

**THE REFLECTIONS OF THE UNITY IN LANGUAGE STUDIES IMPLEMENTED  
IN ACCORDANCE WITH NATIONALISM IN TURKEY TO ARMENIANS AND  
OTHER MINORITIES (1923-1946)**

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***Abstract***

*Depending on the ethnicity and religion of the participants, different perspectives were held on the events that were based on Turkish nationalism during the early years of the Turkish Republic. Turkishness was regarded by Turkish nationalists as a shared identity. The non-Muslim minorities in the opposing neighborhood saw this as forced Turkification, even if it was ultimately seen as a great country being changed and a glorious victory. Some people viewed the severe measures used at this time as tyranny and "Turkification." It is obvious that nationalist policies were implemented throughout the early years of the Republic by both the government and groups that collaborated with the executive branch. This article discusses the consequences of nationalism policies on Armenian and other minorities as they relate to language, social life, and education during the early years of the Turkish Republic.*

***Keywords:*** *Nationalism in Turkey, Armenians, Turkish and Armenian Relationships, Minorities.*

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**1. Introduction**

Minorities found a conducive climate for a flourishing living when the Republic of Turkey was established, and they significantly contributed to one another in the arts, music, theater, and even sports with the Turkish society they have been a part of throughout history (Ulu, 2009: 148-168). Despite this, tensions between Armenians and Turks during the 19th century, the First World War, and the War for Independence led to miscommunications between the two groups in the years that followed. In essence, societies' memories of some previous catastrophes have spilled over into this current era. In addition to all of this, following the Balkan Wars and

the setbacks in the First World War, and after winning the War of Independence, the Turkish nation's confidence strengthened (Ulu, 2020). The nationalist policies were implemented by the newly elected Turkish Republic administration to restore the lost feeling of confidence. The rights and institutions of minorities, who were already facing issues, were seen as being attacked by these measures.

The Republic of Turkey followed the guidelines outlined in the Treaty of Lausanne and considered pertinent clauses in the laws and customs it adopted. However, Armenians, particularly the Jewish minority, have voiced some dissatisfaction with the adopted measures. Even though everyone in the period—peasants, citizens, minorities, and the majority—experienced challenges as a result of the policies of the time, some issues were more acute for minorities. The challenges that the Armenian community and some minorities have brought up can now be quickly listed. The "Citizen Speak Turkish" programs, which promote Turkish language use, are one such issue. The Law No. 2007 on the Arts and Services Allotted to Turkish Citizens in Turkey was later passed on June 4, 1932. Minorities increasingly refer to these behaviors as "Turkification" since they are seen as a manifestation of nationalism in Turkey. All minorities spoke their own languages with ease throughout the Ottoman era. In government offices, translation work was done by minorities as well. Each minority established its own school and encouraged the use of their own tongue (ЮНАЛ, 2011: 458-462; Unal, 2021: 109-120). Armenians were either denied employment in the public service or admitted in extremely small numbers since they were subjected to an extensive security examination when being introduced to state and military posts. Once more, the 1936 proclamation that governed minority foundations left minorities in a precarious position regarding foundation properties.

Minorities claim that these policies and the ensuing legal actions took the foundation's properties away from them. They claim that they encounter issues with maintaining the movable assets of pre-existing church foundations, refraining from creating new ones, failing to register items donated by the public in the names of the foundations, and determining the local foundation management in accordance with foundation law (MAZICI, 1987: 136). Another issue they put forward as a problem is the education of Armenian children, Armenian schools, and the upbringing of clergy. With the establishment of the Republic, the status and status of minority schools were reviewed, and some arrangements were made according to the newly enacted laws (MAZICI, 1987: 136). With these regulations, Armenian schools, whose number of students gradually decreased, started to close. With the laws and regulations that were later

re-issued; There were some problems in the appointments and appointments of school principals and teachers, and in determining whether children were Armenian or not in the population registry when they were enrolled in an Armenian school. In addition, the fact that the assistant principals in Armenian schools were Turkish made Armenians very uncomfortable (Yeşilyurt, 1995: 115).

Another issue that Armenians complained about and stated that they were treated unfairly in the history of the Republic is the "Twenty Kura Military Service" event. Non-Muslims, II. They express their complaints by specifically stating that Turks and non-Muslim minorities between the ages of 25-45 who were in Turkey during the World War II were drafted into the military, and that non-Muslim active-duty personnel were employed in construction works rather than military service, that they were not given weapons and were not dressed in military uniforms. Another problem that Armenians felt uncomfortable with was the "Wealth Tax". The Wealth Tax, which was one of the actions of the Republican period, was perceived by the minorities as an action aimed solely at themselves, and today it has become one of the issues criticized by a large part of the Armenians. One of the issues that minorities complain about is the restriction of movement within the country. This practice continued intermittently between 1923 and 1925, and on February 26, 1925, the Ministry of the Interior put some obstacles to the free movement of all minorities in Anatolia, except for the Greeks, as per the rule it enacted. In order to solve some security problems, the state determined the area between Gebze and Çatalca as a place where minorities could freely move (Bali, 1999: 45).

