

**FAHREDDİN ALTAY (1880-1974):
UNDER THE SHADOW OF MILITARISM**

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History

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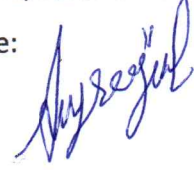
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ABSTRACT

FAHREDDİN ALTAY (1880-1974): UNDER THE SHADOW OF MILITARISM

Koca, Ayşegül

MA in History

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June 2019, 180 pages

Fahreddin Altay is one of the representatives of the Ottoman generation born in the 1880s. He grew up in an environment in which wars were becoming more destructive, complicated and organized. He became part of the high ranking military elite, and then became a staff officer and commander in wars that lasted almost ten years. Then, as one of the high ranking representatives of the army; he carried out different duties and became a deputy in the republican period. The main aim of this thesis is to merge a multidimensional phenomenon, reflecting each field of life differently, militarization of society with a genre of historiography that is biography, including various fields of life, thus putting an alternative interpretation on the period, transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. While the different reflections of the phenomenon, militarization of society made his life a typical example of it, at the same time, in such an ordinary life, his perception of the environment, his reactions to events and the level of his influence on them made his world virtually unique. This thesis, the only biography in this field to be based on a concept, different from the various books written by focusing on it, rather than the events, is a contribution to the new historiography bringing back the agent by measuring the influence of it on a person in various fields and specific events. Combining human perception with unique human experience, his life provides very different from the others so often narrated a portrait of a military officer in the period.

Keywords: Fahreddin Altay, Military Officer, Commander, Militarization of Society, Ottoman Empire, Republic of Turkey

ÖZ

FAHREDDİN ALTAY (1880-1974): MİLİTARİZMİN GÖLGESİNDE

Koca, Ayşegül

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Fahreddin Altay 1880lerde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda doğmuş kuşağın bir temsilcisidir. Savaşların her zamankinden çok daha yıkıcı, gelişmiş ve planlı olduğu bir dönemde önce kurmay olarak yetiştirilip askeri elite dahil olmuş, daha sonra hemen hemen on yıl aralıksız katıldığı savaşlarda kurmay subaylık ve komutanlık yapmış; cumhuriyet döneminde de ordunun en üst düzey temsilcisi olarak, çeşitli görevlerde bulunmuş ve milletvekilliği yapmıştır. Tezin ana amacı çok boyutlu, hayatın her alanına farklı şekillerde yansımış toplumun askerileşmesi kavramıyla hayatın farklı yönlerini ele alan bir tarih yazım şekli olan biyografiyi birleştirerek Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne geçiş dönemini yeniden yorumlamaktır. Hayatının en önemli fenomeni -toplumun askerileşmesi-, nin hayatına yansıyan tüm şekilleri onu bu fenomenin tipik bir örneği haline getirirken, aynı zamanda bu sıradanlığın içinde çevresini algısıyla, olaylara tepkileriyle ve içinde yaşadığı olaylardan etkilenme düzeyiyle onun dünyasını eşsiz kılıyor. Bu alanda bir kavram çerçevesinde ele alınan ilk biyografi olan bu tez, kavramı ele alan kitaplardan farklı olarak da olaylardan ziyade bu kavramın bir insan üzerindeki etkilerini farklı alanlarda ve spesifik olaylarla ölçerek tarihe insanı dahil eden yeni tarihyazımına katkıda bulunuyor. Bu etkiyi insan algısıyla ve eşsiz tecrübesiyle birleştirip dönem için sık sık anlatılan asker profili ile neredeyse taban tabana zıt bir örnek sunuyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fahreddin Altay, Subay, Komutan, Toplumun Askerileşmesi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Militarization of Society, Military Officers and Fahreddin Altay

War! Again became the business of the people...

-Carl von Clausewitz¹

People think they know Fahreddin Altay's story like each "well known" person in history, but they only know how it ends. To get the heart of his story, we have to go back to beginning. His story begins with the militarization of society, the only straight answer to the fundamental question about his life: why his soul, heart, body and life basked in the army's blaze of glory.

Militarization of society, in the simplest form, means the state's professional organization of the army and effort to keep the society ready for a possible warfare. War technology, communications, the system of the general staff and mobilization became vast and professional in the period.

The global phenomenon, the militarization of society is the most vital thing for Fahreddin's life because the most distinguishing feature of the century was mass mobilization and the idea of total war, necessitating more manpower than ever before. He was one of the most important representatives of the ideas of organizing people to be good members of the army in service of the sacred mission of protecting the state, and was inspired by it as a republican representative and elite while creating a civilized nation. It is a multidimensional phenomenon. Biography is one of the best ways to see the influence of it on the different fields of life.

¹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret (eds.), (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p.592.

There are various books dedicated to the concept [militarization of society]² and narrating it with the help of specific events in different regions and periods³ including the Ottoman Empire.⁴ However, most of the time, they miss the human consequences and cannot go beyond explaining chain of events following one after another by restricting themselves to cause and effect relationship, but progressive change is far from the life itself.

The transition period from empire to republic was narrated within the framework of nationalism and nation state, revolution, collapse, salvation, treachery, heroism and decline-break paradigms. His life is one of the examples of transnational, in some cases transcontinental historiography, a reaction to the classical periodization and

² For example: J. Marshall Beiber (ed.), *The Militarization of Childhood: Thinking Beyond the Global South*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); John M. House, *Why War? Why an Army?* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2008); John W. De Pauw and George A. Luz (eds.), *Winning the Peace: The Strategic Implications of Military Civic Action*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1992); P. J. Budahn, *What to Expect in the Military: A Practical Guide for Young People, Parents and Counselors*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2000); Sidney Axinn, *A Moral Military*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

³ For example: Arthur Marwick (ed.), *Total War and Social Change*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988); Charles A. Byler, *Civil- Military Relations on the Frontier and Beyond (1865-1917)*, (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006); Everett Carl Dolman, *The Warrior State: How Military Organization Structures Politics*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Isaiah Wilson, *Thinking Beyond War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Jeremy Black, *The Age of Total War 1860-1945*, (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006); Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Julian Schofield, *Militarization and War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Paul K. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopedic Form*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (eds.), *Great War, Total War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ute Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks: Conscription, Military Service and Civil Society in Modern Germany*, (Oxford: Berg, 2004); Valentina Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

⁴ For example: Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Edward J. Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness in World War I*, (London: Routledge, 2007); Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp.59-72; 106-109;117-118;154-166;185-186; Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012); M. Hakan Yavuz and Feroz Ahmad, *War ad Collapse: World War I and the Ottoman State*, (Utah: The University of Utah Press, 2016); Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Naci Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); Özgür Mutlu Ulus, *The Army and the Radical Left in Turkey: Military Coups, Socialist Revolution and Kemalism*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

image of military officers. His life also establishes a connection with the global and the local. In Ottoman historiography, there is no biography focusing on the concept despite the many biographies on military officers. It basically arises from not seeing the genre as an interdisciplinary field and the biography writers' ignorance establishing a strong connection between facts and theoretical frameworks.

The main aim of this thesis is to merge the changes, developments and effects in his life by combining them with his sense of self. Wars, especially a total war that lasted almost ten years in the Ottoman case had a profound influence on society. Therefore, biography, the most important genre to bring the human being back in historiography and the multidimensional concept of the militarization of society merge in the thesis.⁵

The understanding of total war, Ottoman modernization, militarization, the educational system, the different fronts of war and the political mission of the republican elite all come together and affected one another with Fahreddin's choices, identities, decisions, character and experiences.

This thesis focuses on the dynamic interaction between structures, concepts and human experience. The extolling virtues of militarism dominated on his educational life while raising as a savior of the empire, and his wartime experiences while leading people in the full-scale wars and his duties in the republican army while keeping ready the Turkish Army for a possible war, priding on his own past and his missions as a member of the governing elite while changing the civilian life.

The most general trend of the period was the systematic application of know-how, both organizational and technological, to problems of military effectiveness. Army organizers and battlefield commanders realized very early on that war is not just a

⁵ Some of the few biographies partially focusing on the concept: Andrew A. Wiest, *Haig: The Evolution of a Commander*, (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005); Geoffrey Jensen, *Franco: Soldier, Commander, Dictator*, (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005); Russell A. Hart, *Guderian: Panzer Pioneer or Myth Maker?*(Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2006); William J. Astore and Dennis E. Showalter, *Hindenburg: Icon of German Militarism*, (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005).

matter of expressive combat, but requires careful planning with limited resources. The new element in the nineteenth century was the greater concentration of command structures, at once more flexible and more systematic.⁶ All of this led a nascent military elite expert enough to be aware of recent developments to organize the society.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, in the Ottoman Empire general staff corps emerged immediately after France and Prussia. The main focus of the system was to prepare the society for systematically organized warfare. Peace came to mean preparation for war and started to have an impact on every field of life. The system of war became more complicated, planned and professional than ever before. Being a military officer meant to formulate realistic, detailed plans rather than fighting bravely. Thus, a military elite thinking scientifically and organizing the society for mass mobilization arose. Fahreddin was raised to be a part of this system from the very beginning.

The schools established in the nineteenth century strengthen the relationship between the state and society. Instead of the master-apprentice relationship, knowledge shared with everyone and foreign language and technical education were taught. The ultimate purpose was to raise highly professional generations, cognizant of protecting the empire, equipped with technical knowledge and able to speak foreign languages. The military schools were very special among those new schools especially after Ottoman defeats on the battlefield and the global advance of war technology. To raise loyal military members, foreign committees administered the most special school of the empire, the Imperial Military Staff College, (Mekteb-i Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Şahane).

The state became centralized and involved people coming from the country than ever before. The army was sanctified and bound up to ordinary people than ever before. Like each cadet, Fahreddin also received a military education starting from a very

⁶ Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, Translated by Patrick Camiller, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp.483-484.

young age and got into the habits of a lifetime, building up a sincere relationship with his friends and future colleagues in the army rather than his family and acting according to team spirit. He and his peers were raised knowing that their jobs were prestigious, sacred and were going to provide them a good life. The Imperial Military Staff College, whose graduates were the most successful, talented and ambitious of the prospective military elite, was established in 1848 for that purpose.

Being a part of army; Fahreddin had every reason to be proud of protecting the country from enemies and providing security. The discourse of sacrificing and dedicating oneself to protect it from any danger became very important. Militarization also required having a strong economy and technology to ensure the country's survival. Men became heroes and protectors, while women were patriotic icons that would give birth and raise new fighters for the paramount interests of the empire. Therefore, Fahreddin's position as a member of the military elite came to mean the most glorified, sacred and respected occupation.

Total war aimed at the mobilization of all forms of public, if not private, life toward victory on the battlefield; thus, understanding total war requires total history and its enormous complexity.⁷ On the other hand, while the concept of total war is now commonly used to describe the First World War, it poses certain problems and needs revision in certain respects. Uncritical uses of the concept as a master narrative describing the war experience as an absolute outcome can cause "historical myopia." What the concept of total war actually represents is not an absolute outcome, but an absolute "toward which the development of warfare is tending."⁸ In terms of manpower and resources, the Ottoman case of experiencing the Great War was absolutely a process towards totality.⁹

⁷ Stig Förster, "Introduction", in Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (eds.), *Great War, Total War*, (Washington D.C.: The German Historical Institute, 2000), p.2.

⁸ Roger Chickering, "Total War: The Use and Abuse of a Concept," in Manfred F. Boemeke, Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (eds.), *Anticipating Total War: The German and American Experiences, 1871–1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.16.

⁹ Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War, Between Voluntarism and Resistance*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp.5-6.

In this atmosphere, the really astonishing thing about the First World War is not that it occurred at all; but that it began so late.¹⁰ Inevitably, an intimate connection between the battlefield and home front, civil and military life was greater. Ideal types of civilians and army members were created. The main discourse on the opposite concepts were like us vs. them; inside vs. outside; enemy vs. friend etc. The destruction of the enemy was the main issue. People sacrificing their lives for their countries and the most sacred reasons had already have organizers to encourage them. Fahreddin was the motivator of them to die honorably.

The First World War led to a big leap in technology and the science of warfare and Fahreddin was affected by its magic. Then, in the period between two wars, he continued to believe in the superiority of reason, the magic of civilization and the need for a powerful army and he continued to feel passionate about creating a strong state and loyal and educated citizens.

He undertook *the mission civilisatrice* -civilizing mission- to reshape the idea of national greatness by teaching and imposing his way of life, culture, and understanding on the society. In this context, he imposed the norms, categories and cultural heritage he had acquired as a member of the elite but he also provided scientific expertise and leadership. It was a modern salvage paradigm, reflecting a desire to rescue something authentic out of destructive historical changes and backwardness.¹¹ Wars create their own myths afterwards, but total wars are narrated as turning points. As one of the commanders of such a war, he continued to be regarded as eminent, having the legitimate power to change society especially after such a destructive period. And he used this power to try to create a strong society.

¹⁰ Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, p.471.

¹¹ Michael Falser, "Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: Methodological Considerations", in Michael Falser (ed.), *Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission From Decay to Recovery*, (London: Springer, 2015), p.4.

The transformation of Ottoman society in this field situates the thesis into global history. His point of view to the society and his life taking shape with the society provide to measure the effect of the global phenomenon. It is the power of biography to situate a life in a context and narrate its flow that the agent did not realize while living.

Because of dedicating his life to the army in such an environment, his story is very ordinary. However, when it comes to the transition period from empire to republic, his life became unique because at this stage, his character, choices and life networks (the places he worked, the battles he participated in etc.) were involved. It is the human consequences of the concept [militarization of society] and magic of biography.

The military officer portraits in the books focusing on the transition from empire to republic do not match his life story so to say run counter to them. The most common military officer story repeated all the time either narrates Enver Pasha or Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] Pasha. Or most of the time both, regardless of their names are mentioned or not.¹²

The books start by giving information on the military officers in the Young Turk Revolution. First, they narrate the founding of the Committee of Union and Progress in Macedonia and the brave officers' rebellion against the sultan.¹³ However, at that

¹² The reader can think I picked some sentences to legitimize my point of view. However, I added each sentence related to the military officers and put them in the footnotes as they are. The books on the transition from the empire to the republic were chosen according to their extents which should cover at least until İnönü's era [if they call themselves as "from empire to republic"] and their popularity. In addition, they set examples other specific secondary sources written on the period and symbolize the common point of view on the group. They are also the first options for ordinary people who want to learn something regarding the period.

¹³ For example, "The officers, increasingly frustrated with Abdul Hamid's policies that led to the deterioration of the quality of military equipment and of salaries, believed that these policies towards the army was undermining its strength and reducing its abilities to defend Ottoman territories in Europe. They were increasingly attracted to the CUP because of its ideas and they established formal links with the organisation. The military officers eventually took the lead when the Third Army stationed in Salonica started a revolt in summer 1908 and demanded that Abdul Hamid restore the constitution. Increasing unrest eventually compelled the Sultan to reinstate the constitution of 1876 and soon elections for -the new Parliament were held which brought the Young

time Fahreddin was not a man of action or an active member of the Committee. Second, these accounts mention the 31 March Incident. Again, the young and intrepid officers are successful in suppressing the rebellion.¹⁴ But, at that time, Fahreddin was in Erzurum and narrates how the two sides reconciled with each other in his memoirs. Fahreddin did not seem to take in hand, but like an observer analyzing the situation.

The third event narrated in traditional accounts of the transition from empire to republic is the military engagements in Tripoli in 1911.¹⁵ But, again Fahreddin played no role in the battle. Then, the military officers, in other words his classmates and colleagues, took power while Fahreddin's passive interest in politics was providing him for staying away from the main discussions of the period.¹⁶

Turks to power." Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p.7; "In a coordinated campaign, officers who were members of the Committee took to the hills with their troops and demanded the restoration of the constitution." Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd edition, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p.30; "In the summer of 1908, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia and King Edward VII of Britain met to settle the Macedonian question. The CUP members among the Ottoman officer corps in Macedonia, seeing in this meeting the potential for the dissolution of the empire, decided that the time for action had come. Majors Enver and Niyazi, refusing a summons to Istanbul, fled instead to the hills with their troops, demanding the restoration of the Ottoman constitution. Efforts to suppress the rebellion failed, the mutiny spread, and the Third Army threatened to march on Istanbul"; Douglas A. Howard, *The History of Turkey*, (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), p.74; "The revolutionary officers escaped and gained in strength and numbers as news of the rebellion spread throughout the army. The sultan tried bribery, spying, and even harsh punishment, but all failed. On July 21, 1908, a telegram arrived at the sultan's palace from the C.U.P. It demanded that the constitution immediately be put back into effect." Heather Lehr Wagner, *Creation of the Middle East: Turkey*, (New York: Chelsea House, 2009), p.2.

¹⁴ For example, "The C.U.P. members in Salonica quickly gathered together an armed force to retake Istanbul. Kemal was appointed chief of staff of one of the divisions marching on Istanbul, and he feverishly set to work planning the attack. Within a week the army had established a base just outside the city, encircling the port by land while a fleet of ships surrounded Istanbul in the water." Heather Lehr Wagner, *Creation of the Middle East: Turkey*, p.29.

¹⁵ For instance, "When nothing was done, the Unionist officers within the CUP, led by Major Enver, decided to act. Volunteers (*fedai*) to Tripolitania via Egypt or Tunisia to galvanize the Arab resistance, which had already started under the leadership of the militant Sanusiya religious order. During the next year the bedouin troops led by these officers successfully harassed the Italians and prevented them from making much headway inland." Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, p.106.

¹⁶ To illustrate, "Military officers had a clear sense of their role, rather than forcing them to combine their military duties with political jobs." Heather Lehr Wagner, *Creation of the Middle East: Turkey*, p.31.

The story in the traditional accounts then goes on to offer superficial interpretations of the weakness of the Ottoman Empire and as only an auxiliary power fighting for the German cause. However, Fahreddin participated in the most successful campaigns until mid-1917 and only experienced the conditions of the fronts on which he fought. From his point of view, the winner was not clear as much as it claimed by the people knowing the end of the war.¹⁷

After the Great War, according to the books, the officers immediately started the Turkish War of Independence and strict organization of the society and then the army without hesitation.¹⁸ However, Fahreddin was one of the five army corps

¹⁷ For instance, "The Ottoman Empire was in no condition to fight a serious war, militarily, economically or in terms of internal communications. The Germans were well aware of this, but for them the attraction of the Ottoman alliance lay not in the contribution of the Ottoman army to the war, which was generally expected to be over in a few months, but in its effect on Muslims in the colonial empires of France and Britain and on the Balkan states. In addition, the Ottomans could effectively block Russian ship movements through the Straits. Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd edition, p.112; On the war front the Ottoman armies were largely defeated except for a few impressive successes. Yet, the endurance of the empire during four years of total warfare was in itself a success, as by that time the empire had been quite weakened. Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, p.12.

¹⁸ For example, "Soon after the occupation of most parts of the Ottoman Empire and the signing of the Armistice, a resistance movement began to be organised and this eventually turned into a fully fledged national movement. The leadership of the war of independence consisted mainly of army officials led by Mustafa Kemal. This leadership worked closely with a coalition of part of the civil and military bureaucracy and provincial notables." Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, p.13; "Mustafa Kemal's combination of high standing within the army and, politically speaking, clean hands made him an ideal candidate for the leadership of the resistance. Once he had agreed, an opportunity to launch him was soon found. The *Damat Ferit* government was alarmed at the amount of inter-communal violence in eastern Anatolia and the Black Sea region and it wanted to appoint a military inspector to pacify and disarm the region. The interior minister, Mehmet Ali Bey, was related to Ali Fuat Pasha (Cebesoy), one of Mustafa Kemal's closest officer friends, who had already left for Anatolia. A meeting with him, and then with the grand vizier was arranged, and Mustafa Kemal was appointed inspector of the Third Army in the east. Friends at the War Ministry then drew up his brief, giving him very wide powers, including the right to communicate directly with all military and civil authorities in the region of his inspectorate, which encompassed all of eastern Anatolia." Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, pp.142-143; "Mustafa Kemal Pasha went to Amasya and immediately contacted the leaders of the local nationalist groups in eastern Anatolia by telegraph. In particular, he established a good working relationship with Brigadier Kâzim Pasha, commander of the Ninth Army based in Erzurum. Two staff officers, Hüseyin Rauf Bey and Refet Bey, composed and distributed a memorandum to the nationalist groups in eastern Anatolia. Dated 21 June 1919, this "Amasya Declaration" emphasized the peril of the nation, denounced the capacity of the sultan's government to defend it, and called on the nation to come to its own defense. Douglas A. Howard, *The History of Turkey*, pp.85-86; "Kemal and his men determined that resistance. In Anatolia, he set to work organizing pockets of resistance. He gathered together as many of the former army corps commanders as he could find. Now unemployed, these officers were quick to join Kemal's team." Heather Lehr Wagner, *Creation of the Middle East: Turkey*, p.42.

commanders in Anatolia and did not find any sound reason to participate in such a struggle until mid-1920 like many famous commanders of the National Struggle, İsmet [İnönü], Fevzi [Çakmak], Asım [Gündüz], Kazım [İnanç], Yakup Şevki [Subaşı] and İzzeddin [Çalışlar] etc. because all of them were extremely prudent staff officers.

Then, the story goes on to say that the military officers had a disagreement between them on political issues and eventually founded a political party.¹⁹ However, at this stage, Fahreddin Pasha chose to continue his career in the army and remained loyal to the new regime and especially Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Then, after Atatürk's death, İsmet İnönü was elected as the only candidate and made up with his old friends who had become resentful in the Atatürk's era.²⁰ However, if one examines Fahreddin Altay's life, it is not difficult to see "the appointment" of İnönü to the presidency was a collective decision of the high ranking army members under the leadership of Fahreddin Altay and others. And, at the end of the Second World War, İsmet İnönü had disagreement with his old friends in the General Staff and army including Fahreddin Altay.

¹⁹ To illustrate, "The People's Party was formed in August 1923 by Mustafa Kemal. Soon a number of deputies from the CHP split to form an opposition party, Progressive People's Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası), which announced a more liberal programme based on decreasing the role of the state to a minimum and introducing administrative decentralisation. The party programme also called for respect for religious beliefs." Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*, p.16; "Many important figures of the War of Independence, who would probably have opposed the move as premature, were forming the first opposition party. These deputies included well-known heroes of the War of Independence, led by Hüseyin Rauf and Kâzım Pasha. They called the new party the Progressive Republican Party, prompting the People's Party to change its name to the Republican People's Party." Douglas A. Howard, *The History of Turkey*, pp.93-94; "As long as the former leaders of the CUP and the PRP were still around, with their prestige as heroes from the independence war intact, they could exploit the prevailing discontent arising from the continuing bad economic situation and the unpopularity of the reforms. Mustafa Kemal's 'memoirs' published in March 1926. In his attempt to disgrace his former colleagues, he presents them throughout as doubters, incompetents and traitors, and depicts himself as the one who led the movement from the outset." Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, pp.174-175.

²⁰ For example, "On 11 November the national assembly elected İsmet İnönü the second president of the republic. At the same time İnönü tried to broaden his political base by a policy of reconciliation with the old leaders of the independence movement who had been purged in 1926." Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, pp.184-185.

The main reason for my decision to write Fahreddin Altay's biography among the many other military officers is his books and writings on various subjects. These allowed me to understand him more easily than the other military officers, who wrote comparatively little. Hence his life allowed me to make more research on the different military and political events of the time in comparison to others.

Secondly, he lived longest among the military officers, which enabled me to narrate a general's influence for a relatively long period. From the foundation of the republic until even after the multi party system, they were still influential people in the country in one way or another.

Thirdly, no book has yet been about him. This thesis was written with the intention of converting it into a book in the future.

By focusing on the experience of a generation and especially of an individual, (in my case Fahreddin Altay), it will be one of those studies, that view the last years of the Ottoman Empire and first years of the Republic of Turkey as a whole, bearing in mind the continuities as well as the radical changes that the period saw.

Most importantly, the reader will be surprised how Fahreddin Altay brought a touch of magic to the serious of events or thoughts in which regarded and narrated one follows another directly by the unusual combination of his distinctive character with the most important phenomenon of his life time, "militarization of society". Reading his life and comparing it with the portraits of the military officers of the period would be the first step for readers to consider revising their beliefs in the ever-repeated remarks on the transition period in general and military officers in particular.

1.2. A Short Summary of Fahreddin Altay's Life

Table 1.1. A Short Summary of Fahreddin Altay's Life

Date	Fahreddin [Altay]'s Lifeline
1880	Shkodër, born
1886	Mardin, Sibyan School
1890-1894	Erzincan, Military Junior High School
1894-1897	Erzurum, Military High School
1897-1900	Istanbul, Military Academy
1900	Second Lieutenant
1901	First Lieutenant
1900-1902	Istanbul, Imperial Military Staff College
1902	Staff Captain
1903	Erzincan, Artillery Commander
1903	Diyarbakır, Infantry and Cavalry Commander
1904	Senior Captain
1907-1908	Bitlis, Exile
1909	Major
1912	Headquarters of Ahmed İzzet [Furğaç] Pasha, Staff Officer
1913	Çatalca Line, Tribal Cavalry Brigades Commander
1914	General Staff, Staff Officer
1914	Istanbul, First Division, Staff Officer
1914	Lieutenant Colonel
1915	Tekirdağ, Third Army Corps, Staff Officer
1915	Gallipoli Campaigns, Third Army Corps, Staff Officer
1915	Istanbul, War Ministry, Undersecretary
1915	Colonel
1916	Braila, Twenty-sixth Division Commander
1917	Sinai-Palestinian Front, Twenty-sixth Division Commander
1918	Konya, Twelfth Army Corps Commander

Table 1.1. (Continued)

1920	Mersin Deputy
1921	Battle of Dumlupınar
1921	Cavalry Group Commander, Battle of Sakarya
1921	Major General, rank of pasha
1922	Ilgın, Cavalry Group Commander, Military Maneuvers
1922	Cavalry Group Commander, Great Offensive
1922	Lieutenant General
1923	Balıkesir, Cavalry Group Commander, Military Maneuvers,
1923	Konya, Fifth Army Corps Commander
1923	İzmir Deputy
1923	Resignment, İzmir Deputy
1924	İzmir, War Games
1924	Konya, Second Army Inspector
1925	Bursa, Military Maneuver Commander
1926	General
1926	Ankara, Military Maneuver Commander
1928	Host, Afghan King Amanullah Khan
1933	Istanbul, First Army Inspector
1934	Russia, Head of Military Committee
1934	Host, Iranian Shah Reza Pahlavi
1934	Arbitrator, Iran and Afghanistan Border
1936	Host, British King Edward VIII
1937	Aegean Maneuvers Commander
1945	Retirement
1945-1950	Burdur Deputy
1974	Istanbul, death
1974	Istanbul, buried
1988	Ankara, buried

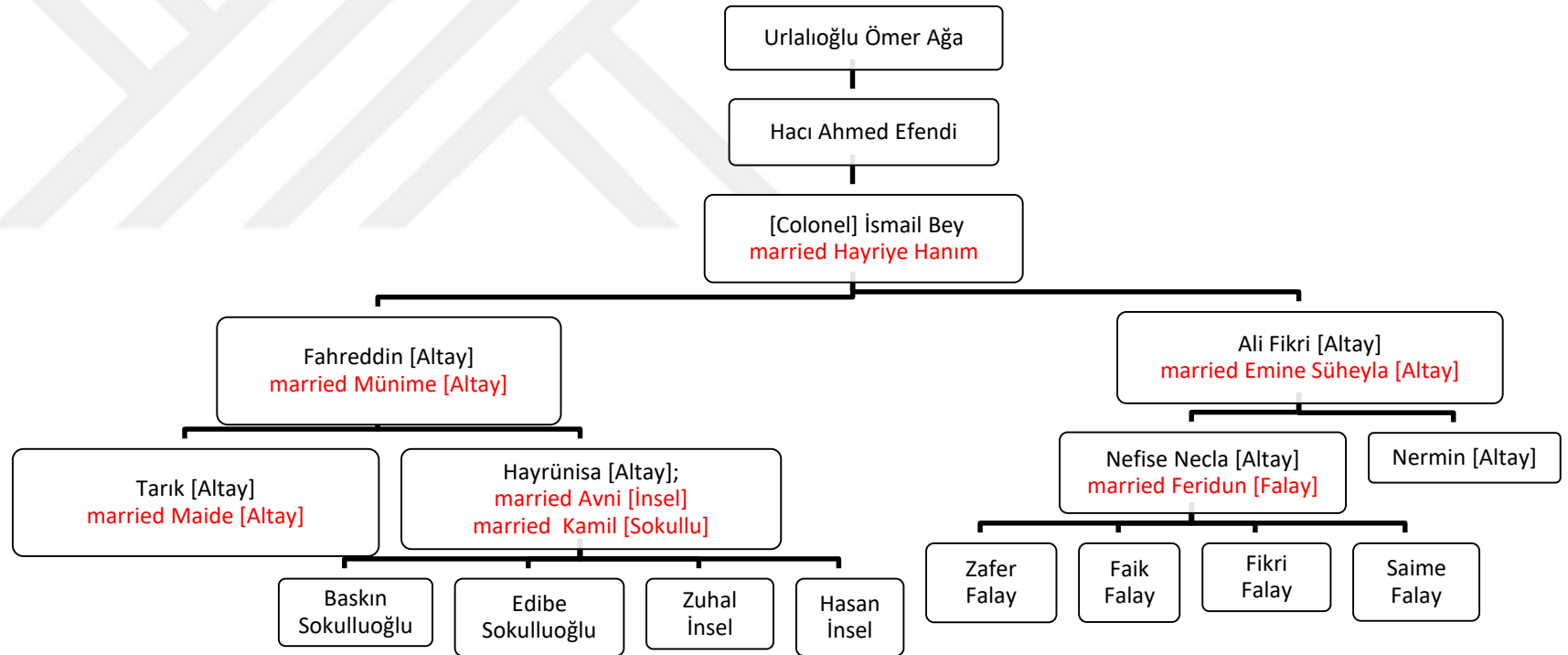


Figure 1.1. Fahreddin [Altay]'s Family Tree²¹

²¹ Hayriye Hanım was the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel İbrahim Bey. They married in Monastir while İsmail Bey was a captain.

Münime [Altay], coming from the Bibeziç family, was the daughter of Tahir Pasha, governor of Van. They married in 1912.

Ali Fikri [Altay] was the first mayor of Karşıyaka, a district in İzmir. His name was given a neighborhood in the region. (Fikri Altay Mahallesi)

Emine Süheyla [Altay], coming from the İplikçizade family, was the daughter of Buldanlı Hacı İsmail.

Avni [İnsel] was the owner of İnsel Publishing House, where the first edition of Fahreddin Altay's memoirs was published.

Prof. Dr. Kamil Sokullu was an operating surgeon, coming from the well-known Sokullu Family.

Feridun Falay was an air pilot in the Turkish Air Forces.

Table 1. 2.His Name's Legacy

Fahrettin Altay Neighborhood (Fahrettin Altay Mahallesi), Karabağlar, İzmir
Fahrettin Altay Primary School (Fahrettin Altay İlkokulu), Gediz, Kütahya
Fahrettin Altay Middle School (Fahrettin Altay Ortaokulu), Payas, Hatay
Fahrettin Altay Square (Fahrettin Altay Meydanı), Karabağlar, İzmir
The national tank project of Turkey carries his surname, Altay. It is a mass production of the main battle tank (ana muharebe tankı).

1.3. Literature Review

There is no book on Fahreddin Altay's life, so this part provides an overview of influential books on Fahreddin Altay's contemporary military officers' biographies. However, there are a great number of books about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's life and evaluation of all of them would be beyond the extent of the thesis. Therefore, it was preferred to choose only the most remarkable ones. Except Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, all of the contemporary military officers' biographies were evaluated. However, to make general assumptions and meaningful comparisons, I examined all of his biographies.

Firstly, it was categorized those biographies according to the writers' motives in writing their studies. Secondly, they were grouped according to methodological evaluation. The evaluation was predicated on the predominant features of the books distinguish one from another.

Biography is always used with the aim of legitimization. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to categorize the books according to their writers' motives. The first motive of the authors is their admiration for the person in question. Reşit Soyer's *General Kazım Dirik*, Sadık Atak's *Büyük Komutan Orgeneral Harputlu Yakup Şevki Subaşı*, Mustafa Balbay's *Savaşın ve Barışın Kahramanı Dünya Lideri Atatürk*, Rahim Balcıoğlu's *Büyük Mehmetçik Fevzi Çakmak* fall into this category.

The second motive of the authors is to serve the government or their own ideologies. Sinan Omur's *Büyük Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Askeri Dehası ve Siyasi Hayatı*, Nevzat Kösoğlu's *Şehit Enver Paşa*, Türkan Saylan's *Atatürk From the Past to the Future*, Mehmet Emin Dinç's *Kut'ül Amare'nin Muzaffer Komutanı Halil Kut Paşa*, Cemal Anadol's *Büyük Türk Mareşali Fevzi Çakmak*, and Lale Arslan's *Milli Mücadele Kahramanı İsmet İnönü* are very good examples of this part.

Lastly, some of the unprofessional books were written by the relatives of the military officers with the purpose of justifying the actions of the person in question. Makbule Atadan's *Büyük Kardeşim Atatürk*, Fatih Bayhan and Osman Mayatepek's *Dedem Enver Paşa: Hayaller Efsaneler Gerçekler*, and Doğan Dirik's *Vali Paşa Kâzım Dirik: Bandırma Vapuru'ndan Halkın Kalbine* are well known examples of this part.

The books written before the 1970s generally reflect their authors' nationalistic feelings and admiration for the related person. The life of the person in question is usually narrated in isolation from his environment. The authors mention his successes without reference to his networks, relations, or living conditions. Süleyman Külçe's *Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Askeri, Siyasi, Hususi Hayatı*, Ziya Şakir's *Talat-Enver-Cemal Paşalar Yakın Tarihin Üç Büyük Adamı*, and Sadi Borak's *Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle Atatürk* are very important examples for this part.

