigned to education also changed according to the needs of society.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the transformation in socio-economic, cultural and political spheres of sociey determined a new role to the education in Turkey as an engine to build up a national culture and national development. The literature review part will sketch the transmission of the cultural and political values of the society and their implications on formulation of the Turkish education system. In order to achieve this aim, the first part of the literature review will start from the Tanzimat Era to examine the dynamics of the transfomation from Empire to Republic, and the second part will examine the dynamics of the nation-building process and its implications on the formation of the new education system.

Development of Education from Tanzimat Era to 1923

Although this study's focus is the development of education policies during the single-party era, in order to evaluate the extent of educational modernization in Turkey,

the history of Turkish education before the establishment of Republic will be covered briefly in this part of the study.

Modernization attempts in Turkey during the Ottoman Empire and Republic periods affected social and economic policies. From the Tanzimat to Republic serious and deep transformations in social, political and economic areas formed a continuous process of modernization. The modernization attempts in education reach back to the reign of Selim III (1789), Mahmud II (1808-1839), and the period of the Tanzimat. The attempts to secularize education were initiated by reforms such as establishing military schools to restore the military forces that had suffered defeats in the battles during the period of decline, and establishing vocational schools in order to transfer the capitalist system from the Western countries to the Empire (Zurcher, 2004).

The first stirrings of education reform appeared in the Ottoman Empire in the latter part of the eighteenth were initiated by Selim III and Mahmut II. At that time, the Ottoman Empire consisted of the Balkans, Anatolia, and a big part of the Arab world. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, the decrease in population and the loss of territories were the most significant causes for the decline of the Ottoman Empire (Zurcher, 2004). On the other hand, according to Lewis (1961), the loss of territories is interpreted by historians as symptoms rather than the causes of weakness and cite three main reasons for the decline of Ottoman Empire, related to government, to economic and social life, and to moral, cultural and intellectual change. The loss of territories and decrease in population influenced the Empire economically, and the statesmen began to concerned themselves with reform movements.

The economic superiority of Europe showed its effects first on the army and political fields. Thus, the reform movements took place first in the army. During the years of

Selim III, a programme of reforms called the New Order (*Nizam-i Cedid*) was introduced to meet the needs at the new army, and new system of training and education was tried to establish by inviting the foreign instructors. To modernize the army, the French military schools model was accepted (Kazamias, 1966). The contribution of the military schools to secularization and the modernization of educational life is described by Başığöz and Wilson (1968, p.19) as follows;

The establishment of these military schools, particularly during the nineteenth century, not only added a new group of institutions to the Empire's educational system, but also provided a stimulating influence on educational thinking in general. They were a source of new ideas in curriculum and method. They directly influenced many of the civilian schools.

Under Mahmut II (1808-1839), educational activities were extended to the civilian population. The modernization movement was directed towards the education of civilians by establishing modern medical services, military engineering schools, and naval engineering schools (Zurcher, 2004).

In the nineteenth century, the expansionistic policies of the European states were felt most in the field of economy. Liberalism as a movement became manifest, the assigned role to the Empire turned out to be that of a source of a raw material and as a market for industrial produce. Under these conditions, the Ottoman Empire undertook the first political reform, the Tanzimat (Karpas, 1957) which means as a word a series of acts that would give a new order to the organization of the state. The period from 1839 to 1876 is known in Turkish history as the period of Tanzimat (Ahmad, 1993). The Tanzimat aimed at certain administrative and social reforms based primarily on the French concept of administration and on ideas of the Enlightenment and French Revolution. The Turkish political, economic, and educational institutions began to

change in every respect of basic social values, and the doors to the West started to open widely. The reform movement promised equal rights and protection before the law to all citizens, and improvements in the system of taxation, army were the other important elements of the reform movement (Zurcher, 2004).

The impact of the reform movement has been discussed by the historians. According to Karpat (1957), the reforms did not produce the desired results, but they were the first basis for the future developments. Equal rights for all citizens, and shifting of central power from the palace to the bureaucracy were the sign of liberal thoughts. The main reason for the promulgation of the edict was to gain the support of Western countries. The reform movement was followed by secularization movement in education. According to Akyüz (1993), the state realized that in order to implement the reform movement in society, they had to create a society in which members were to be educated and a new intellectual type for providing the new modernization movements would be permanent. Zurcher (2004) makes educational comments related to the era as follows;

Secularization was one of the most important trend in education in the Tanzimat era. As in the preceding period, priority was given to the creation of professional training colleges for the bureaucracy and the army, the most important being the Mektep-i Mülkiye (civil service school), founded in 1859(...). Sultan Mahmud had already initiated the building of rüşdiye (adolescence) schools, secular schools for boys between the ages of 10 and 15 who had graduated from the mektep, the traditional primary schools where children learned the Koran by hearth and sometimes learned to read and write. The rüşdiyes were meant as a bridge between the mektep and the professional schools or on-the-job training in the government departments(...). The slow development of modern education forced the army to develop its own network of military rüşdiye schools from 1855 onwards, followed by secondary idadiye (preparatory) schools in the major garrison towns(...). The result of the educational developments during the nineteenth century was that there were now four types of school in the empire. The first comprised the traditional Islamic schools, the mekteps, and the hierarchy of medreses, which taught the traditional curriculum of Islamic sciences. Then there were secular state schools created during the Tanzimat and much extended during the reign of Sultan

Abdülhamit II (1876-1909)(...). The third type was the schools founded and funded by the millets, and the fourth was the schools run by foreign Catholic and Protestant missions (pp.62-63).

Deviating from the traditional concepts of knowledge, learning, and new approaches to educational institutions was one of the achievement of the Mahmut (Berkes,1998). The first secular schools established during Sultan Mahmut's reign came to be known as *rüşdiye* (Adolescence) in order to provide more advanced level of education than the *sübyan* (primary) schools, and to fill the gap between primary and higher education institutions. Instruction was free, the books and instruments were provided by the state, and the state was responsible for the general maintenance of the schools, which also meant that primary level of education became a state responsibility (Ayas, 1948). The extension of *rüşdiye* was slow due to the shortage of trained teachers and money. *Darülmuallim*, a teacher training school was established in 1848, followed by a Normal School for Girls (*Dar-ul-muallimat*) in 1870 to solve partly the shortage of trained teachers (Kazamias, 1966). Both *rüşdiye* and *dar-ul-muallimin* schools intended to serve religious education, according to Berkes (1998), their role was to establish a bridge between secular and religious education, although the arrangement in the courses about the social and physical sciences, ulema part of the society has a controlling position of any instruction in order to continue the precepts of Islam. The process of establishing a regular school system started with the School of Military Science (*Mektab-i Ulum-u Harbiye*) late in Mahmut's reign as one of the leading technical schools. The curriculum structure contained advance instruction in engineering, geometry, mathematics at the same time military sciences (Kazamias, 1966). In order to supply the civilian schools, the army develop its own secular system

beginning in 1855, and provided *rüşdiye* schools at the elementary level, *idadis* turned into middle schools, the *harbiye* into a secondary school and the School of the General Staff (*Erkan-ı Harbiye Mektebi*) as a new advanced school of military science. According to Başgöz & Wilson (1968), the establishment of these types of military schools not only meant an increase in the number of educational institutions, but meant a stimulating influence on educational thinking in general in the nineteenth century.

The meaning of the reform movement at the institutional level is a significant point that must be discussed in terms of the needs of the era. Berkes (1998) states that the reform movement in education was not a real part of the reform projects, and did not deal with the education system as a whole. Making primary education compulsory in 1824 was just a shadow of the modernization attempts because implementing such a decree under the existing conditions was not pragmatic and the idea of the new education system served as a part of religious affairs and schools were thought of as serving primarily for military purposes. He concludes that the bifurcation in the education system deepened during the Tanzimat era, established schools became the objects of the working system as the bridge between the “secular” and “religious” or between “new” and the “traditional” school system.

The next political reform was the proclamation of a new imperial rescript, *Hattı Hümayün* (1876), as an attempt to organize all branches of administration and maintain the reform movement started with Tanzimat as a second phase. After the rescript, *Mülkiye* (civil service school) and the *Mektebi Sultani* (imperial school) were set up. The reform movement in this era was influenced by the French style as the representative of the Western type of education. In the following years, the French Minister Jean Victor Duruy was invited to İstanbul to investigate educational

deficiencies and to advise the Ottomans for further educational development. His report contained the establishment of interdenominational secondary schools, a secular university, technical schools, a public library system and this was also the indicator of opening the education system to Western lines as well as the political, cultural and economic spheres.

In 1869, the *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (Regulations for General Education) was passed as a comprehensive regulation which covered all levels of education (Yücel, 1994, pp.11; Kazamias, 1966, pp.63; Shaw & Shaw, 2002, pp.108). The provisions were: compulsory primary education for all children until the age of 12 (in *Sübyan* schools); reorganization of the central and provincial administration of education, that is, the setting up of administrative units in provinces; reorganization and regularization of teaching methods; provision of clearer criteria concerning the promotion and status of teachers; increase in “science” institutions (literature and natural sciences); free education in the *Sübyan*, *Rüşdiye*, and the *İdadi*; the school system to be graded and to consist of the following schools;

- a. Primary schools (*Sübyan* or *İptidai*) in all villages and town quarters,
- b. *Rüşdiye* in all towns of five hundred or more families,
- c. An *İdadi* with three years period (preparatory secondary school) in all towns of one thousand families or more,
- d. A *Sultani* (lise, or academic secondary school) in each provincial capital,
- e. Men’s and women’s teachers’ training collages in İstanbul,
- f. A university in İstanbul,
- g. Private *Rüşdiye*’s for girls in suitable places,

After the promulgation of the *Maarif-i Umum-i Nizamnamesi* (Regulations for General Education) in 1869, three levels of school system was created (Kaya, 1972 cited in Hamiloğlu, 2001, p.84), which were first elementary (primary) education with three years elementary schools (*Sıbyan or İptidai*) in all villages and towns, and three year advanced elementary schools (*Rüşdiye*) in all towns of five hundred or more families. Secondary education with two or four year preparatory secondary schools (*İdadi*) in all towns of one thousand families or more; four year academic secondary schools (*Sultani or Lise*) in each provincial capital, and teachers Training Colleges for men (*Darülmualim*) and for women (*Darülmualime*) in Istanbul. Last higher education with university (*Darülfunun*) in Istanbul, and higher schools to train high level professionals (p.67).

The major importance of this regulations was also the creation of a Western-oriented Ottoman education system. The content of *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* was covering to educate children who came from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds in integrated schools. According to Ahmad (2003), the Charter of 1839 was a crucial step in the process of secularization, so the continuation of this reform movement, The *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* could also has a meaning to secularize the established education system independent of the traditional religious one. According to Başgöz and Wilson (1968), after the regulation,

religious influences and controls were successfully avoided in these schools, and, as a result the modern sciences were introduced into the curricula; whereas only religion oriented courses were taught in the medreses, such subjects as mathematics, physics, history, economics, international law, Ottoman literature, geometry and Turkish language were offered in the Civilian schools (p.22).

On the other hand, Kazamias (1966) makes comments and evaluate the Regulation in

different perspective, as follows;

A major motivating force in this reorganization, especially in the emphasis placed upon the secondary level of education, was the welding of the various nationalities of the empire into a common Ottoman body politic. It was believed that by educating children of diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds together, in integrated schools, a Western-oriented and corporate Ottoman state could be created. Another basic consideration in formulating these regulations was the policy of an Ottoman Western-oriented elite to establish a government-controlled, secularly oriented system of education, independent of the traditional religious system which was in the hand of the religious institution. (Antel, 1940 cited in Kazamias, 1966, p.64).

The period from 1865 to 1928 witnessed some of the most turbulent episodes in Ottoman history. The Young Ottomans movement was the first opposition movement critical of the regime which blamed the Tanzimat statesman for the deterioration of the Empire because of the concessions they had made to Europe and to Ottoman Christians while neglecting the Muslim population. They defined the Tanzimat not as the creation of a modern economy, but as the subordination of the Ottoman economy to that of Europe. They intended to develop a political ideology which was parallel to the features of Western liberal tradition, and also grounded on Islamic beliefs. According to the Young Ottomans, the established educational institutions in the Tanzimat era undermined the wealth and values of traditional Islamic culture, and they were against the educational innovations based on Western-oriented style. In 1876, Sultan Abdulhamid II proclaimed the first “*meşrutiyet*” (constitutional government) under the press of the Young Ottomans and reformers. The Constitution of 1876 provided that all schools should be under government control and primary education should be compulsory as stated in the 1869 *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (Kazamias, 1966). As a result, between the 1867 and 1895, the number of secular elementary schools and students attending doubled. Out of the total population of 19 million, 1.3 million were

students, with a larger proportion of them non-Muslims (Shaw & Shaw, 2002, pp.112-113).

To understand Ottoman social and political modernization and its reflections to education, it is better to examine the Young Turk era to see the implementation of the reform movements. In social life, the movement of that Westernization had begun in the previous century gathered momentum. To modernize society, education was an important factor, and the Young Turks showed an effort to create secular primary, secondary education schools, teachers' training colleges, and to reorganize the University of İstanbul (Lewis, 2002). The emergence of modern Turkey, according to Robinson (1963), had its origins in the Young Turk period. Their aim was not to dissolve the Empire, but to modernize it and its major institutions.

The period between 1908 and the War of Liberation showed different characteristics from earlier reform periods in education, which meant attention given to ideas after 1908 rather than to specific programs. Political and nationalist intellectual spokesman Ziya Gökalp stated that there was a distinction between education and training; training as a process that leads people to live in their cultural environment teaching was a process to obtain scientific knowledge (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968). According to Gökalp:

The purpose of education is the adaptation of the individual to his social and natural environment and the roles of education were national training and universal teaching (Gökalp, 1916 cited in Başgöz&Wilson, 1968, p.25).

Gökalp stated that youth must discover the great truths which the nation needed by comparing and combining Western and Eastern learning (Berkes, 1959). One of his writings, he stated that (Kazamias, 1966, p.109);

In this country, there are three layers of people differing from each other by civilization and education: the common people, the men educated in medrese, the

men educated in modern (secular) schools. The first still are not freed from the effect of far Eastern civilization; the second are still living in Eastern civilization; it is only the third group which has had some benefits from Western civilization. That means that, one portion of our nation is living in an ancient, another in a medieval, and a third in a modern age. How can the life of a nation be normal with such a threefold life ? How can we be real nation without unifying this threefold education ? ” He concluded his ideas upon education into three dimension. In the first place, ‘education instill culture and culture is national, education must be national ’; in the second place “ the basic education of Turkish child must be according to Turkish culture; and lastly, the aim of Turkish education must be to develop ‘idealists’, who will also be ‘national types’ (Kazamias, 1966, p.110).

Gökalp saw the creation of a conceptual base for modern Turkish education was crucial and would have an influence in the years after the establishment of the Republic (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968).

The Tanzimat era, which was influenced mostly by the French education system, can be considered as innovation movement. Attempts to improve education system in the Empire enabled a new education system to occur, but that system could not provide an education which would spread over the Empire in terms of quantity and quality.

Development of Turkish Education Between 1923 to 1945

The main educational system in Turkey was established with the foundation of the Republic, but the legacy of the Ottoman Empire also formed a base for the educational applications during the foundation of the Republic. A series of basic social changes took place in Turkey after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and some of the conditions of the Treaty were unfavorable for an early solution to the economic problems of the country. The very beginning of the Republican Era is described by Başgöz and Wilson (1968) as follows;

In accordance with Treaty regulations, Turkey had to agree to pay sixty-two percent

of the general debt of the Ottoman regime. This absorbed twelve to eighteen percent of the total national budget for fifteen years beginning with the year 1929.(...). After the Lausanne Treaty, the Grand National Assembly began issuing one important decision after another. Ankara was recognized as the new national capital on September 23, 1923. One month later, on October 23, 1923, the Republic was established with Mustafa Kemal as president. The Sultanate was abolished the following March, completing the secularization of the state (p.32).

In order to strengthen his position in the National Assembly and to be rid of the conservative elements which opposed the reforms, Mustafa Kemal organized the Republican People's Party and declared the principles of the party as follows:

The party will represent the nation as a whole, not just one social class. We have an agricultural society. Such a society involves the great land owners and the farmers who have large land holdings. How many people possess large land holdings in our country.

We learn from investigations that no one has such large holdings. Consequently, these landowners are persons to be protected. Then there are tradesmen and small town merchants. We must protect their rights, too, and provide for their security now and in the future. Apart from these people, there are no big capitalists. How many millionaires do we have? None. We shall not be the enemies of those who have some money. On the contrary, we will try to create millionaires and billionaires in our country. Then, there are the workers. Their number does not exceed twenty thousand. Like the farmers working in the field, they must be protected and their rights defended (Atatürk' ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1959 cited in Kazamias, 1966, p. 47).

From the stated party principles, the one subject that dominated Turkish politics and public opinion in the early years of Republic was the economy. On February, 1923 at the İzmir Economic Congress, Mustafa Kemal emphasized the importance of economic independence. The results of the congress were to protect the local industry, but did not oppose foreign investment, so debates that took place at the congress were about liberalism policies and the state intervention of the "National Economy" programme. Shaw & Shaw (2002) describes the economic policies of the period as follows;

The Republic's economic policies in Atatürk's time followed a confusing and only partly successful mixture of private enterprise and governmental supervision and

participation in a program which came to be known as Statisms (p.388).

In embarking upon the task of building a new nation, Atatürk and his associates conceived of education as one of the most important foundation. On July 15, 1921 before the establishment of the Republic, a National Education Congress was held. The medreses were seen as conservative elements which could oppose and delay most of the innovations (Akyüz, 1993). Following this congress it was started to constitute scientific consultation and decision-making bodies so that Turkish National Education would acquire a national essence and a scientific identity. Through these bodies it was aimed to determine the problems of the education system and then to regulate the system trying to renovate it. In 1923, 1924 and 1925 Scientific Council (*Heyet-i İlmiye*) meetings were organized in order to create a new national education programs according to a new nation-state's needs (Başaran, 1999).

The first meeting of the Science Council was organized between July 15-August 15 1923, when the Minister of Education was İsmail Safa Bey. The issues and decisions were about the national education curriculum, national culture, procedure for the translation of valuable reference books into Turkish, General Directorate of Statistics, national dictionary, national music, language and literature, library of national history, national treasury documents, the institutes of national history and geography, ethnography museum, national museum, museum of schooling, advanced level courses in Ankara, changes in primary school curriculum, adult basic education after compulsory education, the proposal to change governmental decree regarding primary school education, regulations and curriculum for male and female teacher training schools, the organizational structure of sultanis and the length of education

and the change of the name sultani, the organizational structure of high school level boy scouts and girl scouts, the proposal about by-laws of controlling committee, by-laws regarding historic artifacts, the start of middle school education in Istanbul male/female teacher training schools, the organizational structure and programs at Galatasaray high school, vocational education of teacher training high school students, and guidelines for religious education (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1995).

The second Scientific Council meeting was held after the declaration of the Law of Unification of Instruction (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu), on April 13, 1924, when the Minister of Education was Vasif Çınar. The issues and decisions discussed were: the period of compulsory education would be five years instead of six, the period of secondary school education would be six years instead of seven and the separation between middle and high schools each of would have 3 years education period, the period of teacher training schools would be five years instead of four, the organization of girl's high schools, enlargement of middle, high and teachers training schools' curriculum, and adding the sociology courses to the curriculum, the development of primary schools' curriculum, the preparation, writing and publishing of the textbooks (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı,1995).