Armenians attributed political practices and the inability of Armenians to be active enough in the field of politics to some practices of the government (Okutan, 2004: 244). They held the CHP responsible for almost all the problems the community experienced, including the gradual decrease in their population, and made statements in this direction. For example, Pilo Atan, President of the Armenian community Surp Pırgiç Foundation, stated in a statement he made about the Armenian foundations and practices in this regard, the 1936 Declaration, the Armenian schools, and the problems they experienced, that the community lived through artificial respiration (Tözer, 1995). In fact, the issue of minority schools was discussed in the Treaty of Lausanne, and the status of these schools and how they would be administered were stipulated in detail in articles 38 and 44 of the agreement. Accordingly, Armenian schools would be able to provide education in their own language at their own expense. Foundations belonging to the Armenian community would continue to provide financial support to

educational institutions. Again, according to the private school's regulation issued in 1923, the teachers of Turkish, History and Geography courses were appointed by the Directorate of National Education and the salaries of these teachers were given from the school budgets. In addition, minority schools were required to obtain permission from the Ministry of Education for repairs and alterations to their existing buildings. Basically, the regulations regarding minorities were made in accordance with Lausanne (Ulu, 2009: 325). In the first years of the republic, minorities were not chosen as a target in policies based on nationalist ideas. These problems are a reflection of the troubled process that the whole country is going through. The malfunctions experienced in the applications appear as personal errors and individual incidents. However, the minorities living in the country felt the nationalism policies implemented throughout the country more deeply (Ulu, 2009: 209-222).

## **2. "Turkification" as Naming Nationalist Policies**

Despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire was primarily a Turk-founded state, Ottomanism rather than race served as the foundation for the nation's cohesion and togetherness. Due to the freedom of religion, language, and culture enjoyed by Christian subjects, non-Muslim minorities were able to maintain their sense of national identity (Sertoğlu, 1969: 34-36). The policies followed by the Turkish Republic were completely different from those of the Ottoman Empire. One of the aims of the new state was to raise the Turkish national culture (Eraslan, 2002: 2). Naturally, new policies were produced on this basis. After the first census in 1927, it was seen that languages other than Turkish were concentrated in some regions in the country. Commenting on these results, Ahmet Emin Yalman published articles stating that this situation "cannot be accepted for one language, one nation" and that "an ugly mosaic situation" was encountered and that this situation should be corrected as soon as possible in Turkey of the Revolution (Yalman, 1937: 1). With the influence of such publications, shortly after the census, in 1928, Istanbul University Faculty of Law Students' Association launched the "Citizen Speak Turkish" campaign.

Since the early years of the Republic, the government has increased efforts to encourage people of all ethnic and religious backgrounds to embrace Turkish nationalism. Additionally, a few ministers spoke on the matter. On the topic of nationalism and Turkism, Interior Minister Sukru Kaya spoke at a luncheon hosted by the Turkish Hearth: "Until now, nationalism and Turkism were an idea for us. It is our republic that transformed it into action. No matter how strong or fundamental an idea is in the minds and consciences unless it takes action, the traces of the

effects it will make in life as an abstract notion will not be deep. He added the intention of being a nationalist to the Republican People's Party, which was established by His Holiness Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, the great founder of the Turkish Revolution of Independence, to be a revolutionary party, and declared that he was a Turkist in the face of the nation and the world. The regime and the party's government are also expanding the influence and authority given by the law for the rise of Turkism, thanks to the trust it has in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Turkism is both a support and a goal for us" (Cumhuriyet, 1937: 3).

In the years when such policies were put into practice, the behavior of foreigners and minorities for various reasons stimulated the desire for the active use of Turkish in every field. One of these events happened at the company Vagons-Lits. Founded in 1872, the company was founded by the Belgian entrepreneur Nagelmackers under the name "Compagnie Internationale des Wagons". This company was also the owner of the famous Orient Express and Pera Palace (1895-1923). As of August 1924, it also started sleeping and dining wagon services between Istanbul and Ankara. In 1926, at the request of Mustafa Kemal, the company was granted the privilege of operating the sleeping and dining wagons of the newly established TCDD. An event that took place in the Beyoğlu agency of this company on February 22, 1933, went down in history as the "Wagon-Li Incident". While an officer named Naci Bey was speaking in Turkish on the company's phone, the Belgian manager of the company, Gaetan Jannoni, scolded the officer and shouted. In addition, he imposed a fine of 25 kuruş and then suspended him from work for 15 days. After this fight and incident with the officer, Naci Bey was fired. After the incident was reflected in the newspapers of the period, the youth of Darülfünun affiliated with the National Turkish Students' Union protested the incident.