The studies written in recent years generally lag behind new developments in historiography. Their writers' most important mistakes are their unawareness of the purpose of biography as a way of interpreting the past. They do not see it as one of the methods to comprehend history. They lump together the evidence related to that person. For the most part, there is little connection between that person and the important incidents and conditions of the time. Large numbers of these writers copy and paste memoirs and include events in their books without relating them to that person. Ziya Tütüncü's *Kazım Karabekir Paşa*, Serap Tabak's *Kazım Dirik Paşa: Askeri, Mülki Hayatı ve Şahsiyeti*, Rahmi Akbaş's *Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak*, Ayfer Çelik's *Ali Fuad Cebesoy*, and Fahrettin Kırzioğlu's *Kazım Karabekir Paşa* are good examples for supporting my ideas.

There are also noteworthy books to devote some time because they published after the serious researches of their writers. These studies exemplify how primary sources should be used in a biographical study. Metin Heper's *İsmet İnönü: The Making of a Turkish Statesman*, Murat Bardakçı's *Enver*, Halit Kaya's *Refet Bele Askeri ve Siyasi Hayatı* and Şerafettin Turan's *İsmet İnönü Yaşamı, Dönemi ve Kişiliği* are worth mentioning in this regard.

In addition, there are very important studies that have set an example for the thesis to follow like George W. Gawrych's *The Young Atatürk: From Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, M. Şükrü Hanioglu's *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography*, Andrew Mango's *Atatürk: Modern Türkiye'nin Kurucusu*, and Volkan Vamık and Norman Itzkowitz's *The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography*. Their writers developed different point of views and are very successful at revealing the course of history and complexity of life. Therefore, they truly deserve to be seen as the best books of this field.

There are only two Turkish M.A. theses about Fahreddin Altay. The first thesis was written by Hüseyin Kocain 1990. He only focuses on and always repeats how Fahreddin Altay became a great hero of "the Independence War". The thesis is full of false information due to a lack of primary sources, and it is such an exact copy of Fahreddin Altay's memoirs that it ends in 1945 with his retirement despite its claim that it is a narration of his life as a whole. There is nothing related to his political life after his retirement and no information on his death.

The second thesis was written by Mustafa Okukluin 2009. He has no precise idea about why he narrates Fahreddin Altay's life. His thesis and my ideas are completely irrelevant in terms of methodology. For example, he presented the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey as completely different periods. He did not regard Fahreddin Altay as an individual and treated him as if he was just an unimportant historical figure who helped Mustafa Kemal Pasha to attain his goals. The nationalist discourse of the thesis is quite irritating. The sources he used are also problematic because they almost all reflect the same ideology, Kemalism.

The two authors just put all sources, they knew until writing the theses without thinking whether they are relevant or not to Fahreddin Altay's life, his age, or his environment. They confined themselves to copying and pasting some parts of his memoirs without adding any comment or mentioning historical context.

1.4. Historiography

Historiography changes all the time. More precisely, it always circulates. Each historical study remains only a representation of the past. Historians sometimes bring structure into the forefront, or they sometimes give agency prominence. Interdisciplinary studies have gained importance over the last decades. In addition, narration rather than explanation has come into prominence once again because of post-modern thinking. This thesis is but one example of the recent studies, following this tradition.

According to the new methods, the new way of thinking, biographical studies started to be seen as only a narration and representation of a life, rather than an explanation of it from beginning to end. They address social interactions, expectations, orders, norms, implicit values, sanctions, tensions, conflicts, and power hierarchies mirrored in that life. They shed light on interactions in the social terrain of communication because *every individual act is the totalization of a social system*.²² Biographical studies should be based on understanding various networks of societies. In this way, they make it easier for us to see the course of history.

The main criticism against biography is that it tends to be a teleological narration, arranging a person's life according to a well known end. Generally, it follows a person's successful career and fails to emphasize failures and coincidences. The main aim in Fahreddin Altay's previous biographies was to depict him as a great and

²² Franco Ferrarotti, *The Science of Uncertainty, the Biographical Method in Scientific Research*, (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.27-29.

victorious commander.²³ However, biography should not aim to discover a consistent identity.²⁴

Biography reveals that history and human life are beyond social structures and is a struggle to merge a unique life and the general atmosphere of a society. Biography writers are decision makers who abstract a person from his own felt identity and place his life course in a global context. Biography writers know the meaning of connections and huge developments the agents lived through, though the agents knew much more about their own lives. This thesis focuses on how Fahreddin's life course intertwined with the social structures and became one of the interesting examples of his era while being idiosyncratic.

This thesis is a part of those works that emerged as a reaction to Eurocentric, nationalist, and structuralist historiography. With Fahreddin Altay's life experiences, expectations, loyalties, experience shares, it puts forward an alternative point of view on the perception of transition period from empire to republic. Therefore, it became an individual's life story and the era's historiography as well as the most prominent concept and phenomenon of the era, militarization of society.

This thesis was written by considering two basic principles: Fahreddin Altay's life can be epitomized by the prominent features of his era and society he lived in, but at the same time, he is such a special man that he undermines our assumptions regarding the period.

²³ There are two M.A. theses on Fahreddin Altay's life, written by Hüseyin Koca and Mustafa Okuklu. Hüseyin Koca explains the main aim of his thesis as to narrate how the National Struggle was won through an examination of Fahreddin Altay's life. Hüseyin Koca, "Fahrettin Altay Paşa: Hayatı-Faaliyetleri- Eserleri", M.A. Thesis: Selçuk University, 1990, p.2; Mustafa Okuklu says the National Struggle was not only a creation of a totally new state after the collapse of the empire, but also a struggle for the formation of a new society. Therefore, to know the fighters of these struggles will be helpful to understand the day we are living. Mustafa Okuklu, "Fahrettin Altay", M.A. Thesis: Dokuz Eylül University, 2009, p.1.

²⁴ Abdulhamit Kırmızı, "Oto/Biyografik Vebal: Tutarlılık ve Kronoloji Sorunları", in Abdulhamit Kırmızı (ed.), *Otur Baştan Yaz Beni: Oto/Biyografiye Taze Bakışlar*, (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2012), p.15.

1.5. Contributions

All of the students who have written biographies of the military officers, who lived in the period, saw biography as a way to escape to having thought and carry out detailed research because biographical studies are regarded as easy to prepare. They collect documents related to a person, and combine them with ever repeating- explanations of the well known events that occurred in the period. However, biography is more than that. It is a way of interpreting of history. Having an objective in preparing of a biography in this field is the first contribution of the thesis.

Understanding and narrating the radical changes and transformation of the period is the objective of the thesis. The primary purpose is to find a way to narrate the transition from empire to republic with due attention to its complexities. And the principal methodological concern is to avoid the retrospective outlook that influence most of the primary and secondary sources related to the period. In this respect, biography is an ideal method. This thesis is prepared with the aim of filling the gap in biographies of military officers that attaches the importance of prospective outlook in the narration of the period by mainly focusing on the wholeness of the transition period with the aim of increasing the examples of those works, approaching the period from a different standpoint.

Secondly, the thesis was written within the framework of the concept of militarization of society, the most important phenomenon for the military officers' lives rather than isolating Fahreddin Altay's life from the society or unnecessarily repeating the well known events of the period and moving away from the main subject, Fahreddin Altay. With the help of this framework, the thesis puts a new interpretation on the relationship between structure and agency. This framework helped me to mention the point of view of the society regarding the military officers, the profound importance of the militaristic values of the period and Fahreddin Altay's feelings and mentality regarding himself, his job, his mission and society. Thanks to the idea of the militarization of society, the thesis is able to provide alternative answers to the difficult question about military officers' motives to change the society.

Thirdly, in each section, Fahreddin Altay's changing identity and ideas were narrated with combining them with the experiences he gained and a broad explanation of his positions in the army. The thesis contains detailed information on his education and positions in the army as well as a comprehensive narration of the battles he participated in contrast to the all of the biographical theses and most of the books in the field which pay attention only to the narration of the political events. By explaining his changing identity step by step and combining it with the militarization of society, the thesis casts a new light on the profile of the military officers of the period that runs counter to their traditional profile, constructed on the books and articles of the transition period. It reveals that authors consciously or unconsciously narrate either Enver Pasha or Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] or both of them. This well known narration of military officers is a gross simplification because they were an extraordinarily complicated group.

Fourthly, this thesis is based on more systematic and serious research than all of the theses and most of the books in the field. For the first time, the transcripts, documents on appointments, a great numbers of photographs, a brief autobiography written by the agent, and the record of elections of a military officer are all brought together in a biographical study.

Fifthly, unlike the other theses on Fahreddin Altay's life, in addition to his memoirs, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, this thesis includes his article, "Çanakkale Savaşı'nın İlk Günlerinde Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)", and his books, *1917 Kudüs Savaşları* and *İstiklal Muharebatında Süvari Kolordusunun Harekatı*, in addition to every single appendix which I used.

Lastly, this is the first thesis written in English to address not only Fahreddin Altay's life but also all of the military officers' of his generation, and it is based on a broader perspective on historical methodology and military history with the help of the sources written in English. Besides, complementing existing biographical studies of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in English, it will provide fresh information on the lives of the military officers of the period for people who cannot speak Turkish.

1.6. Outline of the Thesis

In introduction and conclusion, the concept of militarization of society, giving a global dimension to the thesis and importance of his life story for the Ottoman history were emphasized rather than presenting his biography as a narration of a life kept in isolation. However, in the chapters, the main focus was on Fahreddin Altay's life story to avoid writing his life in a confused way. In other words, it is only preferred to discuss the framework of the thesis; militarization of society in introduction and conclusion.

The reader will come across the concept in the chapters in different forms and understand its different effects on FahreddinAltay step by step. Militarization of society was integrated into the chapters and merged with Fahreddin Altay's experiences, character and choices to understand his motives and course of life. The principal topics in the chapters only deal with Fahreddin Altay's life story on the principle that the thesis is written for considering the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey from an unusual angle, but at the same time, it should recount Fahreddin Altay's life story from a different historical perspective which is as precious as the grand narratives of the period. If the framework or the period had continued to be narrated in the chapters, the context would be too complicated to follow and his life story would be ignored. While interpreting his life, by not repeating the framework, militarization of society all the time, it was tried to show its different effects on his life and character step by step. In other words, the global dimension and framework of the thesis and narration of the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey stayed in the background and were taken into account as limiting factors of the narration. Thus, the pledges given in the introduction, examining the concept's effects on his life and reinterpreting the transition period with the help of his biography were fulfilled.

Aside from the introduction and conclusion, this thesis consists of three chapters under the titles of Educating an Ottoman Guardian, Being an Ottoman Warrior and Being a Republican Representative. In each section, the reader meets a different

Fahreddin [Altay]. This division also makes it easier to narrate and see his ever-changing personality and evaluate the changing conditions of his life.

The second chapter, *Educating an Ottoman Guardian* begins with his birth and ends with his graduation from the Imperial Military Staff College in 1902. It focuses on the importance of being a military officer as a path towards a prosperous and prestigious life.

The third chapter, *Being an Ottoman Warrior* begins with his first duty in the army as a staff officer and ends with the military maneuvers carried out after the Great Offensive after 1922 to keep the army ready for another possible attack. It focuses on every single duty he took in the army and his adaptation period in the conditions of war.

The fourth chapter, *Being a Republican Representative*, begins with his appointment to Konya as the Fifth Army Corps Commander after the regulation of the army following the Treaty of Lausanne and ends with his death in 1974. It focuses on his strong desire to build a powerful nation state and definite feeling of mission to change the society as one of its pioneers. In addition to his duties in the army, Fahreddin Pasha went abroad hosted the visiting rulers of different countries and became a deputy. Correspondingly, the chapter also focuses on his new feelings regarding being a part of a nation in addition to his sense of belonging to the army.

1.7. Sources

Fahreddin Altay was a very successful and famous general. Therefore, there is detailed information on his life in marvelous prosopographical studies, purely based on archival research, published by the General Staff, Military Academy, Ministry of National Defence and Turkish Historical Foundation. Therefore, this thesis was not written by carrying out painstaking archival research. It is much more reasonable to interpret his studies to hunt for valuable clues on his personality to write a good biography of him, reflecting an understanding of the world and its ways he lived in.

His life checked out with the studies: *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III, Cepheden Meclise, Harp Akademilerinin 120 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar, Harp Akademilerinin 127 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar, Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler, Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri, Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay on the website of the Ministry of National Defence (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı).*

Fahredden Altay's name is rarely mentioned in memoirs because he generally preferred to stay away from politics. During the wars, he took such duties that unlikely paving the way for being involved in any discussion with anyone. Above all, he did not like to take risks and always tried to keep his head down. Therefore, other memoirs cannot provide information on him apart from mentioning his name and position.

1.7.1. Fahreddin Altay's Studies

The school books published in 1923 and 1924 introduced the National Struggle into the curriculum. At that time, the narration was based on plural nouns; Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his friends. It was possible to read all of the leaders' successes in the struggle. However, republican historiography reached two turning points with the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) on 17 September 1924 and declaration of the martial law (Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu) on 4 March 1925.

Thus, the prominent dissidents of the period passed up their chances of being mentioned as the heroes of the National Struggle in the official historiography. In this period, new roles were written with a highly retrospective outlook especially for Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] Pasha. Up until then, his entrance to the stage of history was started on 19 May 1919 as the national hero of the struggle. His former deeds were ignored. After this period, however, a particular emphasis was given on the

narration of how Mustafa Kemal Pasha had already been a great hero during the last years of “the collapsed empire”. The same set of actions that lead to make him a national hero have been repeated for many years; firstly he performed a leading role in the declaration of the constitution on 23 July 1908, in the second place, suppressed the reactionary rebellion on 13 April 1909, then successfully became the leader of the combat in Tripoli until the end of 1912, thereafter took back Edirne on 21 July 1913 during the Second Balkan Wars, after that, repulsed the enemy at the Gallipoli Front, and successfully commanded the Yıldırım Army Group at the beginning of November 1918.²⁵ Thus, his image of being a visionary leader in the imperial period [before the National Struggle] was massively reinforced.

After the assassination attempt in İzmir to Mustafa Kemal Pasha on 14 June 1926, paving the way for the elimination of his dissidents, the historiography was entirely written by focusing on the great man. His speech (Nutuk) completed at the end of September 1927, became the main source for historiography of the period. Nobody was in a position to object his narration, blatantly ignoring the dominant roles of his dissidents during the National Struggle.²⁶

Until 1927, those narrations had been perpetuated as national and popular stereotypes and have been written and narrated for decades. Thus, history could not go beyond being an odd mixture of heroism and marginalization. In all of his studies, Fahreddin Altay mainly followed this discourse.

Ferik Fahreddin [Altay], *İstiklal Muharebatında Süvari Kolordusunun Harekatı*, (Konya: Vilayet Matbaası, 1341 [1925]); This book consists of six chapters. Fahreddin Pasha narrates how the cavalry army corps was established and transformed into a successful and powerful unit. It starts with the occupation of İzmir and ends with the city’s salvation. He narrates the Battle of Sakarya and Great Offensive day by day. It

²⁵ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Mustafa Kemal Paşa’nın Bir Lider Olarak İnşası”, in Bülent Bilmez (ed.), *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin Tartışmalı Konuları*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013), pp.10-13.

²⁶ Cemil Koçak, “İnkılap Tarihçilerinin Kutsal Metni: Nutuk”, in Bülent Bilmez (ed.), *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin Tartışmalı Konuları*, pp.37-40.

is a printed version of a conference talk he gave in 1923 in the Military Academy. It consists of fifty-one pages and is the most famous book of his from the period. It which was translated into French and German and is the most important primary source regarding the cavalry units in the National Struggle.

Until today, any criticism regarding the book and his position in the National Struggle as the cavalry corps commander could be found because it is very special duty, only taken by him. Among the commanders, only he had considerable experience commanding the cavalry units even though he was an infantry graduate. Other commanders graduated from either the infantry or the artillery classes and did not have any experience regarding cavalry units.

This book is extremely difficult to read and understand because it is very technical. It includes various maps and tables. Rather than offer any comments on an accusation, or raise any controversial issues regarding anyone, it provides many numbers and explains military tactics. Fahreddin Pasha chose some understandable parts from it and added them to his memoirs as they are.

Fahrettin Altay, "Çanakkale Savaşı'nın İlk Günlerinde Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)", *Bellekten*, vol.XX (October 1956); This is a very short article, consisting of three pages. The entire volume of the journal only includes articles on Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), written by people who knew him. The article focuses on the Nineteenth Division Commander Mustafa Kemal's situation on the first days of the landing at the Gallipoli Front. It begins with the formation of the units, especially the division and ends with Fahreddin Altay's comment on the first day of the Allied landing on 25 April 1915. According to Fahreddin Altay, there were four reasons for the failure of the total destruction of the Allied Powers in the first day of the landing. This failure paved the way for the death of many "Turkish soldiers" in vain and protracted the war(s).

Firstly, Fahreddin Altay argues that the Supreme Military Command mistakenly sent another regiment, to the Division Commander Mustafa Kemal instead of his own units whom he trained in Tekirdağ before the landing. This was a huge problem for

Mustafa Kemal because the regiments consisted of Syrian soldiers who were not trained and did not like to fight. Secondly, although Mustafa Kemal wanted to go to the Kabatepe- Arburnu region and use his initiative, the army commander Liman von Sanders did not accept his offer because Sanders thought the landing was going to occur at Bolayır. (Sanders was wrong, Mustafa Kemal was right: the landing occurred at Kabatepe-Seddülbahir). Thirdly, there were three regiments in Kocatepe, Arburnu and Seddülbahir. Liman von Sanders reduced them to battalions. Fourthly, on the first day of the landing, Mustafa Kemal went to the region under the pretext of commanding military exercises, and wanted permission to use his initiative from the Army Corps Commander Es'ad Pasha. His division was directly under the command of the army instead of the army corps, so the Army Corps Commander Es'ad Pasha went to Army Commander Field Marshal Liman von Sanders Pasha to get permission, but it was too late because two hours had already passed over since the landing. Despite getting permission from Sanders, the numbers of the landing units had already grown immensely. Like his other studies, there is not any controversial issue in his memoirs.

The article is one of the first examples of the standard narratives on the period. His narration was going to be one of the cornerstones of the official historiography, started to systematically written by Fahri Belen from the 1970s to the 1990s. Despite of the wrong approach of Fahreddin Altay's article, it is extremely important for creating the official historiography because there are a small number of studies on the period in the 1950s.

Fahreddin Altay, *1917 Kudüs Savaşları*. (İstanbul: Harb Akademileri Basımevi, 1958); This is a pamphlet consisting of sixteen pages in which Fahreddin Altay narrates his account of the withdrawal operations in Jerusalem. He mainly argues that he acted within the framework of the military hierarchy and knew that defeat in the region was inevitable. It was the only military defeat of his career, so the pamphlet is extremely important to see his self defense in the face of a failure.

His interpretations are consistent with what the secondary sources were used in the thesis and distinguished secondary sources used in the thesis regarding the situation, but the most challenging issue is to understand what happened in reality. He wrote the pamphlet after he had become an experienced and victorious commander and it is impossible to know what young Fahreddin's point of view was while the events were happening because he would have expressed it only in informal conversations with his commanders.

The pamphlet is very difficult to read and highly technical and was written in a very professional manner. It consists of sketches and telegrams. The main idea of the pamphlet is that the operations in the region and the ideas of Enver Pasha and Falkenhayn were dangerous and wrong. Their imaginations and orders to Yıldırım Army Group were crazy and deluded.

Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: İnsel Yayınları, 1970); Fahreddin Altay became the co-author of his biography thanks to his memoirs, but it was carefully avoided to lock him into his own reality. His memoirs represent his subjective identity, and they are also a part of his life, but only reflect his personality while he was writing it. While narrating his life, he had to create a meaningful entirety to reflect his identity at that time. In that moment, he only wanted to be remembered as the victorious commander of the National Struggle and defender of the Turkish Nation. His memoirs are quite different from those of many of the commanders' of the period in terms of his purpose in writing it. Rather than addressing accusations, claims or problems, it focuses on his successes and his relatively isolated life from a nationalistic perspective.

As a very successful commander in the two wars of the National Struggle, the most important challenge while interpreting his memoirs was to reveal his failures. By narrating his experiences step by step and sometimes violating the chronological order, his totalistic narration and absolute consistency evaporates.

Different from previous theses on Fahreddin Altay, this thesis does not confine itself to giving direct quotations from his memoirs, and representing them as pure truths. Instead, the chosen parts of his memoirs were connected to his identity of the time and places within a context, and then compared with the secondary sources.

His memoirs start with his childhood and end in 1945. At the end of the 1960s, while carrying out his research on the Committee of Union and Progress, journalist Taylan Sorgun called Fahreddin Altay. Fahreddin Altay's reply was "please give me your questions in written form". After reading them, Fahreddin Altay invited Taylan Sorgun to his house in Emirgan. He told Taylan Sorgun, "despite of your young age, you have a good knowledge on the issues and period. Before you, many people asked me to write what I experienced, but none of them was knowledgeable. Research the issues and period again, after you are well prepared, I will narrate what I experienced." Over a period of six months, for a couple of days each week, Taylan Sorgun went to his house and they finished the memoirs.²⁷

There are five different editions of his memoirs.²⁸ Other than the first edition, the others look like they were written by Taylan Sorgun. Only after turning the cover page, the reader can understand it is his memoirs. In this thesis, it is preferred to use the first edition. Only in the first edition, there is a preface written by Retired General Fahreddin Altay. He briefly and clearly introduces himself and his family. It ends with his advices for the young people of new Turkey. Other editions, apart from the first one, begin only with Taylan Sorgun's preface. [Fahreddin Altay's preface was

²⁷ Taylan Sorgun, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e: İmparatorluk, İttihat ve Terakki, Cumhuriyet, 1902-1938 Üç Devrin Galerisi*, 4th edition, (İstanbul: Bilge Karınca, 2003), p.10.

²⁸ 1st edition: Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası 1912-1922*, (İstanbul: İnel Yayınevi, 1970); 2nd edition: Taylan Sorgun, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e: İmparatorluk, İttihat ve Terakki, Cumhuriyet, 1902-1938 Üç Devrin Galerisi*, (İstanbul: Kamer Yayınları, 1998). After opening the cover page, the reader come across the following line: Fahrettin Altay Pasha is narrating (Fahrettin Altay Paşa Anlatıyor), apart from the first edition, all the others were written with this style; It is impossible to find the 3rd edition; 4th edition: Taylan Sorgun, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e: İmparatorluk, İttihat ve Terakki, Cumhuriyet, 1902-1938 Üç Devrin Galerisi*, (İstanbul: Bilge Karınca, 2003); 5th edition: Taylan Sorgun, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e: İmparatorluk, İttihat ve Terakki, Cumhuriyet, 1902-1938 Üç Devrin Galerisi*, (İstanbul: Kum Saati Yayınları, 2004).

removed]. Taylan Sorgun narrates how he persuaded Fahreddin Altay to narrate his memoirs. These editions are simplified versions of the first one and lack of many important pieces of information, photographs, documents and letters of the first edition. The first edition is 504 pages; the others are about 450 pages.

There are no inconsistencies between his memoirs and his previous studies because he narrated his memoirs by checking again and again his previous studies, documents and personal notes he had at that time. He did not rely on his memory and wanted to leave any controversial thing behind him. Taylan Sorgun says that “he thought many hours even on a tiny detail, and checked and compared with his notes, documents and studies again and again. Only then, he could decide what he wanted to say for the final version of the writing.”²⁹

His memoirs are very easy to read, if not understand, because he avoided military technical matters. It was written in a plain language. Until he was 88 years old, he did not need to narrate his memoirs. If he had a problem he wanted to address or needed to defend himself against an accusation, he did so in writing. He believed his studies to be enough to preserve his legacy and reflect the most important feature of his identity, being a victorious commander of the National Struggle. And, he burned everything including his diaries after writing his memoirs.³⁰

In the second chapter, Educating an Ottoman Guardian, the primary sources consist of his memoirs and books about being a cadet and military officer in Ottoman society. They focus on how Fahreddin considered by the society while being a candidate for the military elite and was influenced from his image. In addition, his transcripts in the Rare Books Library of Istanbul University (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi) were very helpful. Each lecture he took translated into English and added appendices immediately after the original transcripts. In the footnotes, the

²⁹ Taylan Sorgun, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e: İmparatorluk, İttihat ve Terakki, Cumhuriyet, 1902-1938 Üç Devrin Galerisi*, 4th edition, p.11.

³⁰ Hüseyin Koca, “Fahrettin Altay Paşa: Hayatı- Faaliyetleri- Eserleri”, M.A. Thesis: Selçuk University, 1990, p.3.

highest scores of each point he took were explained. After reading the whole thesis, the reader will better understand how the courses he took helped him acquire intellectual and creative abilities while experiencing being a military officer and commander. The secondary sources consist of edition books, articles, theses and books which are used to give detailed information on the system of his education.

In general, the sources of the chapter focus on the system of his educational background and the perception of a child/young cadet in the society. Rather than comparing the information in these sources with that in his memoirs, they generally used to describe the world he lived in because there is not detailed information in his memoirs on his childhood.

In the third chapter, *Being an Ottoman Warrior*, the primary sources' function is to describe the perception of being an army member in Ottoman society. Fahreddin Altay's books and article were used only in this section while first published version of his memoirs used in each section. His career in the army also was narrated with the help of the documents in the Archives of Military History and Strategic Studies for the General Staff (Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Arşivi) and Archives of the Prime Ministry (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri) in addition to other military officers' memoirs. The primary sources of the chapter also include books on being a military officer.

Until the beginning of the Great War, Fahreddin Altay's comments in his memoirs are in conformity with the typical examples of nationalist-Kemalist war heroes. He regarded the society as backward and undertook mission to change it. Having a calm personality and wide experience, he critically commented on the events of the period. There is no need to defend him because he chose to lead a calm life.

For the period of the war, Es'ad Pasha's unpublished memoirs are very important in terms of discussing controversial issues of his memoirs in addition to the official reports of the Representative Committee and Feridun Kandemir's statements in his book. After his participation into the Nationalist, the sources start to fulfill a

complementary role rather than conflicting with his own image in his memoirs. İnönü, Çakmak and Aralov extol his duty during the war.

To check his assumptions, the secondary sources consisting of articles, books, edition books and symposium talks and lectures were used. To describe his life, various articles, books, edition books, document-based books on the war and period were used. The secondary sources were cited to enrich the description of his world.

By adding simple maps into the text, it is aimed to make the military operations he participated in understandable readers without a background in the military history of the period.

In the fourth chapter, Being a Republican Representative, like in the second chapter, his memoirs were the only helpful study of his to narrate this period of his life. Different from the other chapters, in this one, newspapers were used to give further information on his duties as a host to royal visitors and maneuvers he commanded. There is very little information on the period up to his death except for a couple of interviews. And, to learn how he died, newspapers were helpful.

Apart from Fahreddin Altay's memoirs, Asım Gündüz's memoirs are the only memoirs to narrate Fahreddin's Altay's role in making İsmet İnönü the new president. Fahreddin Altay did not say much about his position in politics in his memoirs. To describe the period, the official reports of the Grand National Assembly (Meclis Tutanakları) were used, but there is not detailed information on his political career because he did not take the floor except for military affairs. (But, of course, it gives important clues about his personality and point of view). His duty in the Grand Assembly was relatively short and he confined his opinions to military matters. In addition, his career was narrated with the help of record elections and a brief autobiography written with his handwriting taken from the Archive of the Grand National Assembly (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Arşivi), and the documents on his appointments and official writings about his travels from the Archives of the Prime Ministry (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri).

There is no useful book on the maneuvers and Menemen Incident, so theses were used to describe them. The books and edition books on military life, the changing structure of army and foreign policy of the Turkish Republic were used.

Those years of his life resemble his childhood period in terms of his narration of himself. He thought it was sufficient to give basic information on his duties without making any detailed comment. In general, the sources of the chapter served complementary role rather than conflicting one with his image in his memoirs at this stage.

The first appendix of the thesis is a table related to the Ottoman military ranking system prepared by comparing various sources because there a confusion on it. Every single ranking, used in thesis was written according to it.

Besides, it is used people's names according to their spelling in the alphabet used by the Ottomans. For example, Fahreddin instead of Fahrettin, or Mehmed Es'ad instead of Mehmet Esat, was written.

In addition, with the intention of preventing any confusion, if a name was mentioned for the first time in the imperial period, the surname of the person –if could have any- was written between square brackets. Only after the law on the surname was enacted, the surnames of the people were used. And, each person named with their rankings or titles they had at the time of the topic their names mentioned.

In addition all the concepts and names of places were written according to their usage in the given period. For example, while narrating the period after the Great War, the concept of Independence War was never used because at that time people named it as the National Struggle (Mücadele-yi Milliyye or Mücahede-yi Milliyye). The only exception is Fahreddin Altay's usage. He names it as the Independence War, or calls Mustafa Kemal as Atatürk before the surname law. His words were translated as they are.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATING AN OTTOMAN GUARDIAN (1880-1902)

During his educational life, Fahreddin was immensely influenced from Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz's ideas, stemming from nation in arms. Goltz mainly thought that the future wars were going to make between nation in arms rather than on the battlefields. Societies had to be fully prepared for the inevitable wars of the industrial age. Armies, chain of command and order must be the central elements of the system. Especially, military officers had to internalize the values of militarism to direct people as the most important pioneer class. As a young cadet, Fahreddin step by step believed in the necessity of nation in arms and was induced the magic of being a member of the military elite, the only legal authority to prepare the country for war.

He indoctrinated with the idea that war is not a single combat anymore, but a well organized preparation and mobilization of the different armies and societies. To destruct the enemy, people had to show their intelligence, knowledge on materials and sentimental values. The contemporary armies were powerful, so the destruction and victory were immense. War became horrible and serious phenomenon different from the previous periods, basing on entertainment and chivalry. Fahreddin had been taught that despite of the destruction of the war, people cannot give up the necessity of it. As long as the needs and cleverness of humanity exist, war would become a brutal reality of life. Intelligence and knowledge, coming to mean security and welfare were the only effective solutions to cope with it.

2.1. In Shkodër

On January 12nd 1880, a baby's sound of crying was heard in Shkodër, in today's Albania ruled by the Ottoman Empire.³¹ For İsmail Bey and his wife Hayriye Hanım, it

³¹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: İnsel Yayınları, 1970), p.7; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1999), p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2009), p.3; *Cepheden Meclise*, (Ankara: T.C. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, 1999), p.56; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve*

was the most beautiful sound they ever heard because they had their first baby. İsmail Bey joyful in tears, held his son close to his body in his arms, and whispered a name to his ear, Fahreddin.

After 90 years, Fahreddin Altay's memoirs provide some information regarding his father's, grandfather's and grand-grandfather's identities in his memoirs.

My father was a colonel (albay)³² İsmail Bey from İzmir. My grandfather is Hacı Ahmed Efendi. His father is Urlalioğlu Ömer Ağa. Therefore, my hometown is İzmir. My father graduated from a high school in İzmir. And then he went to Bursa Military High School, (Bursa Askeri Lisesi). Afterwards, he attended the Military Academy (Harbiye) in Istanbul. He graduated from Harbiye in 1869 as an infantry lieutenant (piyade teğmeni). He became the adjutant (yaver)of the War Minister in Istanbul. After a while, he became a captain (yüzbaşı)and he was appointed to Shkodër.³³

He regarded his father as a hero and protector of the weak people because he was a charismatic leader and role model for him. Throughout his life, being a military officer's son was a source of pride for Fahreddin. After taking back his hometown from the Greek invaders in 1922, filling his father with pride was the most memorable moment for him because he strongly believed he was born for being a member of the army.

Fahreddin's mother was Hayriye Hanım, the daughter of a retired lieutenant general (yarbay) İbrahim Bey from Monastir. After Fahreddin, his brother, Ali Fikri was born. He described his mother as a deeply religious woman. Because of his mother, he had to fast, pray and memorize Quranic verses.³⁴

Valiler, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1975), p.291; *Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri*, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1981), p.7; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1989), p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Millî Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Millî Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

³² See Appendix A: Ottoman Military Ranking System.

³³ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7.

2.2. In Mardin

With father İsmail Bey's appointment to Mardin in 1886 as a regiment commander, (alay kumandanı), Fahreddin took his primary education in a sıbyan school in Mardin. Sıbyan schools, where the ultimate purpose was to teach the basics of religion and morals, existed almost in every village and neighborhood. They were not official institutions established by the state, but philanthropic organizations subsidized by the rich of the local community, and usually the imam of the neighborhood mosque nearby was the teacher.³⁵ In this preliminary step of education, the six-years-old Fahreddin started to learn reading the Arabic alphabet to recite Quranic verses, how to pray and follow Islamic practices.

There were various children around him in the school from different ages and levels. A caretaker (bevvab) took him and his friends every morning from their houses to the course which continued until mid-afternoon. The children hung their pockets to the stake carrying on the shoulders of the caretaker. After the course, the caretaker took them back to their houses. Harsh punishments were the nightmares of the children.³⁶

2.3. In Erzincan

After his father's appointment to Diyarbakır, Fahreddin started the secondary school there. Then he continued his education at the Military Junior High School in Erzincan, (Erzincan Askeri Rüştiyesi).³⁷

The textbooks Fahreddin read in the school were generally sought to conceal the deterioration of the empire because the Sultan wanted to create loyal citizens,

³⁵İbrahim Caner Türk, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Okul Öncesi Eğitim", *Millî Eğitim*, vol.192 (Fall 2011), p.161.

³⁶ Ali Birinci, "Mahalle Mektebine Başlama Merasimi ve Mekteb İlahileri", in İsmail Kara and Ali Birinci (eds.), *Bir Eğitim Tasavvuru Olarak Mahalle/Sıbyan Mektepleri: Hatıralar-Yorumlar-Tetkikler*, 2nd edition, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2012), p.24.