The third meeting of the Scientific Council was held on December 27, 1925, and the following significant issues were discussed: to use the resources from state and provinces' budget in an efficient way, to increase the physical capacity of school buildings, to reorganize the structure of high schools and to increase the numbers at the certain centres, to practice co-education in schools, to form a Board of Education; to detect the main body of the pedagogical formation for the interns, to increase the numbers of teacher training and vocational education schools at certain centres

(Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı,1995). Significant decisions were taken during the three Scientific Council meetings so as to improve the quality and the quantity of the education and the educational organizations. The continuation of Scientific Council meetings was the National Education Councils, which was held first in 1939.

In the early years of the Republic, Sakalioğlu (1993, cited in Hamiloglu, 2001) points out that:

only one million people out of 12 million total were literate; 98 per cent of women were illiterate. Only 3 or 4.000 teachers out of 12 thousand graduated from training schools for teachers, secondary schools and others were educated in medreses or graduated from primary schools (p.97)

In the following years, the İzmir Economic Congress, which was held in February 1923, was organized to reaffirm the desire for economic sovereignty and acceptance of liberal economic policies. The Congress also had a meaning to construct the educational system which became one of the engine of the economic development and would serve for the aims of liberal economic policies (Gök, 1999; Ahmad, 1993). Aktar (1993) defines the Congress as “the explanations of the elite’s thoughts”, and claims that:

the impact of the Congress was not seen not only economy of the country but also on the thoughts and manners (p.132).

The Congress was a convention at which the decisions of the transition to a capitalist, nationalist, and statist economy were made. Başgöz and Wilson (1968) comment on the Congress from an educational point of view:

The Congress was convened primarily in order to decide Turkey’s new economic policy, but it also dealt with certain aspects of education at both the primary and secondary levels, with a particular reference to agricultural training(...). The Congress adopted nine resolutions, which therefore remained almost unnoticed in the study of Turkish education. These resolutions, entitled ‘The Problem of an

Agricultural Education' recommended that the state should undertake the problems (p.56).

The educational ideas of the Congress as follows (Başar, 1942 cited in Başgöz and Wilson, 1968);

1. To print and distribute among the villagers and the peasants books and magazines containing practical instruction on various branches of agriculture,
2. To introduce practical industrial and agricultural courses in all primary and secondary schools,
3. To establish in every district of the country boarding schools at a primary level that would serve groups of neighboring villages; to allot suitably large plot of land to each of these schools, and to include, alongside the primary program of lessons, both theoretical and applied agricultural instruction,
4. To establish, according to the size of each district, one or more secondary schools in suitable sub-district centers, these schools to be built in the form of model farms and with the aim of teaching practical agriculture,
5. To establish a national agricultural collage near Ankara,
6. To provide each of the primary schools with a plot of ground, a sanitary stable with two cows, a hen coop, a modern bee hive, and two room houses for the teachers; and to divide that allotted land into flower gardens, a vegetable garden, and an orchard, with the students managing these under the supervision of teachers and with the expenses and profits reverting to the teachers. Thus, the village children secured a practical education in farming and, at the same time, educated persons were encouraged to settle in the villages,
7. To ensure that all graduates, male and female, from Turkish and foreign high schools shall serve for at least one year as teachers in the village schools set up under Article 6,
8. To include agricultural instruction in military training programs,
9. To form, without delay, in each district a mobile agricultural school which could give the villagers appropriate adult education through the use of films and lectures (pp.56-57).

The role of education in the society started to become a means of national development after the İzmir Economic Congress. Başgöz & Wilson (1968) describe it as follows;

The essential aspect of the Congress' proposals is the substantial change they embody in the relation of education and schooling to the economy of Turkey. The proposal sought to liberate education from its classical bonds and force on it a direct and stimulating role in the basic element of the national economy (p.57).

Education is a way of disseminating new ideas, values and ideologies. For the

dissemination of these new ideas, it was necessary to create a powerful mechanism to abolish and reject the traditional educational institutions of the Ottoman Era. During the War of Liberation, the school system was still chaotic and uncoordinated. The wide range of school types and the basic dichotomy between secular and religious education resulted from a variety of different administration bodies, or organizations. After the foundation of the Republic, the first educational issue to be considered was to bring an end to this dual system. In 1924, *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* (The Law of Unification of Instruction) was promulgated, which stated “all educational institutions are to be placed under the control of the Ministry of Education”, which included all religious schools and their funds used by *Evkaf*. *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* was also has an importance in that it coped with the dichotomy between religious and secular schools that came from the Tanzimat Era (Yücel, 1994; Topses, 1999; Akyüz, 1993), and was a fundamental step in the establishment of a unified, modern and secular national education system (Winter, 1984; Akyüz, 1993). Related articles in this law are;

Article 1- All educational and scientific institutions within Turkey are affiliated to the Ministry of Education.

Article 2- All schools as administered by the Ministry of Justice and Foundations or by private foundations have been transferred and attached to the Ministry of Education.

Article 3- Appropriations allocated to the schools in the Budget of the Ministry of Justice and Foundations shall be transferred to the Budget of the Ministry of Education.

Article 4- Ministry of Education shall established a Faculty of Theology within the university to raise qualified theologians and open separate schools to educate officials to be responsible for performing religious services such as imamate and preaching.

Article 5- Budgets and teaching staff of military junior high schools under the Ministry of National Defence and of orphanages under the Ministry of Health have been attached to the Ministry of National Education. Manner of attachment of teaching staff in those junior high schools and high schools shall be determined mutually between their future ministries, and teaching staff of army shall keep their ties with the army until that time.

Article 6- This law shall take effect on the date of its' publications.

Article 7- This law shall be executed by the Council of Ministries (Ministry of National Education, 1996, pp.8-9).

Landau (1999) defines the Law of Unification of Education as modern, secular, egalitarian and national, and according to him the national aspect of the law was very important. In the same year, in 1924, the Caliphate was abolished, and it was followed by a series of reforms, like the positions of *şeyhulislam* and the Ministry of Religious Foundations were abolished and replaced by the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Müdürlüğü*) and Religious Foundations (*Evkaf Müdürlüğü*) (Shaw & Shaw, 2002). Another reform movement to break old religious traditions was the language reform. On November 1, 1928, with the law no:1353, the Grand National Assembly, decided to replace Latin letters in place of the old traditional Arabic and Persian ones, and in 1928 Arabic and Persian letters were removed from the school curricula (Winter, 1984). In 1929 special national schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) was established to teach the new alphabet and to increase the literacy level (Okçabol, 2005; Topses, 1999; Adem, 1993).

In the early years of the Republic, foreign experts were invited to Turkey to investigate educational deficiencies, and to recommend further changes to restructure and reorganize the existing education system. In 1924, first, John Dewey was invited to observe and analyze the educational system to advise on ways of building up a modern educational system. Dewey prepared two reports after spending two months in Turkey. The “Preliminary Report” was about teacher training and the funding of education. The second one was about the development of schools and the redefinition of the school system as community centers, an educational plan and the reorganization of the Ministry of Public Instruction (Turan, 1997). Other foreign reports on Turkish

education were made by Albert Kühne in 1925 about technical and vocational education, Omer Buyse in 1927 about technical education, Albert Malche in 1932 about Istanbul University, Berly Parker in 1934 about the general education system, and specifically primary education, Kemmerrer's group in 1933 about the general education system, Philippe Schwartz between 1933-1952 about universities, W. Dickerman in 1951 about public education, K.V. Wofford in 1951 about village institutes, John Ruffi in 1952 about secondary education, E. Tompkins between 1952-1953 about secondary education, Prof. L. Beals between 1952-1953 about counseling services in the schools, Prof. R. J. Maaske in 1953 about teacher training, Dr. E. S. Gorvine between 1955-1956 about technical education, and a group of experts from America in 1957 about commercial education (Akyüz, 1993).

To understand the strong connections between the cultural, economic and political spheres and the contradictions within and among them is not realistic without the current analyses of the education system (Apple, 1995). Opening the Turkish education system to foreign experts was an indicator of the transformation, development and adaptation to Western style in the cultural, economic and political spheres as much as in education. Foreign experts' reports and recommendations are historically important in the development of the modern educational system in Turkey, despite their incomplete understanding of Turkish life and the real issues of education in the context of wider social arrangements (Kirby, 1962).

The first report written by John Dewey (1939, p.8) started with the role of schools, the recommended that authorities

1. form proper political habits and ideas,
2. foster the various forms of economic and commercial skill and ability,
3. develop the traits and dispositions of character, intellectual and moral, which fit

men and women of self-government, economic self-support and industrial process; namely, initiative and inventiveness, independence of judgement, ability to think scientifically and to cooperate for common purposes socially.

Schools were also the centers for the collection and dissemination of economic and industrial information”.

After stressing the importance of schools Dewey addressed another important issues started with: program, organization of the Ministry of Education, training and treatment of teachers, the school system, health and hygiene, and school discipline.

According to Dewey (1939, p.3), “ in order to ensure the formation and execution of an educational plan which will serve the social ends of Turkey, there is required a general program giving the outline of educational activities over a period of future years, and this program should serve as a constitution for the Ministry of Education, independent of changes of personnel ”.

The issues in the report were also as follows:

1. translating, publishing foreign educational literature especially ones which gave practical instruction methods,
2. extending library activities, in order to promote the reading habits,
3. school building, equipment and hygiene,
4. the unit deals with the statistics such the number of children of school age in each district, the number not taken care of by existing facilities, local conditions with respect to facility of access, means of transportation, local industries,etc.,
5. Treatment of teachers covers the salaries and the administrative part which concerns security of tenure and stability of position,
6. For the improvement in quality at schools, training of teachers by practising the most advanced teaching methods with especial reference to the needs,
7. The fundamental principle in school system was that each portion of school system should be complete unit in itself so that those who have completed it have received a definite and obvious advantage irrespective of whether they pass on to higher division of the school system or not .

Dewey stated that the different units of the school system should be modified and adapted according to the local conditions and needs of the country. The courses and methods also should adapted to life-needs of the pupils. The differentiation in types of middle schools was the way of adapting students to the next unit, and students should be able to enter the higher level of school according to their talent and interest. Rather than universities, technical and engineering training school kind was one of the urgent needs of Turkey. Dewey suggested that the department of archeology and public and social services should be established. “ 8. Health and hygiene issues could rapidly remedied through cooperation of health authorities with teachers and pupils at schools,- 9. School discipline should be provided by setting up a system of school management which ensured students’ participation,
- 10. Opening private schools could also compensate for the shortage of public schools ”. Dewey though that, during the period of transition of the Turkish educational system, private schools could take a role “ to deviate from old habits and undertake new

experiments ” (p.8).

Dewey’s recommendations for the school curriculum were that “the curriculum should be modified in different sections of the country to be adapted to local conditions and needs. Without this change, the school studies will not be connected with the life of the pupils, and hence will neither serve them practically nor enlist their full interest and attention” (Turan, 1997, p.13), which also showed the urgency of opening the vocational and technical education schools. According to Başgöz and Wilson (1968), all these recommendations in many respect were unrealistic in terms of the economic situation of the nation at that time.

The next foreign expert, Albert Kühne, wrote his report in 1925 about vocational and technical education. According to Kühne (1939), the most urgent problem was to increase the number of people who attend the primary education level and stated that, this was the first step for the development of vocational and technical education.

Kühne (1939, p.3; Akkutay, 1996, p.35; Başgöz & Wilson, 1968, p.67) stated in his report;

- a) the abolition of Arabic scripts and adoption of Latin alphabet,
- b) to increase the number of educated girls and courses in the field of home economics,
- c) to expand the number of vocational schools to cover the need of skilled labor and technicians for a developing national economy and advised schools which would teach the arts and crafts,
- d) the management and financing part of education should be controlled by local authorities, and under a centralized management system, the National Ministry of Education fail to provide effective service.

The report of Omer Buyse about technical education also had parallel content with Kühne’s report. In addition, he offered detailed plans for teaching arts and crafts, raising the funds necessary for the establishment of technical and vocational schools.

Another suggestions of Buyse, was for the establishment of a technical university to meet the need for teachers and to train personnel for the technical needs of the country. Agricultural education was one of the crucial issue, which he also insisted on the necessity of practical work in this field (Başgöz&Wilson, 1968).

Kühne's report was followed by in 1932 Albert Malche about Istanbul University, and in 1933, a group of American experts. A group of American experts - headed by Wlater E. Kemerrer – were invited to recommend further changes for the economic development of Turkey, in this regard, the Kemerrer's report differed from other foreign experts' reports.Group advised four crucial training programs, which were;

- a) training of farmers and agricultural experts;
- b) training of engineers and technicians;
- c) training of industrial workers; and
- d) training of businessman”.

Also the report contained;

- an increase in elementary education from three to five years,
- to provide opportunities for the brightest village children to extend their education level and encourage their participation for the economic development of the country (Başgöz&Wilson, 1968, p.71).

On the whole, in the formulation of a new national education system during the early days of Republic, foreign experts reports' had little effect on success. One of the important reason for achieving this failure was that the content of the reports restricted to the education field without taking into consideration environmental factors, a such as the traditions, social and economic factors of the country.

In those first years of the Republic, awaransess of the importance of vocational and technical education was spreading and was treated as an issue of the reconstruction parallel to economic development plans. The expanding rate of secondary and higher

education schools was creating unemployment for their graduates, so to cope with the weaknesses and imbalances derived from this, it was necessary to encourage technical and vocational education (Alkan, 1999; Winter, 1984). After Dewey and Kühne's reports, in 1927 the General Directorate of Higher Education was reorganized and its name changed to the General Directorate of Higher and Vocational Education. In 1927-1928 technical and vocational schools were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education with law number 1052, and in 1935 the Ministry of Education had all the financial responsibility of the technical and vocational schools (Okçabol, 2005; Kazamias, 1966; Alkan, 1999). Another issue was teachers' training institutions. The shortage of teachers especially at the primary school level in the villages. The quality of their education was a sign of the needs. The teachers' training system had been redesigned. One of the most important experiments in this era was the village institutes (*köy enstitüleri*) established on April 17, 1940 with law no 3083. One of the aims of the village institutes was to meet the village teacher shortage by educating youths from villages, in their local settings, and then assigning them to the village schools. The main idea behind this innovation was to foster economic development in the country by encouraging village communities' participation (Kazamias, 1966; Katoğlu, 1997; Kirby, 1962; Ilgaz, 1999). By their eighth anniversary, in 1948, there were twenty village institutes with nearly 13,000 pupils (Altunya, 2002, pp.61; Lewis, 2002). The idea of awakening the villagers by teaching them how to read, write, giving them health care, and teaching them agricultural methods, teaching them self-reliance sounded dangerous which the conservatives. After World War II, the village institutes became places in which to create "undesirable ideologies", for the conservatives and this resulted from the opposition voice of the conservatives. Institutes' downfall started and

in 1954 and with Law no 6234, they were transformed into routine teacher training institutions by the Democrat Party (Ahmad, 1993; Mango, 2004; Lewis, 2002; Katoğlu, 1997).

In 1923, when the new Turkish nation-state was established, the huge part of the population was illiterate. According to the available statistics, 89.4 percent of the population was illiterate, in 1935-36 the literacy rate was 20.4, in 1940-41 the proportion increased to 22.0, and in 1945-46 to 30.2, in 1950-51 to 34.6 (Kazamias, 1966). The number of total graduated educators and teacher was about 738 (Altunya, 2002), and in 1946-47 this number increased to 14,498 (Tonguç, 1998). The 1945-1946 figures showed that, the level of literacy skills was increasing, and this was also the sign of the implications of village institutes.

A rise in registration at all levels of education and literacy level of population is indicated in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2

Table 1.1- Educational Indicators, 1923-1946

<u>Years</u>	<u>Population (Million)</u>	<u>Literacy of Population</u>			<u>School Enrolment (thousand)</u>			
		<u>aged six years and over(%)</u>			<u>Pri.</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Uni.</u>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>				
1923/24					341	5,905	1,241	
1927/28	13.6	10.7	17.6	4.8	426.	15,135	1,819	
1935/36	16.1	19.5	29.8	10.1	669.3	44.6	10,882	
1945/46	18.7	29.2	42.2	16.3	1.342.	58,544	21,804	

Source: The Board of Education,1961; Başgöz & Wilson, 1968, pp.246-247

The percentage of Turkey's population with levels of education and literacy is shown in Table 1.2. As of 1960 and compared to 1927, the high school population had expanded 41 times; middle schools 19 times and primary schools 6.7 times, as seen in the Table 1.2 (Frey, 1962)

Table 1.2- Indices of Number of Students at Various Educational Levels, 1923-1960

<u>Year</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High School</u>		<u>Technical</u>	<u>Trade School</u>	<u>University</u>
1923/24	80	39	68		50	172	68
1927/28	100	100	100		100	100	100
1935/36	157	294	598		56	248	175
1945/46	316	387	1.200		331	2.090	450
1955/56	468	833	1.705	352	3.800	868	
1960/61	670	1.935	4.165	395 ^a	4.650	1.520	

a: 1958/59; Frey, 1962

When analyzing the education policy-making process in Turkey after the foundation of the Republic, it is important to sketch the political atmosphere of this nation-building process and its effects on the institution building process. Towards the end of the 1920's, the centralist-authoritarian structure in Turkey started to be consolidated. An example of this centralization process in politics was observed in the Second Congress of the Republican People's Party in 1927. The right to nominate parliamentarians was transferred from the party assembly to the general president of the party who was Mustafa Kemal at that time and party inspectors would have initiatives in the management of political, social, cultural and economic organizations. This change reflected the monopolization of the power. In the following years, single-party rule was reaffirmed and consolidated by the foundation of certain institutions to create the utmost

ideological mobilization in society. Alongside the formal school system, the National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) (1928), Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) (1931), People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) (1932), The Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) (1932), Faculty of Language, History and Geography (*Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi*) (1936) and People's Rooms (*Halk Odaları*) (1939-1940) were established.

Preparations for a change in the definition of nationalism began as early as 1929. One of the important steps in creating national identity was arranging the transformation of the Turkish Hearths into something more useful to the party. The Hearths were the intellectual cradle of Turkish nationalism. Established in 1911, they preached a nationalism that amounted to patriotism based on a sense of the historical Turkish identity and culture, with the Islamic roots of that identity maintained but diluted in a broad, ill-defined form of modernism and perhaps secularism. The aim of these institutions was not only to teach people arts and sciences, but also to socialize them politically and to achieve the familiarity of the masses with the values of the revolution and the party. At some of these institutions, like the People's Houses, conferences were held by professors. As a result of party inducement and the purpose and function of the conferences can be specified as political socialization which is the process through which individuals acquire the political values, beliefs and codes of behavior of a social group or community and get integrated into their political structure. Thus, through the conferences given, the Turkish public was made aware of the political values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that the single party of the time, the RPP promoted. One of the themes of these conferences was "nationalism and nation-building", and the importance of national consciousness, and national identity.

The other emphasis points were: greatness of Turkish leaders in the past and the

contributions of Turks to world civilization, racial differences among nations and the necessity to achieve unity in a nation, the degrading of non-muslim merchants in Turkey, and lastly the importance of a creation of a national literature which represent national characteristics (Berksoy 2000, p.210).

According to Mustafa Kemal education was like “ the philosophy of the life of nations which manifests itself in the form of a perpetual and terrible struggle ” and followed as “inculcation into our children and youth during their upbringing, of the necessity of struggle against all foreign elements which conflict especially with their existence, right and unity and of the need to defend national ideas in complete ecstasy against all opposite ideas emphatically and devotedly” (Office of the Chief of the General Staff, 1988 cited in Kaplan 1999, pp.133-134). Mustafa Kemal put emphasis on national education, and saying “When I speak of national education program, I mean a culture which is wholly free from the superstitions of the olden time, and from foreign ideas, all influences which may come from the east and the west which do not at all fit our natural characteristics, a culture which is commensurate with our national and historical character” (Office of the Chief of the General Staff, 1988 cited in Kaplan 1999, p.134). This speech was a declaration of nationalism in the sphere of education.