The massive reaction of the newspapers and students is due to the alleged dialogue in the discussion. In the statement of one of the parties; The manager said to officer Naci Bey, "How does this sing in Turkish?" and "Don't you know that the official language here is French? How many times must he tell you? His use of expressions such as "Should you act with a stick" (Halıcı, 2007: 64) caused great indignation of the public. The youth of Darülfünun descended from Beyoğlu to Karaköy shouting "Long live Turkey" and "Turkish language is dominant in Turkey" on February 25, 1933. They came in groups in front of the Vagons-Lits office in Tokatlıyan Han. Here, a young man made a speech and stated that there can be no dominance of a language other than Turkish in Turkey. Some of the demonstrators destroyed the company's Galata (or Karaköy) agency by shouting slogans, breaking doors and windows, and

took Mustafa Kemal's photograph from the wall. They came in front of the Istanbul Governor's Office and continued the demonstration for a while and delivered the Mustafa Kemal photograph in their hands to the Eminönü Community Center. When the youth came to Eminönü square, they dispersed (Tuğlacı, 1987: 244). The students of Darülfünun were very sensitive about nationalism and they reacted and protested at the slightest insult. One of such reactions was shown to the newspaper Horonika, where the Greek Patriarchate legal counsel Panamos Efendi was the editor-in-chief. In an article published by the newspaper for a while, more than 100 students of Darülfünun stoned the newspaper building and stormed the printing house and registration offices, on the grounds that they insulted Turkishness. Müdde-i Umumîlik also started proceedings against the newspaper that made the insult. İkdâm, one of the newspapers of the period, saw this event as "tawassul with a national anger" as justified. (Darülfünun Talebesi, p.1). Various articles were published and comments were made on these events in the newspapers.

In 26 February 1933 issue of Cumhuriyet newspaper, Peyami Safa wrote the following article on foreigners: (Safa, 1933: p.2) "What? Still? In my land you Monsieur, you Mister, you Signor, you Her, you Gospodin, still you pigeon, still you dog licking my bone, still you sucking leech, still you scorpion poisoning my blood, still you licking my flesh devouring army of abuse, are you in front of me? Are you still trying to insult the Turkish language, the Turkish homeland, the Turkish self of a Turkish-speaking Turkish officer in Turkey, by sticking your forked tongue out in a building on a Turkish street? In this land where you live like a guest, your juggling about losing my lofty God to your gold and the ones who carry my millions to your hometown every year by stealing, snatching, and sticking are not enough, is it still? You still do not understand my attitude toward the Turkish nation! Do you still, O top hat pickpocket, western vagrant, arrogant sham, still seem to see the memory of the capitulation chain on my neck, do you still not know the difference between Sevres and Lausanne? After battle after battle, after revolution after revolution, do you forget how this Turk whose funeral you seek, dyed the rivers red with the last drop of blood, drowned your dreadnoughts and all of your dreadnoughts in the veins of your dried chest, and gave you a way beyond the Turkish borders by saluting your flag? Do you still think that the Turkish officer is your servant, the Turkish language is your chain body, and the Turkish mouth is your saliva and spit? do you still not know me? Isn't my blood, which flows more than my waterfalls, my seas, my rivers, my rivers, not enough to inform you of my existence? The pig that takes my meat! The leech sucking my marrow! The scorpion that poisoned my blood! There is no place for you on my

land, not even under it; You can't even bite my dead. Drop dead! Drop dead! I cannot even place his carcass within my borders. Monsieur, Mister, Signor, Her, Gospodin, who want to expropriate, abandon and renounce my land, either sit down with your own mind or get out! I am here! Are you blind?" These lines, which were written with great enthusiasm, caused foreigners to be nervous. There were also some incidents about foreigners and minorities insulting Turkishness.