³⁷ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.7; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.3; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html (accessed September 25, 2018).

especially faithful to his personality. Fahreddin was taught about the Ottoman armies fighting in the centre of Europe to capture Vienna and about the Ottoman navy controlling the Mediterranean and turning the Black Sea into an Ottoman lake.³⁸ In the era of imperial competition and economic decline, the books he read on citizenship building and instilling loyalty were convincing him on the importance of cohesion among ethnically, linguistically and religiously diverse populations.³⁹

He read many books emphasizing the loyalty to the throne considered equal to loyalty to God as the Ottoman Sultan was acting as the shadow of God on the earth.⁴⁰ A broad based Islamic curriculum was also started to follow. In addition to the Armenian revolutionary activities, the foreign interferences on the liberalization of the autocratic Hamidian regime brought about a growing tendency towards emphasizing autocratic and religious values at government schools.⁴¹

Military junior school student Fahreddin's course-books generally included the ideas of traditional modernism within progressivist and Islamist discourse. There was constant attribution to the characteristics of ideal people who were religious, loyal to the Sultan and hard-working to exalt the empire.⁴² Being an Ottoman was narrated as a member of a huge family, necessitating self sacrifice. Fahreddin was no longer the son of his parents, but the Ottoman Empire. He unconsciously and unconditionally accepted the hierarchical structure of the society. The chain of command was extolled. It firstly began in his family, and then the school and it systematically continued in each strata of the society. The discourse of being together and vigilant

See Appendix B: Fahreddin's Fourth-Year Transcript in Erzincan Military Junior School.

³⁸ Behlül Özkan, "Making a National Vatan in Turkey: Geography Education in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods", *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 50.3 (2014), pp.465-466.

³⁹ Emine Ö. Evered, *Empire and Education under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp.196-197.

⁴⁰ G. Güven Gürkan Öztan, *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Politik İnşası*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), pp.43-44.

⁴¹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Late Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p.181.

⁴² Esmâ İğüs, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Eğitim Sistemi, Eğitim Yapıları ve Askeri Rüşdiyeler", Ph.D. Dissertation: Yıldız Technical University, 2008, p.34.

against the harmful activities of the enemies of the empire, living in the Ottoman society and abroad, repeated itself all the time.⁴³

Together with the militarization of the Ottoman society, when the lines between the civilians and military duties and responsibilities blurred, books and illustrations emphasized the patriotic ideas.⁴⁴ The prevailing understanding of the time was seeing the society as an army. Fahreddin was indoctrinated to be descended from brave ancestors, who were brave warriors. Therefore, it was not difficult for him to identify himself with the army. Having a military power became the indication of being a civilized and great nation.⁴⁵

In comparison to later years, Fahreddin's early life was peaceful, but the society continued to grow up children who were willing to fight for the country in the future because in the last quarter of the 19th century peace meant preparation for war. The prevailing opinion of the time was holding a strong army, always ready for the war to assert the existence of the country. The society deeply believed in the success and perfection of the army under any circumstances. The power and capacity of the army was the symbol of glory. The appearance of the soldiers became attractive. They carried guns and swords and became public heroes, adorned in smart uniforms.⁴⁶

Since major developments in the military technology, becoming a military officer was more important than ever before. As one of sons of the noble, famous and great warriors, cadet Fahreddin strongly felt his profession was divine and glorious.

⁴³ Güven Gürkan Öztan, *Türkiye'de Militarizm: Zihniyet, Pratik ve Propaganda*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), pp.40-41.

⁴⁴ Benjamin C. Fortna, "Bonbons and Bayonets: Mixed Messages of Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic", in Benjamin C. Fortna (ed.), *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp.181-182.

⁴⁵ Ayşe Gül Altınay and Tanıl Bora, "Ordu, Militarizm ve Milliyetçilik", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p.142.

⁴⁶ Philip Steele, *A History of Fashion and Costume: The Nineteenth Century*, (Hong Kong: Bailey Publishing Associates 2005), p.36.

Therefore, he realized very well that in the eyes of people, being a military officer created a deep and excellent impression. Being extremely fond of his profession was the first duty of a cadet. And then he had to do his best to practice it. To prosper the society, to be a civilized country and to have a strong army, the exalted and powerful state was opening up the most marvelous opportunities of the time by providing the most modern, sophisticated scientific military equipments in addition to meeting the most reasonable and latest regulation in the army- at least Fahreddin convinced it in those years.⁴⁷

It must be a marvelous feeling for Fahreddin to be a prospective member of the army. Older people advice him that his education and success will be very beneficial for him in the future because he will be able to have a good job and life and other people will be respectful to him. Now, Fahreddin knew being one of the protectors of the empire and working for the state will give him very much respected and admired life.

2.4. In Erzurum

One day, Hayriye Hanım prepared his 14 years old son's favorite meals for dinner because he was going to leave his family the day after. Young Fahreddin was going to start his new school to swell them with pride. The following morning, he wore his school uniform, and packed his black bag made of patent leather. He kissed his mother and brother goodbye, and took the road with his father. When they came to Erzurum Military High School, (Erzurum Askeri Lisesi),⁴⁸ he kissed his father's right hand. They concealed their tears from each other because men could not cry. Hereupon, Fahreddin had been staying at the boarding school for three years from

⁴⁷Osman Senai, Meclis-i Maarif-i Askeriye'nin Kabulü ile Umûm Askerî İdadî Şakirdânı İçin Tertip Edilmiş Nümune-i Kitâbet-i Osmaniye, (İstanbul: Kitabcı Karabet, 1312 [1894-1895]), pp.113-115.

⁴⁸ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.8; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.3; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html (accessed September 25, 2018).

See Appendix C: Fahreddin's First, Second and Third-Year Transcripts in Erzurum Military High School.

1894 to 1897. The price of success was high. Fahreddin had to learn living alone at such a young age.

Erzurum was the center of the 4th Army. Constructing military schools in the army centers was a German tradition with the intent of encouraging cadets in the elegance of military life. Fahreddin was impressed by the glory of being a member of the Ottoman army while seeing the military officers all around.

In the life of adolescent Fahreddin, Ottomanism developed his instinct for protecting the empire in those years because in the world he lived when people start to know themselves; -no longer children- they had to know the meaning of being soldiers as Ottomans. They had to prepare themselves for becoming great soldiers. They had to think all of their ancestors who were great warriors without exception. As they really impress and begin to cry uncontrollably after hearing their glorious past and heroic deeds of their ancestors, their descendents must know their successes and heroism. The noble children of such a strong nation must be remembered with respect. Therefore, Fahreddin had to work hard without displaying any sign of exhaustion.⁴⁹ His education fostered patriotism and nationalism and increased the romantic and manly appeal of military service in the Ottoman realms, as elsewhere⁵⁰ and changed the course of his life deeply. It was inevitable for him seeing himself as the prospective protector of an immense empire having territories in the in the Balkans, Anatolia, North Africa and Arabian Peninsula.

Now, he became more developed mentally and emotionally. One day, a newly appointed major, punished a student. After the evening roll call, a carpet was put in the center, on which the student was laid down. Two men held his legs and arms and another man beat the student with a stick. The child cried out in pain. After his punishment finished, he stood up and saluted everyone. Fahreddin mentions his

⁴⁹ Abdullah Zühdü, *Şanlı Asker*, (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1315 [1897-1898]), pp.11-12.

⁵⁰ Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.15.

deep affection by the event adding that although he could be still counted a child, he possessed self-esteem.⁵¹ He started to be sensible of the vitalism of suppressing his emotions to be a good soldier.

Fahredden was a very successful and passionate student as well as being a brave cadet. He was the sergeant, the head of the class because of having the highest score. In the last year of the high school, sergeants had to be guards in the kitchen of the school in order to check the meals. While doing this, according to a secretive tradition among the students, they made their friends some tea. When Fahreddin was a guard, and put the teapot on the stove. Suddenly, an officer came in, Fahreddin could not hide the teapot, and the officer took it away. He was punished and could not leave the school for two weekends.⁵² It was his first punishment. So, the other valuable lesson he took during those years was to be intrepid to be a good soldier.

He was not much interested in extracurricular activities. Focusing on his education and finishing his school with the highest grade produced the best result for him because he deserved to attend the Imperial Academy in Istanbul. This was a turning point in his life.

2.5. In Istanbul

2.5.1. At the Imperial Military Academy

After receiving his high school diploma, Fahreddin paid a short visit his family in Bitlis. And then, he took the road again to start the Military Academy, (Harbiye) in Istanbul. From 1897 to 1900, he had been a cadet there.⁵³ From now on, he was one of the students of the most prestigious school of the empire.

⁵¹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.12-13.

⁵² Ibid., pp.12-13.

⁵³ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.8; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.3.; *Cepeden Meclise*, p.56.; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

I served as the president of the class at the Military Academy (Harbiye). The students protested the duty officer by putting their feet on the ground hard and quickly to show their anger. Hereupon, an Arabian major interrogated me and wanted to get information about the names of the students. I replied it was impossible for me to hear and see them because I was studying on the rear seats. If I mentioned their names to him, they would be expelled from the Academy and sent to the field service (alaya çıkmak). Thus, I would be notorious. When I rejected to say their names in spite of being under pressure, he put me in the jail of the Academy for 15 days.⁵⁴

Fahreddin never forgot the importance of having respect and admiration for his success and behaviors among people.

Fahreddin's education in the Academy was based on German tradition in a time when the bilateral military affairs between the two empires gradually increased.⁵⁵ During the Hamidian regime, the restructuring of the army and the works of German Military Reform Missions continued.⁵⁶ After the defeat of the Ottomans in 1878, they seemed to realize the deficiencies of the equipment of the army and poor education of the military officers and military units. It proved the army's urgent need for having energetic and well educated commanders. It paved the way for bringing in statutory regulations at the military schools and other institutions of the empire during the Hamidian period.⁵⁷

In August 1880, the Sultan officially requested from Germany military commission. After Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (Golç Paşa) became the inspector of the Military Academy in 1882, he made various changes in the educational system of it. The theoretical training was substituted for practical one. Text books were rewritten, and

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.13-14.

⁵⁵ See Appendix D: Fahreddin's First, Second and Third-Year Transcripts at the Imperial Academy.

⁵⁶ Bülent Durgun, "Turkish-German Military Relations and the Balkan Wars", *Tarih ve Günce Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi*, vol.1 (2017), pp.230-231.

⁵⁷ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Asker ve Siyaset*, Translated by Güneş Ayas, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2010), p.63.

the German military system and education started to be effective instead of French.⁵⁸ Together with the military expertise, Goltz brought his own ideas of militarism, nationalism and Social Darwinism to the Ottoman army, thus reflecting the military culture of industrialized warfare. He was of the opinion that war was not going to come to an end, so each citizen is forced to be a member of military. Success in battle could be achieved by whom being able to inculcate militaristic values in their people to create a robust nation-in-arms. Military elite should occupy the most dominant position in society and perform the most crucial role in state policies. The basic principles of the science of war which he regarded as eternal, despite the changes brought about by modern, industrialized warfare with its railroads and telegraph. Military elite had to exert authority over their soldiers in peacetime by the force of their mind and character through instruction and training.⁵⁹

Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz became the most influential person on Fahredden's generation. His mission was based on creating a people in arms (*millet-i musellaha*). He was of the opinion that the principles of the modern warfare necessarily entail the most rapid decisions. The situation of the gigantic combatant masses reveals that the duties of the supreme command of an army are more difficult than ever before. The struggle is more bloody and severe. In this situation, the cheap uncritical wisdom is the most harmful thing for the modern armies. Modern war phenomenon demands to come up with cunning, detailed and firm plans in the field. The small controlling power of the highest commanders regarding tactical decisions is particularly difficult and important element of the modern warfare.⁶⁰

The wars will be destructive than ever before and last very long, so the society have to prepare for the total war. Each nation will do anything to destroy the enemy. After

⁵⁸ Jehuda L. Wallach, *Bir Askeri Yardımın Anatomisi*, Translated by Fahri Çeliker, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, 1985), p.46.

⁵⁹ George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp.9-10.

⁶⁰ Baron von der Goltz, *The Nation in Arms*, Translated by Philip A. Ashworth, (London: W.H. Allen, 1887), pp.132-133.

fighting such a war, each member of a nation will be proud of their country. In the past, when an army defeated another one, the war finished. However, when it comes to the total war, one side absolutely has to wreck his enemy's hope for winning the war. Therefore, firstly the enemy's army should be decimated, and then, joining any force to the enemy army should be prevented. The greatest mistake would be underestimating the opposing army. It is no longer enough to only have great commanders for a nation. Each member of it has to know how to fight in war and use guns.

The immediate reaction of the army to fulfill the needs of modern times and the quick reorganization of it according to the Prussian model paved the way for giving it a deep sense of greatness. An elaborate preparation of the army was required for the inevitable wars coming. The hierarchy and strict organization was the fundamental necessity of it. The administrators of the new society naturally would be the military officers. They could only change the society in every field of life and save the empire as the pioneers of it. The other apparatus of the government had to be used for this purpose. If the people (millet) were the most essential piece for building up the army and the army required order and morality in order to succeed, then the millet should become like the army. It means they must be disciplined and lived orderly. The disorganization of the army would lead to defeat. And, if society was immoral, the army would become disorderly.⁶¹

Education was regarded as the most essential tool to create armed nations. When Mehmed Es'ad became the headmaster (ders nazırı) of the Academy in 1899, he organized the exams and continued to change the curriculum according to the German and Belgium educational programs.⁶² The latest equipments, quite strange for the rest of the country were provided for the college and the academy including

⁶¹ Einar Wigen, "The Education of Ottoman Man and the Practice of Orderliness", in Ute Frevert and Thomas Dixon (eds.), *Emotions in History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.120.

⁶² İbrahim Kurtcephe and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Kara Harp Okulu Tarihi*, (Ankara: Kara Harp Okulu Matbaası, 1992), p.60.

dynamo, battery, pump, telescope, microscope, maps etc. bought from Europe.⁶³In addition to occupational training like chemistry, geometry, cartography and topography, extra-curricular activities like creative arts and cultural activities were very important at the school.⁶⁴ Learning foreign languages especially French and German were compulsory to be graduated.⁶⁵

According to the regulation, the military cadets had to be the children of those families who were aware of the glory of growing up military officers. The cadets should have been the guardians of the caliphate and the sultanate, so they had to be extremely moral. In addition, they had to be very successful in their educational lives. The cadets had to be checked up by the doctors of the school. In addition to their health, their appearance had to be suitable for the Academy. They had to bring the registry of their parents, and if their parents were guilty, they could not be accepted to the school. Their parents had to be loyal to the caliphate and sultanate. The cadets and their families had to be the members of the biggest four schools of Sunni Islam (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i or Hanbali). The aforementioned background information had to be researched in detail by the committee of the Academy.⁶⁶

However, as if all these measure were taken in vain, a great majority of students hated the Sultan's regime and they believed in the absolute necessity of constitutional regime. Although the school administration had to take serious measures against the students' outbursts, they were sometimes ignoring the cadets' behaviors and they gave a sort of support them.⁶⁷ When Fahreddin was receiving the most distinguished education of the country, he became one of the most prominent dissents of the Sultan like his friends.

⁶³ Ibid., p.49.

⁶⁴ Mehmed Es'ad, *Mirat-ı Mekteb-i Harbiye*, (İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan Matbaası, 1315 [1897-1898]), p.49.

⁶⁵ İsrail Kurtcephe and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Kara Harp Okulu Tarihi*, p.242.

⁶⁶ *Mekatib-i Askeriyye-i Şahane'ye Kabul Olunacak Talebenin Evsafına Dair Nizamname*, (İstanbul: Harbiye-i Şahane Matbaası, 1322 [1904-1905]).

⁶⁷ Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Sınıf Arkadaşım Atatürk*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1966), p.31.

2.5.2. At the Imperial Military Staff College

He showed once again his ultimate ambition and devoutness for being a good military officer by finishing the Academy with the highest grade. Only limited numbers of students graduating from the Academy could continue to receive education at the Imperial Military Staff College (Mekteb-i Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Şahane).⁶⁸ From 1900 to 1902, he received education there.⁶⁹

Together with Second Lieutenant Fahreddin, 12 second lieutenants [Brigadier General] Hafız Hakkı [Pasha] from Monastir, [Lieutenant General] Enver [Pasha] from Hırkayışerif, [Major] Fuad from Hırkayışerif, [Major General] Mahmud Kamil [Pasha] from Aleppo, [Major General] Mehmed Selahaddin [Adil Pasha] from Kocamustafapaşa, [Major General] İsmail Hakkı [Erdener Pasha] from Fındıklı, [Major] Sabid from Gaziantep, [Lieutenant Colonel] Ahmed Kemal from Gelibolu, [Major] Mehmed Nuri from Salonica, [Lieutenant Colonel] Emrullah from Trabzon, [Lieutenant General] Kazım [İnanç Pasha] from Diyarbakır graduated from the college as captains (kurmay yüzbaşı) because they were the most successful ones of the class. The rest of the students (24 cadets) graduated as distinguished captains (mümtaz yüzbaşı).⁷⁰ A great majority of them came from the provinces. Being a staff officer was extremely competitive and required to devote intellectual effort. It entailed deep contemplation and careful observation. It was a matter of meritocracy rather than

⁶⁸ Ceride-i Askeriyye, vol. 56, 5 (Ramazan 1281 [11 February 1865]), p.2.

⁶⁹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: İnsel Yayınları, 1970), p.7; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2009), p.3; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; *Harp Akademilerinin 120 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar*, (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları, 1968), p.58; *Harp Akademilerinin 127 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar*, (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları, 1975), p.149; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

⁷⁰ Erkanıharp Miralayı Muharrem Mazlum, *Erkanıharbiye Mektebi Tarihçesi*, (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Matbaası, 1930), pp.246-247; Also see, *Harp Akademilerinin 127 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar*, pp.35-36; *Harp Akademilerinin 120 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar*, pp.27-28. See Appendix E: The Lectures and Their Hours in a Week in the Imperial Military Staff College, Appendix F: Enver, Fahreddin, Kazım, Fethi and Vasıf at the Imperial Military Staff College.

nepotism or favoritism. Graduation from the college was the most crucial and final stage for being a military staff officer. The graduates were going to be the members of the military elite and had the most important positions in the empire.

He learnt that nothing can be beyond reason because wars could be won only by mapping out effective and comprehensive strategies and technical drawings. Being a military officer meant to prepare effective plans to destroy the enemy as much as possible rather than dying courageously. Scientific instruments and educated staff officers were main criterion for being a civilized society. The primary purpose of Fahreddin's education was to prepare detailed, realistic and concrete war plans and carry out military operations. His primary duty was to analyze the conditions in detail. Discernment, questioning and suspicion were the most important skills he acquired during his educational life. His job was to pay attention every single detail that he can see in his environment. He had to examine all the possibilities. To do this, throughout his educational life he learnt to pay attention four basic factors, the battlefield, weaponry, contingents and enemy.

The curriculum included courses on Land Division and Astronomy (Taksim-i Arazi ve İlm-i Hey'et), Geology (Tabakatü'l- Arz), Military Geography(Coğrafya-yı Askeri), Solid Geometry(Hendese-i Resmîyye), Cartography(Harita Tersimi),Drafts of Solid Geometry(Hendese-i Resmîyye Eşkâli), Practices of Topography(Topoğrafya Ameliyatı), Cosmography(Kozmoğrafya), Trigonometry (Müsellesat), Geometric Objects(Hendese-i Mücesseme), Cartography (Tarama), Algebra (Cebir), Geography (Coğrafya), Painting (Resim), Geometry (Hendese), all which helped him to have detailed information on the battlefield.

After taking Science of Heavy Weapons (Fenn-i Esliha-i Sakile), Chemistry(Kimya), Physics (Hikmet-i Ta'biyye), Rapier and Sword Training(Meç ve Kılıç Ta'limi), Theories of Horse Breeding(Fürusiyyet Nazariyyatı), Theories of Gunshot (Endaht Nazariyyatı), History of Military Science (Tarih-i Fenn-i Harb), he acquired deep knowledge of weaponry.

To educate the contingents, he took Knowledge of Military Training(Ma'lumat ve Terbiye-i Askeriyye) Theories of Instruction(Ta'lim Nazariyyatı) Practices of Instruction(Ta'lim Ameliyyatı). In the college he took Discussions of Renowned Battles (Muharebat-ı Meşhure Münakaşatı), Foreign Countries' Military Organization (Düvel-i Ecnebiyye Ordu Teşkilatı), and Foreign Military Literature Discussion (Müellefat-ı Ecnebiyye-i Askeriyye Münakaşası) to get to know the enemy.

In the future, it was expected from him merging his knowledge with the lectures on strategy, Methods of Fortification(İstihkam Eşkali) Military Explorations(İstikşafat-ı Askeriyye), Statistical and Strategic Geography (Coğrafya-yı Sevkü'l-ceyş ve İstatistiki), Light Fortification(İstihkamat-ı Hafife),Strategic Maneuvers (Ta'biye Tatbikatı), Fortification: Attack and Defence (İstihkamat-ı Cesime: Hücüm ve Müdafaa), Castle Battles (Muharebat-ı Kıla').

Learning German and French beginning in his early years paved the way for making comparison between foreign military methods and various books. At the end, he and his classmates understood the Ottoman army was not good enough to satisfy them.

To deal with any unrest in the future, he obtained information on Imperial Penal Code (Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu), Imperial Legal Code (Dahiliye Kanunname-i Hümayunu). He learnt to save himself from death and have a strong body to be a good military officer in Gymnastics (Cimnastik) and Military Sanitation (Hıfzu's-sıhha-yı Askeri). He was going to have very short time during wars, so he had to learn how to write clear, short orders and easily communicate with his colleagues in Railway Management and Military Telegram (Şimendiferlerin İşledilmesi ve Telgraf-ı Askeri), Composition (Kitabet)Ottoman Turkish Grammar (Kavaid-i Osmaniye) and Turkish Ortography (İmla-yı Türki). The ultimate purpose of his education was preparing to him for fight under any circumstances.

The formation of a new Western style army after the reforms of the academy under Goltz extended the boundary between the military elite and the rest of the society. The new European-style uniforms of the armed forces stood out in sharp relief, but

the difference became much more profound than appearances. The classical military elite, Janissaries, had constituted an integral part of the cultural, religious, and social fabric of the broader Ottoman society. The new military, on the other hand, came to existence as a cloistered elite, standing apart from the masses—pretentious, Westernized, and overweeningly ambitious. Greater benefit was the potential for upward mobility through membership in this privileged group. Fahreddin’s education gave him a chance to be a potential guide for Goltz’s nation in arms.⁷¹ His education providing him to learn modern sciences and foreign languages was the most determinant factor to affect his perception. In this way, he estranged the society. However, the military schools were the centers of patriotism. He was preparing to act as intermediary between the Western culture and imperial one.⁷²

After his graduation, by lot, Fahreddin was appointed to Erzincan. Living in various cities of the empire had already brought a wealth of experience to him. Different from his classmates, he could have chance to live in different cities, and easily get used to communicate with various people having different faiths and cultural backgrounds. Although being a military officer meant to receive a good education rather than practicing and being a passionate student was the most essential step towards it, everything was just beginning now because observation and practicing were other pieces of being it. Now, it was time to apply his profound knowledge with an endless patience and ruthless determination.

⁷¹ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp.35-37.

⁷² Odile Moreau, *Reformlar Çağında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Yeni Düzenin İnsanları ve Fikirleri 1826-1914*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), p.63.

CHAPTER 3

BEING AN OTTOMAN WARRIOR (1902-1923)

During the wartime, Fahreddin [Pasha] experienced to organize the society around the army. As a high-ranking member of the army, he guarded the interests of it, for his part, the only official and professional organization for guaranteeing the welfare and security of the society. Different from the ordinary soldiers in the army, he became a member of the military elite having a deep rooted tradition of knowledge and power to get across the idea of militarism. The organization of the ignorant people and their integration into the army were his missions. Now, Fahreddin [Pasha] was applying the most fundamental principle he had been taught for many years during his educational life; nation in arms can only be created by him and his colleagues because only they are courageous and knowledgeable enough to take the responsibility of command in every field of life.

3.1. In the First Years of His Profession

Fahreddin was coming back as a captain to Erzincan where he left as a military junior high school student. According to the regulations, the new graduates of the college initially had to undergo training in infantry, cavalry and artillery battalions for eight months for each. Only then, they could be appointed as military officers. He became an artillery commander in Erzincan. In Diyarbakır, he became an infantry and cavalry commander.⁷³

There was a conflict between the Armenians, Kurds and Circassians in the provinces Fahreddin was stationed. In a way, it arose from territorial problems, excessive taxation and migrations. According to the Berlin Treaty of 1878, the Ottomans were going to introduce reforms in the regions, where the Armenians were living. However, those reforms were ambiguous and remained as an international issue

⁷³ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.4; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56.

until the beginning of the First World War.⁷⁴ At the end, some dissident Armenians established revolutionary organizations. However, they also participated in the Congress of Ottoman Liberals in 1902 in Paris together with the Young Turks. Like the Young Turks, they were also dissidents to the Sultan and wanted the declaration of the constitutional regime. Most of the Armenians had sympathy for decentralization when it comes to the administration of empire, different from the most of the Young Turks.⁷⁵

Captain Fahreddin's duty was to provide security in the region. Day by day, he continued to meet different people and gained interesting experiences. The Armenian brigands were making nitro cotton (güherçile) in Midyat. According to the Sultan's order (irade-i seniyye), Captain Fahreddin had to destroy their factories.⁷⁶ The army commander charged him with the duty of the destruction. Together with three cavalymen, he went to the Yezidi villages where the nitro cotton was made. He met a man in the public house, helping him to see Serhan, the leader of the Yezidis, living in a castle. Serhan said "they do not make nitro cotton. There are huge caves in the forest where the villagers keep their sheep in winter, and they make the nitro cotton by using the fertilizer." He continued "they do not sell the Armenians nitro cotton, but if they purchase sell the nitro cotton to the Armenians, they do not oppose." Captain Fahreddin offered to buy it to use in the military factories, and they agreed. Serhan was a fugitive, condemned to death, so he and his men keep themselves away from the government, so became brigands. Therefore, Captain Fahreddin could not sleep very well at that night because the men, dressing improperly, paced up and down throughout the whole night. On the very next day,

⁷⁴ Article LXI: The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.
<https://ia801702.us.archive.org/11/items/jstor-2212670/2212670.pdf>

⁷⁵ Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (California: Stanford University Press, 2014), p.14.

⁷⁶ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73.

by the order of Serhan, one of his men helped Captain Fahreddin to go to Nusaybin. After Fahreddin delivered his report, the disciplinary measurements were carried out against the Talori Armenians. Their duty was to prevent the Armenian brigands from escaping into the south.⁷⁷

After many years, General Fahreddin Altay was confessing he was afraid of being in such a region. As a newly graduated person, he was surprised by discovering interesting features of distant corners in the empire. While his newly graduated classmates chasing brigands in Rumelia, Captain Fahreddin was doing the same thing in today's Eastern Anatolia. However, Fahreddin was different from them because he was too deliberate for taking an active role in any revolutionary or clandestine organization despite of being one of the dissidents of the sultan.

On 24 December 1904, he became a senior captain.⁷⁸ Rising in rank and wearing a prestigious uniform filled him with eternal happiness. After 66 years, when narrating those days, the cheerful smile on his face was worth to see: "When I stopped to give my horse water to drink, the beautiful girls of the village were taking water from the fountain. It was a good feeling to attract their attention."⁷⁹

Now, he officially belonged to the military elite, for his part, having the right to change the society and save the country. Military culture had already created its own prestige in the collective consciousness. Being a military officer paved the way for having the greatest virtue in terms of masculinity. It included the most distinguishing

⁷⁷ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.17-21.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.15; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcioğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.73; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.3; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; Erkanıharp Miralayı Muharrem Mazlum, *Erkanıharbiye Mektebi Tarihçesi*, p.30; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291; *Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri*, p.7; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.17.

and desirable characteristics in it and was bewitching by reason of regarding everything related to military as perfect, magnificent and elegant.⁸⁰Fahreddin had already participated in this process since he was born. Now, his appearance reflected very well the social class that he belonged to. It was a new thing and quite different from wearing his school uniform. Fully aware of his acceptance by the society as a prestigious man, he felt quite different from the ordinary people.⁸¹ Wearing exactly the same clothes with his comrades encouraged him to act as a part of a group and march into action alongside them. It made him easier to be distinguished among others and gave him self-assurance.⁸²

Because of the order, Senior Captain Fahreddin was appointed a commission, headed of Tahir Pasha to handle a problem in the Iranian border on March 1906.⁸³From 1905 to 1911, Ottoman troops and their Kurdish allies made a final effort to turn parts of northwestern Iran into the northeastern Ottoman Empire and to integrate the Sunni Kurdish subjects of the shah's "guarded domains" into the caliph-sultan's "well-protected realm." Allied against them was the Iranian state, such as it existed at the time; its Iranian Kurdish and Turkish allies; and the Russian and British governments. This final Ottoman expansionist or integrationist campaign had the potential to undo almost seventy years of intermittent boundary making and topple the shaky balance of power established.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Mahmud Faik, *Askerin Ahlak ve Evsafi*, (İstanbul: Kütübhanesi-i İslam ve Askeri, 1324 [1906-1907]), pp.49-50.

⁸¹ Süleyman Fidan, "Türk Kültüründe Askerî Giyim-Kuşam ve Asker Modası", *Millî Folklor*, vol.92 (2011), p.92.

⁸² Craig Dodd, *Armies of the Pat: Going to War in the 19th Century*, (London: Franklin Watts, 2001), p.12.

⁸³ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, pp.73-74; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.4.; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

⁸⁴ Sabri Ateş, *The Ottoman Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary 1843-1914*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.229.

When Senior Captain Fahreddin arrived in the region, the commander Sami Pasha from Monastir hosted him, and informed him about the order for his appeal to the court in Bitlis. Sami Pasha added “Do not worry my son. You are very young. All of these will come to end in the future. You and your friends are the most important people to serve our country.”⁸⁵ While living in exile in Bitlis, Senior Captain Fahreddin communicated with his best friend among the unionists Hafız Hakki, until the Young-Turk Revolution on July 1908. If one would look at Fahreddin’s big black eyes in those days, that person would easily understand that he deeply believed in himself and his peers could defend and save the empire. They were carrying out such a difficult, solemn and sacred duty that always necessitates avoiding any negligence. They always had to show being the pioneers in the society. The welfare of it and the continuation of the empire entirely depended on courage, honor and profound knowledge of them.⁸⁶

In a couple of years, the Young Turk Revolution broke out. Instead of the dissident intellectuals in the important European cities, the low-ranking and young military officers, Senior Captain Fahreddin’s classmates in Macedonia became the pioneers of it. In spite of the rebellion in Rumelia, the Sultan himself promulgated the constitution in Anatolia and Arabian territories. The 1908 revolution had unfolded in an atmosphere of liberation from autocracy and widespread fraternization between different ethnic and religious groups. Meanwhile, Senior Captain Fahreddin was still in the east of Anatolia.

As an intellectual, he tried to inform people about the momentous event, but they were not aware of the importance of it. When the constitution was declared, he naively believed they were totally saved. The problems of the empire were definitely going to come to an end.⁸⁷ The Young Turk Revolution overthrew the Hamidian

⁸⁵ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.30-32.

⁸⁶ Ahmed Rıza, *Asker*, (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri 1324 [1906-1907]), pp.131-133.

⁸⁷ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.39.

regime with the slogan of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice” and the unionists proposed a constitutional monarchy, giving importance the rule of law, and envisaged parliamentary democracy headed by a responsible government and administered by a meritocratic bureaucracy. They stood for a new fraternal Ottoman identity, united against European intervention in the affairs of the empire. The discourse was on existence of a free press, and unlimited individual liberties. Most of it did not happened because the heroes’ main aim was to the survival of the empire rather than being liberals.⁸⁸

After the Revolution, contrary to Fahreddin’s thought, the euphoria of victory was substituted by disappointment. Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed by Austria-Hungarian Empire and Cyprus by Great Britain. Besides, Bulgaria became an independent country. The internal problems also started to occur in the empire. Seemingly, because of the conflict in the army, the 31 March Incident occurred on 13 April 1909. The real actors’ of the event are still highly controversial, but the most significant result of it was the dethronement of the Sultan Abdulhamid II. As was the case with the promulgation of the constitution, Major Fahreddin was trying to keep himself abreast of the developments with the help of newspapers. His colleagues and friends in the college and the pioneers of the revolution in Macedonia were the staff officers of the Action Army (Hareket Ordusu), built up to crush so called as the conservative reactionaries. They started to become powerful in the administration of the country. Like they did, Fahreddin also tried to suppress the rebellious people to protect his beloved army and empire. He served as the staff officer in the contingents under the command of Field Marshal İbrahim Pasha, established for suppressing the rebellion.⁸⁹

While the 31 March Incident was occurring in Istanbul, there were also agents in Erzurum and Erzincan because the rebellious people tried to take the Anatolian Army to impede the army in Rumelia. It

⁸⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p.150.

⁸⁹ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcioğlu, *Atatürk’ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.74.

should not be stated by a small group like Avcı regiments, but must be occurred by getting help from much more greater powers from the outside. After a while, in my region, surprisingly, the officers, people and soldiers started to read the pray. Therefore, there was no longer any reason for the continuation of the rebellion. The soldiers accepted the officers as their commanders again. General İbrahim Pasha gave advice to the soldiers, remaining without their guns. At the midnight, a feast was given. We punished the pioneers, and came back to Erzurum.⁹⁰

Armies were well-organized groups, so the military officers were needed in organizing the society according to the rules of violence and preparing it for carrying out strategically military operations. All of them required professionalization in making the most difficult and crucial decisions and maintaining order.⁹¹ Therefore, for Fahreddin and his colleagues, their own parts, it was vital to suppress the insurrection of the conservative and ignorant people. They continued to take an active role in the politics and regulation of the society.

3.2. In the Balkan Wars

While his friends, the heroes of the revolution, were continuing to fight in the Turco-Italian War, Major Fahreddin was appointed to the General Staff. After the war finished on 18 October 1912, the First Balkan War broke out on 8 September 1912 because of the desire of the Orthodox Christian governments in the Balkans to assert their nationalist claims in the Ottoman territories. The nationalist leaders of the Balkan states, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia tried to change the results of the Berlin settlement with the aim of achieving their nationalist goals within the Ottoman Empire.⁹²

⁹⁰ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.39.

⁹¹ Mustafa Uluçakar, "Türkiye'de Sivil-Asker İlişkileri: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme", *Güvenlik Stratejileri*, vol.28 (September 2018), p.195.

⁹² Richard C. Hall, "Balkan Wars, 1912-1913", in Richard C. Hall (ed.), *War in the Balkans: An Encyclopedic History from the Fall of the Ottoman Empire to the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, (California: Abc-clio, 2014), pp.28-30.