The RPP needed to find a new base for the nation-state which would be created out of the old society and that new base was found in the nationalization of history and language also. As an important part of so called Turkish Cultural Revolution, Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory, which were created in the 1930 emphasized to prove that Turkish people were the creators of civilization. This revolution generally aimed to prove scientifically that the Turkish nation had created a great history and influenced a number of splendid civilizations, prove that the Turkish language was a

pre-established, a well-rooted language, and to realize the alphabet revolution and purification of Turkish (Saffet 1933, cited in Şimşek 1996, p.147) so it proceed on two dimensions: the establishment of a new national identity on a heroic past and, the spreading of this identity throughout the whole country.

The purpose of education according to Mustafa Kemal was to foster the loyalty of the new generations to the Turkish nation and state in such a way that they would be ready to fight against the enemies of the Turkish nation and state and he said:

Whatever the extent of education we give our children and youth, we shall thoroughly teach them loyalty to 1. the Nation, 2. the Turkish state, 3. the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and struggle against the enemies of these. Those nations who are not equipped with the means and instruments of combatting the enemies have no right of existence (Office of the Chief of the General Staff, 1988 cited in Kaplan 1999, p.136).

Thus the instrumentality of education was a basic principle for Mustafa Kemal and education should provide success in material life. The economic development that took place during the Kemalist era was not great enough to create changes in the socio-economic structure of the country. Until 1950, Anatolia remained as a closed religious community but Turkey's entry into the Western world after World War II resulted from more liberal political, economic, and social policies in the country. The effect of international events and pressure on Turkish politics after the war from outside and also from those that emerged from inside, made the Republican Party accept liberalization policies. It followed adherend to the Turkey United Nations' Declaration and its Western-oriented political approaches. The acceptance of the United Nations Charter in 1945 created a political atmosphere for the rise of political opposition, and the transition from Turkey's single-party regime to a multi-party system appeared at the end of World War II, with the Democrat Party in opposition (Karpat, 1959). According to

Eroğul (1987, pp.102-103), there were several factors of transition from single-party to multi party system. These were “the desire to channel the popular discontent”, “the desire to respond to increasing pressure from the propertied class” , “the international situation after World War II”, “the desire to passage to Western style multi-party system and İnönü’s personal desires to become as the leader who would be known as the leader who succeeded this experiment”. The socio-political change which had occurred in the country contributed to the expansion to a great extent.

National Education Councils

Under the Republic, the Ministry of Education had three bodies: the Educational Council, the Committee on Instruction and Education, and the Commission of General Directors. The Educational Council was made up of high officials in the ministry, principals, inspectors, rectors of the universities, deans of the faculties, and other specialists nominated by the minister in order to discuss all matters of education policy making process and its components (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968).

An important element of secularism was the development of a modern system of education throughout the Republic in order to establish a new educational system under Republic, the structure of the Ministry of Education should be strengthened, and the educational programs of schools should be reorganized according to the nation-state needs and ideologies. The National Education Councils was one part of the study to complete this reconstitution process.

The first National Education Council was held on July 17-29, 1939, on the presidency of Hasan Ali Yücel, to discuss the plans and principals of the National

Ministry of Education, the evaluation of the regulations of different levels of instruction, the evaluation of the whole curriculum (Milli Egitim Bakanlıđı, 1995).

The second National Education Council was held on February 15-21, 1943, on the presidency of Hasan Ali Yücel, which included the ethical education at schools, the usage of mother language efficiently, to examine the methods used in history courses to develop national sense (Milli Egitim Bakanlıđı, 1995).

The third National Education Council held on December 2-10, 1946, on the presidency of Reşat Şemsettin Sirer was about the organization of technical schools' curriculum according to current business life needs (Milli Eđitim Bakanlıđı, 1995; Akyüz, 1993).

According to Akyüz (1993), one of the significant aim of the organization of National Education Councils were to discuss the current education issues in order to develop and construct education system with the participation of many experts.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

This study focuses mainly on the three National Education Councils during the single-party era in order to understand the educational policy making process of early Republican Turkey. The transition period of the Turkish Republic from the Ottoman Empire had socio-economic, cultural and political results. In 1923, when the Republic was established, all spheres of society were affected by this transformation process. A series of basic social changes took place in Turkey, and the main education system started to be established with the foundation of the Republic.

Three National Education Councils, starting from the first one held in 1939 to the third in 1946, were chosen in this study as the primary resources to sketch the implications of the transformation process on educational policy-making during the single-party era. The National Education Councils will be analyzed according to the following two criteria;

First, the content of the three National Education Councils: the agenda of the councils, commission reports and decisions, talks of the Council members. In this part, National Education Councils reports will be used as primary sources. The agenda of the three Councils will be analyzed according to the working plan of the Councils, working principles of the Councils.

The commissions of the three Councils will be analyzed according to the name and the task of the commissions, presented reports, and decisions, and talks of the related members will be quoted both in English and Turkish.

Second, the formulation process of the three National Education Councils: the evaluation of the formation process of the three National Education Councils related to the dynamics of the Republican Turkey during the single-party era. The reason for selecting mono-party era was to examine and to sketch the ways of transformation process from Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, the determinatives of this new nation-building process and the ways of formation and adaptation of education policies to the new system. Three National Education Councils, was held between 1939 to 1946, were selected in order to reflect the transition period's and the mono-party era's dynamics. The evaluation will be based on the content analysis of the three National Education Councils bounded with the historical panorama of the era; and the effects on the education policy making process. In this part, related secondary sources, as the books and other materials written by Turkish and foreign researchers and experts will be used.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATIONAL EDUCATION COUNCILS AND ITS DECISIONS

After the third Scientific Council held in 1925, the Ministry of Education did not hold any meeting until the 1 st National Education Council in 1939. During this period, it was worked for the spread of education.

In this part, firstly, the content analysis of the three National Education Councils will be made bounding with the the historical panorama of the era; and the effects of the dynamics of the era on the formation of the education policy-making process. The reason for the selected speeches and parts of the reports was that they have reflected the selected era's socio-economic and political atmosphere, and will be meaningful for the study to cover the period's main characteristics.

The First National Education Council in 1939

The first National Education Council Meeting was held on July 17-29 1939.

The contents of Council was as follows :

- 1- Plans and Guidelines for the Ministry of Education,
- 2- Evaluation of Rules and Regulations for Schools at Various Levels,
- 3- Evaluation of Curriculum Programs at All Levels (Maarif Vekilliği, 1991)

Working Plan and Principles of the 1 st National Education Council

Working Plan of the 1 st National Education Council was as follows:

1. The plan and the principles of the Ministry of Education of Republic,
2. Examination of the regulations of institutions which belong to various education levels,
3. Examination of the curriculums,
4. Suggestions and requests of Council members” (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği Birinci Milli Eğitim Şurası, 1991).

Working principles of the 1 st National Education Council:

1. The council will be opened as an official commission and divided into the commissions which are ascertained by the Ministry. Commissions will elect a leader and a reporter from the original members of the court.
2. The issues presented to the examination of the council will be discussed in the commissions firstly, according to the determined working plans and the decisions that are taken will be consigned to the official clerk with reports.
3. The consultation of the official commission will be realized according to the reports which are prepared by the commissions and the official commission reports are put to the vote of both original and consultant members.
4. There is a general library bureau which is affiliated to the Council’s leadership. This bureau is liable for arrangement and assurance of any kind of directorial and editorial work of the court and the commissions.
5. All sorts of information that will be declared by agency and that will pass to the press about the Council’s work will only be given by the clerkship bureau. In order to assure this, the commission reporters will consign the memorandum notes belonging to the daily works of the commissions to the general clerkship bureau every evening (Maarif Vekilliği, 1991).

The Commissions of the Council

The 1 st National Education Council divided into the eight commissions:

1. Plan commission. The task of the commission was to examine education of today’s Turkey and its main problems.
2. The commission of the primary education regulations. The task of the commission was to examine: the regulations of superintendents of schools in a given district and the officers of the ministry of education; the regulations of the inspectors of the primary education, and issues were: to increase the number of the classrooms which are managed by one teacher to five in the village schools which have three classrooms; source of income of the primary education; the offers that come from the suggestion commission.
3. The commission of the secondary education regulations. The task of the commission was to examine: the rules of the school pension; the regulation of the assistant teachers;

the regulation of the examination of the high school; the regulation of the examination of the primary schools; the regulation of the examination of the elementary school; the regulation about the composition duties which will be accomplished by the student in the secondary education schools; the regulation of the preventorium and sanatorium; the regulation of the foreign language course test of the student who transferred between two schools which have different foreign languages; the law of the school cooperatives which are peculiar to primary and elementary schools and teacher training colleges; the regulations of the discipline of the elementary and high schools; the regulations of the student caps, and the curricula covered: curriculum of high school; curriculum of secondary school; curriculum of primary schools teachers training; curriculum of Galatasaray high school; curriculum of schools' poison gas; curriculum of schools' poison gas, and the issues were: examination of the change of course periods from afternoon to the morning; determination of the periods of the teaching within the day and year; the principles that will be taken into consideration in reopening of the secondary education schools; private Turkish high schools; examination of the offers which come from the suggestion commission.

4. The commission of the regulations and the curricula of the commerce schools. The task of the commission was to examine: regulations of girls' evening art schools; regulations about the students who are accepted from secondary and high school graduates and high school classes to the girls' institutes and girls' art schools; department of training and department of specialization that will be opened in the İsmetpaşa Girls' Institute; regulations concern with the examination of external students for the commerce secondary schools and commerce high schools; regulation of the evening commerce schools; regulation about how to enroll students to the regional art schools; and the curricula covered: curriculum of the girls' evening art schools; curriculum of the fourth and fifth grader from the graduates of secondary school enrolled to the girls' institutes; curriculum of the Ankara girls' vocational and technical education and teacher training school; program of the departments of fancy and basketry and plaiting furniture which are added to the carpentry department of the İzmir regional art school; program of the departments of fancy and basketry and plaiting furniture which are added to the carpentry department of the İzmir regional art school; program of the declaratory classes of the commerce high schools; curriculum of the department of the domestic economy of the technical and vocational teachers training schools; programs of the physics, chemistry, natural sciences and mathematics of the girls' institutes; programs of the commerce schools and commerce high schools; organization of the tailory department of the Istanbul tailory and furriery school and curriculum of the vocational courses; curriculum of the business courses of girls' art schools and girls' institutes; curriculum of the Ankara building technician school, and the issues were: the offers that come from the suggestion commission;

5. The commission of the regulations of the principles and the student enrolment, and the Commission of examination and instruction regulations. The task of the commission was to examine: regulations of the Istanbul university; regulation of the students of the Istanbul university; regulation about the associate professors who will be sent to the foreign country universities to attend a Ph.D program; regulations of the instructions and examinations of the science faculty; regulations of the instruction and examination of the faculty of literature; regulation of the Istanbul university; regulation of the doctorate of the faculty of law; regulations of the undergraduate, instructions and

examinations of the faculty of law; regulations of the instructions and examinations and the doctorate of the faculty of law; regulation of the associate professor examination of the Istanbul university; regulations of the undergraduate, instructions and examinations of the school of economics; regulation of the doctorate of the faculty of literature of Istanbul university; regulations of the examinations and instructions of the school of Medicine of Istanbul university; regulations of the examinations of the history of Turkish revolution; regulation of the education of pharmacy; regulations of the examinations and instructions of the school of dentistry which is connected to the school of medicine.

6. The commission of publication. The task of the commission was to examine: regulation and law about the press print and compilation works; regulation and law about printing the school books (Textbooks) by the Ministry of Education; regulation about the aids that are extended by the Ministry of Education to the periodicals which are published by the private foundations and individual persons; regulation of school periodicals; regulation of the exhibition of the Turkish painting and sculpture; the offers that come from the suggestion commission;

7. The commission of physical education and sports. The task of the commission was to examine: regulation of the gymnastics festivals; regulation of the school flag; regulation of the student sport dormitories of the schools; examination of the offers and suggestions of the physical education teachers; offers that come from the suggestion commission.

8. The commission of the suggestions (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği Birinci Milli Eğitim Şurası, 1991).

Reports of the Commissions and Talks

Primary Education Report of Plan Commission (See the Appendix A)

One focus of this report was the mother tongue learning. The reason of taking this part of the report was related to the given importance to mother tongue learning and its implications on the formulation of a new Turkish education system during the mono-party era.

Some of the decisions taken in the plan commission emphasis the primary education part which is about native language education as follows;

Instructor organization should not be put into practice in the places where Turkish language is not spoken (Article 6),

... The measures will be taken in the places where Turkish language is not spoken: It is agreed that an institute will be opened to study economical, ethnological and geographical situations of these people and their folklores and all their living conditions; furthermore, in order to accrue the cultural policy in the places where

Turkish is not spoken it is agreed that bureaus and institutes should be opened (Article 7) (Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.670).

The stress on Turkish language has a strong rationale in order to improve national consciousness and develop Turkish culture. The talks of members of the Council also showed the atmosphere of the era, and the given importance to mother tongue learning as follows

Our commission examined the primary education issue in three aspects. The first one is the first education circular, the second one is building, and the third one is training of teachers and the regular payment of the teachers' salary... It is accepted as a must that the children of the location to which the instructors are sent, in any case, speak Turkish as their native language in their homes.(İlköğretim meselesini komisyonumuz üç bakımdan tetkik etti. Birincisi ilk tahsil genelgesi, ikincisi bina, üçüncüsü muallim yetiştirme ve muallimlerin maaşlarının düzenli ödenmesi...Eğitmen gönderilen yerlerin çocukları behemehal evlerinde Türkçe' yi ana dili olarak konuşan yerler olmasını şart olarak kabul ettik) (Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.333).

We have to prohibit, on any consideration, teaching to people who don't speak Turkish. We suppose that, if we educate them, indoctrinate the taste of education to them, in the end we will have well intentioned people... On the contrary, they were the ones who drew their swords to us. (Türkçe konuşmayan insanlara sureti kat' iyyede tedrisatı menetmeliyiz. Biz zannediyoruz ki bunları yetiştirirsek, bunlara maarif zevkinin inkişafını temin edersek neticede iyi niyetli insanlara sahip olacağız....Onlar bilakis bize kılıç çeken adamlar olmuşlardır) (Emin Ali Çavlı, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.339).

Ferit Oğuz Bayır emphasized that;

... If we let them alone we cause to make foreign emotions to appear. It is necessary to maintain their Turkish loyalty and make them speak Turkish (Eğer biz onları kendi başlarına bırakacak olursak yabancı hislerin tezahürüne sebep olacağız. Onların Türkçe bağlılıkları ve Türkçe konuşmalarını temin etmek lazımdır) (Maarif Vekilliği(a), 1991, p.353).

The stress on Turkish language, culture and history were cristalized in the formation of the Turkish Language Society, established in 1932, and the Turkish History Society, established in 1931, founded by Mustafa Kemal. The aim in the language and history

reform had a strong rational, to improve the national consciousness and to develop Turkish culture as a genuine one in front of the Western world, so the language and history as a cultural product were worked deeply to form an distinct entity, a unique personality of Turkish society as a nation. All in all, we can say that the Turkish nation was built up on two important foundations: reforms in language and history, and the contents of the National Education Council held in 1943, covered the history education, language education and the moral values of Turkish society.

In the formation of this political atmosphere which included nationalism in economic and social respects, education was one of the important ways to form a main road to achieve this. The meaning and role of education was not limited only to a movement of socialization, but also included the implementation of all the reforms in the cultural area.

Regulation of the Discipline of the Elementary Schools, High Schools, City Primary Education Schools, Vocational and Technical Schools Report of Secondary Education Commission

The goal set by the report was obviously the inculcation of an obedient outlook in the children and youth to form a homogeneous nation. The following speeches in the meeting indicate the aims of the members.

... The one that devotes himself to the civic and country duty does not harm his health and energy... with the harmful substances such as nicotine and alcohol... Alcohol and nicotine are not the only substances that harm youth; there are also other substances whose names have not been mentioned here ”.
(... Yurt ve millet hizmetine adanmış olan sıhhatini ve kuvvetlerini... alkol ve nikotin gibi zehirlerle tahrip etmez deniliyor.Gençliği tahrip eden yalnız alkol ve nikotin değil, daha birtakım zehirler vardır ki burada isimleri zikredilmemiştir.)(Dr. Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.215).

It is unacceptable to mention about neither alcohol, nicotine nor other substances and gambling to the children because these follow the idea of ‘suggestion’. Reminding these names by repeating has a drawback. It is possible to inseminate in their minds by directly mentioning about virtue without mentioning these names . (Ne alkolden, ne nikotinden, ne de öteki maddelerden ve ne de kumardan çocuklara bahsetmek doğru değildir. Çünkü bunlar “ suggestion ” fikrini takip ederler. Tekrar ede ede bu isimleri hatıra getirmenin mahzuru vardır. Bu isimlerden bahsetmeksizin doğrudan doğruya faziletten bahsederek bunu çocukların dimağlarına nakşetmek daha mümkündür.) (Dr. Akıl Muhtar Özden, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.215).

It is necessary not to fear from the reality. In order to bring up children wonderfully, we have to teach all kind of goodness together with ugliness, and correctness with falsity from early childhood . (Realiteden hiç korkmamak lazımdır. Çocukları çok iyi yetiştirmek için bütün güzelliklerle çirkinlikleri, doğrularla iğrilikleri en küçük yaştan itibaren öğretmenliyiz.) (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.216).

The expression “Bad Place” is bringing this issue to my mind: Hesitation will continue. Especially, if a girl student goes to the balls which are not bad, she daydreams other than thinking about education . (“ Fena yer ” tabiri aklıma şu meseleyi getiriyor: tereddüt devam edecek. Bilhassa kız talebe fena olmayan balolarada giderse süslenmeye başlıyor, tahsilden başka düşüncelere dalıyor. ...) (Şahap Nazmi Coşkunlar, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.228).

In the regulation, concerning the measures that are planned to be taken and activities which are desired to discipline the students in the schools, what attracts the attention is the idea of bringing up stereotypical children. The domination of the idea of trying to protect an individual is only possible if he is prevented from confronting with reality, draws the picture of an individual who obeys or aimed to be made obedient.

The Report of the principles that will be taken into consideration in reopening of the secondary education schools of the Secondary Education Commission

The report covered an increase of the reschooling rates in the whole country and the regulation of opening the schools in the districts which assured proper school building

and facilities. The categorization of the district was also the sign of the discrimination of the rural and the urban parts of the country.

The quoted talks were as follows:

Third article of the program of Republican People's Party has obligated to open elementary school in every district... In the previous education semester 13,000 primary school students have not been able to attend elementary school... There is an elementary school only in 48 districts... In order to open a school we ascertained a set of main principles...Taking districts and connected places into consideration we ascertained how many primary education graduates exist and considering this we ranked 317 districts ".(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi programının üçüncü maddesi Maarif Vekaletine her kazada ortaokul açmak mecburiyetini vermiştir....Geçen ders senesinde 13.000 ilk mektep talebesi ortaokula gidememiştir....Yalnız 48 kazada orta mektep bulunmaktadır... mektep açmak için bir takım ana prensipler tespit ettik...Kazaları ve bağlı birimleri dikkate alarak ne kadar ilköğretim mezunu olduğunu tesbit ettik ve buna istinaden 317 kazayı sıralandırdık...)(Hayri Ardiç, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.294-295).

...In particular, it cannot be approved of a government who lets eastern region habitants' cultural level to be left at a very low level due to the under population in these regions .(...Bilhassa doğu bölgelerinde nüfusu pek az olan yerlerde nüfusu azdır diye oradaki vatandaşın kültür seviyesini aşağıda bırakmak devlete hiç yakışmaz. Bunun için bu hususta bazı yollar aramalı, elde mevcut elemanlardan istifade etmeliyiz.)(Tevfik Yıldız, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.303).