It was seen that the minorities were brought to the courts with the allegations of insulting the spiritual personality of Turkishness. One of these cases came to the fore in December 1932. Accordingly, it was reported that Karabet (Robert), the son of Armenian Dirant, insulted Turkishness and an investigation decision was taken against him in accordance with Article 160 of the Turkish Penal Code. The decision was implemented and Karabet was referred to the court. Another lawsuit, which was reflected in the newspapers regarding such cases, was brought against Sarkis, who was born in 1295, from Adana, of Armenian origin, who was born in Margrit and Bedros. Sarkis, who went to Terlikçi Şükrü, who was living in room 2 of the Pastirmacı Inn in Tığcılar in Mercan, on the evening of May 19, 1936, was brought to court on the grounds that he insulted the spiritual personality of Turkishness with a fabricated case he told. Sarkis, by the court he was brought to trial, was found to be "intent to humiliate and despise Turkishness with the fabricated case clause he told, and thus insulting the moral personality of Turkishness, and our opinion was collected in this center", and it was found that, according to the last paragraph of Article 159 of the Criminal Code, he was imprisoned for 6 months. was convicted and immediately arrested. According to Article 50 of the Law on the Courthouse Fee Tariff, it was decided to charge Sarkis for a trial fee of 1700 kuruş (Türklüğü Tahkirden, p.3). In the following years, the concept of Turkish nationalism has entered all areas of life.

On this basis, the "Sun Language Theory" (Güneş Dil Teorisi) was put forward and good Turkish speaking of everyone living in Turkey came to the fore. While it was recommended by the press through the campaigns that the minorities speak Turkish properly, some municipalities had verbally banned the use of a language other than Turkish within their borders, although there was no official notification from the state (Akın, 1999: 72). It has been tried to prove that the peoples living in Turkey and unconsciously defining themselves as a different race are actually from different branches of the Turkish race. In order to eliminate the division of the Turkish nation, the newspaper writers began to write in detail that the races of

the people living in various regions were Turkish in their corners. For example, in the article published in *Vakit* newspaper with the signature of Asım Us in 1936, it was stated that the citizens living in the Tunceli region were mistakenly called "Kurd" and the language they spoke was "Kurdish", but this was not true. He said that all of the residents here were basically Turkic tribes from Khorasan, and they used Turkish words from the names of the tribes to the hymns they sang. He wrote that the language that emerged from the mixture of Turkish and Persian under the influence of Persian during the Seljuk period was "mountain Turkish". In this case, he stated that neither the people nor the language is Kurdish, and that the Tunceli neighborhood is Turkish (Us, 1936: 1). Asım Us wrote a similar article for the Laz people in 1936, under the title of "There is no Laz, there is Turkishness", based on the words of Tahsin Uzer, one of the general inspectors, "I think it is impolite to call some citizens in the Black Sea Laz". He pointed out that the citizens who have always wanted to be introduced to the word "Laz" have always proven in the fact that they are the most loyal elements of the country and genuine Turkish citizens. He made the following statement by linking the definition of the people of Hopa and Pazar as Laz to the language they spoke; (Us, 1937: 2). "...The reason for this must be sought in the dialects of the Hopa and Pazar people. Because their language is not close to the Seljuk Turks. As one of the more than ninety Caucasian Turkic tribes, they were called "Laz" because they spoke a special dialect. On the other hand, although the people of Hopa and Pazar are all called Laz, there is still a dialect difference between them. So much so that sometimes a Hopali and a Pazarli can hardly get along with each other. However, if the essence of the languages spoken under the name Laz, both in Hopa and in Pazar, is examined, it will immediately become clear that all of them originally came from Turkish. For example, there is a mountain with a height of 3500 meters, twenty-four hours away from Pazar. Locals call this mountain Verçembek. How is it similar to the Turkish word "varçık-bak"? Again, between Hopa and Erhave, there is a mountain called Laz (Çıha). The people of Hopa and the people of Pazar call the notion expressed by the word "nose" in the original Turkish as "çihındır", which is nothing but a "protrusion". The word "chin" is "Chocolate" here. The word "knee" is again "Burguli" here. It is clear that this also comes from "to be twisted". Hopans and Marketers call "punch" "chr". This is the origin of the word "exit". Again, in the language of the people of this place, they call the morning star "Tanur"; The star born in the place of "dawn" is in the square where it means "light of dawn". In short, the shapes of many words show that today's citizens, formerly called Laz, were remnants of Turkish immigrants in the Caucasus region. In fact, there are local rumors among the people that the ancestors of the Laz came from Afghanistan.