Major Fahreddin was appointed to the headquarters of Ahmed İzzet Pasha.⁹³ His headquarters was set up in one of the wagon-lits in Hadımköy. It was very crowded and there were old generals and staff officers.⁹⁴ It was a great opportunity for him to show himself to the renowned generals to have duties and responsibilities for his career. For the first time, Major Fahreddin experienced making quick, life- dependent decisions in precarious and an ambiguous environment where there was significant risk of serious injury or loss of life.⁹⁵ Apparently, he achieved to catch attention of them as it is understood from his subsequent positions.

The line of fire was away from the headquarters. We could distantly hear the noise of guns. I had never seen how the war was continuing on the line of fire and really wanted to see it. Therefore, I went to Çatalca. When I was climbing the mountain, a bullet was shot on my left side and cluster bombs were raining down. When arriving in the trench, I saw two officers and a couple of soldiers, showing me the trenches of the enemies. I also received detailed information about the situation.⁹⁶

The Bulgarians came until Adrianople on 21 September 1912. The east flank of the army decided to defend Kırkkilise and Adrianople in Yenice line. However, it was impossible to hold on for the Ottomans, so they retreated until Lüleburgaz line on 24 September. Thus, Kırkkilise was abandoned to the Bulgarians. After the Ottoman defeat in Pınar-Lüleburgaz line for four days, they had to retreat until Çatalca line. The East Army was reorganized on that line under the name of Çatalca Army, consisting of six army corps. On 26 March 1913, the Bulgarians took Adrianople.

After the First Balkan War, when the alliance broke off between Serbia and Bulgaria because of their disagreement on the new territories they occupied in the war, the

⁹³ See Appendix G: Staff Officer of the Central Headquarters Major Fahreddin's Personal Record in the First Balkan War.

⁹⁴ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.64.

⁹⁵ Jeffrey A. McNeil and C. A. Morgan, "Cognition and Decision Making in Extreme Environments" in Carrie H. Kennedy, Jeffrey L. and Moore (eds.), *Military Neuropsychology*, (New York: Springer 2010), p.361.

⁹⁶ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.65.

Ottomans had a chance to save themselves from the awful situation and a considerable psychological shock.⁹⁷In the Second Balkan Wars, they took advantage of Bulgarians' difficult situation against Romanians and attacked on Çatalca and Bolayır lines on 13 July 1913. They took Adrianople on 22 July. Maritsa River was accepted as the borderline between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire. Adrianople, Kırkkilise and Dimetoka were given to the Ottomans. The Western side of the Maritsa River and Crete Island were given to Greece.

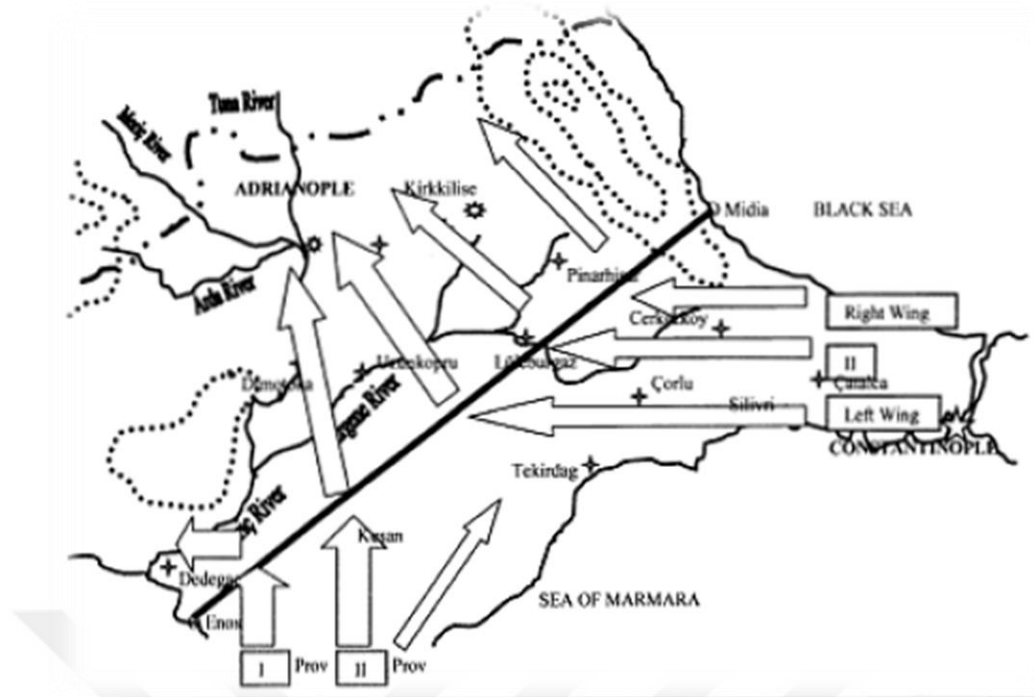
Major Fahreddin participated in the operation to take back Adrianople. He commanded the tribal cavalry brigades (aşiret süvari tugayı) on the Çatalca line, the right flank of the Ottoman Army.⁹⁸ It was his first experience in a war.

I organized Karakeçili and Milli cavalry regiments of the tribal cavalry brigades (aşiret süvari tugayı). Twenty-ninth regiment also participated in them. They were sent to the front without any training. To organize them and to prevent them from making a mistake, Ahmed İzzet Pasha appointed me as the brigade commander. He ordered me for arriving in Kırkkilise. Before the evening, together with my brigades, I arrived in Kırkkilise. The noise of guns faded away, and we prepared to attack. And then, a boy, riding a bicycle raised a white flag and asked for our entry into the city. The deputy commander in chief, Ahmed İzzet Pasha paid a compliment to me. My salary was also increased. Finally, the peace was made. Adrianople, Kırkkilise and the Eastern Thrace were saved. We returned to Istanbul.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), p.6.

⁹⁸ İsmet Görgülü, *On Yıllık Harbin Kadrosu 1912-1922: Balkan-Birinci Dünya ve İstiklal Harbi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), pp.33-35; See Appendix H: Tribal Cavalry Brigades Commander Major Fahreddin's Personal Record in the Second Balkan War.

⁹⁹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.67-70.



Map 3.1. The Advance to Adrianople¹⁰⁰

For the first time Fahreddin experienced dehumanization, a universal and centuries-old war tradition. He regarded the enemy as subhuman, other than human being to provoke his profound emotions of hate and revulsion against the enemy. He accomplished it by a highly condensed dramatization of the virtues and the immortal greatness of the group fighting in and the loathsome, revolting and degenerate qualities of the enemy¹⁰¹ so started to get used to the idea of killing and dying.

3.3. In the First World War

National humiliation in the Balkan Wars had facilitated the coup (Bab-ı Ali Baskını) on 23 January 1913 by the Committee of Union and Progress, which now possessed a more vindictive nationalism with a narrower Turkist-Islamist orientation. Following the catastrophe of 1912–13, the CUP adopted a more draconian approach towards

¹⁰⁰ Edward J. Erickson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-1913*, (London: Praeger, 2003), p.326.

¹⁰¹ Michael W. Brough, "Dehumanization of the Enemy and the Moral Equality of Soldiers" in Michael W. Brough, John W. Lango and Harry van der Linden (eds.), *Rethinking the Just War Tradition*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), pp.151-152.

minorities and was prepared to eliminate supposedly disloyal groups rather than suffer another disaster.¹⁰² Besides, for the Unionists, the Great War was a chance to reconstruct the empire and to assert their authority and legitimacy damaged by secession, annexation, and military defeats. The broader desire to restore the empire and reassert its former glory was a clear consequence of the Balkan defeat. The disaster of the Balkan Wars showed the vital necessity for more efficient tools to mobilize the empire's human and material resources. The government introduced various key measures to expand the empire's fighting capacity. As a result, the empire entered World War I much more experienced in how to penetrate society and mobilize its resources. In that sense, the lessons drawn from the Balkan Wars proved invaluable for the Ottoman political and military elites, contributing to their resilience in World War I.¹⁰³

The CUP spent the year after the defeat on striking up alliances at home and abroad. The unionists took lessons from the heavy price of diplomatic isolation and lack of domestic support from the Balkan Wars. They firstly sought to make an alliance with Austria-Hungary in February of 1914, then with Russia in May, followed by overtures to France in July, but only reaching success with Germany in August. They similarly sought an alliance with Bulgaria, and signed treaties with the British over the Trucial States. They were empire-preservers and even imperialists in the sense that they continued to seek territorial expansion.¹⁰⁴

In the Balkan Wars, the German members of the military missions continued their duties. The strong desire of them for strengthening the army helped to increase the German influence in every field of life. It also improved the conditions for the

¹⁰² Mark Biondich, "The Balkan Wars: Violence and Nation Building in the Balkans, 1912–13", *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol.18.4 (2016), p.399.

¹⁰³ Yiğit Akın, *When the War Came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), pp.50-51.

¹⁰⁴ Ramazan Hakkı Öztan, "Point of No Return? Prospects of Empire after the Ottoman Defeat in the Balkan Wars (1912–13)", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol.50 (2018), pp.77-78.

Ottoman Empire to participate in the Great War under the command of Germans.¹⁰⁵The Germans immensely invested to develop the Ottoman market. The leading military staff of the new ruling class had been educated and trained under the German military system and doctrines, so the Committee of Union and Progress maintained an intimate relationship with Germany and bought large quantities of German-made rifles and guns.¹⁰⁶

The unionists merged their understanding and the urgent needs of war, entailing to extol militarism. All of their attempts and efforts were to strengthen the Ottoman people in psychically and mentally and develop their abilities in military in addition to encourage them to be enthusiastic and trained volunteers for going to the front. The main aim was to raise patriotic and strong citizens, always ready for fighting wars.¹⁰⁷ The boundaries between the state and society became more and more blurred. Their primary purpose was to preserve the integrity of society with patriotic and militaristic ideas. In this way, the mobilization of the society would be very easy. During the period, the concepts of the political public sphere, civil society, public and private intertwined. Thus, encouraging political participation in the country alongside the capital became striking.¹⁰⁸

Fahreddin and his colleagues aspired to prepare the young and ordinary people for the military service and integrate a militarized physical training perspective. The state authorities explained expectations that groups be founded by military units to train local people everywhere, even in small villages, and to make each of them a

¹⁰⁵ Bülent Durgun, "Turkish- German Military Relations and the Balkan Wars", *Tarih ve Günce Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi*, vol.1 (2017), pp.230-231.

¹⁰⁶ Naci Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), p.232.

¹⁰⁷ Nurhayat Çelebi, Hatice Tezer Asan and Engin Asan, "Meşrutiyet Döneminde Asker-Vatandaş Yetiştirme Anlayışı Çerçevesinde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri", *Tarih, Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.7.1 (March 2018), p.507.

¹⁰⁸ Nadir Özbek, "Defining the Public Sphere during the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass Mobilization and the Young Turk Regime (1908-18)", *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.43.5 (September 2007), pp.796-797.

perfect soldier at the beginning of 1914. To become a nation-in-arms was the only chance to be a nation to survive in the age they lived in. Everybody was a soldier now and nobody who calls himself a man would walk around the streets idly when the fatherland is in danger, but he would grab a weapon and run to defend the Ottoman honor. The idea of manliness that emanated from a strong body was a main foundation block of the “patriotic-heroic-manly-citizen model” which nationalist ideologies always idealized.¹⁰⁹

On 2 August 1914, a small group of Ottomans led by War Minister Enver Pasha had an alliance with the Germans in exchange for an Ottoman pledge to launch large-scale military operations against either Russia or British occupied Egypt. Soon after, the mobilization was declared and the General Headquarters was established to carry out various responsibilities previously discharged by different ministries of the government. The individual making the pledge was on War Minister Enver Pasha, and throughout the following three months he would repeat the promise on several occasions. Over the same period, however, he would also provide explanations to his German allies regarding why such an immediate entry could not yet be realized.¹¹⁰ Until the official entrance of the Ottoman Empire into the war at the end of October 1914, for Enver Pasha, it was a period of preparation for finding a suitable opportunity to fight in the war.

In those days, Major Fahreddin was working in the General Staff. Despite of being an ardent supporter of Kemalism when interpreting Enver Pasha’s position and the situation after half-century, General Fahreddin Altay could show the ability to make good judgments, based on a deep understanding and experience of life.

On the eve of the First World War, Enver Pasha became the War Minister instead of Ahmed İzzet Pasha. The young members of the army generally welcomed Enver’s new position. There was not any

¹⁰⁹ Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: Between Voluntarism and Resistance*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp.211-212.

¹¹⁰ Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: the Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.104-105.

doubt that he was a hardworking, patriotic, honorable and brave man, but lacked a wealth of experience to govern the country. He did not have detailed information about Anatolia and Arabian territories. If he had firstly held experience in inferior positions before becoming a general, would come to much more professional judgments during the war. In that case, things would not go wrong for the country and him...¹¹¹

Later on, he adds, “When the war began, everybody was very sad, but we could not do anything. We had to obey in any case. Under the circumstances, we tried to do our best.”¹¹²

After the declaration of mobilization, Major Fahreddin was appointed to one of the quarters in Maslak as a staff officer of the First Division, commanded by Colonel Faik. And then, he became the staff officer of Third Army Corps in Tekirdağ under the command of Mehmed Es’ad [Bülkat] Pasha.¹¹³

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin had already wised up the conditions of the war were going to be quite different from the peace by experiencing the Balkan Wars. It was highly difficult to endure the tedium and misery of it. And, he had already become aware of the fact that mastering the art of being a military officer and commander made necessary to endure formidable obstacles and great exertions. He would guess what he was going to experience while passing through the stages of being a general from his readings, but would not know what he was going to feel while doing it.

3.3.1. In the Gallipoli Campaign

The aim of the campaign for the British was to force the Straits and invade Istanbul. In this way, the capital was going to be fallen and the war would finish for the Ottomans. The inherent objective was to open the Dardanelles to Russian grain shipments. The operational objective was to force the Narrows in order to prove the

¹¹¹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.77.

¹¹² Ibid., pp.80-81.

¹¹³ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcioğlu, *Atatürk’ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.74.

passage of the ships safely. The Turks' aim at the strategic level was to win against the Allies and force them to withdraw. The operational objective was to stop the allied fleet from passing the Narrows and continue to control key terrain on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Turkish objective at both levels was simple in contrast to the vagueness of the allied strategic objective.¹¹⁴

The Allied powers' navy got into the Sea of Marmara, and the reinforcing forces tried to invade Istanbul and the Straits. The attack of the Allied navy started on 18 March 1915, and lasted for seven hours. Their three battleships, Irresistible, Ocean, and Bauvet were sunk and Inflexible, Gauolis, Suffren were immensely destroyed. After the naval operations ended unsuccessfully for the Allied Powers, they launched land operations.

After the sea operation, the Ottomans and Germans organized the Fifth Army under the command of Field Marshal Liman von Sanders to defend the region. The army consisted of Third Army Corps, defending the Gallipoli Peninsula and Fifteenth the Army Corps, defending the Anatolian Side of the Straits. Like the German General Staff corps, the Ottoman General Staff corps was somewhat of an elite "closed shop".¹¹⁵ Brigadier General Mehmed Es'ad [Bülkat] Pasha, director of education (ders nazırı) of the Imperial Military Staff College during Fahreddin's education¹¹⁶ was the commander of the Third Army Corps. Es'ad Pasha was the hero of the siege of Janina, defended the great Ottoman fortress in Epirus in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and now, formed a very strong and experienced command team, who had likewise served in the Balkan Wars.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Michael D. Krause, "Gallipoli- Chanakkale Case Study of Operational Art", in *Çanakkale Savaşları Sebep ve Sonuçları Uluslararası Sempozyumu: Çanakkale, 14-17 Mart 1990*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), pp.43-44.

¹¹⁵ Edward J. Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness in World War I: A Comparative Study*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), p.102.

¹¹⁶ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Ummumiyye*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1318 [1900]), p.866.
Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Ummumiyye, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1319 [1901]), p.210.
Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Ummumiyye, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1321 [1903]), p.207.

¹¹⁷ Edward J. Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness in World War I: A Comparative Study*, pp.25-26.

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin was the chief staff officer of the Third Army Corps, Captain Remzi [Yiğitgüden] was the headquarters' officer, and First Lieutenant Baki [Vandemir] was the adjutant of Es'ad Pasha.¹¹⁸ Veterans of the Balkan Wars also commanded the remaining Third Army Corps, infantry Seventh Division and regiments.¹¹⁹

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin broadened his experience of being a military officer at the Gallipoli Front by commanding the staff officers in the army corps headquarters. His ultimate aim as a chief of staff was to help the army corps commander. As the most important consultant of Es'ad Pasha, his primary duty was to put forward detailed, concrete and realistic proposals to him because for military affairs, chance was not an option. Staff officers had to create their own chances after a set of decisions and careful planning to control the situation for their own advantages.

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin had to think about what Es'ad Pasha could want to know in advance to answer various questions very well he could raise. He had to show Es'ad Pasha he thought every single possibility in advance. During his duty, chief of staff Fahreddin had to communicate with other contingents, staff officers, military officers and commanders all the time. He always had to observe his environment and situation and record every single detail around him, so his analytical approach developed immensely. As a chief of staff, Fahreddin had no other choice than being decisive and confident.

As a chief of staff, he also had to coordinate the whole army corps headquarters, and always had to solve complicated problems and coordinate people under his command. Therefore, being calm was the most critical characteristic he had to have.

¹¹⁸ Rezzan Ünalp, "Çanakkale Zaferi: Çanakkale'de Savaşan Türk Komutanlar ve Muharebe Etkinlikleri", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, vol.14.28 (2015), p.307.

¹¹⁹ Edward J. Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness in World War I: A Comparative Study*, pp.25-26.

If he would not, everyone would become anxious in the headquarters, the most important department of the contingents.

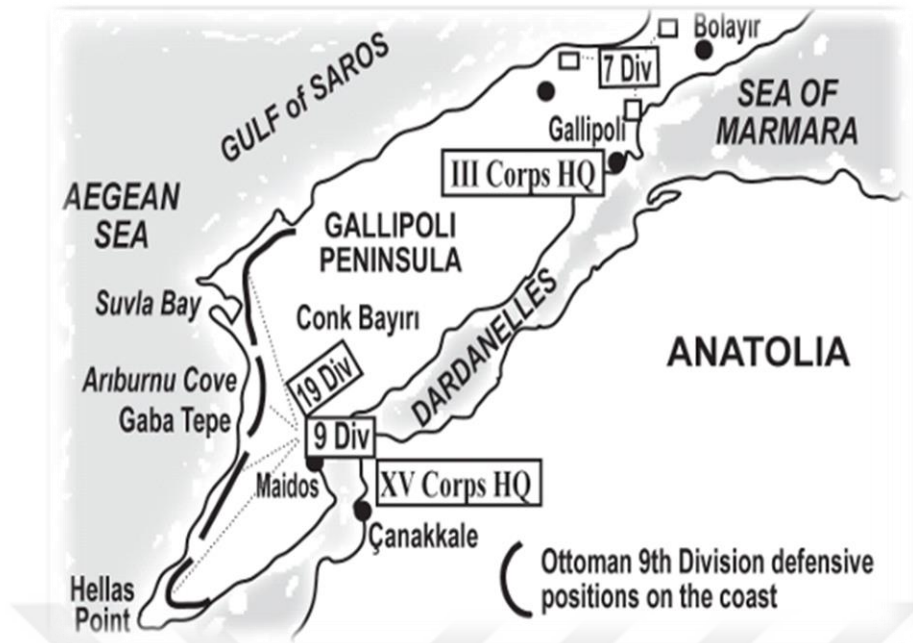
Third Army Corps' Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin participated in the battle at the Seddülbahir on 25-26 April 1915 to defend the region against the Allied Powers. They attacked Teke Cape and Ertuğrul Cove. Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin helped the Third Army Corps Commander Es'ad Pasha to prepare the defense plan.¹²⁰

The first landing operation was going to launch on the Seddülbahir because the Allies aimed to take Alçıtepe. The second landing operation was going to launch on Arıburnu Cove to invade Kilitbahir. In this way, they were going to invade the Southland of the Gallipoli Peninsula. General Fahreddin Altay's comment on the war plan and atmosphere in the headquarters is exactly the same with most of the Turkish military officers' narrations.

The German commanders were really helpful and devoted. Nevertheless, Field Marshal Sanders could not carry out strategic analysis, and inaccurately estimated the landing of the enemy. In addition, he excessively interfered in the affairs of the Turkish army corps' commanders. All of them made difficult our defense. To top it all, Enver Pasha's ineffective control over the arrangements also paved the way for death of more and more Turkish soldiers. The head staff officer of the Fifth Army was Kazım [İnanç] from Diyarbakır, my and Enver Pasha's classmate from the College. He was hardworking, devoted and mastered many languages, so Field Marshal Liman von Sanders liked him. At least, he could partially prevent Field Marshal Sanders from making great mistakes, but alas, Kazım could not also make strategic analysis. The landing of the enemy was discussed. All the Turkish commanders and staff officers thought the enemy was going to land on the shores of either Seddülbahir or Kabatepe, unlike the Field Marshal, thinking Bolayır and Anatolian shores.¹²¹

¹²⁰ İsmet Görgülü, *On Yıllık Harbin Kadrosu 1912-1922: Balkan-Birinci Dünya ve İstiklal Harbi*, pp.64-65.

¹²¹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.84-86.



Map 3.2. Ottoman Defensive Positions¹²²

Fahreddin Altay's memoirs and article regarding the Gallipoli Campaign is full of Lieutenant Colonel Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk]'s successes and infallibility. Mustafa Kemal's role in the campaign was critically important, but General Fahreddin Altay interpreted those days within a highly retrospective outlook.

After the possibility of landing of the enemy raised, the Ninetieth Division was sent to Eceabat. Mustafa Kemal's two regiments in the region were changed with another ones sent from Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] wanted to send them back because they were coming from Syria and not trained enough to fight in the region. He asked for his own regiments. His offer to the Supreme Military Command was rejected, and he failed in all of his efforts. It was the first obstacle for us to drive the enemy forces into the sea. The second obstacle was the Army Commander Sander's rejection to listen Mustafa Kemal's proposals. Mustafa Kemal thought the enemy was going to land on Kabatepe or Ariburnu, and requested his appointment to the region because Liman von Sanders thought the enemy was going to land on Bolayır or the Anatolian Shores. If he would listen Mustafa Kemal, hundreds of Turkish soldiers would not die on 25 April in Ariburnu because Mustafa Kemal was not a bright

¹²² George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, p.41.

star, but he was really our sun. He proved it in our Independence War.¹²³

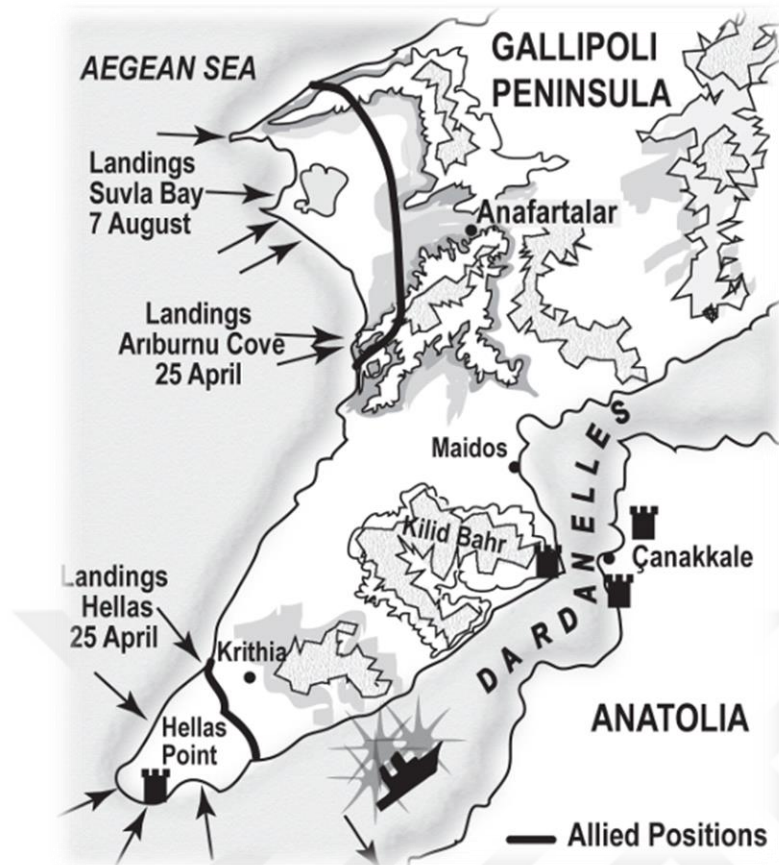
Hereafter, the Allied powers could not break through the Turkish defense lines because two attacking groups of them could not become united. To break the deadlock, they carried out another operation to Anafartalar on 7-8 August 1915. Thereupon, Anafartalar Group Command headed by Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] was established. Together with the North Group Command headed by Es'ad Pasha and his Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin, the Ottomans repulsed the Allied Powers attack on 9-10 August 1915. It is called as First Anafarta Battle.¹²⁴

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin held the same position in the Second Anafarta Battle, lasting from September to 20 December 1915. It was the last attack of the Allied Powers to the same region. After that, until the beginning of 1916, they had to abandon the region.¹²⁵

¹²³ Fahrettin Altay, "Çanakkale Savaşı'nın İlk Günlerinde Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)", *Bellekten*, vol.XX (October 1956), pp.605-607.

¹²⁴ İsmet Görgülü, *On Yıllık Harbin Kadrosu 1912-1922: Balkan-Birinci Dünya ve İstiklal Harbi*, p.88.

¹²⁵ See Appendix I: Third Army Corps Commander Brigadier General Es'ad Pasha and His Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin in August.



Map 3.3. Allied Attacks¹²⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin experienced a trench war. Since, in Gallipoli, the breakthrough was almost impossible and the trenches were creeping barrages because large chunks of real estate were virtually impossible to conquer. Lots of people died when they were going down into horrible craters full of all sorts of crap, dead floating rats and dead floating bodies of human beings.¹²⁷ Trauma was the most important phenomenon of it.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, p.42.

¹²⁷ John Merriman, "European Civilization, 1648-1945: Lecture 17, War in the Trenches", (Speech at Open Yale Courses 2008), mins. 5:47-8:26, <https://oyc.yale.edu/history/hist-202/lecture-17> (accessed February 18, 2019).

¹²⁸ Hüseyin Koçak et al., "Analysis of Medical Responses in Mass Gatherings: The Commemoration Ceremonies for the 100th Anniversary of the Battle of Gallipoli", *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*, vol.33.3 (April 25, 2018), p.292.

Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin deeply affected the horrors of the war. The Commander in Chief Enver Pasha heard that Fahreddin was disturbed and sent a telegram to ask for Third Army Corps Commander Es'ad Pasha's opinion on giving Fahreddin an appointment in another position on 1 September 1915. After four days, Es'ad Pasha answered "Despite the fact that Lieutenant Colonel is carrying out his duty by showing his devotion, when a difficult situation arises, he suddenly becomes too desperate, uptight and weary."¹²⁹

Es'ad Pasha's account seems quite reliable because he should have a good reason to give up the most important person for him in the headquarters before the retreatment of the Allied Powers from the front, impossible to know the exact time by any Ottoman military officers in advance. Since, being desperate, uptight and weary are quite serious problems for Fahreddin's position. Besides, it is striking that Fahreddin Altay did not intentionally write his appointment day to the War Ministry despite of being meticulous on this issue in his memoirs.

Fifty years later, when Fahreddin Altay visited the Gallipoli Peninsula to guide his grandson Baskın Sokullu and his partner Tosun Sezen while they were diving the sunken dreadnoughts; Fahreddin Altay's narration is a valuable clue to understand Es'ad Pasha's explanation of his psychology.

Enver Pasha visited the Gallipoli on 19 May 1915 to give the order of attack. He said "be ready for tomorrow, you will attack, and we will throw the enemy out of the land." We tried to explain him that the enemy's position is very well and their guns were perfectly placed. Therefore, it is impossible for us to get rid of them and our casualties would be immense. However, he did not care about our warnings. On the following day, many people were martyred and we had to make an armistice on 24 May to bury the soldiers.

¹²⁹ Orgeneral Yanyalı Esat Bülkat, *Çanakkale Hatıraları* 6, pp.732-733. (His memoirs is not published, but in typewritten form).

Tosun Sezen says “Fahreddin Pasha always said that I feel an immense pity on the soldiers who were martyred at that time” [9484 people died].¹³⁰ After the destruction of the one of the best Ottoman divisions, an armistice was signed to bury the soldiers because the distance between the trenches was too narrow and the corpses stunk. The influence of the event on him so immense that even after fifty years, he could not help but mention it during his visit.

It is called posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a chronic, disabling and prevalent anxiety disorder which occurs after experienced, witnessed or was confronted with an event that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others. The person’s response involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror.¹³¹ PTSD has been known by many names in the past, such as “shell shock” during the years of World War I and “combat fatigue” after World War II. People with PTSD have intense, disturbing thoughts and feelings related to their experience that last long after the traumatic event has ended. They may relive the event through flashbacks or nightmares; they may feel sadness, fear or anger; and they may feel detached or estranged from other people.¹³²

Hereupon, he was appointed as the undersecretary of the War Minister on 16 September 1915 before the end of the battles.¹³³ It was a bureaucratic duty rather than military, taken an aversion by the military officers in general. After many years, Fahreddin Altay could not resist himself from writing he had to struggle with the

¹³⁰ Ayhan Aktar, “18 Mart 1915 Boğaz Muharebesi: Bouvet Zirhlisini Mayınlar Değil Topçularımız Batırdı”, *#tarih*, vol. 22 (March 2016), p.79.

¹³¹ Arieh Y. Shalev and J. Douglas Bremner, “Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: From Neurobiology to Clinical Presentation”, in J. Douglas Bremner (ed.), *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: From Neurobiology to Treatment*, (New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), pp.3-4.

¹³² Ranna Parekh, “What Is Posttraumatic Stress Disorder?” American Psychiatric Association. Patients & Families. Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, (January 2017), <https://www.psychiatry.org/patients-families/ptsd/what-is-ptsd> (accessed July 3, 2019).

¹³³ See Appendix J: Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin’s Appointment as the Assistant Undersecretary of the War Minister on 16 September 1915.

paperwork's¹³⁴ and deal with the military protocol while his friends were fighting in different fronts of the empire¹³⁵ because for a young and ambitious military officer, it was a difficult situation to hold that position while his friends rising to important positions of high rank as commanders of the contingents.

On the other hand, war conditions continued to be difficult day by day. Despite of keeping stocks of basic consumption goods beginning from the Balkan wars, it was very difficult to combat the widespread poverty during such a long-lasting war. The increase of demand paved the way for the destruction of the economy. The foreign trade almost ended during the war. In 1915, the empire could only carry out trade with Romania and Bulgaria. At the end of the year, after the occupation of Serbia by Germany, it could be established connection with Germany.¹³⁶ Instead of increase supply, demand paved the way for scarcity of products. Everything in the market was bought for the army. Elimination of the needs of the army was not an option, so reducing the civilian demand was the only solution.¹³⁷

3.3.2. At the Romanian Front

When the things were bad for Russia, and the crisis in the Balkans aggravated for the Allied Powers, the military units of the Gallipoli Front started to be sent Eastern Europe. The Allied Powers was not powerful enough to be successful at the Eastern Front and the Gallipoli Front at the same time.¹³⁸ In addition, the Romanians declared war to Austria-Hungarian Empire on 27 August 1916. They started to get ahead in Transylvania. Therefore, the Central Powers sent military units to stop them. In this period, the Romanians were so powerful that defeating the Austrian-Hungarian

¹³⁴ See Appendix K: Assistant Undersecretary of the War Minister Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin's Writing about Sergeant Jean Peric's Death in October 1915.

¹³⁵ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.115-118.

¹³⁶ Zafer Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi: Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye'de Devletçilik, 1914-1918*, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2003), pp. 160-161.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.176.

¹³⁸ Volkan Marttin, "Birinci Cihan Harbi'nin Çanakkale (Gelibolu) Muharebeleri Esnasında Doğu (Avrupa) Cephesi'nin Durumu Ne İdi?" *Askeri Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.25 (May 2015), p.180.

forces in the Carpathian Mountains. Erich von Falkenhayn headed the military units of the Central Powers was sent to the region.

Commander in Chief Enver Pasha thought the most critical place to finish the war was Eastern Europe, so the most distinguished army corps was sent there. Therefore, the great majority of the soldiers were between twenty five to thirty years old. They were vigorous and well- trained and had already fought either at the Gallipoli or Sinai Palestinian Front. Some of them could talk German, and all of them could understand the orders in German.¹³⁹ Fifteenth Army Corps was sent to Galicia, Twentieth Army Corps was sent to Macedonia and Sixth Army Corps was sent to Romania. Colonel Fahreddin was appointed as the commander of the Twenty sixth Division in Braila, Romania on March 1917.¹⁴⁰

The Ottoman military units in Romania participated in the operations in the region including Dobruja to Moldovia. The strategic importance of Romania became the disadvantage of it because locating between Austria-Hungarian Empire and Bulgaria. Romania left alone in the middle of Central Powers. The only helper of it was the Russians. It is widely accepted that the Romanians' first attack to Transylvania was a huge mistake. Therefore, the Central Powers could take the region around Dobruja and became successful.¹⁴¹

The success of the Ottoman soldiers at Gallipoli and Romania made it clear that the Ottoman Empire was still glorious and powerful despite of having some problems. It had been long known as the sick man, but nobody could guess that sick man still had

¹³⁹ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Birinci Dünya Harbi*, (İstanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2013), p.38.

¹⁴⁰ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.121. *Cepheden Meclise*, (Ankara: T.C. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, 1999), p.56.

¹⁴¹ Volkan Marttin, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Avrupa'daki Türk Cephelelerinden Galiçya-Romanya Örneğinde Savaş Tarihi Üzerine Düşünceler", *Uluslararası Bilimsel Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vol.2.1 (February 2017), p.65.

desire and strength to live. The ultimate reason for the success was the well-organized army of it.¹⁴²

Colonel Fahreddin must be proud of himself being one of the members the powerful Ottoman Army and taking part in the successful campaigns. He, for the first time, experienced being a commander of a division. This time, he had to organize people by using his ability to make crucial decisions and exert his authority on his own soldiers effectively to obey his orders. Unlike being a staff officer in the headquarters or the General Staff, he had to face the uncertainties and mortal dangers of the war. Thereafter, until his retirement, he was going to order various contingents by facing interesting and tough challenges of being a commander meaning to have people's will and persuade them to die.