The Report of of the Higher Education Commission of the Court of Ministry of Education (See Appendix B)

The report contained two parts, the first onewhich covered the importance of higher education and the second of which focused on native language learning and its terminology as stated below.

1. The Objectives of the Higher Education: The aim of the universities is to educate men of letters, arts and craft who possess the ability of good observation, examination and experience and thinking in a correct way... having decent and high moral character.

2. Native Language and Its Terminology: It is obligatory for the university to adopt and

use the terms, which are accepted for the high schools, for both instruction and publication. Knowledge, elegance, consciousness of language will dominate the determination of new terms which are the requirement of higher education and these will conform to the international standards.

The quoted talks were as follows:

We have discussed that for native language and its terminology we should benefit from Turkish as much as possible and we also questioned using artificial ways... It should be Turkish, not foreign.(Ana dil ve terimleri için mümkün olduğu kadar Türkçe' ye yanaşmak ve hatta sun'i çareler kullanmak hususlarını bizde komisyonda konuştuk...Türkçe olmalı, munis olmalı..)(Dr. Saim Ali Dilemre, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.60).

We have to adopt the language that history left us. If we found a word that has an equivalent meaning in Turkish, we have to substitute, if not, then we have to borrow what is necessary for us from the civil world. However, if we have a look at today's inclination for this issue, it is seen that we act in the opposite way. Many of the words existent in our language are interchanged with the ones which have foreign origin".(Tarihin bize bıraktığı lisanı esas ittihaz etmeliyiz. Bunlardan Türkçe' den karşılığını bulduklarımızın yerine Türkçe kelimeler koymalıyız, bu olmadığı takdirde medeni alemden hangisi bize lazımsa onu almalıdır. Halbuki bugünkü cereyana kapılırsa bunun aksi hareket edildiği görülür. Lisanımızda mevcut olan birçok kelimeler böyle gayri menus kelimelerle değiştiriliyor...) (Emin Ali Çavlı, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.64).

Report of the Organization of the Pedagogics Department of Gazi Secondary Teaching Institute (See Appendix C)

The report covered the regulation of the organization of the placement of teachers graduated from the Gazi Secondary Teaching Institute, and educating teacher candidates according to rural and urban parts' needs of the country. The quoted talk related to report was:

In order to inspect authority together with proficiency and to audit the village instructors and the village teachers who are educated in the village teacher training colleges, it is necessary to add set of courses and especially working hours which have practical attributes to the pedagogics department of the Gazi Secondary Teaching Institute. For this reason, we want to add one more year to this department. This one year courses shall be devoted to the practical and applicable working hours. Thereby, student shall experience the village life for one year.

As the village instructors and the graduates from the village teacher training colleges play important role in the development of the villages, it is required to educate people who will audit these roles and guide them accordingly. The graduates, whom we still educate, have the capacity of auditing the graduates of the city teacher training colleges rather than the graduates of the villages. Therefore we want to make them work in the villages and during this period their salaries will be paid as if they are graduates .

(Köy öğretmenlerinin ve köy muallim mehtebinden yetişecek olan köy öğretmenlerinin salahiyetler ve ehliyetle teftiş ve murakabe edilmesi için Gazi terbiye Enstitüsü pedagoji şubesine birtakım dersler ve bilhassa ameli mahiyette olan mesainin ilavesi lazımdır. Bunun için istiyoruz ki bu şubeye bir sene daha ilave edelim. Bu bir senelik kurslar ameli ve tatbiki mesaiye hasredilsin. Bu şekilde talebe bir sene köy hayatı yaşasın.

Köy öğretmenlerinin ve köy muallim mektebinden çıkacak mezunların köy kalkınmasında esaslı bir unsur olacağına göre bu unsurlar murakabe ve onlara rehberlik edecek insanların da ona göre yetişmesi lazımdır. Bizim halen yetiştirdiğimiz mezunlar daha çok şehir muallim mekteplerinden mezun olanları murakabe edecek kabiliyettedirler. Bu itibarla istiyoruz ki bu arkadaşlar bir senede köyde çalışsın ve çalıştığı müddetçe mezun addedilerek maaşlarını alsınlar.)(Esat Altan, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.112).

Report of the Publication Commission about the regulation and law about printing school books by the Ministry of Education

The nationalist point of view also discussed the publication of school textbooks. From the listed talks and discussions stated below, education became of utmost importance to socialize society, and also to form a basis for homogeneous society in the nation-building process. The way of creating of a one-type of people and the indoctrination of the national beliefs and ideological values of Republican Turkey were one of the assigned role of education. The quoted talks were as follows:

We can divide school books/textbooks into two categories based on the formation of education that we want to give students.

First category constituted from the books belonging to the cultural courses: Turkish, History, Civics, Sociology...etc

Second category constituted from science books such as Mathematics, Science, Physics, and Chemistry.

Those that are collected under the first category characterize the humanitarian and the national sides of our children. Government must have absolute control over these... The curriculum, procedure and the pedagogical value of the science books will be certainly under the control of Ministry of Education as well. However, the content of the science books is not pertaining to the government's master principles . (Mektep kitaplarını, bir talebeye vermek istediğimiz formasyon bakımından iki kısma ayırabiliriz.

Birinci kısım, kültür derslerine ait kitaplar: Türkçe, Tarih, Yurt Bilgisi, Sosyoloji...

İkinci kısım, bilgi dersleri kitaplarıdır: Matematik, fen, fizik, kimya gibi...

Birinci kısım altında topladıklarımız çocuklarımızın milli ve insani karakterini yoğuracak olan kitaplardır. Bunlar üzerinde devletin mutlak kontrolü cari olmalıdır...Bilgi kitaplarının da müfredatı, usulü, terbiyevi değeri şüphesiz yine Maarif Vekaletinin kontrolü altında olacaktır. Ancak, bilgi kitapları muhtevaları itibariyle devletin nazım prensipleriyle alakadar değildir.)(Halil Vedat Furatlı, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.145)

I do not agree with what our friend Halil Vedat said. Science is certainly the same in every part of the world; but it is obligatory to select the examples that will be given in the science books from our country and our national property concerning the topics of the books. (Halil Vedat arkadaşımızın hakkındaki ifadesine taraftar bulunmuyorum. Fen, evet her yerde bütün dünyada birdir; fakat fen kitabında da verilecek misallerin kitabın mevzusuna göre milli varlığımızdan vatanımızdan alınmasında bir zaruret vardır.) (Sami Akyol, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.151)

I do not agree with the idea of education with just one type of book which is written and printed by the Ministry of Education. The term ‘government’s book’ is unacceptable. Government can never restricts the very natural right, latitude of thought of an individual and his intelligence property which is the result of this latitude of thought by saying that you cannot use any kind of book other than government’s book in our schools . (Mekteplerimizde maarifin yazdırdığı, maarifin bastırdığı tek bir kitabın okutulmasına taraftar değilim. “devlet kitabı” tabiri *yerinde değildir...Devlet hiç bir zaman ferdin en tabi olan fikir hürriyetini ve onun fikir hürriyetinin eseri demek olan telif hürriyetini mekteplerimizde devlet kitabından başkasını okutamazsınız diye sınırlayamaz.*)(Vehbi Sarıdal, Maarif Vekilliği (a), 1991, p.159)

Second National Education Council in 1943

2nd National Education Council was held on February 15-21, 1943. The contents of the Council was as follows:

1. The development of moral values in schools ,
2. To get more successful teaching the usage of official language of the country,
3. The examination of the teaching of history in terms of methods and means in the development of a national identity (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991).

Working Plan and Principles of the 1 st National Education Council

The working plan of the 2nd National Education Council was as follows:

1. Improvement of the moral education in the schools: Determination of the social and personal principles of the Turkish morality; consideration of the measures which will materialize these principles in the primary and secondary schools and application of the same principles to the business ethics in the vocational and technical schools; formalizing these measures as a program; education of the loyalty to moral principles to the youth of higher education; examination of the auditing issue of the student's out-of-school activities.
2. Increasing the efficiency of the native language activities in all education associations: Determination of the measures which are necessary to increase the efficiency of the education of Turkish and particularly writing; determination of the ways of easing the continuous unity of private and official publication fields in schools; decisive adjudication of the ways of spreading Turkish terms in the higher education,
3. Examination of the history education in terms of methods and instruments in the Turkishness education: Determination of the points that will be taken into consideration in terms of science and pedagogics in preparing history books of primary and elementary school; indication of the data that will be used to refine the high school history books. (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991).

The working principles of the 2 nd National Education Council was as follows:

1. The court it will be divided into the commissions that will be determined by the Ministry. The leader and the members of education and commission of education, public education director and directors and the branch managers will be present in all commission activities whenever it is necessary.
2. The issues presented to the examination of the court will be discussed in the commissions firstly, and the decisions that are taken will be consigned to the official clerk with reports.
If necessary, commissions can be divided into petty commissions. But, the resulting reports of these commissions are examined in the main commission and are sent to the general commission.
3. The consultation of the general commission will be based on the resulting reports of the commissions and the official commission reports are put to the vote of both original and consultant members. (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği İkinci Maarif Şurası, 1991).

The Commissions of the Council

The 2 nd National Education Council divided into the three commissions:

1. Commission of Morals Education: The task of the commission was to examine: determination of the social and personal principles of the Turkish morality; consideration of the measures which will materialize these principles in the primary and secondary schools and application of the same principles to the business ethics in the

vocational and technical schools; formalizing these measures as a program; examination of the program of the sociology and morals courses in the secondary education associations in terms of relevant principles; education of the loyalty to moral principles to the youth of higher education; examination of the auditing issue of the student's out-of-school activities.

2. Commission of Native Language: The task of the commission was to examine: In the first part tasks of education of the native language, increasing the efficiency of the native language activities in all education associations by determination of the necessary measures to increase the efficiency of the education of Turkish and particularly writing; determination of the ways of easing the unity of orthography in schools and in private and official publication fields, in the second part tasks of terminology, decisive adjudication of the ways of spreading Turkish terms in the higher education by education of native language and tasks of terminology

3. Commission of the History Education: The task of the commission was to examine: examination of the education of history in terms of methods and instruments in the Turkishness education; determination of the points that will be taken into consideration in terms of science and pedagogics in preparing history books of primary and elementary schools; determination of the points that will be taken into consideration in terms of science and pedagogics in preparing history books of primary and elementary schools; indication of the data which will be used to refine the high school history books (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991).

Reports of the Commissions and the Talks

Native Language Commission Report

In the education part of the commission of native language deals with the increasing of the efficiency of the native language activities in all education associations.

Determination of the necessary measures to increase the efficiency of the education of Turkish and particularly writing, and decisions which are taken at the end of the consultation about the determination of the ways of easing the unity of orthography in the schools and private and official publication fields have been declared below to be presented to the General Commission of the Court.

The commission program contained that: as being also indoctrinated by the Ministry in various circulars, it has been considered necessary to gather the national language

instruction as a whole, in all levels of education and entire classes, under the name of Turkish and this has to be indicated explicitly.

The part of the report related to teachers was as follows: it is obligatory to consider the culture of native language as the fundamental cause in the instructions of all faculties and departments of higher education institutions and concerning their structure and education conditions it is necessary to take effective measures to ensure the education of the student having original, perfect and wide Turkish ideal.

The part of the report related to textbooks was as follows: the passages of the reading books have to be selected carefully. Through this selection we should give valuable examples from the variety of folk literature concerning the level of classes.

As the reading books assist to the development of the capacity of comprehension and expression of the children in schools and to the formation of their mind and character at the first hand, to allow even the existence of minimum spelling, expression and accent mistakes in these books and minimum doubt about their inspiration of morality and national values should never be tolerated. These books, first of all, will give the taste and affection of native language to the children. (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği İkinci Maarif Şurası, 1991, p.30-45).

The nationalist stance of the meeting was assisted by the Native Language Commission, and other two commissions which were history and moral education were also represent the nationalist stance of the meeting. The stress on the creation of the national values was carrying out giving importance to national language, national history and a strong state image is tried to be established throughout the second National Education Council.

The quoted talks of the commissions was as follows:

It has been explained in the commission report that reading books will be rewritten. However, it has not been mentioned that which principles will be taken into consideration while writing those books. In particular, will the moral principles be taken into consideration while writing primary school reading books?

Will ideas and emotions be indoctrinated by taking moral principles as fundamentals and considering moral goals? For instance, will the passages which state the gentility of Turkish family and the beauty of Turkish country be included when writing those books? Through this way, will the moral concepts be considered under a definite program?

Children like the tales taken from the national constitution; isn't it possible to give place to exciting tales and stories which belong to the national epics? "(Komisyon raporunda okuma kitaplarının yeniden yazılacağını açıklamıştır. Fakat sözü geçen kitaplar yazılırken ne gibi esasların göz önünde tutulacağı söylenmemiştir. Bilhassa ilk okul okuma kitapları yazılırken ahlak ilkeleri göz önünde tutulacak mıdır ?

Ahlak ilkeleri esas tutularak ahlaki hedeflere göre fikir ve duygu aşılacak mı ? Mesela o kitaplar yazılırken Türk ailesinin necabetine, Türk vatanının güzelliğine ait parçalar bulunacak mı ? Böylece muayyen bir program altında ahlak mefhumları göz önünde tutulacak mı ?) (Reşit Tarakçıoğlu, Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.57)

According to Tarakçıoğlu, the content of the written books should devote to Turkish language, its culture, works and fundamental principles of the Revolution and in general to the idealism of Turkishness.

Terminology Report of the Native Language Commission

In the commission Sadi Maksudi Arsal provided the following point of view:

I would like to offer following requests;

1. In order to produce new scientific terms, not only should we reconcile ourselves to the words which are already existed in Turkish but also we should benefit from Old Turkish works such as Divan-ı Lügat-it Türk and Kutadgu Bilig.
2. In commissions which will be established in faculties and colleges in order to determine the scientific terms, it should be assured that in any case there have to be persons who are cognizant of Old Turkish.
3. While producing new Turkish terms, it should be assured that new terms will conform to word forms and word formation systems which are existed in former and current dialects of Turkish ”.

(Şu temennileri teklif ediyorum;

1- Yeni ilmi ıstılahlar yapılırken bugünkü Türkçe de mevcut kelimelerle iktifa edilmeyip, eski Türkçe’ den Divan-ı Lügat-it Türk, Kutadgu Bilig gibi eserlerden istifade edilmeli.

- 2- Fakülte ve yüksek okullarda ilmi terimleri tesbit için kurulacak heyetlerde behemehal eski Türkçe' ye vakıf kimselerin bulunması temin edilmelidir.
- 3- Yeni yapılacak Türkçe terimlerin, eski ve bugünkü Türkçe lehçelerde mevcut kelime şekillerine ve kelime yapma kaidelerine uygun olması temin edilmelidir.) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.93-94)

Report of the Commission of Morals

The report contained the principles of moral values in schools which are connected to three aims:

1. A Turk who is devoted to Turkish language, its culture, works and fundamental principles of the Revolution and in general to the idealism of Turkishness.
2. A person who adopts high principles of morals which are accepted by all civilized nations.
3. To train up a person who respects himself and others and has dignity, honour and integrity.

(Okullarda ahlak eğitimi birbirini tamamlayan üç amaca bağlıdır:

1. Türk diline, kültürüne, inkilabın eser ve esaslarına umumiyetle Türklük idealine bağlı bir Türk,
2. Bütün medeni milletlerce kabul edilen yüksek ahlak ilkelerini benimsemiş bir insan,
3. Kendine ve başkalarına saygı gösteren, haysiyet, şeref ve namus sahibi bir şahsiyet yetiştirmek) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.104).

The report including the following definition of the ideal Turkish youth:

1. S/he lives adopting good, right and favourable moral values and tries to lead others to these values. In his or her daily life with his/her work and success s/he benefits to his/her nation at his/her utmost. S/he looks for his/her interest and happiness within the interest and happiness of the nation and finds them there. S/he is accurate in his/her duty. S/he is watchful in defending the rights of others as well as his/her rights. (İyi, doğru ve güzel olan manevi değerleri benimseyerek yaşar ve etrafındakileri yaşatmaya çalışır. Kendi günlük hayatında çalışma ve başarılarıyla milletine en çok faydalı olur. Kendi menfaat ve saadetini milletin menfaat ve saadetinde arar ve bulur. Vazifesinde titizdir. Kendi hakları gibi başkalarının haklarını da aramakta uyanıktır.)
2. S/he follows the laws, which are the declaration of national sovereignty, with his/her cognizance and affection. (Milli egemenliğin ifadesi olan kanunlara bilgi ve sevgi ile uyar.)
3. S/he takes up reasonable and right actions with his/her own effort. S/he works considering his/her knowledge and character and s/he takes the responsibility of the task without hesitation. S/he defends the things that are good and right courageously. (İyi ve doğru işlere kendi teşebbüsü ile sarılır. Bilgi ve karakterine dayanarak çalışır ve işin sorumluluğunu çekinmeden üzerine alır. İyi ve doğru bildiği şeyleri cesaretle

müdafaa eder.)

4. S/he cooperates with other citizens concerning the community affairs. Not only does s/he protect material, moral, national and humane values which are left by the former generations but also s/he enriches them and transfers them to the next generations.

(Cemiyet işlerinde yurttaşlarıyla el ve emek birliği yapar. Geçmiş nesillerin bıraktıkları maddi, manevi, milli ve insani değerleri yalnız korumakla kalmaz, onları zenginleştirerek kendinden sonra gelenlere devreder.)

5. His/her aim is to raise his/her nation to the level of highest civilization. (Milletini en yüksek medeniyet seviyesine çıkarmayı ülkü bilir.) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.104).

The nationalist stance of the council was assisted by the Morality Commission Report. In the ideological arena the stress on common language, moral and history education. According to the report, three main concepts were the base for the moral education at schools, these were; A Turk who is devoted to Turkish language, its culture, works and fundamental principles of the Revolution and in general to the idealism of Turkishness; a person who adopts high principles of morals which are accepted by all civilized nations; to train up a person who respects himself and others and has dignity, honour and integrity. Also the characteristics of the Turkish youth also stated as; s/he follows the laws, which are the declaration of national sovereignty, with his/her cognizance and affection; his/her aim is to raise his/her nation to the level of highest civilization.

The part of the report which also supporting this conclusion was main social and personal principles of Turkish morality as follows:

1. Our existence is founded on our country. Our biggest duty is to protect our Republic and independence sacrificing everything that we have. (Türk yurdu varlığımızın temelidir. Her şeyimizi feda ederek Cumhuriyetimizi, istiklalimizi korumak en büyük ödevimizdir. Milli istiklale dayanmayan hayat Türk için ölümden beterdir.)

2. A Turk who loves his/her country works in a job which will benefit to his nation and tries to make the highest progress in his/her occupation. S/he works willingly, accurately and with methods, and s/he accomplishes his/her duty just in time and

never leaves it half done. The biggest source of happiness for him/her is to work, laziness is disastrous for the community and individuals. (Yurdunu seven Türk, memleket için faydalı bir iş tutar ve o meslekte en ileri olmaya çalışır. Tuttuğu işi seve seve, titizlikle, metotla, tam zamanında usanmadan yapar ve yarım bırakmaz. Çalışmak en büyük saadet kaynağıdır, tembellik cemiyet ve fertler için felakettir.)

3. There are great many things to accomplish in order to secure the continuity of the existence of the country. Every individual who realizes each one of these tasks accurately and honestly deserves the same respect. Those who work manually serve their nation no less than those who work mentally. (Yurdun varlığının devamı için yapılması gereken birçok işler vardır. Bunların her birini iyi ve namusuyla yapan her kişi aynı derecede saygıya değer. El işi görenlerin millete hizmetleri kafa ile çalışanların ki kadar büyüktür.)

4. It is crucial to pay attention that what you have done will not harm others. It is necessary to evaluate the works of others getting rid of all our personal feelings. It is one of the merits of a Turk to see the good and right things in every occasion.