While nationalist ideas were a prominent value in the country, II. In the years when World War II was approaching, warm relations began to be established with some countries. Especially countries with fascist and authoritarian structures were followed more closely. These countries were Germany and Italy. The interest shown towards these countries was reflected in the articles and headlines in the newspapers. On May 22, 1933, the headline covering the full page of the newspaper Cumhuriyet included the phrase "Greetings from Kemalist Turkey to Fascist Italy" (Kemalist Türkiye'den, p.1). Again, Cumhuriyet newspaper was preparing a column called "Nationalism and Culture Page" (Milliyetçilik ve Millî, p.3). Here, too, the foundations of Turkishness and Turkish were laid down and the ideas of nationalism were conveyed to the readers. In order to ensure the self-confidence of the Turkish nation, the emphasis on Turkishness was expressed in every field. From the speeches of statesmen to newspaper columns, from scientific meetings to consultations of professional groups, this issue occupied an important place. Mahmud Esat Bozkurt, one of the ministers of the courthouse, also gave a conference on "The Principles of Nationalism of the Turkish Revolution" at the University conference hall; Here, he expressed what he understood by nationalism and the basic condition of having rights in this country; "...We understand from nationalism a mass of humanity whose culture, history, language, and customs are the same. We will believe only the Turkish ones. There is only one way to have rights in this country. To be a Turk!... To be a Turk, to die so much, is an honor that we pity the misfortunes of those who have not heard of it. We have no eyes on anyone's land. Freedom and independence are the rights of every nation. But we can't hesitate for a minute to give their place to those who have eyes on our lands. If they say, "One day we will give you the world, you will bleed the nose of only a Turk", we would not even want the world! A nation that wants to pluck a stone from its Turkish homeland should know that it will perish from the world" (Yegâne Hak, p.2).

The emphasis on nationalism has covered every field from state policies to local administrations, from economic life to education, and from the army to the nation. Speeches on nationalism were also made in the parliament, and reactions to some of their behavior towards minorities were expressed. In the speech given by Rasih Kaplan, the Antalya Deputy of the period; "Some elements act very arrogantly and do not respect the language of the Turkish nation. They can speak the language they want at home. But in public places... the Turkish spoken by some Turkish citizens is not. O citizen, if you are a Turkish citizen, respect the Turkish language. Do not offend the Turks in front of you..." was published in the issue of Akşam newspaper dated 6 August 1942 (Akşam, 6. 8.1942, p.1).

This attitude toward Turkish nationalism has led to different applications in various fields. Campaigns were made for the spread of Turkish nationalism in the country, laws were enacted. These practices were also covered in the foreign press, especially the Greek press. It was claimed that the Greeks in Turkey were Turkified, based on a speech made by Recep Peker, one of the Turkish government officials, the CHF General Secretary. However, it was stated in national newspapers and by writers that these claims were not true (Istanbul Rumlarının, p.1). With all these policies, it is seen that there are efforts to direct the societies living in the country towards common goals and to form a single nation from people who have a unity of purpose rather than racial bases. Representing the official ideology of the state, Recep Peker, in his statement to the Republic on July 4, 1936, stated that he left blood nationalism aside; "... In our opinion, the nation should be a political and social unity whose language, culture, and memories of the past and future aspirations are the same, which is equally touched by the same events, suffers together from common disasters, rejoices together from common achievements, and confronts common difficulties together..." he said (Peker, 1936: 3).

### **3. Policies for Turkish Citizens to Speak Turkish**

According to the nation-state principle established in the Republic of Turkey, as was previously indicated, policies supporting nationalism have become more prominent. These regulations eventually covered all angles. Every person in the nation was expected to act and speak like a Turk in order to demonstrate their acceptance. News of these studies has begun to appear in the headlines, and they aim to ensure that everyone in the nation can speak Turkish in a better and more intelligible manner. Even some local governments have decided to forbid the usage of any language other than Turkish inside their boundaries. The Turkish Hearths were one of the leading organizations in this movement. In addition to the recommendations of the public and the press, CHP deputies have also prepared some legislative proposals for the citizens of the Republic of Turkey to speak Turkish. The most interesting of these are the proposals to imprison and fine those who do not speak Turkish. The first of such proposals came from Urfa Deputy Refet Bey. He proposed a law that stipulates that people who do not speak Turkish be fined between 1 and 10 liras, and that the fines to be collected are to be recorded as income to the municipalities. One of the law proposals, which includes the obligation to speak Turkish on the streets, was made in 1938 by Mehmet Sabri Toprak, the deputy of Manisa. In his bill, citizens who do not speak Turkish in public places would be sentenced to imprisonment of 1-7 days, fined between 10-100 kuruş, and their diplomas would be confiscated and their

activities would be stopped. CHP Deputy Toprak suggested that those who denounce those who do not speak Turkish should be rewarded with fines (Milli Türk Dili, p.1; Levi, 1998: 133-134). Although such law proposals were rejected by the parliament, they inspired the municipalities. Bursa Municipality took a decision in July 1925 that made it compulsory to speak Turkish. Two Spanish-speaking Jews who did not comply with this decision were sentenced to five liras each (Bali, 1999: 108). The practice of imposing fines on people who do not speak Turkish has also been observed for a short time in the municipalities of Balıkesir and Bergama.