After a successful campaign, together with his entire division, on April 1917, he was appointed to faraway lands he had never seen before.¹⁴³ He traveled by the train until the Taurus Mountains. It could not pass beyond because the construction of the railway was not finished yet. He was sometimes mounted on the horse and sometimes walked. At the end, he reached at the Sinai-Palestinian Front. Here, Colonel Fahreddin was also going to encounter the same panorama of desperate people sinking into sheer miseries of war. Struggle for survival was more difficult than ever before for the young colonel in a world full of blood and tears.

3.3.3. In the Sinai and Palestine Campaign

To invade the Suez Canal, the Ottomans had to cross the Sinai Desert. Two operations were launched for this aim when Fahreddin was fighting in the Gallipoli. The first one was undertaken in January 1915. In July 1916, some of the Arabs headed by Sheriff Hüseyin started to organize armed uprising against the Ottomans. They took Mecca in 9 July 1915. In the meanwhile, at the end of July, the second operation headed by

¹⁴²*Osmanlı Belgelerinde Birinci Dünya Harbi*, pp.108-109.

¹⁴³ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.74; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113.

Kreß von Kressenstein launched to the Suez Canal. The Ottomans had to retreat to el-Arish. Towards the end of the year, the British assembled enough force to take el-Arish and completely expelled the Ottomans from the desert. The British forces took Gaza on 19 April 1917, and captured Baghdad in a short span of time. It was the final straw for the Ottomans. Yıldırım Army Group was formed by conveying troops from the other fronts. Operations were going to be carried out by the army group. The Fourth Army headed by Syria and West-Arabian Region Commander Cemal Pasha was responsible for protecting the shores.

Colonel Fahreddin's division had to stay around Yafa, and protect the Mediterranean shores. Therefore, the headquarters of his division settled one of the Jewish villages there. It was an interesting place for Colonel Fahreddin to observe.

The Jews got rid of the cactuses around their villages. Instead, they planted fragrant flowers. They also built huge wall to impede the passage of any animal. We amazed after seeing all of them. On the other hand, the Arabs did not still give up the cactuses that flap in the wind and make their children sick. Despite of seeing the endeavors of the Jews, they were continuing to slumber in front of their earth sheltered and ramshackle houses. The Jews became richer day by day and improved conditions of their villages. There were theatre, club, school, chemistry laboratory, pharmacy, dispensary in the village we stayed. Only in thirty years, they founded fourteen villages resembling the European ones.¹⁴⁴

On 31 October, the British attack started. At the Battles of Gaza and Beersheba, the Ottoman trenches were crossed. Colonel Fahreddin commanded Twenty-sixth Division in the withdrawal operations named as the Battles of Damascus and Yafa from 30 September to 3 November 1917. It was under the command of Twentieth Army Corps Commander Colonel Ali Fuad [Cebesoy], three years junior of Colonel Fahreddin. The army corps was under the command of Eighth Army, one of the armies of the Yıldırım Army Group and headed by Brigadier General Cevad [Çobanlı] Pasha.

When the Yıldırım Army Group Commander Field Marshal von Falkenhayn visited the contingents, like everyone he also asked me

¹⁴⁴ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.122-124.

whether I was going to resist the attacks of the enemy in any case. Who could dare to give him a negative answer? It was impossible to defame heroism in the battlefield. I said of course we will resist in any case. However, I did not believe what I said because there were neither enough soldiers nor officers in my division or heavy artillery to do the battle. The only possibility was to carry out delaying action (oyalama harekatı) for us. Nevertheless, we took the order for engaging in defense warfare (kat'i müdafa'a).¹⁴⁵

Despite the fact that it is impossible to know whether they were his opinions while living those days or he gave a retrospective outlook, his account is striking enough to take into consideration because the Ottoman General Staff did not care about the basic problems like transporting soldiers and supplies and tried to accomplish almost impossible purposes.¹⁴⁶

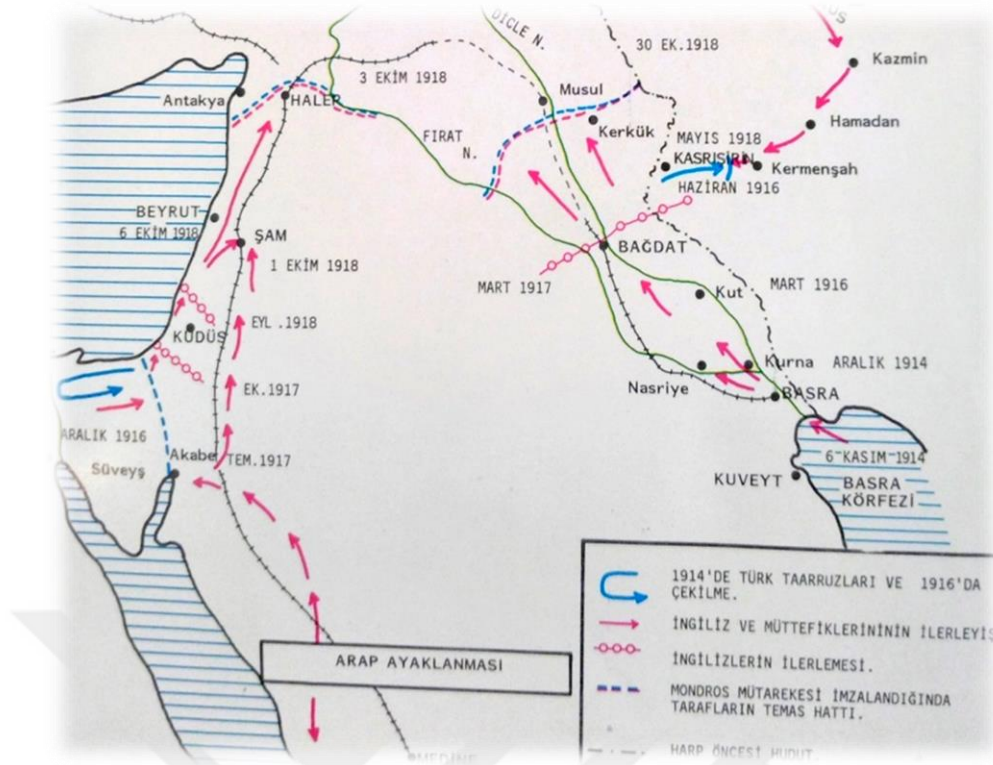
Foundation of the German assistance corps, the Yıldırım Army Group was not enough to change the tragic situation. The commanding general of it, Field Marshal Erich von Falkenhayn did not give attention to the powerless situation of the Ottoman forces to carry out any offensive operations. He was planning to be victorious by using the German units against the British with the help of the Ottoman troops, transferred from the Galicia Front to Palestine.

However, many Ottoman soldiers evaded the service by deserting their units during the movement through Anatolia. In addition, it was a big problem for the Ottoman staff officers that 53 out of the 64 officers in Falkenhayn's staff were Germans. Eventually, in November 1917, the front collapsed during the Battle of Gaza.¹⁴⁷ Field Marshall Liman von Sanders was appointed as the commander of the army group in February 1918.

¹⁴⁵ Fahreddin Altay, *1917 Kudüs Savaşları*, (İstanbul: Harb Akademileri Basımevi, 1958), p.8.

¹⁴⁶ Eyal Berelovich and Ruth Kark, "The Missing Element in Palestine: Infrastructure and Logistics during the First World War", *First World War Studies*, vol.8 (November 2017), pp.161.

¹⁴⁷ Gerhard Grüßhaber, *The 'German Spirit' in the Ottoman and Turkish Army, 1908-1938: A History of Military Knowledge Transfer*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), pp. 99-100.



Map 3.4. Retreat from the Arabian Peninsula¹⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Colonel Fahreddin had his own concerns:

After participating in many wars, I was deeply sorry for not being an army corps commander like my friends. Therefore, I sent a telegram to Enver Pasha. He wrote he appreciates my successes and stated I will be an army corps commander soon. After a while, thank God, I became the Twelfth Army Corps Commander. My new duty was to protect the shores of Çukurova against the possible attacks of the British Army.¹⁴⁹

At various battles until September 1918, the Ottomans lost the entire region until Taurus Mountains. After the Armistice of Mudros was signed and Yıldırım Army group was abolished, the contingents moved to the North of the Taurus Mountains. The ruling elite of the war, military officers did not remain only as administrators while

¹⁴⁸ İsmet Görgülü, *On Yıllık Harbin Kadrosu 1912-1922: Balkan-Birinci Dünya ve İstiklal Harbi*, p.403.

¹⁴⁹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.148-9.

politics, economy, technology and war intertwined. War compelled the Ottomans to industrialize, develop war technology and mobilize society.

The state monopolized the military expenditure. Most of the business was depended on the Ministry of War. Many of the workers were working as soldiers in the state's factories during the wartime. The wartime propaganda was about the necessity of giving people's heart and soul to the cause of such a war having much more deep meaning than a combat between different armies. To organize all needs for the war, the state expanded its authority on the daily life while addressing the needs for mobilization and social values became much more important than individual ones.¹⁵⁰ All of them strengthened Fahreddin's entrenched belief in the sanctity of his job and his absolute right to change the society in each field of life to create nation in arms to save the country.

Experiencing victory and destruction, participating in the battles at various fronts and seeing strikingly different regions of the empire matured Colonel Fahreddin mentally and physically. In the first of half of the Great War, he put his knowledge he gained during his education into practice by preparing war plans. After a short time going by psychological problems, he could become a military commander, heralding as his moving up the chain of command. In the second half of the war, he learnt to implement war plans on the battlefield and promote vertical and horizontal solidarity among his soldiers to put in successful military performances and ensuring cohesion with the help of his authority and knowledge.¹⁵¹ The thirty-eight years old Colonel Fahreddin became much more mature, deliberate and meticulous than most of his colleagues at the end of the war.

¹⁵⁰ Somer Alp Şimşeker, "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Ekonomi Politikalarında Topyekûn Harbin Etkisi ve Kara Kemal Bey'in Yeri", M.A. Thesis: Turkish War Academies, 2014, pp.47-48.

¹⁵¹ Peter Halden, "Organized Armed Groups as Ruling Organizations", *Armed Forces & Society*, vol.44.4 (2018), pp.609-610.

3.4. In the National Struggle

3.4.1. Time to Make a Decision

Twelfth Army Corps Commander Colonel Fahreddin arrived at Konya by getting on overcrowded train working with wood fire on 17 December 1918.¹⁵² The lines newly appearing on his face were enough to reveal his sadness and ushered in continuation of the difficult period for his life.

The war was a total catastrophe for us. All the military officers and commanders were extremely tired and sad. Everybody was worried about their future and thought there was no hope for us. People were desperately seeking a way to solve their problems related to money and themselves.¹⁵³

The Ottoman Army was demobilized. After the Armistice of Mudros, the Allies did not lose any time in taking advantage of the provisions to land troops in their zones of interest, although these were territories which, by tacit agreement, remained within Turkish frontiers at least for the time being.¹⁵⁴ Konya was one of the three inspectorships of the country headed by Cemal [Mersinli] Pasha.¹⁵⁵

Twelfth Army Corps Commander Colonel Fahreddin started to control Konya, Pozantı, Niğde and Karaman. The guns and ammunitions were hidden in the madrasas and mosques. The numbers of soldiers in the army were not enough to protect those places. The most unbearable thing for him was bear to the insults of some members of the Armenian population to his soldiers. When the inspectorates were abolished, the army corps was only responsible to the Ottoman War Ministry. British military officers came to Konya and started to control the railways. They also ordered to put

¹⁵² Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.75; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.4; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56.

¹⁵³ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.181.

¹⁵⁴Seçil Karal Akgün, "Louis E. Browne and the Leaders of the 1919 Sivas Congress Studies" in George S. Harris and Nur Bilge Criss (eds.), *Atatürk's Turkey: The American Dimension*, (Leiden: Boston, 2009), pp.18-20.

¹⁵⁵*Askeri Tarih Bülteni*, vol.32 (February 1992), pp.121-124.

all the ammunitions and guns into boxes and impressed them with the seal of the invasion.¹⁵⁶

After a while, an order coming from the War Ministry revealed that he was appointed to Third Army Corps in Sivas. This became a huge concern for him.

I had to live off my crowded family including my wife, daughter, father and mother. The travelling expenses were extremely high and the weather was too cold. I was a young commander and did not have too much money. My salary was not enough to make a living. Because of the long-lasting wars, I got exhausted mentally and physically, so was examined and received permission for three months. It started on 17 April 1919. Therefore, I could have a chance for the postponement of my appointment to Sivas for three months, and moved to a vineyard house at Meram region in Konya to rest.¹⁵⁷

Apart from all of this, Fahreddin was neither man of action nor took grave risks without planning for the future. He mainly preferred to rely on his reason. For the time being, he remained silent and went away to escape from the danger.

Nevertheless, the subsequent events taking place in the country pulled the young colonel back in. For mobilization, security of the region and training the army, Colonel Fahreddin was appointed again as Twelfth Army Corps Commander and started to command in Kütahya, Afyon, Isparta, Burdur and Konya.¹⁵⁸ There were many secret organizations in the country to make propaganda and smuggle ammunitions and guns to Anatolia.

While the Middle East was terribly suffering from the unmitigated disaster of the war, the representatives of the victorious powers were determined to not giving up their imperialist and over-ambitious aims at the region by using the proxy forces and

¹⁵⁶ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.179-180.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.183-184.

¹⁵⁸ Kazım Karabekir, *İstiklal Harbimiz*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1960), pp.246-248; See Appendix L: Twelfth Army Corps Commander Colonel Fahreddin and His Staff Officers in the Headquarters in Konya.

various types of quasi-colonial client states. The forces under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha were reorganized a new mobilization of Ottoman soldiers instead of demobilization. Kemal Pasha still used his title as a high ranking Ottoman officer and controlled the Ottoman military telegraph system to call local popular defense committees to action. People in general were disgusted with the war and blaming the soldiers and political leaders.¹⁵⁹

To organize a well-planned resistance, Mustafa Kemal Pasha summoned all the army corps commanders in Sivas. However, Fahreddin had hesitations for participating the meeting in those days. And, accepting it was not easy for Retired General Fahreddin Altay after being a victorious commander of the Independence War. Therefore, he chose to make do with the following explanation for us.

Despite the fact that our army corps was depended on the War Ministry in Istanbul, secretly we helped Mustafa Kemal. I newly arrived in the region and needed to make regulations in my army corps, and I also caught flu. Therefore, I sent my staff officer Şemseddin Bey instead of me. I ordered him to say that we are always ready to help them.¹⁶⁰

Fahreddin's reluctance to participate in the meeting seems related to his point of view regarding the National Struggle rather than other issues he explained. However, for Mustafa Kemal Pasha, his behaviors seemed very suspicious and could produce disastrous results. And, gaining his region was quite important in terms of its location.¹⁶¹

As long as, there was a government in Istanbul, Colonel Fahreddin deeply believed the suitability of making easier its affairs instead of resisting it.¹⁶² He communicated with the Ottoman War Ministry until the end of 1919 via Fourteenth Army Corps

¹⁵⁹ Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp.108-109.

¹⁶⁰ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.192.

¹⁶¹ *Heyet-i Temsiliyye Tutanakları*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1975), pp.5-6.

¹⁶² Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.221.

Commander Yusuf İzzet Pasha instead of the Representative Committee (Heyet-i Temsiliye).¹⁶³ Meanwhile, the British declared memorandum for the Italians, French, and Greek for asking the delivery of soldiers to Anatolia and Caucasia.

Fahreddin asked Colonel Kazım [Karabekir] “In such a case, the manner of their resistance whether using the Kuvay-ı Milliye or the regular army.” Colonel Kazım said “The delivery is just a rumor, and in the case of an invasion, we will resist with regular army.”¹⁶⁴ It was a period of confusion for Colonel Fahreddin. He needed to wholeheartedly believe in his cause, after adhering to a fervent belief, he showed no fear of dangerous in difficult situations. He started to question his position, but could not decide immediately. Maybe his own part, he was right to hesitate because the great majority of the people did not naturally want to fight again because of protracted wars.

The Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi) was closed down by the Allies without knowing that they gave a reasonable cause to the Representative Committee for the legitimization of the National Struggle. Many public protests against the official occupation of Istanbul were organized in Konya. From 11 January and 13 January, they were staged against the closure of the local newspaper of the region, *Öğüt*. On 22 April 1920, a huge indignation meeting was again arranged for the occupation of Istanbul.¹⁶⁵ Konya Defense of Rights Committee President Ali Kemali Hoca from Sivas was a very successful and brave man to start a successful resistance movement in Konya, but Colonel Fahreddin was still against establishing any type of relationship between military affairs and politics, so he did not allow his soldiers to study in the committee in contemplation of trying to protect disciplinary structure of the army.

¹⁶³ See Appendix M: Colonel Fahreddin’s Writing to the Ottoman War Ministry about Demirci Mehmed Efe on 3 February 1920.

¹⁶⁴ Kazım Karabekir, *İstiklal Harbimiz*, pp.497-498.

¹⁶⁵ Yücel Özkaya, “Ulusal Bağımsızlık Savaşı Boyunca Yararlı ve Zararlı Dernekler”, *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, vol.10 (November 1987), pp.165-166.

I only saw myself as a military officer. I was afraid of fomenting a new rebellion like Bozkır while trying to resist the Greek invasion with our weak army. However, it was quite difficult to explain the situation to the young people, so I felt I had to behave them very tough to impose them my point of views.¹⁶⁶

He did what he said. He behaved very tough. After the declaration of the fatwa by Dürriyade Abdullah Efendi on 10 April 1920, the muftis in Anatolia also declared a counter-fatwa. The hodjas in Konya postponed the declaration of a counter-fatwa. When the editor of the *Öğüt* Newspaper, Feridun [Kandemir] attended the meeting of the hodjas, he was expelled forcibly.

Immediately after, we run across with the commander [Colonel Fahreddin]. As soon as seeing me, he lifted his right hand wearing bead and flung it towards me and then started to angrily shout at me. He said "You huh! You are the stupid one, daring to annoy Mufti Efendi. What about the fatwa issue? What is that to you? How can you dare to stick your oar in such kind of issues? Anyway, your newspaper is notorious. You insist on following Mustafa Kemal Pasha. You are not even aware of doing stupid things by supporting such kind of man rising against our Sultan. Next time, if I hear you are still dealing with such kind of issues, I destroy you. Did you understand me very well? Now, get out of my face!"¹⁶⁷

Before long, an unexpected development helped Colonel Fahreddin for making a decision. People in Ankara bother with the situation in Konya. Mustafa Kemal Pasha ordered to Senior Captain Refet [Bele] for solving the problems in the region with the help of Zeybeks.

Refet forcefully took away the notables and officers to Ankara. He did not even feel to listen us necessary. I tried to say him it is a bad idea to push the opponents in this manner. He asked them "Whether they are the supporters of the National Struggle or not." Who could dare to say the opposite? Of course, everyone said they are the supporters. He said then, "Let's go to Ankara and display your loyalty to Mustafa Kemal Pasha." I said "Give this up!" He added "Of course you are also coming." I was extremely sorry for being subjected to such an intense humiliation, but did not show anyone. I tried to narrate people it is a good idea. However, I felt nobody trust and

¹⁶⁶ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.201-202.

¹⁶⁷ Feridun Kandemir, *Siyasi Dargınlıklar*, (İstanbul: Ekicigil Matbaası, 1955), pp.40-42.

believe me anymore. They thought I called Refet to force them participate into the movement. On the other hand, it would be much worse to seem against Refet. We obeyed and went to Ankara. During the feast, Mustafa Kemal Pasha paid compliments everyone. This event undermined my authority as a commander, and I had already decided to submit my resignation. Before my departure, I wanted to say goodbye Mustafa Kemal, sitting in the garden of the National Assembly. He said he did not accept my resignation. I persuaded him by saying that I am going to help İsmet Bey newly arriving in Anatolia and taking my position. Then, I asked the following a critical question to Mustafa Kemal; if the British would send us forces from all quarters of Anatolia, what we would do then? He paused a second then looked at my face and after throwing a smile he said "The last group of our people, resisting to them will put an end to their lives on the top of a hill. In the future, if they had gravestones, written people buried hear died for their homeland, only then they would receive their awards." His answer influenced me profoundly. Unconditionally, I started to obey him in that moment. However, people would say I did this because of fear or force, so I did not give up my resignation and started to help İsmet Bey and gave my last order to my headquarters by saying that "I gave up my loyalty oath, and I order you last time from now on obey only Mustafa Kemal Pasha." İsmet [İnönü] narrated what he saw in Istanbul and added "All of our hopes destroyed. We have no option, but help Mustafa Kemal." After he informed Mustafa Kemal on what I did in the headquarters, Mustafa Kemal ordered me to hold my position again.¹⁶⁸

There is an exact correspondence between Mustafa Kemal Pasha's general discourses at that time with General Fahreddin Altay's account. However, it is better to regard Mustafa Kemal Pasha's words as one of the contributory factors for him to reach his final decision. The National Struggle, as the name implies, was a movement started and continued by the people themselves. It emerged in a natural way. However, the Ottoman staff officers and commanders including Fahreddin Pasha transformed it into a well-planned resistance.

Fahreddin had a chance to receive a highly professional education, providing to adopt an analytical approach. He knew very well how he should take the righteous attitude towards unexpected events. Thereupon, his character reflects he did not like take

¹⁶⁸ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.229-235.

risk. At the beginning believing in an immense restoration of Anatolia in a very short span of time seemed him very difficult, but the closure of the Ottoman parliament, occupation continuing in a severe and extreme way and participation of many high ranking commanders in the movement more and more as each day passed with the aim of saving the remains of the empire and establishing an honorable peace helped him to arrive at the decision. It relatively took long time in comparison to the pioneers of the struggle for him because in general, Colonel Fahreddin did not throw the dice, he played chess. Now, he decided his move.

On 15 May 1920, he became Mersin Deputy of the National Assembly with the purpose of exercising his military authority effectively in the region he commanded.¹⁶⁹ On 15 June 1920, together with other pioneers of the Anatolian Movement, the Sultan approved the decision for Colonel Fahreddin's sentence of death. According to it, when Colonel Fahreddin was founded, the decision was going to be read to him and he was going to beheaded. Besides, all of his possessions were going to be confiscated.¹⁷⁰ However, Colonel Fahreddin made his choice, once taking a decision; he started to exhibit behaviors of those people, showing the power of endurance after being resigned to their fates.

3.4.2. Establishing the Military Authority

Rest of 1920 ended with suppressing the rebellions against the struggle and building up the regular army. Colonel Fahreddin successfully suppressed one of the resistance movements called as Bozkır in Konya.

I heard a resistance movement was going to start in Konya. People organized voluntary organizations against the National Movement and were going to do what the notables were going to say. When hodjas started to perform the morning pray, I ordered a squadron to the mosque, and arrested everyone I suspected. I added "If an attack was going to be carried out in Konya, I was going to behead them one by one and throw away their heads in front of the rebellious people every hour if they were not going to send a message to them

¹⁶⁹ See Appendix N: Mersin Deputy of the National Assembly Colonel Fahreddin.

¹⁷⁰ Zeki Sarıhan, *Kurtuluş Savaşı Günlüğü III*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1993), p.83.

to stop this.”They did whatever I said. Then, I sued the responsible people. Then, Mustafa Kemal arrived in Konya and forgave them.¹⁷¹ While we were trying to save our country, we had to deal with the brigands, reactionaries, Enver Pasha and Bolshevik Movement. I was against all of them because of being against the idea of duality. I only obeyed the Ankara government.¹⁷²

The Bolsheviks made use of Enver Pasha’s enthusiasm for challenging Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s leadership in the National Struggle. He promised more than Mustafa Kemal Pasha: The government in Anatolia was at the end of its powers and the time was ripe for the Unionist committee to intervene. After their success, they would enter the Soviet Federation and this was the only way for Turkey’s survival. The Ankara government feared that the rapprochement between Islam and Bolshevism in Anatolia could challenge its position. The process of elimination of the Bolshevik influence began with the set up of a domestic communist party in the fall of 1920 and ended with issuing a *fatwa*, a religious decree, by the newly installed Ministry of Religious Affairs (Umûr-ı Şer’iye Vekâleti) in the spring of 1921, disapproving communism as a dangerous and spurious movement.¹⁷³

After Colonel Ismet became the Western Front commander, it divided into two. The south of Kütahya called as the Southern Front under the command of Senior Captain Refet. Colonel Fahreddin’s army corps depended on it. The struggle’s supporters’ turn came for destruction. The headmen of the irregulars eliminated one by one.

Colonel Fahreddin fulfilled the role of imposing discipline Demirci Mehmed Efe. It must be a great pleasure to do it for Fahreddin, adoring rules and the power of army. “Everybody set their hopes on Efe. He saw himself as a powerful man and thought he could do whatever he wants because of seeing himself as the commander of us. He deeply relied on his emotions like all ignorant people. As a brigand, he was too

¹⁷¹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.241-244.

¹⁷² Ibid., p.248.

¹⁷³ Abdulhamit Kırmızı, “After Empire, Before Nation: Competing Ideologies and the Bolshevik Moment of the Anatolian Revolution”, in Stefan Rinke and Michael Wildt (eds.), *Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions: 1917 and its Aftermath from a Global Perspective*, (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus Publisher, 2017), pp.127-131.

anxious.”¹⁷⁴ Each person against the emergent National Army started to turn into useless, ignorant and at the end, traitor.

On the other hand, Colonel Fahreddin was good reasons to do that because it was almost impossible to continue a successful struggle without having regular units, well-organized mobilization and service of military officers.

3.4.3. Being the Cavalry Group Commander

Colonel Fahreddin did not need to allow a considerable amount of time to go by before performing his duty to become a victorious commander of the National Struggle. Nevertheless, he had to suffer from an ignominious defeat for the last time. The Greeks attacked again until İnönü and Dumlupınar at the end of March 1921. The Ottoman Military officers thought the victory could only be secured in İnönü and sent weak forces to Afyon to gain time. These forces helped the Greeks to move towards Afyon. Because of the strong defense in İnönü region, the Greeks could not pass it. The front was divided into two as western and southern.

The southern forces under the command of Senior Captain Refet defended Dumlupınar while the western ones under the command of Colonel İsmet were defending İnönü region. Colonel Fahreddin’s forces were depended on Senior Captain Refet and participated in the Dumlupınar battle on 8-15 April 1921 and became unsuccessful. Colonel Fahreddin started to command in Burdur and Afyon.¹⁷⁵ After his movement to Afyon, he started to use his own initiative more and more.

After seeing the strong attack, the officers decided to continue position warfare (mevz’i muharebesi) from 14 to 18 July to divert the Greeks. Withdrawing in an orderly fashion (düzenli geri çekilme) to the eastern side of the Sakarya River was ordered to reinforcement of the contingents at the end of July.¹⁷⁶ It was extremely

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 204.

¹⁷⁵ Zeki Sarıhan, *Kurtuluş Savaşı Günlüğü III*, p.121.

¹⁷⁶ Until then, the military tactic had not been used by any commander in the empire. It does not mean retreat (ric’at), meaning defeat in terms of military. Retreat is carried out under compulsion.

difficult to explain the reason to the people because the army had to abandon about 150 km terrains.

Fahreddin was not the same man, fighting at the Gallipoli Front. He learnt to control his emotions, and how to lead people even in volatile situations. He replied self-confidently the people trembling with growing fear. "It is the necessity of war, do not be sad. We will definitely save our country. Be patient. Gather in front of the municipality and organize the national police forces and ensure security."¹⁷⁷

The Southern Front was abolished and the two fronts merged under title of Western Front extending from İnönü region to Adana under the command of Major General Ismet Pasha. The army was divided into five groups and Colonel Fahreddin was appointed as the commander of the cavalry group, (Fifth Corps).¹⁷⁸

I did not have enough experience to command a cavalry army corps because of graduating from infantry class. My new duty was a purely a coincidence. I studied a lot to cavalry practices when I was a student, and had experience in the Balkan wars. By the help of my little experience and opportunities in the battle, I tried to do my best with the help of my cadre. My cavalry army corps was too far and semi-independent. Therefore, I was in chance with undertaking initiative which was my favorite condition for military.¹⁷⁹

The cavalry army corps was ahead of the front and had to be in touch with the enemy. A wide line was determined for the defense and the army corps had to attack all the time. Therefore, burden of the army was on the shoulders of the cavalry army corps. Meanwhile, Colonel Fahreddin did not have long time to train his soldiers.¹⁸⁰ Cavalry

Withdrawing in an orderly fashion (düzenli geri çekilme) is carried out with the initiative of the commanders before the offensive of enemy. The most crucial issue is to decide the distance and time of withdrawing to successfully repel the enemy after a well-organized preparation.

¹⁷⁷ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.289.

¹⁷⁸ Sabahattin Selek (ed.), *İsmet İnönü, Hatıralar*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985), pp.254-255.

¹⁷⁹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.295.

¹⁸⁰ Ferik Fahreddin [Altay], *İstiklal Muharebatında Süvari Kolordusunun Harekatı*, (Konya: Vilayet Matbaası, 1341 [1925]), p.4.

army corps was newly organized because the resistance was naturally started by infantrymen. Until July 1921, there were only three cavalry regiments of the Turkish Army in Ankara, Konya and İzmir. They were enough to suppress the insurrections against the National Struggle, but to carry out a serious resistance and later a well planned military attack; the army definitely needed a well organized cavalry group.

At the end of August, the order was given to attack even if other contingents would retreat. The only ultimate purpose of each contingent was to defend their places in any case.¹⁸¹ Because the main aim of the Sakarya Battle was not sending the Greek Army powerful contingents all the time, but to prevent its siege. The plan was quite flexible.

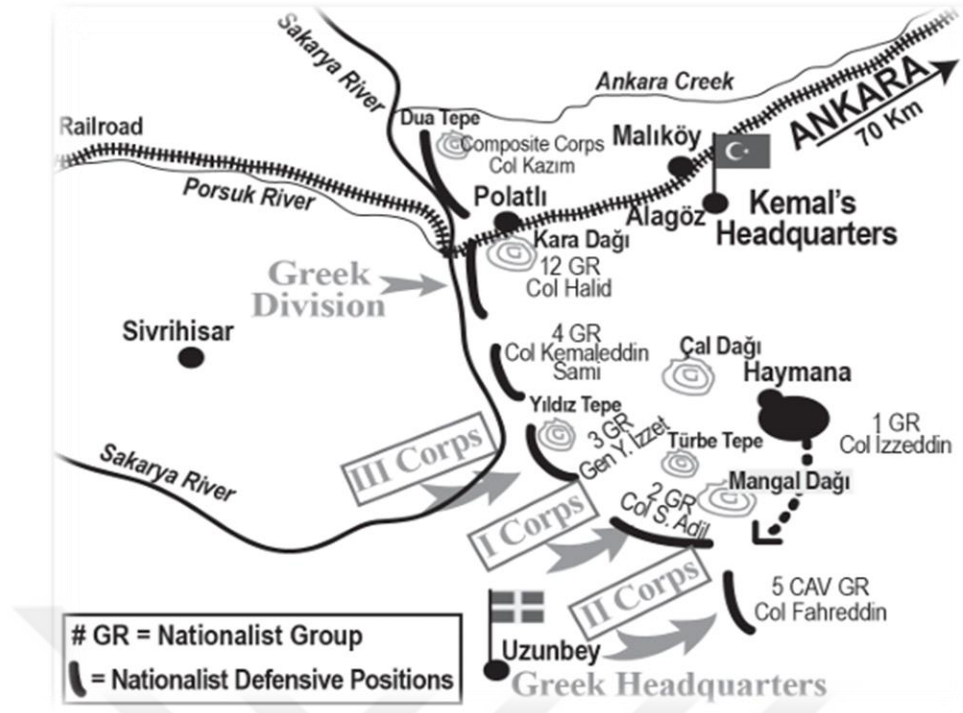
Cavalry group commander Fahreddin's duty was to follow the enemy. The cavalry group was used like as tanks of the army in modern sense. Its first duty was to full scale attack the enemy. Instead of resisting the attacks of the Greek Army, weak contingents were placed on the forefront of the line of defense. Contingents of the right and left flanks were the destructive power of the Turkish Army instead of the middle ones¹⁸² and paved the way for the huge expansion of the Greek Army on the defense line. It became extremely difficult for the Greeks to communicate, get help, and supply because the field they had to fight became too wide to continue a successful battle. As soon as the Greeks started to retreat, the Sakarya Army began to attack. In parallel with this, the Cavalry Army Corps Commander Colonel Fahreddin placed on the left flank moved back of them. After passing Mangal Mountains, his corps attacked behind.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk*, (Ankara: No Publisher, 1927), p.449.

Hatt-ı müdafa'a yokdur, sath-ı müdafa'a vardır. O satıh, bütün vatandır. Vatanın her karış toprağı, vatandaşın kanıyla ıslanmadıkca, terk olunamaz. Onun için küçük, büyük her cüz'-i tamm ilk durabildiği noktada, tekrar düşmana karşı cebhe teşkil edüb muharebeye devam eder. Yanındaki cüz'-i tammin çekilmeye mecbur olduğunu gören cüz'-i tammlar, ona tabi' olamaz. Bulunduğu mevzi'de nihayete kadar sebat ve mukavemet mecburdur.

¹⁸² Ferik Fahreddin [Altay], *İstiklal Muharebatında Süvari Kolordusunun Harekatı*, p.11.

¹⁸³ See Appendix O: Cavalry Group Commander Colonel Fahreddin and His Staff Officers on the Sakarya Battlefield.



Map 3.5. Battle of Sakarya [5 CAV GR was commanded by Colonel Fahreddin]¹⁸⁴

The only superiority of the Turkish Army over the Greek one was its cavalry army corps, becoming the most important effect for a successful defense. It was source of pride for being the biggest cavalry army corps until now.¹⁸⁵

And, Fahreddin was the victorious commander of them, and now, people had to call him as Pasha after notching up a spectacular success. The Commander in Chief Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Western Front Commander Major General İsmet Pasha and General Fevzi [Çakmak] Pasha sent him telegrams as a token of their appreciations for his achievements¹⁸⁶ because his military operations in the Greek Army's operational rear provided valuable intelligence, disrupted the flow of supplies and forced the Greeks to place more attention on security.¹⁸⁷ After the Sakarya Battle, on

¹⁸⁴ George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, p.164.