(Yapılan bir işin başkalarına zararı dokunmamasına dikkat etmek şarttır. Başkalarının yaptığı işleri şahsi duygulardan sıyrılarak değerlendirmek lazımdır. Her olayda iyi ve doğruyu görmek Türkün meziyetlerindedir.)

5. A task is only finished when it is accomplished. It is dishonesty not to accomplish it with any excuse or to leave some parts missing or to assign it to someone else as a burden.(Bir ödev ancak tutulan iş tamamlandığı zaman biter. Onu herhangi bir bahane ile yapmamak veya eksik yapmak, başka birinin üzerine yüklemek hilekarlıktır.)

6. The communities which are founded by those who see their own personal benefits above the interests of the community always collapse. Selfishness is the biggest immorality.(Kendi şahsi faydalarını topluluğun menfaatinden üstün tutanların kurdukları cemiyetler daima yıkılmıştır. Bencillik ahlaksızlığın en büyüğüdür.)

7. Turkish youth always see the reality as it is; s/he always stands for the truth and sincerity everywhere and in his every deed, and makes others stand for it as well. S/he does not hesitate to tell what s/he knows as good and right when it is relevant in point. Display and charlatanry are fatal for the individual and the community.

(Türk çocuğu gerçeği olduğu gibi görür, her yerde, her işte, her zaman doğruluktan ve samimilikten ayrılmaz. Başkalarının da ayrılmasına meydan vermez. Doğru ve iyi bildiğini yerinde çekinmeden söyler.)

8. The source of biggest success and discoveries is to love the truth sincerely, to pursue it always and to go after it. (Gerçeği candan sevmek, onu daima aramak ve ona gitmek en büyük başarı ve keşiflerin kaynağı olmuştur.)

9. Justice is the best statement of the social truth and it is crucial for humans as much as food. (Adalet toplumsal doğruluğun en güzel deyimidir ve insanlar için azık kadar gereklidir.)

10. It is the biggest border of the success to follow the right commands and to be devoted to order and discipline. (Doğru emirlere uymak, intizam ve disipline bağlılık en büyük başarı sınırır.)

11. Family is the nucleus of the community. Any kind of action which will do material or moral harm to the family is the biggest crime against humans. (Aile, cemiyetin çekirdeğidir. Aileye maddi ve manevi zarar getirebilecek her türlü hareket cemiyet ve insanlığa karşı en büyük suçtur.)

12. It is the natural duty for everyone to protect his/her health. One of the first requirements of this is the cleanliness of the body, clothes and belongings. A sound mind lives in a sound body. It is necessary to do the exercises which will strengthen and beautify the body. (Herkesin sađlığını koruması tabiatın verdiđi bir ödevdir. Beden, giyim ve eşya temizliđi bunun ilk şartlarındandır. Sađlam kafa sađlam vücutta olur. Vücutu kuvvetlendirecek ve güzelleştirecek hareketleri yapmak gerektir.)

13. Those who use harmful substances, which give pleasure for a short time, endanger their own lives and give rise to the illnesses and they make generations and communities degenerated. (Kısa bir zaman için zevk veren zehirleri kullananlar hem kendi hayatlarını tehlikeye sokarlar, hastalıđa yol açarlar, hem de nesillerini ve cemiyetlerini soysuzlaştırırılar.)

14. We should make ourselves be accustomed to be glad with the success of others. Envy is the biggest evidence of inferiority. But trying to make better than the ones who have succeeded is, needless to say, a source of progress. Those who help someone and are fond of goodness rise altogether. (Başkalarının başarısından sevinmeye kendimizi alıştırmalıyız. Kıskançlık adiliđin en aldatmaz delilidir. Yalnız başarı gösterenlerden daha iyisini yapmaya çalışmak tabi bir ilerleme kaynađıdır. Birbirine yardım edenler ve iyiliđi sevenler hep birden yükselirler.)

15. It is the basis of all virtues to master one's body. It is the best symbol of maturity to govern one's temper. Hatred and revenge abase human. (Nefse hakimiyet her türlü erdemın temelidir. Öfkeyi çabuk geçirmek ve öfkenin etkisine kapılmamak olgunluđun en güzel alametidir. Kin ve intikam insanı alçaltır.)

16. Pride is meanness. Decent man never regards himself more than he actually is (Kibir küçüklüktür. Ahlaklı adam kendini olduđundan fazla görmez.)

17. It is a social duty to pay attention to what is said, to respect to the faith of others and to tolerate relevant criticisms. (Söylenileni dinlemek, başkalarının inançlarına saygı göstermek, yapılan yerinde tenkidleri hoş görmek toplumsal bir ödevdir.)

18. It is a moral poverty to make fun of others and to gossip.(Başkalarıyla eğlenmek, dedikodu yapmak ahlakça düşkünlüktür)

19. We should be accustomed to please our self-respect by being more learned and virtuous. This is a source of great happiness. It is crucial to think about future and to take the necessary measures. (Öz saygısını daha bilgili ve erdemli olmakla memnun etmeye alışmalıyız. Bu bir büyük saadet kaynađıdır. İstikbali düşünmek ve gereken tedbirleri almak lazımdır.)

20. Aesthetic taste supports the sense of morality.(Estetik zevk, ahlak duygusunun yardımcıdır)

21. Luxury and extravagance are disastrous for the individual and the community. One has to save and to be frugal in order to become constructive. Parsimony is evil in the same amount that generosity is favourable. (Lüks ve israf fert ve cemiyet için yıkıcıdır. Yapıcılık, tutum ve artırma ile olur. Cömertlik ne kadar iyi ise cimrilik o kadar fenadır.)

22. Mercy and compassion are the highest attributes of humanity and they are a force to bind people to each other. (Merhamet ve şefkat insanlıđın yüksek vasıflarındandır ve insanları birbirine bađlayıcı bir kuvvettir.)(Maarif Vekaleti (b), 1991, pp.105-106)

The part of the report related to the Primary Schools' main policies of the moral education, was as follows:

1- While teaching, teachers should avoid any kind of behaviour which will cause children to misbehave within and outside class and while doing their homework and they should correct them, but they should not bore children while stressing trivial behaviour that is not immoral and that is considered normal for their age.

(Öğretmenler öğretim ödevini yaparken sınıf içinde ve sınıf dışında ve yazma ödevlerinde çocukların fena alışkanlıklar almasına sebep olacak küçük büyük bütün hareketlerine ve kusurlarına ilgili bulunmak ve bunları düzeltmek; fakat ahlak bakımından önemli olmayan ve yaşları gereği tabi bulunan bazı hareketler üzerinde fazla durarak çocukları usandırmamak.)

2- To maintain discipline at schools and to make children be accustomed to obedience.

(Okullarda iyi bir disiplin kurmak ve çocukları itaate alıştırmak)

3- To increase the number of role models around children and teachers should be the first to pursue this duty and to get rid of any unfavourable models. (Çocuğun çevresine, başta öğretmenler olmak üzere, iyi örnekler çoğaltmak ve fena örnekleri kaldırmak)

4- To make children acquire good habits by practising moral values which are intended to be introduced to children.(Aşılması istenilen ahlaki ilkeleri sık sık tatbik ettirerek çocukların iyi alışkanlıklar kazanmalarını sağlamak)

6- One should inspire them particularly by giving examples from the lives of great leaders of past and today's Turkish history in order to make them comprehend, perceive and experience better and through this one should enrich their national feelings. (Kavrayış, duyuş ve görgü seviyeleri içinde sözle tesirli telkinlerde bulunmak ve bilhassa yakın ve uzak Türk tarihinden, büyük Türk şahsiyetlerinin hayatlarından faydalanarak milli duyguları kuvvetlendirecek olguları telkin vasıtası olarak kullanmak.)(Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, pp.107-108)

The part of the report related to the Secondary Schools' main policies of the moral education, was as follows: children who are at the age of secondary school are conscious of national, social and moral values. Through inspiring and letting them think one should enrich their moral values and acting

The principles of moral education at secondary level schools was as follows:

1. In order to make them adopt high moral principles one should make them proper utterances and give good examples as in the case of primary school students. One should make them acquire good habits under discipline and explain them their duties to the community.(Orta dereceli okullarda da, ilk okullarda olduğu gibi gençlere uygun sözler söyleyerek ve örnekler vererek yüksek ahlak ilkelerini sevdirmek, bir disiplin altında iyi alışkanlıklar kazandıracak hareketleri yaptırmak, cemiyete karşı

ödevlerini açıklama).

2. To strengthen the will of youth through the student organization based on integration principle and to improve their social morality, sense of duty and responsibility and tendency to help each other. (Gençlerin iradelerini, toplulaştırma ilkesine dayanan talebe teşkilatıyla perçinlemek, onlarda toplumsal ahlakı, ödev ve sorav duygularını ve karşılıklı yardım eğilimlerini geliştirmek)

3. To prevent the access of movies which are harmful for the youth and which imply sexuality and make their view of life superficial and turn it upside down and to prevent the expansion of that kind of works.

To help to produce national works and movies by turning to the Turkish history which is full of sacrifice, bravery and sense of solidarity. (Gençlere zararlı ve cinsel telkinler yapan, onların hayat anlayışlarını sathileştiren ve altüst eden filmlerin mümkün olduğu kadar memlekete girmesine ve bu neviden eserlerin yayılmasına engel olmak. Fedakarlık, kahramanlık ve toplumsal yardımlaşma olgularıyla dolu olan Türk tarihinden faydalanarak milli eserlerin ve filmlerin yaratılmasına çalışmak)

4. To attract youth into community centres so that they adopt moral values and public spirit is to become their ideal and conviction. (Ahlak ilkelerinin iyice benimsenmesi, yurtseverliğin ülkü ve inanç haline gelmesi için okul dışında, gençleri halkevlerine çekecek vasıtaları sağlamak) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, pp.108-109)

The part of the report related to the universities' main policies of the moral education, was as follows: It is crucial to focus on the ideas and reasoning of the students who study in universities and those who are senior high school students in order to give them moral education. During this period they have a stronger sense of personality. Therefore, we should assure that they will transfer their tendency to progress into advancement in morality and knowledge.

The principles of moral education at universities were as follows:

1. To establish an ideal of nationality as a unifiable, progressive and creative force in the hearts of Turkish citizens by strengthening the national feelings of the youth and thus to make youth attain their high objectives in all respects and to increase their capacity of private initiatives and self-confidence.(Gençlerin ruhunda milli duyguların son derece kuvvetli bulunmasına çalışarak milliyet ülküsünü her Türk vatandaşının ruhunda birleştirici, hamle yapıcı ve yaratıcı bir kudret haline getirmek, bu suretle gençlerin her bakımdan yüksek ülkülere ulaşmalarına çalışmak, kendine güven ve kişisel teşebbüs kabiliyetlerini çoğaltmak.) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.110)

The part of the report related to the Pre-schools' main policies and principles of the

moral education, was as follows:

1. To give more importance to the matters of child care and child education in the family at Girls' Schools and Institutes so that future matters will be trained up well. (Kız okullarında ve bilhassa kız enstitülerinde, çocuk bakımı ve ailede çocuk eğitimi konularına daha fazla önem verilerek müstakbel anaların daha iyi yetişmelerini sağlamak)(Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.111)

The suggestion of the report as follows:

- 1- To strengthen the qualifications of courage, endurance and spiritual boldness in order to inoculate the Turkish youth with the ideal of being a universal man of knowledge and making human beings acquire new, true and favourable values. (Türk gençlerine dünya ölçüsünde büyük bilgi adamı olmak, insanlığa yeni, iyi ve güzel değerler kazandırmak idealini aşlamak için onlarda cesaret, mukavemet ve manevi atılganlık vasıflarını kuvvetlendirmek)
- 2- Turkish youth respect to the relevant advices of the elderly. Therefore in every village and in every neighbourhood of the cities we should establish 'clubs' which are composed of the most suitable persons to give advice to public and these clubs should give necessary advice to young people who misbehave and to their parents who disregard the misbehaviour of their children. (Türk çocuğu büyüklerinin yerinde olan öğütlerini saygı ile karşılar. Bunun için her köyde ve şehirlerin her mahallesinde en munasip kimselerden müteşekkil birer " halka öğüdü verme kolu " vücuda getirilmeli ve bu kollar mahallelerinde bulunan gençlerden yolsuz hareket edenlere ve bu hareketlerine göz yuman ana babalara gereken öğütleri vermelidir) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.112-114).

These expressions show that the nation is conceptualized as people with a common ancestors and language. The individual power is not desirable as it was clearly stated "It is the biggest border of success to follow the right commands and to be devoted to order and discipline".

The goal set by the report was obviously the inculcation of nationalist values, and an obedient outlook in the children and youth to form a homogeneous nation. The nationalist ideology was formed and consolidated; now the task was to transmit it to the coming generations. The government programs of the period also had the capacity to confirm this aim. When we examine the Şükrü Saraçoğlu's government programs in the first one (July 9, 1942-March 9, 1943), the program upheld a nationalist and

expansionist stance: “We are Turks, Turkists and will ever remain Turkists. For us Turkism is a matter of conscience and culture as much as it is a matter of blood. We are not those Turkists who diminish and deplete; we are Turkists who increase and enlarge. We will always endeavor in this direction” (cited in Kaplan, 1998, p.168; Dađlı&Aktürk, 1988, p.105). The program also stated that;

Yesterday’s Turkish youth who desired to have an independent and free fatherland, to belong to a conscious and homogenous nation, to manage the country by means of positive sciences, and see the sources of life and wealth of the fatherland vested in the country have been today realized one by one”. The program also claimed that; “there never existed privileges or classes in our country ” and “ this great fact is the main reason why we have founded a single-party state (cited in Kaplan, 1998, p.168; Dađlı & Aktürk, 1988, p.105-106),

so the aim is so clear; a single leader, a single party system and homogeneous nation.

When we examined the former government programs, belonging to Celal Bayar between 1937 -1939, the purpose of primary education stated as; to teach citizens the grammar of their language and the history and regime of the nation to which they belong and give them the primary knowledge necessary for further steps in their life. To support this conclusion, Necati Tarcan’s following comment was

...We would like to produce moral books to distribute to the schools and we would like them to be distributed to the parents as well so that morality system will diffuse to whole nation as a single front system. We suggest that morals course to be taught at schools.

...We suggest adding to the report that from the beginning to the end of the education life of a child, the sense of willingly die for the sake of nation, one’s country and independence has to be inoculated and this should be mentioned explicitly in the report.(Bunun için biz ahlak kitapları vücuda getirilmesini, okula verilecek bu ahlak kitaplarının aileye de verilmesini ve bu suretle ahlak sistemimizin tek cepheli bir sistem olarak memlekette yayılmasını istiyoruz....Okullarda ahlak dersi konmasını teklif ediyoruz.

...Çocuđa ilk okuldan itibaren son kademeye kadar olan tahsil hayatında millet için, vatan için, istiklal için seve seve ölmak hissini aşılması hususunda sarıh olarak rapora konmasını teklif ediyoruz.) (Maarif Vekilliđ (b), 1991, p.131)

Report of the History Commission

The report was containing following studies: school books of history; matters of teacher and teaching; contributory knowledge and instruments for history teaching; suggestions related to history teaching. According to the report, the curriculum of the primary schools determined as follows;

Primary school history curriculum and its books should assure to shape the development of children's ideas, their structure of soul, national feelings and their character and these books have to be of great value to arouse love of history and to make children perceive the events in the context of their time.

According to the report secondary school history books' characteristics were stated as follows: the first property to exist in secondary school history books were that their style should be explicit and in the form of a story if possible. In addition to this, events should be connected to each other concerning both their time and place and their main features with respect to cause and effect relation. If it is in the form of a huge sum of summary of articles, that secondary school history does not offer great efficiency.

Since secondary school history knowledge and education shaped citizens who will perceive matters of the world as well as their own national matters and would also perform national duties with understanding and sacrifice, the strong point of these books has to be national history and the information about other countries and nations should be regulated according to their relations with our country.

It is not necessary to state again the importance of techniques which were required to write school books.

(Orta okul tarih kitaplarında bulunması gereken ilk vasıf, üslubun açık olduğu kadar mümkün mertebe hikaye şeklinde olmasıdır. Bununla beraber olaylar, gerek zaman ve mekan, gerek ana hatlarıyla sebep ve netice olmak bakımından az çok bağlanmış bulunmalıdır. Tamamıyla ilmi bir tarzda ve büyük bir yekün tutan maddelerin hulasası şeklinde olan bir orta okul tarihi büyük bir verim vaat etmez. Orta okul tarihlerinin vereceği tarih bilgisi ve eğitimi, milli meselelerimizi olduğu kadar dünya meselelerini de kavrayabilecek ve fakat milli ödevleri de anlayış ve feragatle yapacak aydın bir yurttaş yoğuracağı için bu kitapların ağırlık merkezi milli tarih olmalı ve diğer milletler, memleketler hakkında verilecek, bilgi, millet ve yurdumuzla münasebetleri nispetinde ölçülerek ve ayarlanarak ayrılmalıdır. Kitapların yazılışında ise okul kitapları için aranması lazım gelen teknik vasıfların gözetilmesi lüzumunu tekrar belirtmeye hacet yoktur.) (Maarif Vekilliği (b), 1991, p.199-205)

The History Education Commission stated the importance of history education and what kind of route should be followed. The content of history books at the primary school level determined as primary school history curriculum and its books should

assure to shape the development of children's ideas, their structure of soul, national feelings and their character and these books have to be of great value to arouse love of history and to make children perceive the events in the context of their time. And at secondary school level since secondary school history knowledge and education shape citizens who will perceive matters of the world as well as their own national matters and will also perform national duties with understanding and sacrifice, the strong point of these books has to be national history and the information about other countries and nations should be regulated according to their relations with our country.

Ersanlı (1989, p.7) defines the inclination to the history education, as defining history writing and its transforming effect to make legal the current political system. When studying historiography the nature of the political power should be taken into consideration. When “powerful currents and ideals combined forces and thus enhanced the nature of political power, historiography too acquired new dimensions. Whenever a ruling elite modified or redefined the political identity of a society a new motive force for history emerged. In many other countries, inventing, creating and reviving a national past was a common practice. The ruling elite of all the countries saw history as a missionary force for political self- esteem ” (Ersanlı, 1989, p.271-272). The Kemalist regime realized the power of history and were deeply occupied with it. According to Ersanlı (1989, p.144), the political atmosphere and the efforts of the historians/politicians created a new nationalism. Thus the need for an organization “monopolising all cultural forces with a common goal” was felt. After the foundation of the Turkish History Research Society (later to be called the Turkish History Society- *Türk Tarih Kurumu*), the problems encountered in the writing of “Turkish History”, which should be contained the formation of a strong national conscience.

Third National Council of Education Meeting- 2-10 December 1946

The third National Education Council meeting was held on December 2-10, 1946.

The content of the Council was as follows:

1. Program and Regulations for Trade Middle Schools,
2. Program and Regulations for Girl Institutes,
3. Regulations for Istanbul Technical School,
4. The Adaptation of the Legislation Regarding Teachers and Students at Middle Schools and Technical Schools Equivalent to Middle Schools to Meet the Needs of the Time,
5. To Take Necessary Measures to Promote Cooperation Between the Parents and the Schools (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (c), 1991).

Working Plan and Principles of the 3 rd National Education Council

The working plan of the third National Education Council was as follows:

1. Programs and regulations of commerce secondary and high schools, (*Ticaret ortaokul ve lise program ve yönetmeliği*)
2. Programs and regulations of Men's secondary schools of art and institutes, (*Erkek Sanat ortaokulları ve enstitüleri program ve yönetmeliği*)
3. Programs and regulations of Girls' Institutes, (*Kız Enstitüleri program ve yönetmeliği*)
4. Regulations of Istanbul Technical School, (*İstanbul Teknik Okulu Yönetmeliği*)
5. Arrangement of the legislation concerning the teachers and instructors of secondary schools and technical secondary schools, (*Orta ve bu derecedeki teknik öğretim okulları öğretmen ve öğreticileriyle ilgili mevzuatın bugünkü ihtiyaçlara ayarlanması*)
6. Taking necessary measures to maintain cooperation between parents and school, (*Aile ve okul arasında iş birliği sağlanması için gerekli tedbirlerin alınması*)(T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Üçüncü Milli Eğitim Şurası, 1991).