One of the most comprehensive studies on Turkish-speaking citizens was put into practice in İzmir. İzmir was a very important center in terms of using Turkish on the streets. Because İzmir was a place known for its cosmopolitan structure and most of the signboards were not in Turkish. In this respect, after the proclamation of the republic, İzmir Türk Ocağı started its activities in order to translate the signs written in foreign languages in the city into Turkish. The Turkish Hearth, which established a committee on 16 August 1925 with the members of the institution and society to spread Turkish among the people, hung declarations in various parts of the city in order to speak Turkish. He carried out activities for the people to learn Turkish by opening public and private teaching institutions and courses (Güneş, 1998: 115-135).

The Turkish Grand National Assembly took a decision on April 10, 1926 to use Turkish as a spoken and written language in every field. According to the decision, all activities, transactions, responses, communication accounts, and books of all companies in Turkey would be kept in Turkish. Companies with foreign capital, on the other hand, were required to use Turkish in their contacts with Turkish citizens and in their official books (Aktar, 1996: 329). Those who were most eager for citizens to speak Turkish everywhere were young people and students working under the roof of Türk Ocağı. Türk Ocağı held discussions on the subject in congresses and meetings.

The most notable of the Turkish-speaking campaigns was started on January 13, 1928 by the Dârülfünûn Faculty of Law Student Association. The Association announced its decision to launch a campaign that encourages minorities to speak Turkish by saying, "Using a language other than Turkish in Turkey is not recognizing Turkish law." As a result of the initiatives, they obtained permission from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to prohibit those living in Turkey from speaking languages other than Turkish and to carry out activities to ensure that they speak

Turkish. Thus, this campaign was officially supported by the state. After this permission was obtained, the streets and avenues of Istanbul were decorated with flags (Yalnız Türkçe, p.1). In the campaign organized by the Student Association, flags and banners hung in public places were one of the main tools. On these posters, the slogan of the campaign, "Citizen, Speak Turkish", had the phrase "warn those who do not speak", which also served as a warning. This has caused undesirable disputes among citizens. The Association stated that it will hold a tea meeting in the near future where the measures to be taken by the minority communities in order to spread Turkish among minorities will be discussed and that it will invite Turkish and foreign journalists, prominent members of minority communities and members of the minority press. The act of a student group in this way on behalf of the state and the practices made were met with reactions among Armenians and other minorities. In order to protest these practices, there were those who spoke Greek and Armenian under the posters, as well as those who tore up the advertisements in the streets and indoors (Türkçe Konuşma Cereyanına, 1928, p.1). Minorities were prevented from reading newspapers other than Turkish newspapers on trams and ferries.

Minorities reacted positively to these campaigns about speaking Turkish, willingly but fearfully. They tried to speak Turkish even in the meetings they held among themselves so that they would not have negative thoughts about themselves (Bali, 1999: 141). Some Christian clergy was praying in Turkish. The Italian priest, Monsignor Roncalli, who was assigned to the Catholic Church in Istanbul and who would become Pope Jean XXIII in the future, was giving sermons in Turkish (Abonelerle Türkçe, p.1). Under the leadership of İstamat Zihni Özdamar, one of the leading members of the Turkish Orthodox community, a union called the Secular Turkish Christians Union was established, aiming to bring Greeks and Armenians closer to the Turkish nation. The first meeting of the union was held on 14 July 1935 in the community center. In 1935, the PTT administration sent a circular to the employees, declaring that no language other than Turkish should be used among civil servants and in telephone communication. Şükrü Kaya, Deputy Internal Affairs and CHP General Deputy promised that the CHP and the People's House will constantly work on speaking Turkish. Within the framework of these studies, commissions were established in the provinces and districts in order to bring non-Turkish-speaking citizens to the same cultural and social level as the Turks (Şükrü Kaya'nın, p.6; Making Turkish Speak, p.2). The publications made in public places to not speak a language other than Turkish have shown their effect spontaneously without a decision of obligation. The number of people speaking foreign languages on the Island and Bosphorus ferries and on the trams decreased, and there were reports in the newspapers about

the fact that many non-Muslim stores made it compulsory for their officers to speak Turkish (Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş, p.3).

In the following years, the efforts to use Turkish actively in every field included associations, foundations, and such organizations. The provisions of the rule "A branch cannot be opened in Turkey of a society whose headquarters is abroad" and "a society cannot be established for national purposes" included in the 15th article of the Associations Law No. 3512 adopted on 28 June 1938 are part of the efforts to include societies and associations in Turkish culture. seen as an example. Based on this law, the names of sports clubs belonging to minorities were translated into Turkish. While "Pera" belonging to the Greeks took the name Beyoğlu Spor and "Tatavla" was named Kurtuluş Spor; The "Eseyan Club" belonging to the Armenians was also renamed Şişli Spor (Cumhuriyet, 02.20.1920; Cumhuriyet, 02.20.1978).