¹⁸⁵ TBMM Gizli Celse Zabıtları, 3. İnikat, 2. Celse, (6 March 1922), p.11.

¹⁸⁶ *Atatürk'ün Tamim, Telgraf ve Beyannameleri IV*, (Ankara: Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1991), p.431.

¹⁸⁷ George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, p.173.

20 September 1921, the French retreated the Southern part of Turkey. On 20 October 1921, Ankara Treaty was signed.

The cavalry army corps under his command was sent to Iğın for training and completing its deficiencies because of preparation for an offensive. Fahreddin Pasha stayed there almost a year and established a horsemanship school on the purpose of training the cavalry units. The biggest maneuver was performed on March 1922 to show the power of the National Army to the biggest ally of the nationalists, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.¹⁸⁸ Apparently, it became successful. Even after many years, the Soviet representative Semyon İvanoviç Aralov was not able to desist himself from writing about the commander of the most powerful contingents of the Nationalist Army: "The cavalry units were the best contingent in the Turkish Army, and Fahreddin Pasha was so brave and skilled. It was apparent he was a master. The Turks liken him to our General Budyonny."¹⁸⁹

After the Sakarya Battle, the Greek Army retreated to the Eskisehir-Afyon line. A powerful line of defense was established from the Marmara Sea on the north to Afyon in the south. During the preparation period, the main issue was the place, manner and time of the National Army's offensive. It was revealed and discussed on 6 August 1922 in a secret meeting between the army group commanders, commander in chief, chief of general staff and western-front commander in the Western Front Headquarters in Akşehir.¹⁹⁰

Launching the offensive either on the flanks or the center of the front was the main topic of discussion among them. Between Afyon and Akarçay, carrying out an enveloping attack (kuşatıcı taarruz) was decided as the main strategy. It means they

¹⁸⁸ Ferik Fahreddin [Altay], *İstiklal Muharebatında Süvari Kolordusunun Harekatı*, p.26.

¹⁸⁹ Semyon İvanoviç Aralov, *Bir Sovyet Diplomatının Türkiye Hatıraları*, Translated by Hasan Ali Ediz, (İstanbul: Burçak Yayınevi, 1967), pp.101-103.

¹⁹⁰ See Appendix P: Immediately after the Secret Meeting over Commander in Chief Field Marshal Mustafa Kemal Pasha's Explanation about the Offense to the Army Group Commanders on 6 August 1922 in the Western Front Headquarters in Akşehir.

chose to attack the Greek Army on the flanks. In this case, the forces at the center were not important as much as the forces on the flanks. They allowed the Greeks for splitting the center of the front. In this way, the units placed on the flanks were going to surround the Greek divisions. The most crucial point of the plan was to strike the right flank of the Greek Army which was Fahreddin Pasha's duty.

The Greek Army had two groups one in Eskişehir, other in Afyon in addition to a reserve corps between them. According to the plan, [to carry out the enveloping attack], the Western Front Commander was going to move all the contingents towards to the south [Afyon] step by step only on the nights while Fahreddin Pasha was attacking the Greek Army's right flank. However, the most dangerous feature of the plan was the possibility of Greeks Army's advance from the north of the defense line to Ankara, so Fahreddin Pasha had to be very quick.

After twenty days, in southwest region of Afyon where cavalry group, blessed with a competent and aggressive commander Fahreddin Pasha placed started the main attack.¹⁹¹ The Turkish contingents gathered there and Eskişehir almost left off. The Turkish attack was made toward the north to lag behind in the Greek Army. In this way, the Turks planned to destroy them without giving any chance to retreat to the West. The Greek corps had to stick their places in the first place.

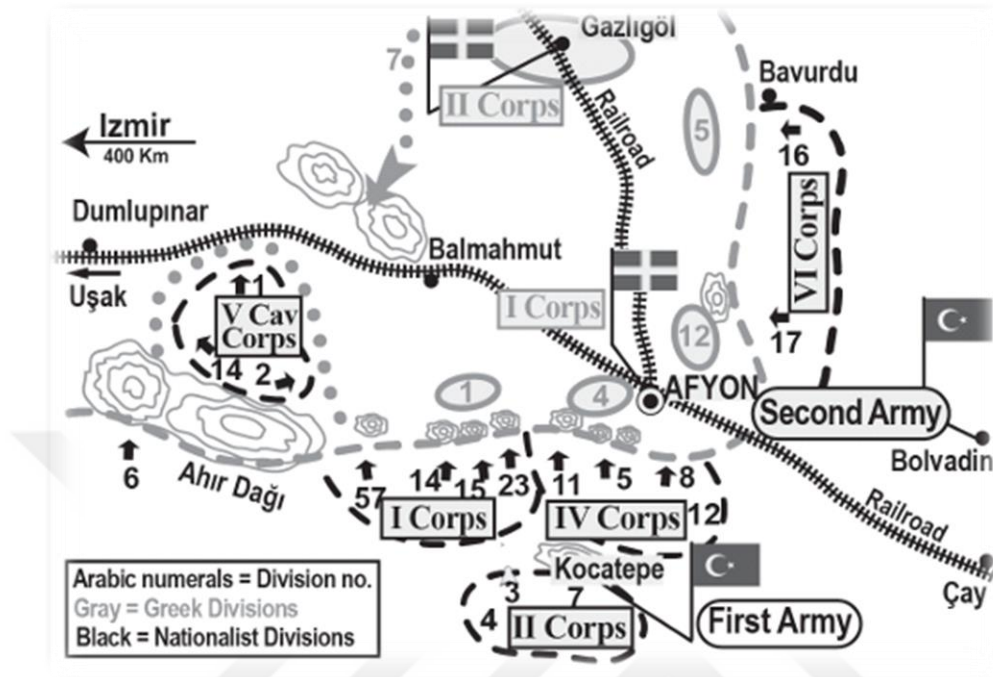
Major General Fahreddin was so fast that the Turkish commanders did not expect to gain the victory in such a short span of time. He cut the Dumlupınar road and five divisions of the Greek Army out of eight stayed isolated between Dumlupınar and Afyon. In the very next day, the Turkish commanders understood very well the Afyon was going to fall.¹⁹²

On 29 August, the Greek Army Corps retreated towards Dumlupınar and completely circled by the Turkish contingents. Fahreddin Pasha followed the other three divisions

¹⁹¹ George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, p.195.

¹⁹² Nilüfer Hatemi (ed.), *Fevzi Çakmak ve Günlükleri II*, (İstanbul: Yeni Kredi Yayınları, 2002), p.827.

until İzmir and entered it on 9 September, and the Greek Army commanders surrendered. In this way, he became the first commander entering İzmir. After a few days, others arrived there.



Map 3.6. Great Offensive [V Cav. Corps was commanded by Major General Fahreddin Pasha]¹⁹³

When I saw my hometown İzmir, I cannot describe my feelings and excitement. There could be nothing more important and beautiful than it for me.¹⁹⁴ I permitted the festivals of the people and went to see my mother and aunt. Later on, I learnt my father and brother escaped to Rodos, and my mother and aunt had to stay home. As soon as approaching home, I saw a tall woman within scarf. I recognized her and after taking off my horse, I kissed her hand. My mother was the happiest person in the world at that moment, and I was her son who entered İzmir firstly as a victorious general. She fainted as soon as seeing me after saying “My dear Fahri.”¹⁹⁵ My father and brother returned from Rodos, when I was kissing my father’s hand, he said “Congratulations his excellency(Paşa Hazretleri).” I was surprised and asked him for not calling me like that. He said “You certainly deserve it my son because you did great

¹⁹³ George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: from Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey*, p.196.

¹⁹⁴ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.358.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.355-356.

things to save our country and now, you became a victorious commander." Those days were the most beautiful times of my life.¹⁹⁶

Until the Lausanne Treaty was signed on 24 July 1923, Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha spent his time with commanding at the contingents in the military maneuvers to keep the army ready for another possible operation.

For Fahreddin Pasha almost ten years lasted war was a period of getting further knowledge and possessing skill at being a remarkable commander, entailing foresight in addition to courage. All of them helped him for developing his analytical thinking, meaning to examine each stage of every event and calculate each possibility and results. He also got a wealth of experience of conducting his own headquarters and charging people under his order with appropriate duties according to their characters and abilities, as well as encouraging and making believe them to continue a well-organized warfare.

At the end, he became a victorious commander by combining his knowledge which he gained during first-class educational life and experiences of the long war, including defeat and victory as well as failure and success. Fahreddin Pasha was no longer the naive Captain Fahreddin, graduating from the College but a professional man full of realistic hopes.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p.369.

CHAPTER 4

BEING A REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATIVE (1923-1974)

Fahredden [Altay] Pasha, together with his positions in the army, started to carry out political roles. Nevertheless, neither his participation in the assembly a few times nor the dramatic change of the political regime could change the vital importance of the army and Fahreddin [Altay] Pasha's role as the pioneer of the society. For him, the chain of command was still necessary for each institution and the vital duty of the society was to serve the army in different fields. To teach the society preparation for a war was still the most important issue.

People had to get ready for the most difficult conditions and have necessary technical knowledge to defend the country. They always had to be aware and prepare for a possible warfare. Fahreddin [Altay] Pasha still had to give them those motives as a member of the republican elite. Peace could not mean to forget the conditions of war and be lazy but a preparation period for a possible warfare. Only ready and powerful societies could endure modern warfare. Revolutions and regulations should be made in parallel with it. The vital needs were civilization, progress, patriotism, self sacrifice, encouraging knowledge and respecting wise people.

4.1. Fifth Army Corps Commander

The cavalry army corps was abolished and Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha's headquarter was moved to Konya by the name of Fifth Army Corps¹⁹⁷ after reorganization of the Turkish army subsequent to Treaty of Lausanne. He became the

¹⁹⁷Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.75; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.4; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

deputy of İzmir in the Grand National Assembly¹⁹⁸ because at that time, military officers could be deputies in the Assembly, and participate in the sessions whenever they had time.

Before long, the Turkish Armed Forces was reorganized again and three inspectorships were established; first one in Ankara under the command of Lieutenant General Kazım [Karabekir] Pasha, second one in Konya under the command of Lieutenant General Ali Fuad [Cebesoy] Pasha and the third one in Erzincan under the command of Lieutenant General Cevat [Çobanlı] Pasha. All of them were responsible for the Chief of General Staff Field Marshal Fevzi [Çakmak] Pasha, responsible for the President of the Republic, Field Marshal Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] Pasha who was representing the Grand National Assembly and presiding over the Supreme Military Council (Yüksek Askeri Şura). The inspectors did not have any headquarters directly under their command; instead there was a strict relationship between the army corps commanders and the chief of general staff. The inspectors could only carry out inspections on their regions and present detailed reports to the chief of general staff.

The second inspectorship consisted of First, Fifth and Sixth army corps. The First Army Corps' headquarter was in Afyon, the Sixth Army Corps' headquarter was established in Kayseri and the Fifth Army Corps' under the command of Fahreddin Pasha, was in Konya. The Fifth Army Corps Commander Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha commanded the Fifth Division in Konya and Sixth Division in Isparta.¹⁹⁹ At that period,

¹⁹⁸ See Appendix Q: Fifth Army Corps Commander İzmir Deputy Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha's Record of Election; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.75; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.5; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291; *Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri*, p.7; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Millî Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Millî Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

¹⁹⁹ Said Arif Terzioğlu, *Türk Ordusu*, (İstanbul: Başnur Matbaası, 1965), p.72.

the tension between the high ranking commanders was high, and Fahreddin Pasha as a lover of his job, continued to be a supporter of status quo.

When Mustafa Kemal was returning from İzmir, I heard his conversation with the inspector of the army, Ali Fuad Pasha. As far as I understood, Mustafa Kemal tried to persuade his brother in arms of giving up his decision on the establishment of a new political party, but could not succeed. Witnessing the two national heroes' discussion was a bitter sense of disappointment for me.²⁰⁰

At the end of 1923, the active military officers had to make a choice between their careers in the army and assembly. Mustafa Kemal Pasha wrote a telegram to Fahreddin Pasha for his resignation from the Grand National Assembly on the grounds of taking duty in the army was going to be much more helpful for the nation than in the assembly.

Unhesitatingly, I replied his telegram by saying that to follow my sacred mission, being a commander of the army under any condition; I politely request my absence from being a deputy. The telegram was written to the Third Army Inspector Cevat [Çobanlı] Pasha, First Army Corps Commander İzzeddin [Çalışlar] Pasha, Second Army Corps Commander Ali Hikmet [Ayerdem] Pasha, Third Army Corps Commander Şükrü Naili [Gökberk] Pasha, Fifth Army Corps Commander Fahreddin Pasha and First Army Corps Commander Cafer Tayyar [Eğilmez] Pasha. It was quite striking that the First and Second Army Inspectors' names were not written.²⁰¹

Being a commander, and part of the army continued to be important than anything else for Fahreddin Pasha. Like being a young Ottoman military officer, middle age commander Fahreddin Pasha was still see himself as one of the pioneers of the society as a representative of the army, for his part, the most important organization of the society.

In 1924, a probable military operation against the Greeks and Italians was performed in İzmir. Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha participated in the war games, a simulation of war carried out according to the rules and methods decided in advance

²⁰⁰Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.377-378.

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp.379-380.

under the presidency of Commander in Chief Field Marshal Mustafa Kemal Pasha together with all of the army corps commanders, division commanders and their staff officers.

The first possibility was that the simultaneous attacks launched by the Italians and Greeks both on land and sea. Secondly, while the Italian and Greek Navies were carrying out an operation extending from the region İzmir to Antalya, the Greek Army's possible ground offensive beginning from the West Thrace to the East. The last possibility was consideration of the French help for the Italians and Greeks. The meeting lasted a week from 14 February to 21 February in İzmir Officers' Club.

At the end, the result of it was that in case of the Italians and Greeks mount a naval operation in addition to a ground offensive, the Turkish Army was powerful enough to defend the country on the two fronts. Besides, if the Italians and Greeks would start on the war separately, they would only have limited success. The most important result of the war games was arriving at the unanimous decision on the transformation of İzmir and its surroundings into a fortified area (müstahkem mevki).²⁰² The main reason for the organization of the war games was to show the power of the Turkish army.

On 3 March 1924, the Ministry of General Staff (Erkan-ı Harbiyye-i 'Umumiyye Vekaleti) was abolished and the Chief of General Staff (Erkan-ı Harbiyye-i 'Umumiyye Riyaseti) was established to exert a complete authority as the highest organization to command the army during peace by separating from the government.²⁰³ On 31 October 1924, he was appointed as the second army inspector and continued to live

²⁰² Ali İhsan Kurtulan, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)'ün Katıldığı Harp Oyunları ve Askeri Manevralar", M.A. Thesis: Aydın Adnan Menderes University, 2010, pp.98-102.

²⁰³ "Şer'iyye ve Evkâf ve Erkân-ı Harbiyye-i 'Umumiyye Vekaletleri'nin İlgasına Dair Kanun", *Resmî Ceride*, vol.63 (29 Receb 1342/3 March 1340 [3 March 1924]), p.6.

in Konya.²⁰⁴ On 22 April 1925, the Supreme Military High Council was established and Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha became one of the members of it.

4.2. Second Army Inspector

After the war games, the first military maneuver of the republican era was carried out in Kemalpaşa near Bursa under the command of Second Army Inspector Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha by using infantry and artillery battalions and a cavalry team. He commanded the blue military unit stationed West of Manisa.²⁰⁵

Maneuvers like war games are simulations of wars, but different from war games, are carried out with large amounts of contingents with the intention of maximizing operational effectiveness of armed forces because education has only connotation of theory in terms of military, so become fairly meaningless without putting it into practice on the territory. The conditions are deeply thought in detail and prepare like in wars. They give a great opportunity to find out about the suitability of war plans, relationship between the land, naval and air forces, ammunition, strategy, logistic and technical issues of armies. The main aim is to prepare and keep ready contingents for a possible war.

Now, Fahreddin Pasha focused on teaching the necessity and importance of the military culture and he was administrator and observer of his contingent in peace and war. His position was not only depends on his rank but also his behaviors and

²⁰⁴ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcioğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.75; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.5; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; *Harp Akademilerinin 120 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar*, (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları, 1968), p.58; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291.; *Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri*, p.7; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

²⁰⁵ Fatih Özkurt, "Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) Dönemi'nde İcra Edilen Askeri Manevra ve Tatbikatlar (1909-1938)", Ph.D. Dissertation: Selçuk University, 2013, p.112.

willpower. He had to protect and trail people all the time²⁰⁶ because preparation of the soldiers for an effective fighting is the main purpose of military education. Fahreddin Pasha always had to keep ready his army, which is beyond a crowd, means a group of single-minded, educated and trained soldiers, who can effectively use ammunition.

After the maneuvers finished on 12 October 1925, he participated in the tour of city together with the high state officials greeted by thousands of people coming to the small town. Then, he also visited the Turkish hearths, together with the people and listened President Mustafa Kemal's speech addressing his appreciations to him for conducting such a successful maneuver²⁰⁷ and emphasizing on the most important people for the army and the continuation of the society are the high ranking commanders, having the most crucial role for the successes of the society until the day they lived.²⁰⁸

The idea of the nation in arms continued to be influential in the republican period. It especially had a great impact on the formulation of citizen and nation (ulus). The atmosphere of total war was very prominent. The state prioritizes to the individual and the duties of citizens continued to enjoy superiority over individual rights and freedoms. Preparation of the youth for a possible war pursued as the most primary goal. Only after the Second World War, this perception turned into national security (milli güvenlik). The army presented as the most important structure to protect it both by protecting the political regime and national interests.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ *İyi Bir Komutan Olabilmek İçin Kendimizi Nasıl Yetiştirmeliyiz?* (Ankara: T.C. Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Strateji Enstitü Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1979), p.3.

²⁰⁷ Zeki Arıkan, *İzmir Basınından Seçmeler*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2001), p.236.

²⁰⁸ *Hâkimiyeti Milliye*, (14 October 1925), p.1.

²⁰⁹ Gencer Özcan, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ordusunda Prusya Etkisi", in Evren Balta Paker and İsmail Akça (eds), *Türkiye'de Ordu, Devlet ve Güvenlik Siyaseti*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), pp.208-213.

Towards the end of 1925, when returning from İzmir, near Afyon, Mustafa Kemal Pasha ordered to his first aide to prepare a good place for Fahreddin Pasha in Çankaya for spending his time with them. It was going to be an interesting experience for Fahreddin Pasha, who had not seen Ankara ever since the declaration of the republic. From that day on, he stayed a mansion next to Mustafa Kemal Pasha for eleven days, and wrote each day on his notebook.

On 22 September 1925, Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha went to the Grand National Assembly. As soon as getting in, he run across with President of the Assembly Kazım [Özalp] and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tevfik Rüştü [Aras], exchanging ideas with each other at the chamber because for first time, the assembly president was going to open the session by wearing high hat, frak and swallow tailedcoat. Tevfik Rüştü informed Kazım Pasha about the rules in the European parliaments. Soon after, the president entered the assembly by wearing his hat and when stepping up on the platform, took off his hat and put it on the table near him then opened the session. In this way, the tradition started. After the session started, Mustafa Kemal Pasha went to his chamber and invited Fahreddin Pasha to his near.²¹⁰

Fahreddin Pasha gained interesting experiences while staying in Çankaya Mansion.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha gestured me for ordering me to invite Madam Baver to the dance. Despite of my objections and explanations about my lack of knowledge on dancing, he ordered her to teach me to dance. Unavoidably, we started. At first, I thought it was going to be easy, but soon after my knees knock together and started to feel dizzy because everything was turning around. I spent my youthful years in the eastern part of the country, so did not have any chance to learn it. While she was trying to control me, Mustafa Kemal and others started to laugh. In the end, Mustafa Kemal guided me to move by saying that “move according to beat of the music like the sound of the trumpet in the military marching.” Only then, I started to manage it.

²¹⁰ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.393,
See Appendix R: Second Army Inspector Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha Is Getting Out the Grand National Assembly in September 1925.

On 23 September 1925, Fahreddin Pasha drove around the city. The construction of many new buildings was just started including two schools on the crowded street. "It was highly difficult to recognize people I knew because everybody wore hats. The developments and constructions everywhere and everybody had great hopes for the future."²¹¹

Fahreddin Pasha thought the society as a single-minded group, and avoided being a dissident and had a close relationship with the political elite of the republic. Therefore, he was naturally of the opinion that everything was perfect.

At the end of 1926, together with the president, they carried out an inspection in the region from Antalya to İzmir. Fahreddin Pasha participated in the military exercises of the navy around İzmir. After hearing President Mustafa Kemal Pasha's visit to Mersin, he went to welcome him, then they walked around the station around Silifke. Fahreddin Pasha went to Konya; Mustafa Kemal Pasha arrived in İzmir. On 16 June 1926, the clerk Tevfik [Bıyıkoğlu] informed him about the order for his invitation to İzmir by the reason of the conspiracy against Mustafa Kemal. Fahreddin Pasha went to the mansion where the representatives of the Independence Court were discussing the issue throughout the night.

Mustafa Kemal said "Ali [Çetinkaya] Bey is going to hang the pashas." He looked at my face as if asking my opinion. Meanwhile, İsmet was looking at the ground as if he did not want to give his influence on my answer. I replied "you always do and think everything better than us, and by asking this question to me, I understand you had already arrived at your final decision in their favors as an indication of your benevolence." Mustafa Kemal had already discerned by using concept of favors, I tried to imply if you want to hang them out, you do not need to ask my opinion. After wearing an enigmatic smile on his face, he continued, but "how can we be sure afterwards?" İsmet raised his head and added "you can be sure your excellency because as long as you exist, your government is going to continue thanks to your enormous prestige. It was only performed by a couple of people, and if you only punish them, people are going to be sure of your justice."

²¹¹ Ibid., pp.394-400.

On 24 June, when gathering around the table, Mustafa Kemal Pasha said “if I die, gather around İsmet Pasha. You can only ask for Fevzi Pasha’s opinions.”²¹² Fahreddin Pasha never forgot his words and was going to become the main supporter of İsmet Pasha for being the next president of the republic.

Next year, a military maneuver around Ankara was carried out. After it was finished, he returned to Konya.²¹³ It was another chance for him to narrate his soldiers the importance of their mission and sense of assurance on themselves as well as training them as groups to show them the power of being a member of the army, for his part, a solemn organization and acting according to the collective consciousness instead of their owns.

In 1927, Chief of General Staff Field Marshal Fevzi [Çakmak] went to Europe for his treatment, so General Fahreddin Pasha became the deputy of him from June to July. He accompanied to President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, making his journey to Istanbul for the first time after the war.²¹⁴

On 17 November 1927, General Fahreddin Pasha went to Paris with the purpose of retreatment of a problem in his nose.²¹⁵ Major Larchef founded him and introduced him with the commander of Paris and inspector of the cavalry contingents. They spoke highly of his operations in the Independence War and discussed on cavalry institutions. Larchef said he translated his article, on the cavalry operations he carried out in the Independence War. Then, it was translated into many languages. Fahreddin Pasha also visited general Goro, who lost his arm during the Gallipoli Wars. They talked about the days of the war. In Vienna, a famous doctor Emil Glas performed surgery on him and he returned to Ankara on 7 January.²¹⁶

²¹² Ibid., pp.417-421.

²¹³ Ibid., p.422.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p.423.

²¹⁵ Appendix S: Document on Political Passport Given to Second Army Inspector General Fahreddin Pasha, Who Will Go to Europe together with His Wife on 9 November 1927.

²¹⁶ Ibid., pp.424-425.

For visit of the first royal head coming to Ankara, Afghan King Amanullah Khan on 30 April 1928, General Fahreddin Pasha appointed as host to him.²¹⁷ On 24 July 1923, Lausanne Treaty substituted for the Treaty of Sèvres, and the nationalists had won a remarkable victory, but now, as a representative of the new republic, after winning the struggle, the new nation state had to establish strong relationships with the world.²¹⁸

On 19 May, the king narrated his journey in detail and beautiful features of Afghanistan and bitterly complained about not having sea in his country after seeing the Black Sea. As soon as we arrived at the straits, our army and planes welcomed us. While we were proceeding among people, he could not hide his admiration for the Straits and city. On 28 May, a great celebration was held in Ankara Station, and the close relationship between the king and Mustafa Kemal arose strong feelings of happiness and enthusiasm among people. After that, we went Çankaya, where he was going to stay for a week and I informed Mustafa Kemal about him. The king appreciated Mustafa Kemal's successes, but I felt he was not sincere because when passing near Polatlı, by showing the hills to inform him about our victory in Sakarya. Nevertheless, rather than listening it, he preferred to talk about his own Independence War in Afghanistan. I understood he came here to boast rather than learning anything new.

During the official visit, the striking similarity between the independence wars of the two countries carried out in the same period and the necessity for the continuation of friendship between the two countries were emphasized.²¹⁹ They tried to use their histories to build the day they were living in.

On 9 August I put the first stone for the construction of the first school building in Konya in the new state, and participated in the inauguration of the first electric tramway in İzmir.

²¹⁷ Bilal Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), p.25.

²¹⁸ Kenneth W. Harl, *The Ottoman Empire: The Great Courses*, (Virginia: Corporate Headquarters, 2017), pp.259-260.

²¹⁹ Bilal Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları*, pp.31-40.

Despite the historical developments, the country was still in bondages, such as men and women could not travel together. With the purpose of contributing the revolution, I invited the notables of Konya together with their families to the Kestel Camping Ground and ordered to establish a tent camp for fifteenth days. It was a quite interesting and new thing for the country in those days.²²⁰

Fahredden Pasha, for his part, felt himself obliged to “civilize” them. The army was the centre of culture and rule and the only powerful organization for the society to become a nation.²²¹ As one of the representatives of the military, playing the most prominent role in forging Kemalist reforms, putting religion into a lower and less important position and cherishing personal consciousness were parts of his deliberate effort to foster the values and allegiances of a nation state within Anatolia. Instead of a Muslim community loyal to a political establishment, deriving its authority and legitimacy from religion, as one of the founding officers of the republic, Fahreddin Pasha also envisioned a new Turkish man whose affinities were to a nation and state in which the political class derived its legitimacy from its adherence to progressive ideals and science.²²²

On 23 December 1930, a reactionary movement occurred, and a military officer Kubilay was killed in İzmir where under the control of my army, so I had to arrive there together with the Minister of Internal Affairs, Şükrü [Kaya].²²³ I took note every single detail of conversations between Gazi Pasha, İsmet Pasha, Şükrü and Kazım [Özalp]. Gazi Pasha wanted the deportation of the people living in the certain villages of the Menemen region. İsmet Pasha objected to the decision by explaining the serious disadvantages of it. President of the Grand National Assembly Kazım Özalp, and Minister of Internal Affairs Şükrü Kaya agreed with İsmet Pasha. At the end, Mustafa Kemal gave time until the end of the winter.

At the end, Prime Minister İsmet Pasha gave General Fahreddin Pasha his firm order on immediately identification and application of the martial law to any members of

²²⁰ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.428-431.

²²¹ *Askerin Ders Kitabı*, (Ankara: Büyük Erkanıharbiye Matbaası, 1934), p.36.

²²² Steven Cook, *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*, (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp.94-95.

²²³ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.433.

information assets, encouraging people to further disorder in addition to carrying out a detailed examination on the deeds of sheiks after the closure of lodges and the reason for the absence of any report written during the event.²²⁴The event known as the Menemen Incident was basically staged by six uneducated insurgents, apparently exercising limited power to continue a large scale revolt.

The negligence of law enforcement agencies, as it was recognized after the event as well, was the reason why and how they could leave Manisa and arrive at Menemen armed. It was also the inattention of gendarme officers, including the commander, in Menemen conducted to the continuation of the insurgents' activities in the town center for three-four hours. However, the events were immediately suppressed after the arrival of the armed battalions and none of the townspeople were engaged in the shootout with law enforcement agencies. It was a minor incident and not a revolt that received public support. The defendants in the trials behaved in a subdued manner.

However, the Martial Court of Menemen decided that the incident was a rebellion planned by the Nakşibendi order and supported by certain villagers and inhabitants of Menemen. The main aim of the martial court was to arrive at pre-determined decisions rather than getting justice. It was considered as a plotter even before the beginning of the trials, used as a tool of intimidation.²²⁵ And, for Fahreddin Pasha, it was a legal right of the army and state to maintain order and rule the society.

On 29 September 1933, the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the republic was celebrated. He met with People's Commissar for Defense of the Soviet Union Field Marshal Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov and Inspector of Cavalry in Red Army Field Marshal Semyon Mikhailovich Budyonny. On 22 November 1933, he was appointed

²²⁴ Ibid., pp.437-438.

²²⁵ Mehmet Hakan Vaizoğlu, "The Making and Treatment of an Iconic Event: The Menemen Incident (1930) in Modern Turkish History", M.A. Thesis: İstanbul Şehir University, 2016, pp.175-176.

as the inspector of the First Army. His duty in Konya which lasted for ten years finished.

4.3. First Army Commander

In 1930, because of the critical situation in politics and a serious possibility of war, the army was reorganized again and additional forces were jointed. Three army groups established; the Second Army in Balıkesir, the Third Army in Erzurum and the First Army consisting of Third, Fourth, Sixth, Tenth, Fifteenth and Twentieth Army Corps in Istanbul.²²⁶

First Army Commander General Fahreddin Pasha's²²⁷ first mission was to draw up the defense plan of the Gallipoli Shores. At that time, stationing soldiers up to twenty kilometers of the shores was forbidden according to Treaty of Lausanne. Only gendarmerie forces could be stationed in the region. To defend the strait, Fahreddin Pasha had to decide on a place twenty kilometers away from the shores by ordering the deployment of a regiment there. After a detailed examination, he decided on Kirazlı Highland, twenty kilometers away from shore, and his proposal was accepted by the General Staff.

Two years later, thanks to the Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits, it was allowed to station of soldiers on the shores.²²⁸

In the summer of 1934, he chaired the military committee sent to the great maneuvers of the Red Army.

²²⁶ Said Arif Terzioğlu, *Türk Ordusu*, pp.73-75.

²²⁷ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.75; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.5; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; *Harp Akademilerinin 127 Yılı: Şeref Dolu Yıllar*, p.149; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele'de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291; *Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri*, p.7; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html (accessed September 25, 2018).

²²⁸ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.453.

On 26 August, as soon as arriving at the airport in Moscow, I saw the biggest airplane of the time carrying name Maxim Gorky. It was worth to see the people's enthusiasm welcoming us in the streets. While the military parades were going on everywhere, we reached Zhytomyr on 31 August. Voroshilov always behaved kindly and sincerely, and gave us detailed information on the cavalry regiments and tanks. After drinking tea with Field Marshal Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, People's Commissar (Minister) for Defense, I met to Chief of General Staff Field Marshal Alexander Ilyich Yegorov. They showed me the cavalry division and tanks of the Red Army while the maneuvers were continuing. Then, we, as the only foreign group invited to the maneuvers arrived at Kiev.²²⁹

General Fahreddin Pasha deeply affected the power of weapons and understood once again the importance of having skilled men to have a powerful army which is affected by present-day science and technology. He had a chance to follow the modern weapons, tremendously lethal than ever before. The common goal was to annihilate masses within very short span of time. Specialist skills, some militaries have had but others have not, were required. Those who have sharpened the needed skills had sharply reduced their vulnerability.²³⁰

On 5 September, I watched a grand military parade, consisting of ten divisions. As soon as each contingent approaches, Voroshilov was screaming about their great heroism in the past, accompanied with the loud music performing by the professional military orchestra, including five-hundred people. It was a fantastic panorama. The streets were lined with millions of people, greeting us and throwing hundreds of thousands flowers to Voroshilov's automobile, followed by hundreds of automobiles.²³¹

²²⁹ Ibid., pp.454-455.

²³⁰ Stephen Biddle, "Explaining Military Outcomes", in Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley (eds.), *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*, (California: Stanford University Press, 2007), p.208.

²³¹ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.456.

Within the framework of renewed class war, Soviet society was militarized, but the result was not militarism in the classical Western sense of this word. Instead, the Communist Part was the agent of change.²³²

In honor of everybody, bottles of vodkas were drunk, and speeches were delivered. Our Independence march together with Soviet one was played twenty-nine times. When one of the members of our committee rose his glass in a toast, Semyon Mikhailovich Budyonnystarted to talk about his excellent services. I was of the opinion that the Bolsheviks, denying the existence of religion and nationalism fiercely, set their common values by gratifying the contingents and praising people's personal abilities and successes.²³³

During the interwar years, the army was continued to be a multidimensional phenomenon. It included social, psychological, educational and economic fields of a society in addition to politics. Killing and dying had to be explained in a sensible way. The independent character of individuals had to be sacrificed for the common [sacred] goal. General Fahreddin Pasha was surprised by seeing different understandings for believing the legitimacy and power of violence.

Smart-mouthed Gagovic mentioned on how we won our Independence War thanks to the Soviet helps. After getting over the great shock, I raised my glass as if to make a toast and stood up. And, started to say "Yes, Comrade Gagovic is telling the truth, we cannot even think of denying your help during our Independence War. On the contrary, it is great pleasure for us to tell our appreciations whenever possible, but it seems I have to clarify the most essential aspect of our relations. If we, the Turks, would have not shed the blood of our soldiers at the Gallipoli Front, and prevent the Europeans' entrance to the Black Sea, I am wondering what would be your situation today?" After standing up, Gagovic shouted as "absolutely right! Our friendship is established on the policy of give and take." Then, a deafening noise of applause generated.²³⁴

²³² Hans-Heinrich Nolte, "Stalinism as Total Social War", in Roger Chickering and Stig Forster (eds.), *The Shadows of Total War: Europe, East Asia, and the United States, (1919–1939)*, (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2003), p.306.

²³³ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, p.457.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.457-458.