The Commissions of the Council

The 3 rd National Education Council divided into the five commissions:

1. Commission of commerce secondary and high schools, (*Ticaret ortaokulları ve liseleri komisyonu*)
2. Commissions of Men's Secondary Schools of Art and Institutes and Istanbul Technical School, (*Erkek Sanat ortaokulları ve enstitüleri ve İstanbul Teknik Okulu komisyonu*)
3. Commission of Girls' Institutes (*Kız Enstitüleri komisyonu*): The task of the commission was to examine: Education of Girls' Institutes aims to provide our girls theoretical and practical knowledge so that they can manage their houses in accordance

with the rules of health, order, economy and pleasure and through this to make them have a joyful and happy home. Thus, they will support the social progress of our country.

4. Commission of the arrangement of the legislation concerning the teachers and instructors of secondary schools and technical secondary schools; (*Orta ve bu derecedeki teknik öğretim okulları öğretmen ve öğreticileriyle ilgili mevzuatı ayarlama komisyonu*). For all levels of schools, except universities, it is crucial to train teachers from the stated associations: Village Institutes and High Village Institute; Education Institutes; Vocational Teacher Training Schools for Men and Women; Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the Universities; High Level Training Schools;

5. Commission of the cooperation of parents and school; (*Aile ve okul işbirliği komisyonu*)(Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (c), 1991).

Reports of the Commissions and Talks of the Commission Members

Starting with 1930, education was seen as a means of national development. After the Second World War, up until the time of the multi-party system, staffs of the single-party regime gave great importance to education and expected it to transform the society. During the post-war period, the rising importance of the market economy, agricultural mechanization, urbanization and population increase started to affect the education policies (Gök, 1999). It is no coincidence that the Third National Council Meeting, held on 2-19 December 1946, focused on professional and technical education only. Considering the political and the economic atmosphere of the period, in Turkey, which was deprived of adequate capital and labour force, focus on the professional and technical education after the Great Depression of 1929 was a necessity. During the same period the conception of the planning of the education came up and the Third National Council Meeting focused only on this issue.

During this period, three institutes were established which were; village institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*), girls and art institutes and boys and art institutes (*Kız ve Erkek Sanat Okulları*). The primary aim was to meet educational needs of industry, village and family. All of these institutes performed also distinct social and ideological functions to

create a “western, modern” society.

The Report of Girls’ Institutes Commission

One of the important institutes was that Girl’s Institutes in this period and the curriculum of the institutes defined in this report as follows:

It is necessary that programs of the cultural courses of Girls’ Institutes should have different attributes because of the fact that these are vocational schools. That is why we do not see any necessity to explain all the reasons. Today the education of Girls’ Institutes is becoming heavier and heavier due to the fact that the secondary school curriculum is applied to the cultural courses of these institutes without any changes and in addition to this technical courses and workshops are being taught and as a result students have 44 hours of schedule a week.

Therefore, it seems a necessity to lighten the programs of cultural courses in the Girls’ Institutes and to guide them in a direction to support technical courses and workshops at the same time and to give a new direction to these programs in order to provide sources to the students to support their professions and to find ways to guide them (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (c), 1991).

The following technical courses and workshops are identified in the report: Cut-Sewing (*Biçki-Dikiş*), Fashion-flower (*Moda-Çiçek*), Clothes (*Çamaşır*), Embroidery (*Nakış*), General, Decorative and Technical Painting (*Umumi, Tezyini, Mesleki Resim*), Housekeeping (*Ev İdaresi*), Child care and education (*Çocuk Bakımı ve Eğitimi*), Hygiene (*Hijyen*), Private class programs (*Özel Sınıflar Programı*), Military training (*Askerlik Dersi*)

Modernization in social life, specifically in women’s place in society, improved

with the Republic. One of the signs of this was the Girls's Institute. According to Gök (1999, p.242), the role assigned to the Girls Institutes must be evaluated according to the establishment aims of the institutes and the contents of the curriculum. Girls Institutes aimed to educate women to be well-educated, intellectual housewives. The ideal woman model in this period was: well-educated, being a good mother and wife and a sophisticated women who did crafts and performed modern Turkish women at dances and parties. This limited views are not the modern woman but a figure of woman presented as modern. The content of the curriculum was organized according to these aims, and the huge part of the curriculum was covered according to the housework. Related talks of the council members' were quoted here as follows:

My esteemed colleagues, I have seen in the article 12 of the Girls' Institutes report that bookkeeping, that is, the accounting course having been taught so far, has been abolished. They put forward three reasons for that.

The first reason is that new profit tax law does not oblige young people who will work in workshops to keep books; secondly, the fact that graduates of the Girls' Institutes are not engaged in business, in fact these institutes aimed to train housewives for our country and the third reason is that this course is too difficult to teach. I do not think that these reasons are valid at all to abolish this course.

(Sayın arkadaşlarım, kız enstitüleri raporunun 12. maddesinde bugüne kadar okutulmakta bulunan defter tutma yani muhasebe dersinin kaldırıldığını gördüm. Sebep olarakta üç neden ileri sürülüyor. Bunun birincisi yeni kazanç vergisi kanununun atölyelerde çalışacak gençlere defter tutma mecburiyetini vermemiş olduğu, ikincisi kız enstitülerinden mezun olan kızlarımızdan dışarıda ticaret yapmadıkları, esasen kız enstitülerinin amacının memlekete ev kadını yetiştirmek olduğu, üçüncüsü de bu dersin zor olduğundan okutulması mümkün olmadığı ileri sürülmektedir. Ben bunların, dersin kalkmasına esaslı mucip sebepler teşkil etmediği kanaatindeyim.) (Cevat Yücesoy, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (c), 1991, p.261)

It is certain that bookkeeping course is beneficial for the students. However, our only aim in Girls' Institutes is to train a perfect Turkish mother. It is our first and primary aim. (Defter tutma dersi şüphesiz ki faydalıdır. Fakat bizim kız enstitülerinde tek gayemiz iyi bir Türk annesi yetiştirmektir. Birinci ve başlıca gayemiz budur.) (Muvaffak Uyanık, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (c), 1991, p.262)

The Report of the Arrangement of the Legislation Concerning the Teachers and Instructors of Secondary Schools and Technical Secondary Schools Commission

One of the important institutes was the Village Institutes, and their role was as follows: Our primary education stage is primary schools. Our recent experiences and the reasons emerging from the village conditions, with which our members of the court are familiar, have made it obvious that we need different types of teachers for villages, and city and towns. For this reasons, we have established Village Institutes in order to train teachers for village primary schools.

The third National Education Council also focused on the formation, general political and ideological aims of the Village Institutes. According to the Village Institutes regulations: the students would grow up as Republican whose national emotions would be developed when they graduated. The village teachers would serve to realize the national ideal and goals in the village, and would deem the Turkish Nation which was composed of various occupations and estates, a whole and work for development and progress in the capacity of men of culture (cited in Kaplan, 1998, p. 183; Ayas, 1948, p.338-339). The immediate aim of the government in founding the village institutes was to eliminate illiteracy in the short term, but this does not mean that they did not have ideological and political functions. The nationalist indoctrination in the Village Institutes was very strong. The students sang the “Anthem of Agriculture” (*Ziraat Marşı*), which was written by Behçet Kemal Çağlar, and composed by Adnan Saygun. The words of the anthem were; this race, this land is the origin of the humankind and soon the Turk will again be the model for the world (Kaplan, 1998, p. 184). So the Village Institutes first accepted the role of increasing the illiteracy skills of the peasants. Another important role assigned to them was to

socialize the people, to make the peasants aware of the political values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that the single party, the RPP promoted.

Yusuf Ziya Etiman provided the following comment in the commission:

As far as I remember, that kind of a discussion has taken place at the beginning of the program: village teacher is an agriculturalist or an artisan? Or s/he will educate the children of the village? They said:

Originally, teachers who will be trained in the village institutes will educate the children of the village and will help them both in agriculture and artistry. They are not a teacher of agriculture or artistry.

These institute teachers will have sample fields and they will assign their time when it is possible to teach field works as much as they can to the children of the village.

Since this is the situation, I could not understand why the teachers who will train the village teachers should be educated in vocational teacher training schools for men and women to be a specialist. Since they won't be able to educate the children of the village institutes as an artisan or as a specialist, why do we need to focus on the qualifications of these teachers? That is the point that I couldn't understand.

(Efendim programın başında konuşmaya başlarken aklımda kaldığına göre şöyle bir bahis geçti: köy öğretmeni ziraatçi midir, sanatkar mıdır ? Yoksa köylü çocukları okutacak mı ? dediler ki: esasında köy enstitülerinde yetiştirilecek öğretmenler, köy çocuklarını okutacaklar ve onlara ziraat de, sanatta yardımcı olacaklardır. Yoksa bir ziraat veya sanat öğretmeni değillerdir. Bu enstitü öğretmenlerinin numune tarlaları olacak vakitlerinden mümkün olabildiği saati ayırıp, köy çocuklarına elinden geldiği kadar tarla işlerini de öğretmeye çalışacaktır. Durum böyle olduğuna göre bu köy öğretmenlerini yetiştirecek olan öğretmenlerin çok mütehassıs olmaları için erkek meslek öğretmeni, kız meslek öğretmeni okulunda okumasının neden gerektiğini anlayamadım. Çünkü onlar köy enstitü çocuklarını birer sanatkar birer mütehassıs olarak yetiştiremeyeceklerdir ki bu öğretmenlerin vasıfları üzerinde o kadar durulsun, anlayamadığım nokta burasıdır.) (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (c), 1991, p.288).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The Republican People's Party was the dominant ruling political organization in Turkey from 1923 to 1945 and its initial goal was to create political and civic institutions that would perpetually generate change within society. The party appears as a political organization created at a turning-point in Turkish history in order to carry out a special mission: the creation of a territorial Turkish nation-state. Conservative and modernist part of the society initially agreed that the emerging Turkish national state should be economically strong and endowed with the science and technology of the contemporary world, but the group later to be represented by the RPP believed that the new state could become strong and prosperous only by adopting a totally different regime and institutions and policies suitable to the purpose.

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the channels of legitimacy exercised by the Ottoman rulers were radically altered by the new government. First of all, the Ottoman rule had been premised and legitimized on religious bases, and the RPP began to exercise their political power on more secular bases and they rejected the whole Ottoman super-structure. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in his speech to open the Second Assembly (on August 13, 1923) said:

In fact, with regard to the essence of its bases, therefore new Turkish state is different from previous historical institutions. To put in a single word, we can say that the new Turkish state is a people's state. The institutions of the past were the states of individuals (İnan 1983, p.23).

A number of radical reforms which would eliminate all the connections between the new Turkey and the Ottoman Empire was passed. These reforms were practised in a

wide range of areas from law to the alphabet and from education to fashion. Two fundamental questions here are: how can we interpret scientifically of the Kemalist movement and its practices what is the possibility of transformation the whole structure of a society through such radical reforms which were imposed from above?

The new regime required a new society which would be congruent with the new polity. Most of the reforms in the first years of Republic were intended for an ultimate political power, and for the embodiment of a viable polity which would exert that power forever. The new government created the Turkish Republic, but it had yet to create Republican Turks, and the situation was like that Massimo d'Azeglio said: "we created Italy; now we must create the Italians" (Hobsbawm cited in Şimşek 1996, p.5).

After 1923, the Turkish nationalist movement, which had fought to safeguard the integrity and independence of the newly forming nation-state, evolved into a movement with the more far-reaching goal of radically transforming and "modernizing" Turkish society and culture, and nationalist movement gave way gradually to a monolithic power structure.

Towards the end of the 1920s, the centralist-authoritarian structure in Turkey started to be consolidated. An example of this centralization process in politics was observed in the Second Congress of the Republican People's Party (1927). The right to nominate parliamentarians was transferred from the party assembly to the general president of the party who was Mustafa Kemal at that time and party inspectors would have initiatives in the management of political, social, cultural and economic organizations. This change reflected the monopolization of the power. In the first article of the party programme, the ideology of the party was put forward by stating that the party was a republican, populist, secularist and a nationalist organization. In the sixth article, it was declared

that Mustafa Kemal was the general president and the founder of the party, and in the seventh article, it was decided that the article from one to six could not be changed in any condition (Öz, 1992 cited in Berksoy 2000, p.9)

In the third congress of the party, which was held in 1931, six principles, republicanism, populism, nationalism, secularism, revolutionism and etatism entered the party programme and later, in 1937, they entered the constitution. At the 1931 convention, also, that the idea of popularizing the reforms was debated at length and the notion that the party should actively seek to curtail the influence of old habits and traditions was set forth. After the convention, the most severe and long-lasting effect emanated from the drastic alteration of the meaning of the two initial principles, nationalism and populism (Karpat 1999, p.52).

In the following years, single-party rule was reaffirmed and consolidated by the foundation of certain institutions to create the utmost ideological mobilization in society. Alongside with the formal school system, the National Schools (1928), the Turkish Historical Society (1931), People's Houses (1932), The Turkish Language Society (1932), Faculty of Language, History and Geography (1936) were established. Preparations for a change in the definition of nationalism began as early as 1929, and a first step involved arranging for the transformation of the Turkish Hearths into something more useful to the party. The Hearths were the intellectual cradle of Turkish nationalism. Established in 1911, they preached a nationalism that amounted to patriotism based on a sense of the historical Turkish identity and culture, with the Islamic roots of that identity maintained but diluted in a broad, ill-defined form of modernism and perhaps secularism. The RPP felt the Hearth's concept of an historical, religious sense of nationhood to be contrary to its own secular idea of nationality

(Karpat 1999, p.52). The aim of these institutions was not only to teach people arts and sciences, but also to socialize them politically and to achieve the familiarity of the masses with the values of the revolution and the party. At some of these institutions, like the People's Houses, conferences were held by the professors as a result of party inducement and the purpose and function of the conferences can be specified as political socialization which is the process through which individuals acquire the political values, beliefs and codes of behavior of a social group or community and are integrated into their political structure. Thus, through the conferences given, the Turkish public were made aware of the political values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that the RPP promoted. One of theme of these conferences was "nationalism and nation-building", and the importance of national consciousness, and national identity together with the devotion to the motherland were the most elaborated subjects. The other emphasis points were the greatness of Turkish leaders in the past and the contributions of Turks to world civilization, racial differences among nations and the necessity to achieve unity in a nation, the degrading of non-muslim merchants in Turkey, and last the importance of a creation of a national literature which represent national characteristics (Berksoy 2000, p.210).

The RPP needed to find a new base for the nation-state which would be created out of the old society and that new base was found in nationalisation of the history and the language also. As an important part of the so called Turkish Cultural Revolution, the Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory, which were created in the 1930s, were also emphasized to prove that Turkish people were the creators of civilization. This revolution generally aimed to prove scientifically that the Turkish nation had created a great history, and influenced a number of splendid civilizations; prove that the

Turkish language was a pre-established, a well-rooted language, and to realize the alphabet revolution and purification of Turkish (Saffet, 1933 cited in Şimşek 1996, p.147) so it proceed on two dimensions: the establishment of a new national identity on a heroic past and; the spreading of this identity throughout the whole country.

Within the framework of this kind of a political regime, the educational system and its institutional structure in a country is the clearest reflection of the prevailing political regime in that country, because the institutions not only represent the outlook of the regime but also put this outlook into practice. According to Mustafa Kemal and his views on education was like :

the philosophy of the life of nations which manifests itself in the form of a perpetual and terrible struggle

and followed as:

inculcation into our children and youth during their upbringing, of the necessity of struggle against all foreign elements which conflict especially with their existence, right and unity and of the need to defend national ideas in complete ecstasy against all opposite ideas emphatically and devotedly " (Atatürkçülük, 1988 cited in Kaplan 1998, p.134). Mustafa Kemal made emphasis on national education and his speech: " When I speak of national education program, I mean a culture which is wholly free from the superstitions of the olden time, and from foreign ideas, all influences which may come from the east and the west which do not at all fit our natural characteristics, a culture which is commensurate with our national and historical character " (Atatürkçülük, 1988 cited in Kaplan 1998, p.134).

This speech was the declaration of nationalism in the sphere of education.

The purpose of education according to Mustafa Kemal was to foster the loyalty of the new generations to the Turkish nation and state in such a way that they would be ready to fight against the enemies of the Turkish nation and state and emphasized it as follows: Whatever the extent of education we give our children and youth, we shall thoroughly teach them loyalty to 1. the Nation, 2. the Turkish state, 3. the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and struggle against the enemies of these. Those nations

who are not equipped with the means and instruments of combatting the enemies have no right of existence (Atatürkçülük, 1988 cited in Kaplan 1998, p.136).

Thus, the instrumentality of education is a basic principle for Mustafa Kemal and education should provide success in material life.

Ismet İnönü was also but forward his ideas of national education as follows:

We can consider two parts in national education as regards the political and patriotic character of national education. There is a Turk that gives the Turkish character to all these territories. However, this nation has not yet become the monolithic nation we desire. If these generation works seriously and consciously under the guidance of science and life by devoting its entire lifetime, then may the political Turkish nation become a full and mature Turkish nation culturally, ideationally and socially. Within this monolithic nationality must foreign cultures completely dissolve. There can be no distincts civilizations within the mass of this nationality. Each nation upon earth represents absolutely a single civilization. We thereby explicitly propose to those who see themselves loyal to communities other than the civilization of the Turkish nation: Be together with the Turkish nation. But not in the form of a mixture, not in the form of a 'confederation' of civilizations but in the form of a single civilization. This fatherland belongs to this single nation and nationality. This is not rhetorics, this idea is not put forward ornamentally; this policy is the entire life of the fatherland. If we shall live at all, we shall live as a mass of a monolithic nation. This is the general purpose of the system we call national education (Yücel, 1994 cited in Karpas 1998, p.142).

So as to emphasized, the nation must be monolithic with a single culture and idea and a territorial nation with a diversity of cultures is not a full and mature nation, the mature and monolithic Turkish nation cannot tolerate other cultures and communities within its territory.

According to Tunçay (1999), the characteristics of the education system can be figured out three points when it is looked at the single-party regime. First in order to be westernized, Republican Turkey wanted to get rid of the past of Ottoman/Islam period. Turkey expected education to play an effective role to realize this objective. With an idealistic point of view, they attributed a constructive duty to education, not only a negative one, to play a leading role in the transformation of the country, second they

attributed to education a propagandist ideological function which is incompatible with the true aims of the education. A foreign observer said that:

The secret of the success of Kemal was largely based on the strict regulating process of the education. New village and the secondary education teachers' generation constituted a diligent staff who spread Kemalist ideals and educated the minds of the Turkish youth. They were the most loyal propagandists of Kemal (Frey, 1964 cited in Tunçay 1999, p.239)

Third instead of the traditional religious education were made to build up a secular national education; however, racism became an important element of the education in Turkish Nationalism (Maynard, 1961 cited in Tunçay 1999, p.240).

The role of the three National Education Councils can be defined as the sign of the formulation of a modern state structure starting from the traditional one to a modern one and its implications on education policy-making process. After the first Scientific Council meeting in 1923, the first National Education Council meeting was held in 1939, and the following ones were held in 1943 and 1946. This study dealt with three National Education Council to find out that the single-party era political approaches in forming education policies.