Although minorities were the most critical of the state's attitude towards speaking Turkish in the first years of the Republic, there is a Turkish citizen of Jewish origin among the theorists of these policies. Moiz Kohen (Munis Tekinalp), who was highly influenced by Ziya Gökalp, is one of them. Kohen was a Turkish nationalist who went so far as to propose a new Ten Commandments to the Jews in his work titled "Turkification", which he wrote in 1928 and counted ten rules for Jews to be included in the common conscience of the country. These rules; (Landau, 1996; Bali, 1991: 48)

- 1-Turkify their names.
- 2-Speak Turkish.
- 3-Make at least some of the prayers in the synagogues in Turkish.
- 4-Turkify your schools.
- 5-Send your children to hometown schools.
- 6-Involve in the affairs of the country.
- 7-Fall with the Turks.
- 8-Uproot the community spirit.
- 9-Do your special duty in the field of the national economy.
- 10-Know your right.

With these orders, it is seen that especially the Jewish minority tries to integrate with the Turkish society. The Jewish community was the minority group that was most willing to speak Turkish effectively everywhere, which was put forward as the official policy of the state. While Moiz Kohen made the above recommendations consisting of 10 items, the former director of Ortaköy Jewish School, Nisim Sürüjon Efendi, made some recommendations for the spread of Turkish in schools and all over the country in a letter he sent to the Vakit newspaper due to the importance of the issue. He mentioned that it is not possible to teach Turkish and correct the dialect with the curriculum implemented in Jewish schools for ten years, that Turkization has not occurred, and that the education program in Jewish schools should be changed completely and be the same as the curriculum in Turkish public schools. He stated that the biggest obstacle to the correct speaking of Turkish in the community is the foreign language education policy implemented in primary schools. He emphasized that Turkish, French, and Arabic lessons are given in primary schools, and if this continues, Jews can neither become Turkic nor learn Turkish completely. After this determination, Nisim Sürüjon Efendi recommended that all employees working in Jewish schools, starting from the principals to the servants, should be Turkish. Avram Galanti Efendi, one of the leading Jewish intellectuals of the time, and one of the professors of Darülfünun, asked the attorneys of the case Avram Nedan and Misan, Vintura, Isak, Feraza Efendiler to think about this issue and determine a policy in this direction (Münevver Bir Musevi, p.1).

This attitude of Jewish intellectuals about speaking Turkish better and correcting broken dialects had a positive effect on the community. The members of the community collectively translated their names into Turkish and encouraged them in this regard. One of these collective name-changing events was done by the students of Forty Fifth Primary School in Galata. 44 Turkish and Jewish third-year students, inspired by Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha's name of deputy Zamir Bey in Adana, to "Vein", decided to translate their names into pure Turkish. For this purpose, they wrote a letter to Mustafa Kemal Pasha and sent the list in which they wrote their new Turkish names against their old names. The letter was given to the Ministry of Education through the General Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic. In the reply he sent, Vekil Bey expressed his thanks for the interest shown by the student to the national cause. The previous and next names of some of the students on this list are listed as follows; Sultana's name was Ayten, Estrea's name was Yıldız, Mahmud's name was Atila, Donna's name was Gündüz. Such campaigns were followed with great interest by the newspapers, and they were

appreciated by making news about the subject (Museviler ve Dil Davamız, p.2; Musevi ve Hristiyanlar Türk, p.2).

For the Turkish language to become widespread among minorities, a group of Jewish and Armenian intellectuals gathered in Beyoğlu Community Center and established a society under the name of the “Turkish Language Dissemination Association”. The Society aimed to make the Turkish language the mother tongue for all elements of the country (Gayrimüslim Vatandaşların Güzel, p.2). Naturally, this approach of minority members was received very positively by the newspapers of the period. The topic moved to the column. Cumhuriyet newspaper published an article titled "Turkish Language in the Turkish Homeland". In this article, after stating that it is time for those who have earned the right to become Turkish citizens in Turkey to speak Turkish as soon as possible, they are aware of several attempts for this purpose, and many citizens of various nationalities attempt to form a separate society or group with the aim of making the Turkish language dominant in Turkey. He wrote that they welcomed and appreciated what they did. In the following lines of the article, he referred to the nationalist movement in the country and stated that such initiatives are never too late and that very beneficial results will emerge as a result of these efforts. He invited minority communities working for the learning and dissemination of Turkish to conference halls and the City Theater (Türk Vatanında, p.1).