At the beginning of July 1934, General Fahreddin Pasha was appointed as the host to the Iranian Shah Reza Pahlavi and welcomed him in Trabzon on Yavuz Battleship. In addition to the indication of the friendship and developing relations between the two states, having historical and religious conflicts, the Shah's visit was critically important in terms of meeting two soldiers, now governing their countries.²³⁵

1934 was a very difficult year for the Republic of Turkey. The Turkish government was of the opinion that the Italians wanted to occupy the Western shores of the country because during his speech delivered on 18 March 1934, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Italy Benito Mussolini emphasized on the term *mare nostrum* -our see-to catch attention to the historical rights of Italy on the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. After such a scandalous expression and armament of the Kingdom of Italy on the eastern part of the Mediterranean, naturally, the Ankara government felt under pressure. Hereupon, the President Mustafa Kemal Pasha made tour of inspection beginning from the Aegean Sea (Adalar Denizi) shores to Antalya as a show of the military strength. Besides, a surtax was applied to different products on the purpose of spending more and more money on armament.

In such a case, the Iranian Shah Reza Pahlavi visited the republic and inspected the contingents and airports by joining the nationwide tour. Mustafa Kemal Pasha thought if the Italians try to occupy Turkey, they would start to land troops in Albania than cooperate with the Bulgarians to attack on the straits. A militarymaneuver commanded by Fahreddin Pasha was executed as a symbol of the readiness of the Turkish Army to the world.²³⁶As soon as approaching Balıkesir, they started to see it near Kirazlı Highland.

Shah emphasized on his admiration for Mustafa Kemal, powerful Turkish Army, the progress and reforms over and over again. He specifically mentioned his appreciation for the secularist politics of

²³⁵ Ömer Erden, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Dönemi'nde Türkiye'yi Ziyaret Eden Devlet Başkanları*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), pp.211-212.

²³⁶ Ayhan Aktar, "Trakya Yahudi Olaylarını "Doğru" Yorumlamak", *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol.155 (November 1996), pp.51-52.

Turkey because, after the annihilation of sectarian problems, only in this way the two countries could get a chance to establish a sincere relationship. He continued to talk about his immense effort to forbid the excessive traditions of the different sects.²³⁷

The discourse of the period was on the undisputed leadership of President Mustafa Kemal Pasha and creation of the new Turkey out of nothing, without any reference to the Young Turk heritage, was an important weapon in his elimination of political competitors. The defense of rights movement, which had begun and fought until 1923 to protect what remained of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, suddenly found that it had liberated the land not only from Christian occupiers but also from the last living link to that empire. The postliberation state in the 1923–4 period engineered the death of the old “oriental despotate” resting upon *din* (Islam) and *devlet* (the Ottoman dynasty) as the ideal of public life and created, not a true or democratic republic, but merely a new, evermore- muscular state resting upon an updated and more “European” version of the twin pillars: the nation and the parvenu authoritarian. Aside from his undoubted legitimacy as the man credited with expelling Christian occupiers and sloughing the burden of Sèvres. The interwar period, saw the rise of the authoritarian “strongman” across southern, central, and eastern Europe (the Middle East, being largely under Anglo-French control, was less affected, except Iran, where a semiliterate cavalry officer became Reza Shah Pahlavi and subjected his country to a program of forced modernization patterned on Mustafa Kemal’s Turkey).²³⁸

Prime Minister İsmet Pasha and President Mustafa Kemal Pasha wanted General Fahreddin Pasha to be the arbitrator for solving the problem of border between Iran and Afghanistan.²³⁹ His duty, drawing up the borders of Musaabad region, was highly critical for the enhancement of newly emerged Turkish Republic’s international

²³⁷ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim:10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.462-464.

²³⁸ Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.186-187.

²³⁹ See Appendix T: Diplomatic Passports Given to First Army Commander General Fahreddin Pasha and His Entourage Appointed to Solve the Border Problem between Afghanistan and Iran on 24 September 1934.

prestige. The two states sent their official writings on their acceptance of the decision unconditionally and guarantee to sign a treaty according to the Turkish arbitrator's decision. Together with Ambassador Kamil Bey, Colonel Ziya Bey, working in the General Staff was appointed as Fahreddin Pasha's assistants. A committee including a doctor, two cartographers, two aides, a sergeant, a cooker was established.

In Tebriz, to welcome us the Shah appointed his own adjutant, Cihanbani. He showed us the military exercises they prepared and asked me for my opinion on it upon the Shah's request. I indicated the goodness of it, and added "position of the machine putted down to the enemy's artillery is not correct, and it would be better if it is set with the purpose of opening cross fire." My comments pleased them enormously. However, it was striking the military exercise was the typical example of our exercise I commanded in Kirazlı during the Shah's visit. By showing it to me, they obviously intended to prove they are also powerful like us.²⁴⁰

"I ordered the military officers for drawing a detailed map of the territory within fifteen days. Solving the dispute in the region became a source of severe stress for me, so I examined it in detail again and again."²⁴¹

If I want I could prolong it and waste everyone's time by saying that I am examining the documents and maps, and easily continue to take large amount of British pound, ten times valuable than Turkish lira, paid by the two governments, but I perceived it as a sacred duty. I chose to solve the problem in a very short span of time about four months. After expressing to the Iranian and Afghan committees my pleasure for their trust in the Republic of Turkey, I mentioned the final explanation of my decision was going to be put forward by an official writing after my arrival in Ankara. They greatly appreciated me for overcoming the problem in such a short span of time, and expressed their strong beliefs in my ability to arrive at the best solution.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.467-468.

See Appendix U: First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay Is Inspecting the High School Military Students on 28 April 1935.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.472-477.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p.478.

On 16 May 1935, General Fahreddin Altay's decision was announced to the Iranian and Afghan Ambassadors during a meeting in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And, the long lasting conflict between two countries settled. As a token of their appreciations, the ambassadors expressed "the success of General Fahreddin Altay is a powerful symbol of the sincere relationships between eastern countries."²⁴³

In Tayabad, the Iranian president informed him about the adoption of surname law in Turkey, and added Gazi Pasha took Atatürk as his surname, so General Fahreddin Pasha immediately wrote him for his congratulation, and received an immediate reply from him; "I am also congratulating you because of your surname, Altay." Fahreddin Pasha was the tallest Turkish general, and now standing near to the Altay Mountains, Kemal Pasha wanted to resemble him to the mountains by choosing the surname for him to emphasize his grandeur like the Altay Mountains."²⁴⁴

After solving the border issue, and before going to Turkey, General Fahreddin Altay visited Voroshilov, People's Commissar for Defense of the Soviet Union.

Voroshilov received me by standing up, putting his hand at his back, and frowning. He angrily asked that "What on earth is this surname, Altay?" I felt a great shock after seeing such a kind and cheerful man in this attitude. After immediately getting over the shock, I understood he was accusing me of being one of the followers of Pan-Turanism. Then, I explained the situation. Voroshilov smiled, because of being very short, he really liked my words. After that, he became cheerful again and we started to talk about my travel.

After telling Atatürk Voroshilov's adverse comments on his surname, he replied "Wow! They are so touchy that regarding such a situation as a problem. You said very well." By getting on a train, he continued to travel from Moscow to Berlin.

The German War Minister Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg wanted to see me, and stated to express his appreciations of my success in terms of the cavalry army corps, and continued the conversation by asking my opinion about Russia and Red Army. After

²⁴³ "İran-Efğan Hudud İhtilafı Hakkındaki Karar", *Cumhuriyet*, (16 May 1935), p.3.

²⁴⁴ "Fahrettin Altay Anlatıyor", *Akşam*, (10 November 1963), p.4.

mentioning my lack of knowledge on Bolshevik administration, but I could not avoid of stating the excellence of the Red Army and added “ Commander Voroshilov carried out the maneuvers very well, and used many tanks effectively all together because their technical people have an exceptional abilities to draw up and implement detailed planes very well. In addition, the soldiers are filled with a tremendous excitement.” Blomberg said “what you call as the army commander in the magnificent maneuvers, a couple of years ago, was a captain of a squad, undergoing training in our army.” Then, I understood very well he wants to underestimate the Red Army.²⁴⁵

During the interwar years (1918-1939), recounting past and recent experiences of officers working different countries and being informed themselves about the developments were remained strategically vital. It was more important than ever before for the military mind not remaining in isolation from the civil evolution and different alternatives in up to date technology.²⁴⁶

On September 1936, the British King Edward VIII visited the Republic of Turkey. To welcome and keep accompany him while visiting the Gallipoli Battlefield, General Fahreddin Altay was appointed. It was not an official visit, and the king did not go to Ankara because it was decided during his world tour. Therefore, Fahreddin Pasha accompanied him during his visit to Istanbul and the Gallipoli Battlefield.²⁴⁷

He examined the battlefield like a soldier and made a detailed research on the owners of the gravestones, and matched the drawings to the territory. He could not prevent himself from staring at Alçıtepe and wondering how the magnificent British and French Armies could not pass it and had to retreat after looking the hill for months and shedding their blood. We generally preferred to speak in French and did not need any translator, so our dialogues were sincere. After learning I know German, he wanted to speak in German by saying that it is much more great pleasure for him to speak in German than French. Our situation was a little bit absurd.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.481-482.

²⁴⁶ Jeremy Black, *Rethinking Military History*, (London: Routledge, 2004), p.203.

²⁴⁷ Hikmet Özdemir, *Atatürk ve İngiltere: Bir Barışmanın Diplomatik Tarihi*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2004), pp.68-69.

²⁴⁸ Fahrettin Altay, *Görüp Geçirdiklerim: 10 Yıl Savaş ve Sonrası*, pp.487-488.

Gallipoli Front was special for General Fahreddin Altay because it was his first duty during the Great War. "Our courageous dear Turkish soldiers, who did not allow the passage of the enemy, now were lying down like lions. I could hear their shouts they gave while attacking the enemy."²⁴⁹ Now, he was remembering the First World War by identifying with sacred themes that define nations. However, the oddity of it was that these nations were defined first of all because they are a part of imperial powers, but this war was at the one and the same time the apogee and the beginning and the end of empire. It was the moment how he turned Great War into a myth for General Fahreddin Altay.²⁵⁰

In October 1937, First Army Inspector General Fahreddin Altay commanded the Aegean Maneuvers together with Lieutenant General Kazım Dirik, Lieutenant General Salih Omurtak, Lieutenant General Cemil Cahit Toydemir and his staff officers.²⁵¹ General Altay gave his opinions about it with the help of the maps and sketches from the beginning to the end of the maneuvers, and showed the behaviors of groups one by one. He made clear that the Turkish Army advanced three times in comparison to the last man oeuvres and emphasized on the importance of education and practices. He added various official visits paid by military committees and attaches are giving a great honor to the army.²⁵²

For his part, to gain a war, science, knowledge and regulations were the most crucial features. He was responsible for the failure and success of his contingents. According to him wars were won on the battlefield, but during peace, the contingents who were not prepared for war could not be successful. Therefore, wars firstly were won at the barracks. Education was not enough to prepare the soldiers for a possible war. Training was the most crucial thing for it by the reason of skill could acquire together

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p.489.

²⁵⁰ Jay Winters, "European Civilization, 1648-1945: Lecture 18, Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning", (Speech at Open Yale Courses 2008), mins. 9:14-10:28, <https://oyc.yale.edu/history/hist-202/lecture-18> (accessed April 5, 2019).

²⁵¹ "İzmir'den Giden Generaller", *Akşam*, (9 October 1937), p.8.

²⁵² "Manevralar", *Ayın Tarihi*, (22 August 1937), p.45.

with practice. He always had to check the deficiencies and capacity of war power of his contingent to apply the most appropriate strategy to it because victory could only be deserved by well organized and trained contingents.

General Fahreddin Altay had to get adopt his own soldiers the habit of having mutual trust and holding a deep-seated belief in victory. He learnt that the distinguishing features of carrying out a well organized warfare in the contemporary armies were following technological developments and well educated people, being the masters of their crafts and having technical knowledge because armies were greedy organizations that always need a high productivity and taking advantage of people as much as possible. Therefore, General Fahreddin Altay got into a strict routine of forcing people for getting use to the most difficult conditions, ignoring the difference between them and suppressing them to forget their unique characters to transform them into a homogeneous group having the sense of mission to obey his orders.

In 1938, General Fahreddin Altay went to Europe with the purpose of rheumatism treatment.²⁵³ As soon as he returns Turkey, he found himself in a highly tense situation because Atatürk's serious illness came up for an intense discussion among the army members on the president of the republic.

According to The Second Chief of General Staff Asım Gündüz, Prime Minister Celal Bayar described "the situation by saying that "most of the deputies are insisting on electing Field Marshal Fevzi Çakmak as the president. However, he consistently refused to intervene in political affairs." Asım Gündüz adds; "After taking detailed information on what is going on, General Fahreddin Altay said İsmet İnönü will definitely be the president because he arranged a meeting with the army corps commanders and the result of it was appointing İnönü as the new president. General Fahreddin Altay was of the opinion that; "Turkish people always believe in charismatic leaders, doing great things and they are only used to listen those who have already prove their success. Field Marshal is quite appropriate for the duty, but

²⁵³ See Appendix V: A Political Passport Given First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay Pasha, Sent Him Europe for Treatment on 21 April 1938.

he does not want to take it. Therefore, İnönü must be the new president. In another way different from our decision, a randomly chosen person chosen would definitely not satisfy people. Besides, more important than that, the situation in Europe becomes dangerous day by day. Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler are quite ferocious men and can attack Turkey. Therefore, we need a powerful and thoughtful leader.” Asım Gündüz continues “Fahreddin Pasha was right and nobody could dare to object him. In this way, thanks to Fahreddin Altay Pasha, İnönü could become president.”²⁵⁴

On 11 July 1945, First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay retired.²⁵⁵ According to Fahreddin Altay’s grandson, Baskın Sokullu, Fahreddin Altay and President İsmet İnönü had a serious discussion about the republic’s policy persuaded after the Second World War. During one of his visits, he said to İnönü “although the war ended, it is extremely wrong to boost spending on military, and nonsense to buy new planes and tanks from Great Britain.” In addition, he specifically requested from İnönü “putting an end to the torture inflicted by the gendarmerie forces in Anatolia.” Therefore, a quarrel broke out among them. In response to it, General Fahreddin Altay returned to Istanbul, without paying any visit to İnönü with the purpose of saying goodbye. Fahreddin Altay’s grandson Baskın Sokullu thinks İnönü used the pretext of limit of age (yaş haddi) to retire him.²⁵⁶

Besides, Asım Gündüz also agrees with Baskın Sokullu because İsmet İnönü asked Asım Gündüz for resignation from the General Staff and start to work in the Grand National Assembly with him.

He was the National Chief and nobody could dare to say “no” to him. He added he decided to retire Fahreddin Pasha. Whereas, if Fahreddin Pasha did not insisted on him, it was almost impossible for him to be the president. Retirement was a highly difficult process for us because we established the General Staff and built the army, so

²⁵⁴ Asım Gündüz, *Hatıralarım*, (İstanbul: Kervan Kitapçılık, 1973), pp.217-218.

²⁵⁵ See Appendix W: First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay Pasha’s Retirement on 11 July 1945.

²⁵⁶ Mustafa Okuklu, “Fahrettin Altay”, M.A. Thesis: Dokuz Eylül University, 2009, pp.99-100. (Fahreddin Altay’s grandson, Baskın Sokullu’s expressions).

did not regard ourselves as ordinary people appointed those duties. It was like a mother's separation from her child.²⁵⁷

In his memoirs written in 1970, Fahreddin Altay said nothing about his retirement and avoided criticizing İsmet İnönü in general. İsmet İnönü's invitation to Ankara in 1960s would pave the way for fading his anger, so he did not prefer to mention their discussions in his memoirs.

As a cadet, for fifteen years, Fahreddin Altay received his training in specific schools and academies, where a sense of uniqueness was emphasized. For forty-three years, he lived in the unique occupational culture of military organization, relatively isolated from society because he did not only worked in separated barracks and bases, but also lived there. His job was an active duty and a permanent, twenty-four hours call with rather idiosyncratic working shifts and living on far-off places. The communal character of his job extended to various aspects and stages of his personal life. The heavy emphasis in military on hierarchy and chain of command became the main focus of his life on the execution of orders, and introducing discipline and control.²⁵⁸

Fahreddin Altay, as a military officer and later a commander, had to force people, having totally different characters to build them a life in the military environment and regulate their extremely complicated relationships according to strict rules because the vital necessity for an army is achieving coherence. He had to put the principle of the superiority of common interest over individual ones into his soldiers' mind.²⁵⁹ The soldiers saw him as their idol and his adulation and rewards were some kind of blessing for them, so Fahreddin Pasha, having to attract people's attention all the time, always had prevent from his weaknesses known about and show a perfect image on his soldiers' and military officers' eyes under his command because only by

²⁵⁷ Asım Gündüz, *Hatıralarım*, pp.222-223.

²⁵⁸ Joseph L. Soeters, Donna J. Winslow, and Alise Weibull, "Military Culture" in Giuseppe Caforio (ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, (New York: Springer, 2006), pp.237-240.

²⁵⁹ Faruk Güventürk, *İyi Bir Komutan, Kurmay Subay ve Karagah Subayı Nasıl Olmalıdır?* (İstanbul: Okat Yayınevi, 1966), p.254.

showing his distinguished character and merits, he could assert his authority. He always felt that people needed him to act both in peace and war.²⁶⁰

Fahreddin Pasha felt throughout his life that people have to and need to show respect to him because they need to a master, for trust and motive them because members of the army had to set the example of the society, consisting ignorant mass. Fahreddin Pasha, for his part, had to behave perfectly because as a commander he was always capturing the attention of ordinary people.²⁶¹

4.4. Burdur Deputy

Now, he wanted to continue to be a leader and pioneer of the society in a different field, and from 1945 to 1950, Retired General Fahreddin Altay became Burdur deputy.²⁶² Letting things slide could not be an option for a commander like him because the reform of the army had to be continued in the assembly and then the society. War conditions had been effective in his life until the end of the 1950s, in exactly the same way his burning desire for creating a civilized society depicted in von der Goltz's idea, nation in arms. Populism of the constitutional period in the Ottoman Empire had already underlined the state intervention in many fields of life. It was thought that with the help of the government's social policies, serious problems of the society would be solved.

²⁶⁰ Mithat Özgüç, *Askerlik Psikolojisi ve Psikolojik Tecrübe Esaslarına Göre Askerlik Eğitimi*, (Ankara: Harpokulu Basımevi, 1948), pp.160-163.

²⁶¹ *Askerin Ders Kitabı*, (Ankara: Büyük Erkanıharbiye Matbaası, 1934), p.36.

²⁶² See Appendix X: Burdur Deputy Fahreddin Altay's Record of Election and Fahreddin Altay's Brief Autobiography Written with His Handwriting; Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.76; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.4; *Nutuk'da Anılan Komutanların Biyografileri*, p.7; *Türk İstiklal Harbi'ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html (accessed September 25, 2018).

Until the end of the 1940s, the fundamental principles of war economy, national economy (milli iktisat) in the Ottoman case, was applied and the inflation of the Great War could not be curbed. Avoiding being dependent on outside financial sources was applied as the basic principle until the 1950s.²⁶³ For his part, top down reforms were the only real possibility of the society like the economy. A clear moral had to be drawn to become a powerful nation state. He wanted to command people in a different way. The idea of loyalty of the army to the existing political regime eras of Atatürk and İnönü indicated its importance. The military elite continued to be the guardians of the state and play their roles as the pioneers of the Turkish enlightenment.²⁶⁴

In one of the sessions, he constructed two simple sentences, perfect enough to reflect his point of view; “The prosperity of the country solely depends on young, educated and trained people. Their duties are to serve the country and the state.”²⁶⁵ After being retired and continued his career as one of the members of the Grand National Assembly, it was almost impossible for Fahreddin Altay breaking himself of the habit of regarding the society like an army. He was of the opinion that –especially- the young people were the representatives of the society they lived and had to reflect the same characteristics with each other. Their behaviors should be based on strict rules and they had to be educated as enthusiastic members for being beneficial for the society. For his part, the backwardness of the society solely depended on the state’s lack of success in having a system based on rationalism. It brought about lagging behind the necessity of the contemporary age. He thought only young people, growing up with nationalism could achieve progress. And, the state was the only legitimate authority to give them that responsibility and culture as well as providing the security and prosperity of them. Like in the army every field of life should be controlled by laws and rigid rules and the organizations of the society must be work

²⁶³ Zafer Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi: Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye’de Devletçilik, 1914-1918*, p.203.

²⁶⁴ William Hale, *Türkiye’de Ordu ve Siyaset: 1789’dan Günümüze*, (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1994), p.83.

²⁶⁵ *T.B.M.M Tutanak Dergisi, Yirmi Birinci Birleşim*, vol.3 (23 December 1946), Eighth Term, Session 1, p.365.

with harmony. People had to be in the habit of obeying the rules without any oppression.

He knew as a commander, his authority was not limitless, so had to be realist when giving his orders to make believe himself the people. It was almost impossible for him to forget his career, and continued to define state in terms of their military forces, deploying in defense of its interests or powers because for his part, it was main institute, having the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force.²⁶⁶“The most crucial thing on the governmental affairs is to be realist and carefully examining conditions. A strong army is the only legitimate force to assure the security, and martial law should be applied if necessary because only army members do not hesitate to perform their duties. Only army can protect people from danger.”²⁶⁷ He deeply believed in the necessity of embellishing and extolling the chain of command and systematically applying it in every field of life and each part of society. Only in this way, the new nation state could be protected against the enemies inside and outside. In this way, he legitimated the discourse of bringing about unity.²⁶⁸

4.5. Retirement Years

After his career in politics come to an end, he spent his time by participating in different ceremonies and writing a couple of books and his memoirs as well as playing bezique with his wife and with his grandson’s children among flowers and dogs in the garden of his mansion in Emirgan. One day in each week, his friends, retired military officers regularly came to see him and played bridge. Other days of the week, his old friends were visiting him and in teatime, they spent their times by talking about the old days. Until the end of his life, he was so vigorous and clever. Ninety-one years old Fahreddin Altay was quite happy when expressing his opinions about his long-life; “People always sincerely praised for me in the way that long live Fahreddin Pasha! I

²⁶⁶ Jay Winters, “European Civilization, 1648-1945: Lecture 18, Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning”, mins. 45:24,46:20.

²⁶⁷ T.B.M.M. *Tutanak Dergisi, Onuncu Birleşim*, vol.3 (4 December 1946), Eighth Term, p.21.

²⁶⁸ Güven Gürkan Öztan, *Türkiye’de Militarizm: Zihniyet, Pratik ve Propaganda*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), pp.40-41.

think God accepted them, so I am ninety-one years old now. Only God knows what will happen afterwards.”²⁶⁹

After three years, on 26 October 1974, Fahreddin Altay died²⁷⁰ of heart failure in his mansion towards morning²⁷¹ after watching TV together with his son and daughter in law and sleeping on 8 p.m.²⁷² His relatives, going to say the breakfast was ready confronted by his dead body in the morning.²⁷³

He was buried in Aşıyan Cemetery after a military ceremony.²⁷⁴ On 30 August 1988, his corpse was transferred the State Cemetery in Ankara. Prudent, loyal, traditionalist, dutiful²⁷⁵ a person of principle, the victorious commander of the Independence War, and well- known general of Kemalist Era, Fahreddin Pasha²⁷⁶ left his legacy to us.

²⁶⁹ “Atatürk’ün Yakın Arkadaşı Fahrettin Altay 91 Yaşında”, *Cumhuriyet* (26 January 1970), p.5. See Appendix Y: Fahreddin Altay’s Last Photograph.

²⁷⁰ Azmi Süslü and Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Atatürk’ün Silah Arkadaşları Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Şeref Üyeleri*, p.76; *Birinci Dünya Savaşı’na Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri Cilt III*, p.3; *Cepheden Meclise*, p.56; Kemal Erdeha, *Milli Mücadele’de Vilayetler ve Valiler*, p.291; *Türk İstiklal Harbi’ne Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademelerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, 2nd edition, p.113; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Savunma Bakanlığı. Atatürk Köşesi. Milli Mücadele Komutanları. Fahrettin Altay. http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html(accessed September 25, 2018).

²⁷¹ “İsmet Paşa’dan Sonra, Atatürk’ün Hayattaki Son Silah Arkadaşı Fahrettin Paşa da Öldü”, *Günaydın* (27 October 1974), p.1.

²⁷² “Fahrettin Altay Vefat Etti”, *Milliyet*, (27 October 1974), p.1.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.10.

²⁷⁴ “Kurtuluş Savaşı’nın Ünlü Komutanı Fahrettin Altay Paşa da Öldü”, *Cumhuriyet* (27 October 1974), p.1; “Altay’ın Cenaze Töreninde Bayar ve Sunay Bulundu”, *Milliyet*, (27 October 1974), p.1. See Appendix Z: Fahreddin Altay’s Funereal.

²⁷⁵ Hamdi Gürler, *Paşaların Gözüyle Milli Mücadele*, (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 2007), pp.404-407.

²⁷⁶ Uluğ İğdemir, “Ölümünün Birinci Yıldönümünde Orgeneral Fahrettin Altay’ı Anıyoruz”, *Bellekten*, vol.39 (1975), p.314.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Militarization of society is such a widespread phenomenon that occurring various fields of life differently. With the help of the concept, complicated enough to not establish within the civilian/military paradigms, the thesis brought the different dimensions of the phenomenon to attention. His life's social context and the framework of the thesis; militarization of society and Fahredden Altay's life intertwined. They always interact with each other and change together.

Militarization of society, the most striking phenomenon of his time prevents the thesis from remaining a local study, but an example of global historiography and added an ideological and social dimension to his life. Fahredden Altay as most of his generation was immensely inspired by Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz's ideas focusing on nation in arms, providing a leading role to the military officers to keep ready the society for warfare which is an ineluctable fate of humanity.

On the other hand, though Fahredden was an extremely successful cadet, military officer and commander and he adored the power of army, he sought neither to sacrifice him for the society nor to ignore its situation. I did not entirely loyal to the framework of the thesis with an ambitious aim of explaining his life by always crosschecking it because his life, like all of ours, is complicated and *arriving at a perfect destination would be the most cardinal sin of a biographer*. Extensive archival research revealed points in his life that lie at odds with the main framework of the thesis. The gaps arising from his character and choices are crucial points to enrich our understanding of history and biography.

The books related to transition period from the empire to the republic written either starting from last years of the empire and first years of the republic or according to (a) chosen topic (s) mention only the same events, having importance for explaining the atmosphere of the period and most of the time describe the military officers as

very brave, intrepid, dissident and having revolutionary ideas. It would be nonsense to regard them as completely wrong or imaginary, but we live in a time to question our interpretations, beliefs, understandings and concepts while writing historical studies.

The main contribution and conclusion of this thesis is that Fahreddin Altay was a very ordinary high ranking military officer. However, his life has little in common with the well known profile of the high ranking military officers of the period; the well known image is either Mustafa Kemal Atatürk or Enver Pasha (most of them both). Besides, Fahreddin Altay's decisions and networks are such unique factors that undermine the traditional periodization of transition period as empire and republic and the prevailing attitude towards historical agents which treats them as if they knew the results of the events while they were living.

Generally, Sultan Abdulhamid II's era, in other words Fahreddin Altay's early life is narrated within the framework of centralization, modernization and/or the establishment of the opposition movements against his despotic regime. However, in this thesis, only Fahreddin's childhood, educational life and the government's policy on education were narrated rather than other topics relatively irrelevant to his life. He grew up in a cosmopolitan culture and indoctrinated with the idea of protecting the powerful empire. He did not have any chance to participate in the secret organizations of the period. His education provided him an analytical perspective, adhering to an absolute belief in the power of reality and ultimate power of science and reason as well as the paramount importance of military power for the welfare and continuation of society. His ultimate aim was to protect the empire of the caliph-sultan and thereby to enjoy a prestigious and prosperous life.

The imperial period is generally perceived and narrated as stable. However, his life once again reveals that it continued to change all the time. Fahreddin's education and career were principal parts of them. It is generally narrated as the Ottoman modernization was a top-down process. The high ranking elite dictated it to the society, regarded as virtually impotent. However, most of the middle class families-

like Fahreddin's family- sent their children to the military schools to give them a new life full of opportunities. The society was also one of the active agents of modernization. Fahreddin's life reveals that people were equal as long as their abilities and living conditions in contrast to the image of an absolutist and despotic empire versus a participating republic. Fahreddin's political views began to shape only after arriving in Istanbul, at the Imperial Academy, and he became one of the dissidents of the sultan's regime after his indoctrination with the idea of the sultan's regime as harmful to the progress and continuation of the empire. Fahreddin was influenced by the events of the age, which narrated over and over again, according to his own development and life course. His biography points out the inaccuracy of our unconscious perceptions that people, living in the past, were directly and equally affected by the events narrated several times.

Then the Young Turk Revolution is narrated in the aforementioned books. His life is not in accordance with the traditional narrative of that period either. According to those narrative, intrepid young military officers, members of the Committee of the Union and Progress, working in Rumelia made their mark on history by compelling the Sultan to restore the constitution. However, contrary to this well known image of the low ranking military officers, Fahreddin was in exile in Bitlis at that time and never intended to take an active role in the committee despite his being raised with militaristic values and seeing himself as one of the pioneers of the society because he did not like to take risks and live in danger. He did not do anything to escape his exile to go to Rumelia or never tried to organize people to start an opposition.

World War One- for the Ottomans- is generally narrated as a total destruction and defeat that was obvious from the beginning. However, Fahreddin's life story overcomes blind prejudices. He generally fought at the most successful fronts of the empire including Gallipoli and Romania. He also lived in the existing conditions of those fronts that he fought. Until the end of 1917, maybe even after than that, he thought the empire was going to win the war and was proud of himself for being part of that success.

Most of the time, it is thought that the Ottoman high ranking military officers started and participated in the National Struggle immediately after the Great War. Fahreddin's status as one of the brave and great heroes of the Battle of Sakarya and Great Offensive makes his situation much more interesting than others because Fahreddin accepted the authority of the assembly very late in comparison to the image of the military officers in the official history and the oversimplified narrations of these and books on the transition period.

In contrast to the well known political conflict between the generals and military officers in the republican period, he did not enter into a brief discussion on politics with anyone, even after becoming a deputy in the Grand National Assembly.

Fahreddin Altay was not part of a group that wanted to totally change the society by founding republic by destroying the reactionary empire as the Kemalists say. Nor was he a traitor or tyrant, who sought to destroy all of the values of the society as the conservatives say. His biography indicates that each of these oversimplifications in history is nonsense. Once for all, we have to be aware of narrating chaos and within the course of life, identity changes. His understanding of himself as a pioneer of the society, acquired during the Ottoman period continued in the Republican era. He gradually complied with the changes, and started to think that the republican society he ruled must have the greatest virtues and change according to the needs of the age.

All this is to say that people are affected by events in different ways and make their choices accordingly; their lives are unique. It is useless to repeat how life and history are complicated, without biographical studies, it is impossible to realize, imagine and believe in it. Secondary sources of the period generally lack a particular emphasis on the human being as an active agent. They make sweeping generalizations and periodizations. However, a biographical study (should) emphasize both the uniqueness and the similarity of human beings and be based on a narration consisting of quite different networks and spans of time chosen by the historical actor himself.

History means to compress the most complex thing, life itself into a framework. Naturally people tend to think that the past is as simple as its narration in historical books, most of which rely on balanced and shrewd judgments and coherent sentences. Fahreddin Altay's life cannot be understood by relying solely on the narration of the secondary sources of the period. None of the portraits of his generation correspond to his life which merely belongs to him alone. On the other hand, ignoring the conditions of the society and their impact on his life means to isolate him from his own life.

One way or another, no one is able to resist from themselves to think that the contemporary way of living is complicated and as if the past was stable and impeccable, people knew what will happen in their lives. Biography reminds us of the complexity of life for all people by revealing the problems faced by the historical actors and examining their ever changing reactions step by step over the course of their lives.

Fahreddin Altay is one of the best people, which should be considered as entirely typical of a military officer. Exposure to a highly hierarchical environment and disciplinary measures are the most important phenomena that continued throughout his life. Individual freedom was highly restricted and the focus was on the success and sacrifice of the group he participated in. He adored the power of the army, the superiority of reason and science and deeply believed in reaching top-down decisions for the society. Throughout his life, he felt the most right place for him was a military environment. He belonged to the army, an ultimate symbol of prestige, power, self-respect and pride. He lived as a military officer by making definite plans and thinking about each stage of every event. He demonstrated an acute intelligence that a military officer should have.

On the other hand, he had such an enigmatic character that no study can suffice to explain his life, quite different from the narratives of the military officers. At first glance, he seems dedicated, prescriptive and appears to have had a one-track mind, but after examining his choices, networks and mentality, it is not difficult to

understand that nobody could or ever will resemble him but himself. He shows the characteristics of those people, the more confining themselves to one way of living and thoughts, the more reaching to eternity by creating their own private worlds. For that very reason, his story is worth reading to see once again that human nature is surprising and our stereotypes about history are vain.



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http://www.ata.tsk.tr/06_milli_mucadele_komutanlari/fahrettin_alay.html (accessed September 25, 2018).



APPENDICES

A. Ottoman Military Ranking System

Ottoman Turkish	Turkish	English
Müşir	Mareşal	Field Marshal
Ferîk-i Evvel	Orgeneral	General
Ferîk-i Sâni	Korgeneral	Lieutenant General
Ferik	Tümgeneral	Major General
Mirliva	Tuğgeneral	Brigadier General
Miralay	Albay	Colonel
Kaymakam	Yarbay	Lieutenant Colonel
Binbaşı	Binbaşı	Major
Kolağası	Önyüzbaşı	Senior Captain
Yüzbaşı	Yüzbaşı	Captain
Mülâzım-ı Evvel	Üsteğmen	First Lieutenant
Mülâzım-ı Sâni	Teğmen	Second Lieutenant ²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷*Ottoman Military Organization and Uniforms (1876-1908)*, (İstanbul: Askeri Müze ve Kültür Sitesi Komutanlığı Yayınları, 1986), p.14; *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Askeri Terminoloji Sözlüğü*. T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Kütüphane. Dış İlişkiler Terminolojisi. Askeri Terminoloji (İngilizce-Türkçe), <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/Terminoloji/askeri-terminoloji-032015.pdf> (accessed September 1, 2018) ; İrfan Uğurlu, *Turkish-English Encyclopedic Military Dictionary*, (Ankara: Meteksan, 1991); *Türkçe İngilizce Müşterek Askeri Terimler Sözlüğü*, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı, 2008); *Silahlı Kuvvetler İngilizce-Türkçe Askeri Terimler Sözlüğü*, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, 1971).