The radical modernization in the cultural era created the nationalist movement in the society. The nationalist character of the period was observed in the areas of language and history. The first and second National Education Councils were focused on the language and history education. The new education system was to be exclusively national, and purely Turkish. The new regime was trying to create a territorial nation with a single culture. In order to achieve this aim, the role assigned to national education's was the assimilation of foreign cultures and the creation of Turkish national culture. Thus, history and language education played important roles in the creation of

the national culture.

The second National Education Council's agenda focused on three basic issues which were history, language education and moral values. The role assigned to history education was the indoctrination of the national culture and the legalization of the ways to achieve this. According to Ersanlı (1989, p.63), modernization in education and history-writing tried to survive with traditional values and methods. However, the new themes of the age, namely nationalism and Turkism, were forcing their way towards the change of the intellectuals, directly affecting political power. In many other countries, inventing, creating and reviving a national past was a common practice. The ruling elite of all the countries saw history as a missionary force for political self-esteem (Ersanlı, 1989, p.271-272). Kemalist regime realized the power of history and was deeply occupied with it. In the first History Congress; prehistoric and historic sources, development and purification of the Turkish language, causes of migration from Central Asia, and history textbooks used in schools were the basic lines of discussion (Ersanlı, 1989, p. 157-158). These lines of discussion were to prove the Turkish History Thesis with main elements which were the actor of the creation of first civilization in Central Asia is Turkish race, Turkish language is the main source of other languages, the chief founder of the new civilization, which was mistakenly called Islamic, are the Turks; the Anatolian Peninsula had been a Turkish land since the paleolithic age. The Turks established various civilizations here. (Galip Ekim, 1933 cited in Şimşek 1996, p.149-150)

From these discussions, education became of utmost importance to socialize society, and also to form a basis for the homogeneous society in this nation-building process. How to create a single-type of citizen and the indoctrination of the national beliefs and

ideological values of Republican Turkey were two of the assigned roles of education. The nationalist stance of the second National Education Council was assisted by the Morality Commission Report. Efforts were made to establish a strong state image throughout the meeting. According to the report, three main concepts were the base for the moral education in the schools. These were a Turk who was devoted to the Turkish language, its culture, works and fundamental principles of the Revolution and in general to the idealism of Turkishness; a person who adopted high principles of morals which were accepted by all civilized nations; to train a person who respected himself and others and had dignity, honour and integrity. Also the characteristics of the Turkish youth also stated as; s/he follows the laws, which were the declaration of national sovereignty, with his/her cognizance and affection; his/her aim was to raise his/her nation to the level of highest civilization.

The formulation of citizenship at the meeting as follows;

The main social and personal principals of Turkish morality were;

- Our existence is founded on our country. Our biggest duty is to protect our Republic and independence sacrificing everything that we have. (*Türk yurdu varlığımızın temelidir. Her şeyimizi feda ederek Cumhuriyetimizi, istiklalimizi korumak en büyük ödevimizdir. Milli istiklale dayanmayan hayat Türk için ölümden beterdir.*)

- A Turk who loves his/her country works in a job which will benefit to his nation and tries to make the highest progress in his/her occupation. S/he works willingly, accurately and with methods, and s/he accomplishes his/her duty just in time and never leaves it half done. The biggest source of happiness for him/her is to work, laziness is disastrous for the community and individuals. (*Yurdunu seven Türk, memleket için faydalı bir iş tutar ve o meslekte en ileri olmaya çalışır. Tuttuğu işi seve seve, titizlikle, metotla, tam zamanında usanmadan yapar ve yarım bırakmaz. Çalışmak en büyük saadet kaynağıdır, tembellik cemiyet ve fertler için felakettir.*)

- Turkish youth always see the reality as it is; s/he always stands for the truth and sincerity everywhere and in his every deed, and makes others stand for it as well. S/he does not hesitate to tell what s/he knows as good and right when it is relevant in point.

Display and charlatanry are fatal for the individual and the community.

(*Türk çocuğu gerçeği olduğu gibi görür, her yerde, her işte, her zaman doğruluktan ve samimilikten ayrılmaz. Başkalarının da ayrılmasına meydan vermez. Doğru ve iyi bildiğini yerinde çekinmeden söyler.*)

- It is the biggest border of the success to follow the right commands and to be devoted

to order and discipline. (*Doğru emirlere uymak, intizam ve disipline bağluk en büyük başarı sınırır.*) (Maarif Vekillığı (b), 1991, p.97-98)

These expressions shows that nation is conceptualized as people with common ancestors and language.

The goal set by the report was obviously the inculcation of nationalist values, and an obedient outlook in the children and youth to form a homogeneous nation. The nationalist ideology was formed and consolidated. Now the task was to transmit it to the coming generations. The government programs of the period also had the capacity to confirm this aim. When the government programs of the era are examined, the results show that the programs upheld a nationalist and expansionist stance: “We are Turks, Turkists and will ever remain Turkists. For us Turkism is a matter of conscience and culture as much as it is a matter of blood. We are not those Turkists who diminish and deplete; we are Turkists who increase and enlarge. We will always endeavor in this direction” (cited in Kaplan,1998, p.168; Dağlı&Aktürk, 1988, p.105). Thus, the aim is so clear; a single leader, a single party system and homogeneous nation.

Starting with 1930, education was seen as a means of national development. After the Second World War, up until the time of multi-party system, staffs of the single-party regime gave great importance to education and expected it to transform society. During the post-war period, the rising importance of market economy, agricultural mechanization, urbanization and population increase started to affect the education policies (Gök, 1999). It is not a coincidence that the Third National Council, held on 2-19 December 1946, focused on professional and technical education only. After the Great Depression, in order to increase the number of well-educated labour workers, professional and technical education became an important issue. Taking into account

the economic atmosphere of the period, the conception of the planning of education came up and this became the Third National Council's main focus.

The establishment of the the Village Institutes, and the Girls' and Boys' Institutes in this period was a sign of the economic variations in the world, and their impact on Turkish society. These institutes signaled the extension of the westernization and modernization policies in the country.

As a whole, the republic cristalized all modernist attempts in its cultural and social revolutions and quickened the process of modernization. Specifically the rationalization and secularization of daily life in judicial and educational institutions, the efforts to reestablishing national capitalism by state support, and nationalim were the major transformational dynamics of modernization.

The three main concepts of this study were the ideological values of single-party era, the modernization process and their relation with education policy making process in Turkey during the single-party era. Ideological part of this study showed that, ideology by using technology, science, language, moral values and other symbols on the one hand helped the society to be organized around a common expectation and creates the communication channels and symbols of this expectation, so any expression of the society was defined in terms of these symbols. All three National Education Councils were covering these symbols, and explains how they were attached to community life via education. As a result the general overview of the councils and decisions, the following charactersitics may appear: modernization process and its sanctions in the nation-building process, the citizen model that the Republic wanted to create via education, and the political forces behind the education system and their meaning in the social context. All three National Council of Education meetings and their results were

concentrated around these three characteristics.

CHAPTER SIX

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APPENDIX A

PLAN KOMİSYONU RAPORU

A. İlköğretim

- 1- Nüfusu 400'den fazla olan yerlerde beş yıllık ilk tahsilin, arzedilen inkişaf programı içinde öğretmen vasıtası ile temini,
- 2- Nüfusu 400'den aşağı yerlerde en az üç yıllık tahsilin eğitimci delaleti ile verilmesi,
- 3- Halen üç yıl tahsil gösteren okulların beş yıllık ilk tahsil yapmalarının şu suretle temini:
 - a) Eğitimci ile idare olunan okullar için ilk tahsili tamamlayacak iki yıllık pansiyonlu bölge okulları açılması veya çocukların gidip gelmesine müsait merkezi köylerde bu tahsilin nahari yaptırılması.
 - b) Bir eğitimci ve beş sınıflı okullar açılması.
- 4- Eğitimci teşkilatına inkişaf planı dairesinde devam etmeliyiz. Şu kadar ki on eğitimci bir gezici baş eğitimci tayini, bu usulde ilk tahsili tamim edebilmenin şartı olmalıdır.
- 5- Eğitimcilerin tedrisi ve zirai işlerinde görülen noksanları tesbit edilerek gezici başöğretmenler tarafından tamamlanmalıdır.
- 6- Eğitimci teşkilatı, evlerinde Türk dili konuşmayan yerlerde tatbik edilmemelidir.
- 7- Evlerinde Türk dili konuşmayan yerler için alınacak tedbir:

Yalnız maarif noktasında değil, bütün devlet bakımından ehemmiyetli olan bu mesele hakkında Vekillüğimizin tetkik safhasına geçmesi ve sonra bu vatandaşların milletin küllü için müstahsil hale getirilebilmesine yarayacak tedbirlerin alınması lazımdır. Bu

hususla dūřūndūklerimiz řunlardır: 1941-42 seneleri iinde bu kısım halkın iktisadi, etnolojik, cođrafi durumlarını, folklorlarını ve bütūn yařama řartlarını dođrudan dođruya etüt edecek bir enstitūnūn Diyarbakır'da aılması. Bu enstitū, sosyolojik tetkik yapmaya kadir bir profesōrūn yanında cođrafi, iktisadi, etnolojik, askeri ve iskan bakımlarından tetkikler yapacak zatlardan ve onların yanında alıřacak asistanlardan terekkūp etmelidir. Bōyle bir enstitūnūn unsurlarını, İstanbul Ūniversitesi ile Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Cođrafya Fakūltesi hazırlamalıdır. Teřkil edilecek bu enstitūnūn masraflarına partimizce de yardım edilmelidir.

Diđer taraftan Maarif Vekilliđinde Pařaeli, orta ve cenubi Anadolu gibi bazı iskan mıntıklarının evlerinde Tūrke konuřulmayan yerlerinde ve ileride řark vilayetlerinin bazılarında alınacak kūltür tedbirlerini tahakkuk ettirmek ūzere enstitū ile mūterafik bir būro aılması uygun gōrūlmūřtur.

8- Nūfusu 400'den fazla kōylerde okutulmayan ocuklar iin ūđretmen yetiřtirmek ūzere mevcut on bir ilk ūđretmen okulu kōyde ve řehirde layikiyle vazife ifa edecek ūđretmenler yetiřtirmek hale getirilmeli ve ařađıdaki inkiřaf planında gōsterildiđi surette miktarları arttırılmalıdır.

9- Yeni aılan ve kōy ocuklarına bütūn iřleri yapabilecek řahsiyeti, imkanları veren ve bu meyanda ūđretmen yetiřtiren İzmir Kızılcıllu, Eskiřehir ifteler, Kastamonu Gōlkōyū, Trakya Kepirtepe gibi mūesseselerin bu inkiřaf planı dairesinde arttırılması lazımdır.

10- Kōy ve řehir okul binaları meselesi:

řehir okullarının inřası mahallerinde teřkil edilecek maarif heyetleri vasıtasıyla ve arttırma ve eksiltme kanunu hūkūmlerine tabi olmayarak yapılmalıdır. Mahallerinin en būyūk mūlkiye memurlarının başkanlıđı altında, belediye reisi, varsa ticaret, ziraat ve

sanayi odalarının reisleriyle umumi meclisler tarafından seçilecek üç zattan ve maarif mümessillerinden tereküp edecek olan bu heyet mevcut ilk, orta, akşam ve sanat okullarını tamir veya yeniden inşa etmeye salahiyyetar hükmi şahsiyetler haline sokulmalıdır.

Bu heyetler şu varidatı alarak okulları tamir veya inşa edeceklerdir:

- a) Hususi idarelerden kendilerine yardım için verilecek para,
- b) Mahallin okul ihtiyacı için yapılacak bir nizamnameye göre herkesin irat ve servetleriyle mütenasip olmak üzere aynen veya nakten tevzi edeceği mükellefiyetler,
- c) Kabul edeceği hizmetler,
- d) Teberrular.

11- Köy okulları binalarının inşa ve tamiri için şu suretle tedbir alınmalıdır:

Okul binası olmayan köy bütçelerinin dörtte biri her yıl 600 liraya varıncaya kadar, her yıl, okul binası inşa masrafına karşılık olmak üzere tahsil olunarak köy okulu inşa “fond” u hesabına bankaya yatırılır. Bu paradan Vekillik, tertip edeceği sıra ile eğitimci veya öğretmen göndereceği köylere 400-800 lira arasında bir yardım yapmalıdır.

Köylüler bu yardımla kendilerinin tedarik edemeyecekleri malzemeyi alırlar ve köy kanununun emrettiği şekilde okul binalarını yaparlar.

12- İlk tahsilin maaş ve kanuni haklarına ait masraflar bina ve arazi vergilerinin tayin edilecek miktarı karşılık gösterilerek hususi idareler bütçelerinden umumi bütçeye geçirilmesi ve ilk tahsile ait diğer masraflar mahalline bırakılmalıdır.

13- Köy öğretmenlerinin huzur içinde ve faydalı bir şekilde çalışmalarını temin edebilmek için aşağıdaki tedbirin alınması uygun görülmektedir.

- a) Yatacak yer,
- b) Ecza dolabı

- c) Kendisinin ve ailesinin hastalıklarıyla alakadar sađlık mufettiřleri,
- d) Bilhassa iktisadi ve sıhhi bakımdan bulunduđu kfyde eser bırakmıř olanlara rakdi mfkafat,
- e) Ziraat iřlerinde lazım gelen vasıtalar,
- f) Ektiđi araziden istifadeye mani kayıtların kaldırılması,
- g) Orta tahsil ađına gelmiř olan zeki ve liyakatli kfy ođretmeni ocuđunun mensup olduđu kasaba veya řehir orta okullarında okuyabilmesi iin yalnız ibateleri bakımından mahalli idarelerin yardım etmesi temin olunmalıdır.

APPENDIX B

MAARİF ŞURASI YÜKSEK ÖĞRETİM KOMİSYONU RAPORU

Yüksek Öğretim Komisyonu için ayrılan üyeler 17/07/1939 Pazartesi günü saat 12:00' de toplanarak bir komisyon halinde çalışmayı tensiple Başkan ve raportörlerini seçmiş ve ruznameyi tesbit ederek bu ruznamede yazılı işlerden bazısını komisyonun doğrudan doğruya ve bazısını da Tali Komisyonlarca verilecek raporlar üzerine tetkik etmek usulünü kabul etmiştir. Komisyonun doğrudan doğruya tetkik ettiği işler şunlardır:

- 1- Yüksek Öğretimin hedefleri,
- 2- Yüksek Öğretimin umumi meseleleri,
- 3- Ana dili ve terimler,
- 4- Neşriyat ve ilmi araştırmalar,
- 5- Talebe seviyesi ve yabancı dil meselesi,
- 6- Talebe kesafeti,
- 7- Beden Terbiyesi,
- 8- Halk Terbiyesi,
- 9- İstanbul Üniversitesi talimatnamesi, İstanbul Üniversitesi talebe talimatnamesi, Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi esas talimatnamesi.

Tali Komisyonlarca incelendikten sonra tetkik edilmesi kararlaştırılan işler de şunlardır:

- 1- Fen Fakültesi tedrisat ve imtihanlar talimatnamesi,
- 1- Edebiyat Fakültesi, tedrisat ve imtihanlar talimatnamesi,
- 2- İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Doktora talimatnamesi,
- 3- Hukuk Fakültesi Doktora talimatnamesi,

- 4- Hukuk Fakültesi Lisans, tedrisat ve imtihan talimatnamesi,
- 5- Hukuk Fakültesi tedrisat, imtihan ve doktora talimatnamesi,
- 6- İstanbul Üniversitesi Doçentlik sınavı talimatnamesi,
- 7- İktisat Fakültesi Lisans, tedrisat ve imtihan talimatnamesi,
- 8- İstanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi imtihanlar ve tedrisat talimatnamesi,
- 9- Eczacılık tahsili talimatnamesi,
- 10- Tıp Fakültesine bağlı Diş Tababeti okulu tedrisatı ve imtihan talimatnamesi,
- 11- Ankara Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsünün sınav ve talebe kabul talimatnamesi,
- 12- Ankara Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsünün Pedagoji şubesi kayıt ve kabul talimatnamesi,
- 13- Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi ara, lisans, doktora sınavları talimatnamesi,
- 14- Ankara Dil, Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi talebe pansiyonu talimatnamesi,
- 15- Yüksek Öğretmen okulu talimatnamesi,
- 16- Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu talimatnamesi,
- 17- Siyasal Bilgiler Okulunun imtihan talimatnamesi,
- 18- Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsünün Resim-İş şubesinin müfredat programı,
- 19- Etüt ve staj için yabancı memleketlere gönderilecek doçentler ve asistanlar hakkında talimatname. Bunlar için 14 Tali (ikincil) komisyon teşkil edilmiştir.

Türkiye’ de tahsilin bugün ki durumu ve ana meseleleri hakkında Maarif Vekilliğince büyük bir isabetle tanzim edilmiş olan raporun Yüksek Öğretime ait kısmı komisyonumuzca dikkatle okunarak ve açılış nutkuyla verilen yüksek direktif göz önünde tutularak bu raporda ehemmiyetle teşrih edilen meselelerden her biri üzerinde itina ile durulmuş ve varılan neticeler hakkında umumi bir rapor hazırlanması ve talimatlara taalluk (ilgili bulunan) eden işlerden her biri hakkında da ayrı ayrı raporlar

yazılması muvafık (uygun) görülmüştür.

Bu rapor Yüksek Öğretimin ana meselelerine ait umumi (genel) rapordur. Bunlara ait meseleler, esas raporda da, Üniversiteden gönderilen raporlarda da zaten terşih edilmiş olduklarından tetkik edilen meseleler üzerinde uzun izahat vermekten tevakki (sakinma) edilmiştir.

1- Yüksek Öğretimin hedefleri

Komisyonunda doğrudan doğruya tetkik edilen bu önemli iş, nihai formulu tesbit edilmek üzere bir komiteye havale edilmiş ve ertesi gün komitece hazırlanan aşağıdaki formül yeniden

Müzakere olunarak bazı tadillerle Yüksek Şuraya ulaştırılması tensip olunmuştur. Bu formülün en bariz vasıflarından biri, Üniversite ile Yüksek Mekteplerin bir ve müşterek olan hedefleriyle ayrı olması tabii bulunan hedeflerini belirtmesidir.

Türkiye’ de Yüksek Öğretim, Üniversitede ve Yüksek tahsil okullarında yapılır. Üniversitelerin gayesi; iyi müşahede, iyi tetkik ve tecrübe ve doğru düşünme kabiliyetini hazi ve ilmi metodları refleks haline getirmiş bir zihniyetle mücehhez, yüksek bir idealin heyecanına tabi olarak tekamül yolunda ileri atılan ahlaklı, seciyeli, ilim, meslek ve san’at adamları yetiştirmeye çalışmaktadır. En büyük saadetlerini ilmi araştırmalarla tabiatı müteala ederek ve tecrübeler yaparak hakikatleri meydana çıkarmakta bulan insanların büyük bir kısmının bu suretle yetişmiş olmasına göre, Üniversitelerin takip ettikleri gayade her şeyden evvel bu yolda bir zihniyet tekamülüne ve fikir terbiyesine mühim bir yer verilmelidir. Milli Kültürün süratle yükselmesi, ilim alemine Türk yardımının çoğalması bu sayede husul bulacaktır. Yüksek Öğretim Okullarının vazifeleri bu şubede sağlam idealli, milli kültürlü, faziletli ve derin bilgili mütehasıslar yetiştirmektir.

a. Yüksek Öğretimin maddi durumu

Bu bahiste Vekillik, Yüksek Öğretim Müesseselerini saymakta, talebe ve öğretmenlerin istatistik ve bütçesini vermektedir. Bu rakamlardan, bir mana çıkarmak lazım gelirse, komisyonumuz bunun, talebe başına düşen profesör ve paraları tesbit ederek bir mukayese yapmaktan ibaret olacağını düşünmüştür. Buna göre yapılan bazı tetkikler şu neticeleri vermektedir:

Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü' nde 6,7, Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu' nda 10, Güzel Sanatlar Akademi' nde 5,5, Mühendis Mektebi' nde 6,7, Deniz Ticaret Mektebi' nde 4 talebeye bir öğretmen ve üniversitede ise 33 talebeye bir öğretmen düşer. Üniversitenin muhtelif memleketler üniversiteleri üzerinde yaptığı tetkikata göre mesela Londra' da 9,8, Viyana' da 16,3 , Graçta 12, Frankfurt' ta 14 talebe başına bir profesör düşmektedir. Paray gelince Gazi terbiye Enstitüsünde talebe başına 680 ve buna kusr talebeside katılırsa 435 Lira düşmektedir. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisinde 485, Siyasal Bilgiler Okulunda 714, Yüksek Mühendis okulunda 1289 ve Yüksek Ziraat Enstitülerinde 1893 ve Üniversite de 260 lira düşmektedir. Leyli olan müesseseler için yukarıdaki rakamlardan nihayet talebe başına 250 lira indirilebilir.