Along with all these publications, it was considered that the Turkish homeland and nation had the right to speak and speak Turkish to minority citizens, whom the constitution deemed to be Turks. After emphasizing that Armenians, Greeks, and Jews were never deprived of their mother tongue, they could even add Chinese, and that not a word was said in their places of worship, "Republican Turkey demands that every Turkish citizen learn Turkish and speak Turkish. This is the entitlement. This is the right of the homeland and the nation." (Türkçe Bilmeyen Türkler, p.1), demands were expressed for the spread of Turkish among non-Muslim minorities and its effective use. Newspapers have also advised minorities who do not speak Turkish, “Solemnly, Turks who do not speak Turkish should replenish their shortcomings quickly!” Hasan Cemil also published a series of articles on the importance of language in the Turkish War. With reference to the resurrection of the Turks and Turkey in this TV series published in the newspaper Cumhuriyet, "... The great Turkish nation stands up like a giant, back to back... While raising its head to the sky, the places it treads shake under the force of its feet. This high development, which has not been seen in the history of nations, is the rebirth of

Turkishness with a celestial shake, from the dark clouds collapsing on itself, like a sun... A birth that the universe creates... In its shaking, there is a creative thunder of gusts and storms!... This is the awakening of the nation. He stressed that Turks should return to their essence in every field, saying that, with a common ideal unity, to take their own self, gather their own national forces, to be themselves again. He stated that the Turkish nation gained its mother tongue and found its own identity in this pure language. The use of different languages in the country would cause changes in thought, therefore, the Turkish man expressed his views that Turkish manhood began where the Turkish language began (Cemal, 1934: 1).

Since the first half of the 1930s, language discussions began to come to the fore intensively. In addition, the inspections and regulations on foreign schools gained momentum in 1937. To begin with, the principals of foreign schools were asked to be chosen from among those who spoke Turkish. Then, the principals were subjected to a simple Turkish test, and it was checked whether they knew Turkish. A number of regulations have also entered into force regarding the principals of foreign schools. Regulations were made not only in the management of schools but also in the textbooks used in schools. In the statement made by Saffet Arıkan, it was stated that efforts were made to translate all the terms in the textbooks used in high schools into Turkish (Türk Dili, 12.03.1937, p.1). The importance and emphasis given to Turkish in all areas of life have increased significantly.

In accordance with the recommendations made by the minorities themselves and the policies of the state, some practices have been started in minority schools in order for the newly born minority children to learn Turkish correctly. In order for children studying in minority schools to learn Turkish better, a "currency" system was introduced in Turkish lessons. Three commissions, namely primary, secondary and high school, were established to prepare the education program and books to be implemented in the exchange rate system. The high school commission was composed of Robert College, St. Jozef Notrdam, and a commission of higher teacher education teachers. The middle school teachers gathered under the presidency of Şevket Süreyya, the cultural assistant director, and the first section teachers under the chairmanship of Manşur, one of the first education consultants (Yabancı ve Azınlık Okullarında Türkçe, p.4).

Studies on the development of Turkish in schools continued in the following years. New regulations were prepared for schools belonging to minorities. One of the most important parts of these instructions is the article "to ensure that the children studying in these schools develop in Turkish". The relevant articles of this instruction gave important duties to the teachers of



Turkish and cultural lessons at the school. From time to time, teachers worked for the advancement of Turkish through conferences and collective lessons. They encouraged students to speak Turkish between lessons, during breaks, and in the corridors, and they tried to correct the vocabulary and dialect mistakes they saw in them. These studies yielded very good results (Azlık Okullarında, p.7).

The above-mentioned laws and practices regarding the dissemination of Turkish were supported by the Armenian community, who lived with the Turks, spoke Turkish, and even worshiped in Turkish. Berç Keresteciyan Türker, one of the leading members of the community, was one of those who supported the campaign to speak Turkish. Türker, in his speech, while the budget negotiations were continuing, announced that measures should be taken to use Turkish as a mother tongue (Kurultayda Bütçe Görüşmeleri, 1937).

As a result of these studies effectively implemented in the country, the use of Turkish became widespread and the violence of these campaigns against the Turkish speaking citizens began to lose its effect in the future. Posters on trams and streets have been removed. Foreign and minority citizens also took care to use Turkish properly, from their petitions to government offices to their daily conversations.

The events, which were tried being explained with examples above, and each of which took place on the basis of Turkish nationalism, were perceived differently according to the nationality and religion of the parties. In a Turkish nationalist, Turkishness was seen as a unifying identity. While this was perceived as a great nation that was transformed and a great victory at the end of the day, this situation was interpreted as forced Turkification by the non-Muslim minorities in the opposite neighborhood. In fact, when all minorities are considered, some have interpreted them as policies applied only to them. As a result, it is clear that all insistence and incentives that will be considered "excessive" in any period will be perceived as "pressure". It is clearly seen that such insistences were made by the state or organizations working with the state in the first years of the Republic. In addition, the fact that minorities say yes to certain practices in the press and in the public does not mean that they fully adopt them.

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