3- Yüksek Öğretimde Umumi Meseleler:

Vekillikçe hazırlanmış olup komisyonda okunan raporların bu meseleye ait kısmı çok isabetli görülmüş ve ancak bunun serbest Profesörlere ait hükmünün ve agregasyon geçiren lise öğretmenlerine Doçent ünvanı tevcih olunabileceği meselesinin Fakülte meclislerince tetkik edilerek verilecek neticenin Üniversite Heyeti kararı ile Vekilliğe arz edilmesi muvafık olacağı mütaleasının Yüksek Şuraya ulaştırılması tensip edilmiş ve bundan başka ilim payelerinin bütün memleketin irfan hayatı ile esaslı surette ilgisi olmasına mebni bu payelerin tevcihi meselesinin Maarif Vekilliğince bir usule

rapolunmasının ařađıdaki temenni ile Yksek Őuranın tasvibine arzı kararlařtırılmıřtır:

Memlekette mevcut niversite ve yksek okulların tedaris heyetlerine layık oldukları yksek seviyeye getirmek ve bu seviyede tutabilmek iin- her messesenin kendine mahsus řartları gzetilmek suretiyle- yksek tahsil messeselerinin ve bilhassa niversitelerin kıymetinin en dođru miyarını teřkil eden tedaris heyetinin intihap ve tayinlerinde bir vahdet temin etmek, akademik kariyerin tesbiti iin elzem grlmektedir. Aksi takdirde bir niversiteye veya yksek okula asistan olarak girmek ehliyetini haiz olmayan bir zatın diđer herhangi bir faklteye veya yksek okula Doent hatta Profesr olarak girmesi imkanı aık bırakılmıř olur ki, bu vaziyette akademik tedaris yoluna intisap iři disiplin altına alınamaz ve yksek tedristen beklenen gayelerin tahakkuku mmkn olamaz. Bu hkmn bir kanunla teminini dileriz.

Gerek profesrlerin, gerek doent ve asistanların terfi yolunda Maarif Vekilligiince bugne kadar yapıldıđı bildirilen teřebbsler memnuniyet ve řkran ile karřılanmıř olmakla beraber, profesrlđe, devlete baremin birinci derecesinde, doent ve asistanlara da niversite de temin edilenden stn derecede yer verilmiř olmasına gre bu řeklin niversite ile diđer ilim messeselerine de teřmilini ve bugn niversitede doentliđin mntehası ile profesrlđn mebdde dereceleri bir olduđundan bunun tashihi ile profesrlđn 5. dereceden ve doentliđin 8. dereceden bařlatılması dileđinin yksek řuraya ulařtırılması tensip olundu. Bilhassa bazı enstitlerde ne profesr, ne doent bulunmamaktadır. Buralara kudretli elemanlar celbedebilmek iin bu enstitlere ayrıca bir cret verilmesinin temini ehemmiyetle temenniye deđer grld.

Cenebi mtehasıslarına ait esasların da iyi tatbik edilmek zere niversite ve Gzel sanatlar Akademi' nde ehemmiyetle takip edilmeleri komisyonumuzca da isabetli bir iř olarak karřılandı.

4- Ana Dili ve Terimleri:

Yüksek Vekilimizin de huzuru ile uzun uzadıya ve layık olduğu ehemmiyetle tetkik edilen bu işte Yüksek Şuraya ulaştırılması tensip edilen düşüncemiz şu olmuştur:

Liseler için kabul edilmiş olan terimlerin Üniversitece benimsenerek gerek tedrisat ve gerek neşriyatta kullanılmaları zarurudur. Yüksek tahsilin lüzum göstereceği yeni terimlerin tesbitinde zevk, bilgi ve dil şuuru hakim olacak ve beynelmilel usullere uyulacaktır. Terim işlerinin bu esaslara uygun bir şekilde halledilmesi için komisyonlar yerine bütün profesörlerin çalışmalarını daha faydalı görüyoruz.

5- Neşriyat ve İlmi Araştırmaları

Yüksek öğretimde neşriyata hususi bir ehemmiyet atfetmek mecburiyetinde olduğumuz hakkındaki vekilliğinmütalaasına tatamıyla iştirak ediyoruz. İlmi bir eser ve travay hazırlamanın ve neşretmenin güçlüğünü ve önemini müdrik olan komisyonumuz, memleketin ilmi eserlere büyük ihtiyacı nisbetinde ciddi ve devamlı çalışmalara lüzum gösteren bu işin gerek profesörlere gerek doçent ve asistanlara tedris işlerini layikiyle başarabilme yolunda düşen ağır işleri de göz önünde tutarak, raporda kayır edilen ve edilmeyen derecede neşriyat yapılmasını şükranla karşılamayı vazife saymış ve bundan böyle neşriyatı bir kat daha arttırmayı bütün vasıtasıyla temine çalışması hususunun Üniversiteye ve Yüksek Öğretim müesseselerine tavsiye edilmesini muvafık görmüştür. Bu yolda takip edilecek çalışmalarda, raporda pek yerinde olarak zikrolunduğu üzere memleket meseleleri üzerinde esaslı araştırmalarda bulunarak bunların neşri de ehemmiyetle göz önünde bulundurulmaması lazım geldiği kanaati izhar edilmiştir.

6- Talebe Seviyesi ve Yabancı Dil Bilgisi:

Lise talebesinin umumi seviyesini yükseltmek için raporda ileri sürülen şeklin tatbikinden elde edilecek neticeye intizar zaruretindeyiz.

Yüksek Öğretimde yabancı dil işi ise umumi ve vahdetli bir şekilde halledilmiştir. Ankara Hukuk Fakültesinde yabancı dil tedrisatı yoktur. Siyasal bilgiler okulu ve Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüleri gibi leyli ve talebe sayısı mahdut müesseselerde hususi şekillerle bu işin haline çalışılmıştır. Yalnız talebenin çokluğu ve bunların branşlarının teaddüdü dolayısıyla da yabancı dil meselesi İstanbul Üniversitesi' nde muhtelif müşküller göstermektedir.

İyi bir üniversite tahsili iyi bir lise tahsili üzerine kurulacağı gibi ecnebi dil bilmeyenlerin ilmi araştırmalara dayanan iyi bir üniversite tahsili yapabilmeleri de kabil değildir. Talebemizin ecnebi dil bilmeyişleri nazara alınarak, ıslahatı sırasında, bir Yabancı Dil Okulu kurulmuş ve bu güne kadar bu okul bazı isahlarla devam edilmiştir. Okula her yıl devam eden talebe sayısı 3000 e yakındır. Ayrı ayrı binalarda ayrı saatlerde yapılan bu dil derslerinin maksadı tamamıyla temin edemediği müsellemlerle beraber baki vakit alınan kararlarla verimin gittikçe iyileştiği de muhakkaktır.

Üniversiteyi en çok yoran bu dil derslerinin Üniversite işi olmadığı ve liselerde yahut liseyi bitirdikten sonra Üniversiteye girmeden halledilmesi lazım geleceğinde tereddüt yoktur. Bu sebeple üniversite, birçok çalışmalar sonunda Maarif Vekilliğine müsbet tekliflerde bulunmuş ve vekillikçe de yabancı dil öğretmeni yetiştirmek yolunda tedbirler alınmıştır.

Mesela, istenilen ıslahatın yapılmaması yüzünden bu sene de üçüncü defa olarak üniversitece muhtelif fakülteler profesörleri arasında seçilen bir komisyonca yeniden uzun uzadıya tetkik edilmiş ve ekseriyetle alınan karar üzerine komisyonumuzca şu üç fikir tarafında uzun müzakereler yapılmıştır:

- 1- Dil derslerinde devam da, imtihanda ihtiyaridir.
- 2- Dil derslerine devam ve imtihan bursiye talebe ile yıl başında devam için müracaat

edenler hakkında mecburidir.

3- Dil derslerine devam ihtiyaridir. Talebe ister tahsil esnasında, ister yaz tatilinde devam eder, isterse devamsız imtihana girebilir. Yalnız fakültelerinde terfi edenlere bir yıl durumlarını telafi için imkan verilir.

Bunların her biri üzerinde reye müracaat mecburiyeti hasıl olmuş ve birinci ve ikinci teklifler kabul edilmeyerek komisyonumuzun ekseriyetince üniversite komisyonunun teklifi muvafık görülerek bunun yüksek şuraya ulaştırılması ve askeri tıbbiye ve yurt talebesiyle yüksek öğretmen talebelerine dil derslerine devam mecburiyetinin bunların bağlı oldukları vekilliklere bırakılması tensip edilmiştir. Bundan başka, gerek bundan evvelki gerek bu yılki üniversite komisyonlarında rektörlerin arttırılması ve günlerini bu işe verebilmek üzere, maddi vaziyetlerinin iyileştirilmesi yerinde görülmüştür.

7- Talebe Kesafeti:

Üniversitece Şuraya arzedilen raporda da sarahatle iafed edildiği üzere talebemizin her sahada olduğu gibi yüksek tahsil kısmında da gittikçe artması memleket maarifinin inkişafını göstermek itibariyle ögünçle kaydedilecek bir noktadır. Ancak cemiyetçe görülen bu artış, keyfiyeti düşürü ise memleketin bu artıştan istifade ettiği iddia olunamaz. Bu sebeple mesele üniversitenin her fakültesi için tedbir alınmasını icap ettiren bir nahiyette kendisini duyurmaktadır. Hukuk, Edebiyat ve İktisat Fakülteleri'nde mesele yalnız bir yer meselesi suretinde telakki edilemez. Seminer mesaisi bu fakülteler tahsilinin mütemmimi sayılmaktadır. Bu üç fakülleden ikisi merkez binsamın üst katında birbirine girmiş vaziyette ve talebesi 600 ü aşan Edebiyat Fakültesi ise bir konağın üst katında barınamaz hale gelmiştir. Vekilliğin raporunda zikredildiği üzere Tıp Fakültesiyle Kimya şubesi için ise mesele derhal kati tedbir alınmasını intaç ettirecek had bir mahiyet almıştır. 150 kişi okutma imkanı olan Kimya Enstitüsü, bugün

400 kişiyi okutma ıztırariyle talebenin tahdit edilmesini istemekte ve yılda memleketin 40-50 den fazla üniversiteli kimyagere muhtaç olmadığını da beyan eylemektedir. Tedrisat ve Laboratuar mesaisi bu enstitüde akşam 17' ye kadar devam eder. Bu hal kaşısında burada çifte tedrisat usulünü tatbika imkan yoktur.

Tıp Fakültesinde ise talebe çokluğundan dolayı zaruri olarak nöbetle tedrisat ve tatbikat usulüne müracaat edilmiş ve bir talebenin her memlekette yapması lazım gelen pratik çalışma yarıya indirilmiştir. Bundan fazla indirme, talebe seviyesini düşürmekle kalmıyacak, tıp tahisli işi en zaruri esaslı malumatından ve tatbikatından da talebeyi merhum edecektir. Kliniklerde adedi mahdut olan yatakların dahi bugünkünden fazla bir klinik tedrisat ve tatbikatına imkan vermediği kanaatine varılmıştır. Mevcut yataklar bu yıl artacak ise de bunlar ancak dört yıl evvel mevcut talebenin iyi yetiştirilmesi için teklif edilmiş olan miktarı bulabilecektir. Bunları daha çok talebe alabilmeye imkan verici göstermek doğru değildir.

Şu hale göre üç şekilden birini kabul etmek zarureti karşısındaız:

- 1- Hastanelerdeki yatak sayısını, laboratuar yer ve levazım miktarını ve her ikisinin personelini alınacak talebe nispetinde arttırmak.
- 2- Birinci şekil temin olunamadığı takdirde kimya ve tıp talebesinin her yıl alınabilecek azami miktarını tesbit ederek okutulabilecek derecede talebe almak. Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu, Güzel Sanatler Akademisi, Mühendis Okulu tahdit ile talebe aldıkları gibi Tıp Fakültesine de mahdut talebe alınması usulü konabilir. Bu prensip kabul edilince tahdidin neye göre yapılacağı tetkik olunur.
- 3- Girişte tahdit kabul edilmediği takdirde çokluktan tahsil seviyesi zaruri olarak müteessir olacak ve imtihanları muvaffakiyele veremiyenlerin adedi pek çoğalacaktır. Bu suretle büyük bir kısım memleket gençlerinin zamanlarını kaybettireceğinden

binnetice memlekette zarar görmüş olacaktır.

Bunlardan hangisinin muvafık olacağını kestirmeyi komisyonumuz Yüksek Şuranın tensibine arza karar vermiştir.

8- Beden Terbiyesi:

Lüzum ve menfaati üzerinde söz söylemeye lüzum görmediğimiz beden terbiyesinin üniversitede tatbikiyatında üniversitece hazırlanmış esaslı raporlar vardır. Bunların tatbik çareleri temin edilinceye kadar teşkil edilen Umumi Müdürlükle ve Vekilliğin Beden Terbiyesi idaresiyle de temasa geçilerek mümkün olanın yapılmasına çalışılacaktır.

9- Halk Terbiyesi:

Maarif Vekilliğinin raporunda çok yerinde olarak zikredilen halk terbiyesi işiyle daha yakından meşgul olmak bütün Yükseköğretim müesseselerinin uhdesine terettüp eden bir vecibe olduğu meselesinde tereddüt yoktur. Bunu takdir eden üniversitece dört yıldan bu yana açılan umumi konferanslar bazı fakültelerce tertip olunan ayrı konferanslar, halkevlerinde profesör ve doçentlerimize memleketin her tarafında her yıl verdirilen konferanslar ile halk terbiyesine ve bilgisine zaten büyük himmet sarfedilmekte olmakla beraber bunun temini için her fakültenin bir yıldan itibaren daha kesif bir çalışma programı tatbik ve tertip etmesi ve bu hususta halkevleri ile daha yakın temasa gelmesi ve bazı şehirlerimizde tatil zamanlarında üniversite haftası yapılarak birkaç profesör ve doçent tarafından seri konferanslar verilmesi keyfiyeti üzerinde ittifak edilmiştir.

10- Yüksek Öğretim Müesseselerinin Hususi Meseleleri

Raporda yazılı meseleler ayrı ayrı tetkik edilerek Fakültelerin ve Yüksek okulların profesörler meclisince Vekillik raporunda işaret edilen esaslar dairesinde müzakere

edilmesi ve alınacak neticelerin Vekilliğe ulaştırılması yolunda olacağı kararlaştırıldı.

Ancak bu meyanda İktisat Fakültesine Ticaret Liseleri mezunlarının kabulü, meslek tahsilin esas şartı olan olgunluğu kaldırmak suretiyle üniversiteyede istisnai bir kabul şartı ihtisar etmemesi kabil olamayacağından tervicine imkan olmadığının Yüksek Şuraya arzı muvafık görülmüştür.

APPENDIX C

GAZİ TERBİYE ENSTİTÜSÜ TEŞKİLATI HAKKINDA KOMİSYON RAPORU

Dilekler Komisyonu başkanlığından havale edilen Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü Pedagoji şubesi teşkilatı hakkındaki dilek ile enstitü müdürlüğünün raporu komisyonumuzca tetkik edilmiştir.

1- İlk tedrisat müfettişleri yetiştiren pedagoji şubesinin tahsil müddetinin iki seneden üç seneye iblağı teklif edilmektedir. Bu şubeden mezun olanlar bilhassa köy öğretmenlerinin ve eğitimcilerinin teftişi ile meşgul olacaklarından ve ilavesi istenen üçüncü senede müfettiş namzetlerine zirai tatbikat gösterileceğinden bu teklif uygun görülmüştür.

Enstitü ayrıca, kabul imtihanında muvaffak olan müfettiş namzetlerinin tatbikat gördükleri sene zarfında mezun addedilmelerini teklif etmektedir. Enstitü müdürlüğünce üleri sürülen esbabı mücibe dolayısıyla bu teklif dahi kabul edilmemiştir.

2- Bir kaç sene evvel ihdas edilen „B“ seksiyonunun ilgası istenilmektedir. Kısa bir zamanda orta öğretim öğretmenleri yetiştirmeye matuf olan bu seksiyona mesailerinde muvaffak olan ilk tedrisat öğretmenleri imtihanla kabul ediliyor ve bunlar bila inkita 3 sömestir tedrisat görüyorlardı. Rapor da bu usulün talebe için çok yorucu olduğu ve bu sebep dolayısıyla talipler adedinin gittikçe azaldığı beyan edilmektedir. İleri sürülen deliller makul olduğundan teklif kabul edilmiştir. Komisyonumuz B seksiyonunun ilgasından sonra okulun asri talebe kadrosunun genişletilmesini temenni eder.

3. Gazi terbiye Enstitüsü Edebiyat, Matematik, Tabii İlimler şubelerinin tahsil müddetinin 3 seneye çıkarılması hakkındaki teklif her ne kadar muvafik ve tatbiki temenniye şayan ise de, ortaokul öğretmenine olan ihtiyacın fazlalığı nazari itibare

alınarak şimdilik tatbikine imkan olmadığı kanaatine varılmıştır. Münasip bir zamanda bu cihetin vekillikçe teminini temenni ederiz.

4. Yabancı dil öğretmeni yetiştirecek üç yıllık bir şube açılması hakkındaki teklif uygun görülmüştür. Ancak keyfiyetin bütçeye temas ettiğine işaret etmek lazımdır.

5. Enstitünün muhtelif şubelerinde yeni asistanlıklar ihdasıda şüphesiz faydalı olacaktır. Bununla beraber bu da bir kadro meselesidir.

6. Enstitü öğretmenlerinin kendilerini bu müesseseye vermelerini temin için Enstitü haricinde memuriyet gibi bir vazifeye tayin edilmemeleri prensip olarak kabul edilmiştir. Bu prensibin tatbikattaki imkanlarının Maarif Vekilliği tarafından aranmasını dileriz.

7. Bir orta tatbikat okulu tesisi hakkındaki teklif muvafık görülmüştür. İcap eden masrafların vekillik tarafından teminine çalışılmasını temenni ederiz.

8. Enstitüden ortaokul öğretmeni olarak mezun olanlardan en az üç yıl muvaffakiyetle öğretmenlik edenlerin, arzu ettikleri takdirde, üniversitede mensup oldukları şubenin laboratuvar, enstitü ve derslerine iki sömestir devam edip bir imtihan geçirdikten sonra lise öğretmenliğine kabul edilmeleri muvafık görülmüştür.

9. Enstitüye girmek isteyen bütün ilk öğretmen okulu mezunlarının hiçolmazsa üç sene bilfiil öğretmenlik etmiş olmaları teklif edilmektedir. Bu teklif kabul edilmiştir.

10. Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsünün lise mezunu olan talebelerine mahsus pedagoji dersleri tertip edilmesi ve bunların bir pedagoji sertifikası almaya mecbur tutulmaları muvafık görülmüştür.