B. Fahreddin's Fourth-Year Transcript in Erzincan Military Junior School

ارزنجان ایشتمک و کسب کیم

دؤنی نجه سینه شاکردانی

کیم	رسمه	سینه شاکردانی	الدرک	واکیم	واکیم	واکیم	واکیم	واکیم	واکیم	ایستامچی
۴۶۵	۲۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	بهرد رسک نام نومور لری
۴۶۶	۱۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	بهرد رسک اسمیرا ندری
۴۶۷	۱۹	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱. عبدالرحمان افندی ارزنجان
۴۶۸	۱۷	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۲. احمد صالح افندی ارزنجان
۴۶۹	۱۷	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳. محمد صلا افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۰	۲۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴. قزالدین افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۱	۲۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۵. راضی افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۲	۱۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۶. احمد شکر افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۳	۲۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۷. علی افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۴	۱۲	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۸. بهجت افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۵	۱۲	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۹. عثمان افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۶	۱۲	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۰. رضا افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۷	۹	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۱. ناظم افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۸	۱۶	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۲. یوسف افندی ارزنجان
۴۷۹	۱۱	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۳. قوری افندی ارزنجان
۴۸۰	۱۷	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۴. قدر افندی ارزنجان
۴۸۱	۱۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۵. یحیی افندی ارزنجان

Erzincan Military Junior School (Erzincan Rüşdiye-yi Askeriyesi)
Fourth Year Students (Dördüncü Sene Şakirdanı)

Esami (Names)	Geography (Coğrafya)	Calculation (Hesab)	Introduction to Accounting (Usul-i Defteri)	Geometry (Hendese)	Logic (Mantık)	History of Islam (Tarih-i İslam)	Ottoman Turkish Grammar (Kavaid-i Osmaniye)	French (Fransızca)	Turkish Orthography (İmla-yı Türki)	French Calligraphy (Hüs-n-i Hatt-ı Fransevi)	Painting (Resim)	Total (Yekün)
Fahreddin Efendi, İzmir	43	45	32	40	43	45	20	27	43	18	20	376 ²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1311 Ders Yılı [1893-1894], M89920-0243. In İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Basmalar Alfabe Kataloğu: Memleketimizde İlk Türk Matbaasının Kuruluşundan Yeni Harflerin Kabulüne Kadar (1729-1928)*, CiltII-Hüs-Ras, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, p. 491).

In Geography, Calculation, Introduction to Accounting, Geometry, Logic, History of Islam, French, Turkish Ortography, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in French Calligraphy and Painting, the highest grade is 20.

Also see, *Nehari Mektebi Askeri Rüştiyesi Künye Defteri*, vol. 851, pp.155-160, in the Ministry of National Defense Archive, (Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Arşivi).

C. Fahreddin's First, Second and Third Year Transcripts in Erzurum Military High School

شماره	نام و نام خانوادگی	شماره	فصلنامه	مدرسه	تاریخ قبولی	رتبه	کلاس	مجموعه نمرات	معدل	بکون
۱۱۹	علی رضا افندی ارضروم	۱۰	۴۵	۴۵	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۹۰	۹۰
۱۲۰	شکاشه افندی ارضروم	۵	۴۵	۴۵	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۴۹	۴۹
بریمی سنه شاگردانی										
شماره	نام و نام خانوادگی	شماره	فصلنامه	مدرسه	تاریخ قبولی	رتبه	کلاس	مجموعه نمرات	معدل	بکون
۱	بهر درسک تام نوروسی	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۳۱۰	۳۱۰
۲	بهر درسک اس میزانی	۱۵	۴۵	۴۵	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۱۴۷	۱۴۷
۳	احمد جمعی افندی خربوت	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۳۰۱	۳۰۱
۴	محمد ضیاء ارضروم	۴۳	۴۴	۴۴	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۳۰۱	۳۰۱
۵	فخرالدین ازبیر	۴۵	۴۱	۴۱	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۹۵	۲۹۵
۶	کامل افندی دیاربکر	۴۵	۴۳	۴۳	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۹۰	۲۹۰
۷	نوری افندی سیواس	۴۵	۳۸	۳۸	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۸۴	۲۸۴
۸	عارف افندی خربوت	۴۵	۳۸	۳۸	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۸۰	۲۸۰
۹	درویش افندی دیاربکر	۳۷	۴۳	۴۳	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۷۹	۲۷۹
۱۰	خالص افندی ارضروم	۴۲	۴۱	۴۱	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۷۱	۲۷۱
۱۱	یوسف افندی خربوت	۳۳	۴۰	۴۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۶۴	۲۶۴
۱۲	احمد جمال ارزنجان	۴۳	۳۹	۳۹	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۶۳	۲۶۳
۱۳	اکام افندی وان	۴۰	۳۷	۳۷	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۵۴	۲۵۴
۱۴	احمد فوزی خربوت	۴۰	۳۵	۳۵	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۵۰	۲۵۰
۱۵	یحیی افندی درعلیه	۴۱	۳۷	۳۷	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۴۸	۲۴۸
۱۶	شکری افندی خربوط	۳۵	۴۱	۴۱	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۴۷	۲۴۷
۱۷	عرفان افندی الشکرد	۴۲	۴۴	۴۴	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۴۵	۲۴۵
۱۸	لطفی افندی سیواس	۳۲	۴۰	۴۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۴۳	۲۴۳
۱۹	نوری افندی ارضروم	۴۵	۲۸	۲۸	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۴۰	۲۴۰
۲۰	علی رضا افندی وان	۳۴	۳۶	۳۶	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۳۷	۲۳۷
۲۱	علی زمزی خربوت	۳۶	۳۴	۳۴	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۳۷	۲۳۷
۲۲	بهاء الدین افندی وان	۴۳	۳۲	۳۲	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۳۵	۲۳۵
۲۳	خالص افندی سیواس	۴۳	۳۱	۳۱	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۳۱	۲۳۱
۲۴	علی افندی سیواس	۴۰	۳۷	۳۷	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۲۵	۲۲۵
۲۵	ابراهیم افندی خربوت	۳۲	۳۶	۳۶	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۲۳	۲۲۳

**Erzurum Military High School (Erzurum Askeri Lisesi)
First Year Students (Birinci Sene Şakirdanı)**

Esami (Names)	Algebra (Cebir)	Geometry (Hendese)	French (Fransızca)	Geography (Coğrafya)	Ottoman History (Tarih-i Osmani)	Composition (Kitabet)	Painting (Resim)	Gymnastics (Cimnastik)	Total (Yekün)
Fahreddin İzmir Efendi,	45	45	41	45	41	40	20	18	295 279

²⁷⁹ Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1312 Ders Yılı [1894-1895], M 089837-0144.

In Algebra, Geometry, French, Geography, Ottoman History and Composition, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in Painting and Gymnastics, the highest grade is 20.

Also see, *Mektebi Harbiye İdadisi Subay Künye Defteri*, vol. 457, p.158, in the Ministry of National Defense Archive, (Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Arşivi).

شماره قلمروسی	اسم کتاب	مطابق	فهرست شماره	فهرست شماره	تاریخ آفرین و وسطی	مطابق	مطابق	مطابق
۳	فخر الدین افندی از میر	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۱۹	۴۵	۴۴	۴۴
۴	حمیدی افندی خربوت	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۱۷	۴۵	۴۴	۴۴
۵	نوری افندی سیواس	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۸	۴۵	۴۳	۴۳
۶	یوسف افندی خربوت	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۷	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۷	خالص افندی ارضروم	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۳	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۸	لطیفی افندی سیواس	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۶	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۹	علی رزقی - خربوت	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۹	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۱۰	درویش - دیار بکر	۴۲	۴۲	۴۲	۱۵	۴۵	۴۲	۴۲
۱۱	عارف افندی خربوت	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۶	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۱۲	حسین صبری - خربوت	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۷	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۱۳	کامل افندی دیار بکر	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۶	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۱۴	نوری افندی ارضروم	۴۱	۴۱	۴۱	۱۴	۴۵	۴۱	۴۱
۱۵	احمد جمالی - ارزنجان	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۴	۴۴	۴۵	۴۵
۱۶	علی افندی سیواس	۳۹	۳۹	۳۹	۱۸	۴۰	۳۹	۳۹
۱۷	فهمی افندی خربوت	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۱۵	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴
۱۸	راغب افندی خربوت	۴۲	۴۲	۴۲	۲۰	۴۳	۴۰	۴۲
۱۹	صبری افندی سیواس	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۸	۴۰	۴۴	۴۵
۲۰	رضا افندی وان	۴۱	۴۱	۴۱	۱۵	۴۴	۴۱	۴۱
۲۱	خالص افندی سیواس	۴۰	۴۰	۴۰	۱۵	۴۴	۴۰	۴۰
۲۲	تحدین افندی ارضروم	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۷	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳
۲۳	بجیت افندی سیواس	۳۹	۳۹	۳۹	۱۸	۴۳	۳۹	۳۹
۲۴	یعقوب افندی دیار بکر	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۵	۴۴	۴۵	۴۵
۲۵	محمد شاهین - ارضروم	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۱۴	۴۴	۴۵	۴۵
۲۶	محمد شکری - ارضروم	۳۸	۳۸	۳۸	۱۹	۳۵	۳۴	۳۸
۲۷	احمد فوزی - خربوت	۴۰	۴۰	۴۰	۱۷	۴۴	۴۰	۴۰
۲۸	حسن افندی وان	۳۹	۳۹	۳۹	۱۵	۴۳	۳۹	۳۹
۲۹	ابراهیم حق - خربوت	۳۵	۳۵	۳۵	۱۷	۴۴	۳۶	۳۵
۳۰	مشتاق افندی سیواس	۴۱	۴۱	۴۱	۱۸	۴۴	۴۵	۴۱
۳۱	بجیت افندی آستانه	۳۹	۳۹	۳۹	۱۵	۴۴	۴۴	۳۹
۳۲	آگاه افندی وان	۴۰	۴۰	۴۰	۱۴	۴۳	۳۸	۴۰
۳۳	شکری افندی خربوت	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۱۶	۴۴	۳۵	۳۸
۳۴	بحری افندی ارضروم	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۸	۴۴	۳۰	۴۳
۳۵	ابراهیم افندی خربوت	۴۲	۴۲	۴۲	۱۴	۴۴	۲۶	۳۶
۳۶	یوسف ضیا - ارزنجان	۳۲	۳۲	۳۲	۱۵	۴۱	۴۰	۳۴
۳۷	نصرت افندی وان	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۵	۴۴	۲۶	۲۸
۳۸	جمال افندی سیواس	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۱۷	۴۴	۳۶	۴۳
۳۹	راغب افندی ارضروم	۴۱	۴۱	۴۱	۱۶	۴۳	۳۶	۳۵

**Erzurum Military High School (Erzurum Askeri Lisesi)
Second Year Students (İkinci Sene Şakirdanı)**

Esami (Names)	Trigonometry (Müsellesat)	Geometric Objects (Hendese-i Mücesseme)	French (Fransızca)	Composition (Kitabet)	Medieval History (Tarih-i Kurun-ı Vusta)	Painting (Resim)	Cartography (Tarama)	Gymnastics (Cimnastik)	Total (Yekün)
Fahreddin İzmir	45	44	39	44	45	19	20	17	273 280

²⁸⁰ Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1313 Ders Yılı [1895-1896], M 089838-0152.

In Trigonometry, Geometric Objects, French, Composition and Medieval History, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in Painting, Cartography and Gymnastics, the highest grade is 20.



اَرْضِ رُومِ دَرْدَانِ مَكْتَبِ كَرْتَهَلَا

اوچنجی سنه شاگردانی

بهر درك نام نومروسی	اسمها									
	ماكنه	تور نومروسی	فراستریه	کتابت	باغ مطان	باغ ترون انبره	رسم	طراه	جانشین	بگون
بهر درك نام نومروسی	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۳۰
بهر درك اسم میزانی	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۱۵	۱۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۱۳۵	۱۳۵	۱۳۵	۱۶۰۵
۱ احمد جدی افندی چشکوک	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۳۰
۲ ضیا افندی ارضوم	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۳۰
۳ فخرالدین - ازبیر	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۲۳۰
۴ محمدرویش - دیار بکر	۴۳	۴۵	۴۵	۴۳	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۲۲
۵ عمر لطفی - سیواس	۴۵	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۳۲۱
۶ یوسف ضیا - خربوت	۳۹	۴۵	۴۳	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۳۲۱
۷ جدی افندی ارضوم	۴۴	۴۱	۴۳	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۳۲۹
۸ عثمان نوری - سیواس	۴۳	۴۵	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۳۱۹
۹ محمد راغب - آستانه	۴۳	۴۰	۴۲	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۳۰۷
۱۰ خالصی افندی ارضوم	۳۸	۴۲	۴۳	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۰۷
۱۱ کامل افندی دیار بکر	۳۹	۴۲	۴۱	۴۳	۴۴	۴۴	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۳۱۲
۱۲ علی ریزی - خربوت	۴۳	۴۱	۴۳	۴۱	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۴۳	۳۰۹
۱۳ احمد جمال افندی ارزنجان	۴۵	۴۲	۳۰	۴۳	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۰۸
۱۴ بهجت افندی سیواس	۴۱	۴۱	۴۲	۴۰	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۴۵	۳۰۸
۱۵ حسن محبین - ارضوم	۴۴	۴۴	۲۹	۴۲	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۳۰۷
۱۶ خالصی افندی سیواس	۴۲	۴۴	۳۳	۴۱	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۴۴	۳۰۶

**Erzurum Military High School (Erzurum Askeri Lisesi)
Third Year Students (Üçüncü Sene Şakirdanı)**

Esami (Names)	Machinery (Makine)	Cosmography (Kozmoğrafya)	French (Fransızca)	Composition (Kitabet)	Ottoman History (Tarih-i Osmanî)	Contemporary History (Tarih-i Kurun-î Ahire)	Painting (Resim)	Cartography (Tarama)	Gymnastics (Cimnastik)	Total (Yekün)
Fahreddin Efendi, İzmir	45	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20	330 ²⁸¹

²⁸¹ Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1314 Ders Yılı [1896-1897], M 089922-0153.

In Machinery, Cosmography, French, Composition, Ottoman History and Contemporary History, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in Painting, Cartography and Gymnastics, the highest grade is 20.

D. Fahreddin's First, Second and Third Year Transcripts at the Imperial Academy

پیاده برنجی سنه شاکردانی

اسم		بردرسك نام نومروسى	
		بردرسك اس ميزانلى	
٤٨٥	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٢١١٥	٠٠	١٣٥	١٣٥
٤٨٣	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٧٥	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٧٣	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٨	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٨	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٦	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٦	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٥	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٥	٤٤	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦٤	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٦١	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥٩	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥٧	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥٤	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥٤	٤٤	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥٢	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥١	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥١	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٥٠	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٤٤	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٤١	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٤١	٥٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٤٠	٣٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٤٠	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٣٩	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٣٨	٤٤	٢٠	٢٠
٤٣٧	٤٥	٢٠	٢٠
٤٣٧	٤٣	٢٠	٢٠

Imperial Military Academy (Harbiye)
Infantry First Year Students (Piyade Birinci Sene Şakirdanı)

Esami (Names)	Theories of Topography (Topoğrafya Nazariyyatı)	Solid Geometry (Hendese-i Resmîyye)	Physics (Hikmet-i Ta'biyye)	Chemistry (Kimya)	Composition (Kitabet)	Theories of Instruction (Ta'lim Nazariyyatı)	Military Training (Terbiye-i Askeriyye)	French (Lisan-i Fransevî)	Cartography (Harita Tersîmî)	Drafts of Solid Geometry (Hendese-i Resmîyye Eşkâlî)	Practices of Topography (Topoğrafya Ameliyyatı)	Practices of Instruction (Ta'lim Ameliyyatı)	German or Russian (Alman veya Rus Lisanı)	Total (Yekûn)
Fahreddin Efendi, İzmir	41	44	43	43	42	45	41	42	20	20	20	20	44	465 ²⁸²

²⁸² Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1315 Ders Yılı [1897-1898], M 089923-0048.

In Theories of Topography, Solid Geometry, Physics, Chemistry, Composition, Theories of Instruction, Military Training, French and German or Russian, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in Cartography, Drafts of Solid Geometry, Practices of Topography and Practices of Instruction, the highest grade is 20.

Also see, *Salnâme-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1316 [1898-1899]), pp.704-706.

Salnâme-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1317 [1899-1900]), pp.794-796.

پیاده ابکنجی سنه شاکردانی

ایستادگان

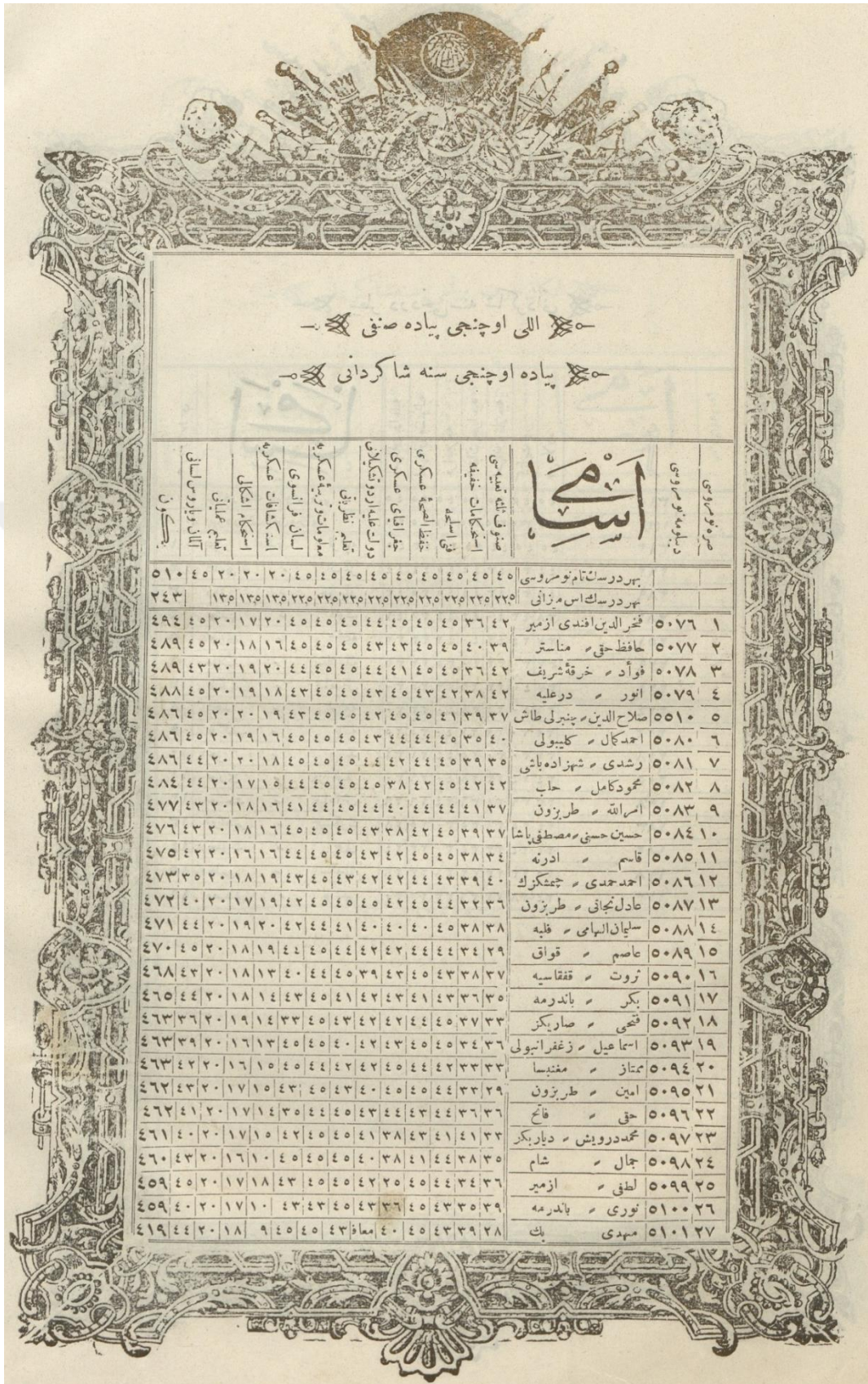
ردیف	نام درسک	نام میزانی	سال	نیم	مجموع
۱	صلاح الدین افندی چنبری طاش	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲	قصی صابریک	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۳	حافظ اسماعیل رفغرا نیولی	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۴	حافظ حه مناستر	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۵	فؤاد خرقه شریف	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۶	فخرالدین ازبیر	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۷	کاظم دیاربیک	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۸	امراالله طرزون	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۹	انور درسمات	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۰	احمد توفیق انطالیه	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۱	امین طرزون	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۲	لطیف ازبیر	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۳	عادل طرزون	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۴	مجمود کامل حلب	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۵	احمد کمال کلبولی	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۶	احمد جدی چمشکوزک	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۷	رشدی شهزاده باشی	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۸	نروت قفقاسیه	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۱۹	نوری باندیره	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۰	شوکت ملاطیه	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۱	حسینی مصطفی اشا	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۲	عاصم قواق	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۳	شوکت بک	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۴	مهدی بک	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۵	احمد مختار افندی مغنیسا	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۶	محمد صمیمی شام	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۷	سلیمان قلبه	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۸	ضیا ارشروم	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵
۲۹	وحید شام	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۲۲۵	۶۷۵

**Imperial Military Academy (Harbiye)
Infantry Second Year Students (Piyade İkinci Sene Şakirdanı)**

Esami (Names)	Field Service (Hidemat-i Seferiyye)	Imperial Legal Code (Dahiliye Kanunname-i Hümayunu)	Architecture (Fenn-i Mi'mari)	Theories of Horse Breeding (Füruşiyet Nazariyyatı)	French (Lisan-ı Fransevi)	Theories of Instruction (Ta'lim Nazariyyatı)	Knowledge of Military Training (Ma'lumat-i Terbiye-i Askeriyye)	Rapier and Sword Training (Meç ve Kılıç Ta'limi)	Practices of Topography (Topoğrafya Ameliyyatı)	Cartography (Harita Tersimi)	Practices of Instruction (Ta'lim Ameliyyatı)	Imperial Penal Code (Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu)	German or French (Alman veya Rus Lisanı)	Total (Yekün)
Fahreddin Efendi, İzmir	44	42	42	45	44	45	43	16	20	20	20	45	45	471 ²⁸³

²⁸³ Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1316 Ders Yılı [1898-1899], M 089924-0031.

In Field Service, Imperial Legal Code, Architecture, Theories of Horse Breeding, French, Theories of Instruction, Knowledge of Military Training, Imperial Penal Code and German or Russian, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in Rapier and Sword Training, Practices of Topography, Cartography and Practices of Instruction, the highest grade is 20.



— الی اوچنجی پیاده صنفی —

— پیاده اوچنجی سنه شاگردانی —

صنفی	اسماء	بهر درسك تام نوروسی	بهر درسك اس مرتانی
صنفی اولی	فخرالدین افندی ازمیر	۵۰۷۶	۱
صنفی ثانی	حافظ حقی مناستر	۵۰۷۷	۲
صنفی ثالثی	فواد خرقه شریف	۵۰۷۸	۳
صنفی رابعی	انور درعلیه	۵۰۷۹	۴
صنفی خامس	صلاح الدین بینرلی طاش	۵۰۸۰	۵
صنفی ششم	احمد کمال کلیبولی	۵۰۸۱	۶
صنفی هفتم	رشدی شهزاده باشی	۵۰۸۲	۷
صنفی هشتم	محمود کامل حلب	۵۰۸۳	۸
صنفی نهم	اسرائله طریزون	۵۰۸۴	۹
صنفی دهم	حسین حسینی مصطفی پاشا	۵۰۸۵	۱۰
صنفی یازدهم	قاسم ادرنه	۵۰۸۶	۱۱
صنفی بیستم	احمد جدی چشمکوک	۵۰۸۷	۱۲
صنفی سیم	عادل نجفانی طریزون	۵۰۸۸	۱۳
صنفی چهارم	سلیمان البای قلبه	۵۰۸۹	۱۴
صنفی پنجم	عاصم قواق	۵۰۹۰	۱۵
صنفی ششم	زوت قفقاسیه	۵۰۹۱	۱۶
صنفی هفتم	بکر باندومه	۵۰۹۲	۱۷
صنفی هشتم	فتیح صاریبکر	۵۰۹۳	۱۸
صنفی نهم	اسماعیل زغفرانیولی	۵۰۹۴	۱۹
صنفی دهم	ممتاز مغنیسا	۵۰۹۵	۲۰
صنفی یازدهم	امین طریزون	۵۰۹۶	۲۱
صنفی بیستم	حقی فاح	۵۰۹۷	۲۲
صنفی سیم	محمد درویش دیاربکر	۵۰۹۸	۲۳
صنفی چهارم	جمال شام	۵۰۹۹	۲۴
صنفی پنجم	لطیف ازمیر	۵۱۰۰	۲۵
صنفی ششم	نوری باندرمه	۵۱۰۱	۲۶
صنفی هفتم	مهدی بک	۵۱۰۲	۲۷

**Imperial Military Academy (Harbiye)
Infantry Third Year Students (Piyade Üçüncü Sene Şakirdanı)**

Esami (Names)	Tactics of the Third Class (Sınıf-ı Salise Ta'biyesi)	Light Fortification (İstihkamat-ı Hafife)	Science of Weapons (Fenn-i Esliha)	Military Sanitation (Hifzu's-sihha-yı Askeri)	Military Geography (Coğrafya-yı Askeri)	Ottoman Military Organization (Devlet-i Aliye Ordu Teşkilatı)	Theories of Instruction (Ta'lim Nazariyatı)	Knowledge of Military Training (Ma'lumat ve Terbiye-i Askeriye)	French (Lisan-ı Fransevi)	Military Explorations (İstikşafat-ı Askeriye)	Methods of Fortification (İstihkam Eşkaii)	Practices of Instruction (Ta'lim Ameliyatı)	French or German (Alman veya Rus Lisanı)	Total (Yekün)
Fahreddin Efendi, İzmir	42	36	45	45	45	44	45	45	20	17	20	45	494 ²⁸⁴	

²⁸⁴ Mekatib-i Askeriye Şakirdanının Umumi İmtihanlarının Neticelerini Bildiren Cetveller, 1317 Ders Yılı [1899-1900], M 089926-0008.

In Tactics of the Third Class, Basic Fortification, Science of Weapons, Military Sanitation, Military Geography, Ottoman Military Organization, Theories of Instruction, Knowledge of Military Training, French and German or Russian, the highest grade is 45. On the other hand, in Military Explorations, Methods of Fortification and Practices of Instruction, the highest grade is 20.

E. The Lectures and Their Hours in a Week in the Imperial Military Staff College

The Lectures and their Hours in a Week in the Imperial Military Staff College					
First Year	Hour	Second Year	Hour	Third Year	Hour
Strategic Maneuvers (Ta'biye Tatbikatı)	3	Strategic Maneuvers (Ta'biye Tatbikatı)	5	Military Staff Missions (Erkan-ı Harbiye Vezaifi)	3
Discussions of Renowned Battles (Muharebat-ı Meşhure Münakaşatı)	2	Discussions of Renowned Battles (Muharebat-ı Meşhure Münakaşatı)	4	Strategic Maneuvers (Ta'biye Tatbikatı)	2
Discussions of Mathematics (Mebahis-i Riyaziye)	1	Fortification: Attack and Defence (İstihkamat-ı Cesime: Hücum ve Müdafaa)	2	Discussions of Renowned Battles (Muharebat-ı Meşhure Münakaşatı)	4
Statistical and Strategic Geography (Coğrafya-yı Sevkü'l-ceyş ve İstatistiki)	2	Statistical and Strategic Geography (Coğrafya-yı Sevkü'l-ceyş ve İstatistiki)	1	Castle Battles (Muharebat-ı Kıla')	3
History of Military Science (Tarih-i Fenn-i Harb)	2	Foreign Countries' Military Organization (Düvel-i Ecnebiyye Ordu Teşkilatı)	2	Theories and Practices of Instruction (Ta'lim Nazariyyatı ve Ameliyyatı)	1
Advanced Practices and Theories of Topography (Mufassal Topoğrafya Ameliyyat ve Nazariyyatı)	1	Theories and Practices of Instruction (Ta'lim Nazariyyatı ve Ameliyyatı)	1	Railway Management and Military Telegram (Şimendiferlerin İşledilmesi ve Telgraf-ı Askeri)	2
Basic Fortification Maneuvers	2	Geology (Tabakatü'l- Arz)	1	Foreign Military Literature Discussion (Müellefat-ı	2

(İstihkamat-ı Hafife Tatbikatı)				Ecnebiyye-i Askeriyye Münakaşası)	
Military Composition (Kitabet-i Askeriyye)	2	Science of Heavy Weapons (Fenn-i Esliha-i Sakile)	1	Land Division and Astronomy (Taksim-i Arazi ve İlmi- Hey'et)	1
Theories of Gunshot (Endaht Nazariyyatı)	2	Discussions of Mathematics (Mebahis-i Riyaziye)	1	French (Fransızca)	2
Theories and Practices of Instruction (Ta'lim Nazariyyatı ve Ameliyyatı)	1	French (Fransızca)	2	German or Russian (Almanca veya Rusça)	3
French (Fransızca)	2	German or Russian (Almanca veya Rusça)	3		
German or Russian (Almanca veya Rusça)	3				
Total (Yekün)	23	Total (Yekün)	23	Total (Yekün)	23 ²⁸⁵

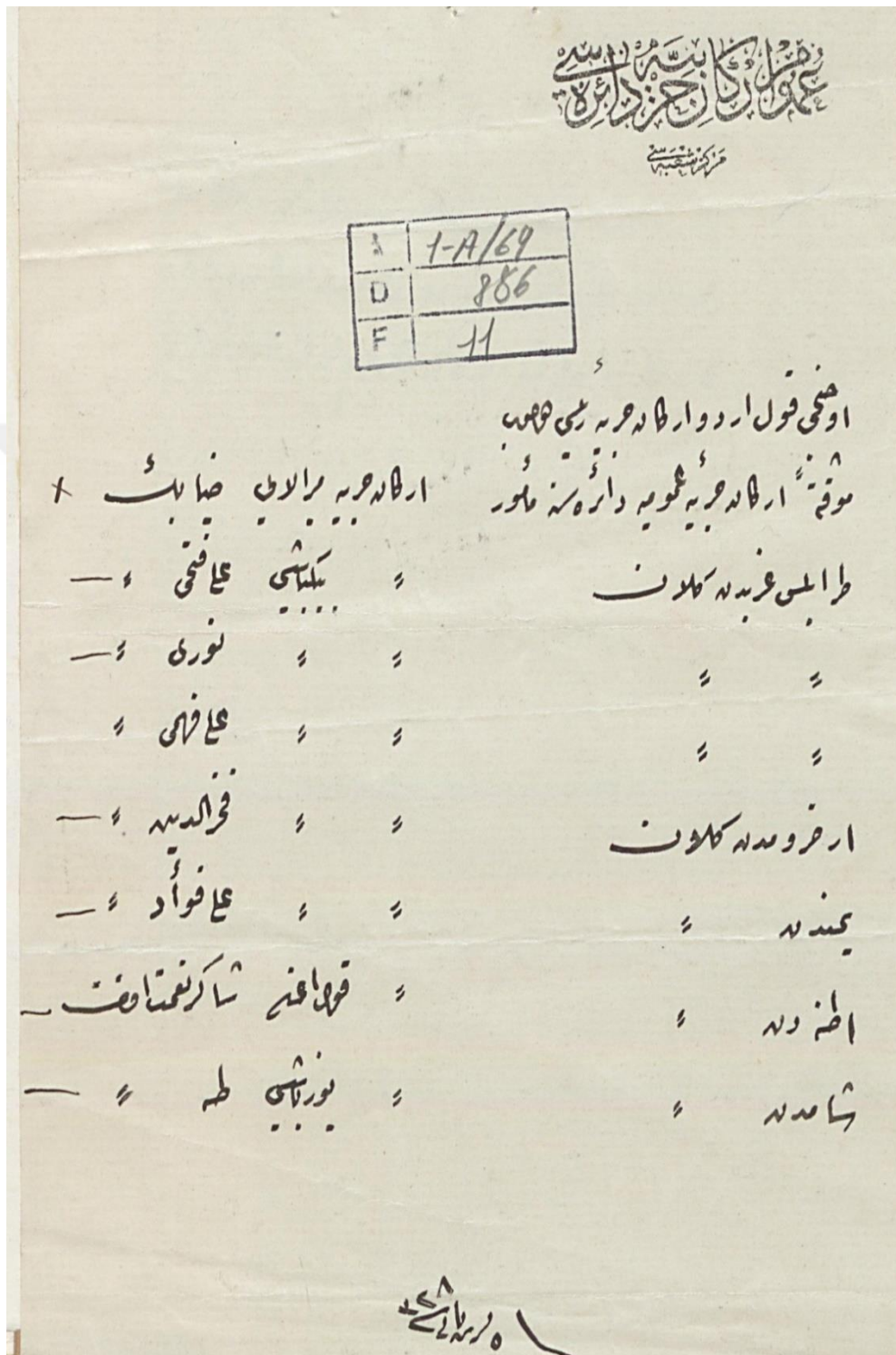
²⁸⁵ "Erkan-ı Harbiye Namzedleri", in *Erkan-ı Harbiye Namzeti Piyade, Süvari, Baytar ve Aşiret Sınıfları ve Mekatib-i İdadiye ve Rüşdiye ve İbtidaiye-i Askeriye-i Şahane Programı (1316-1317-1318)*. In İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, T 9186-0007.

F. In the rear, Enver (left) and Fahreddin (right). At the front, Kazım (left), Fethi (middle), Vasıf (right) at the Imperial Military Staff College²⁸⁶



²⁸⁶ Pinterest. Fahrettin Altay Panosu. <https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/704109722963155666/> (accessed November 3, 2018).

G. Staff Officer of the Central Headquarters Major Fahreddin's Personal Record
in the First Balkan War²⁸⁷



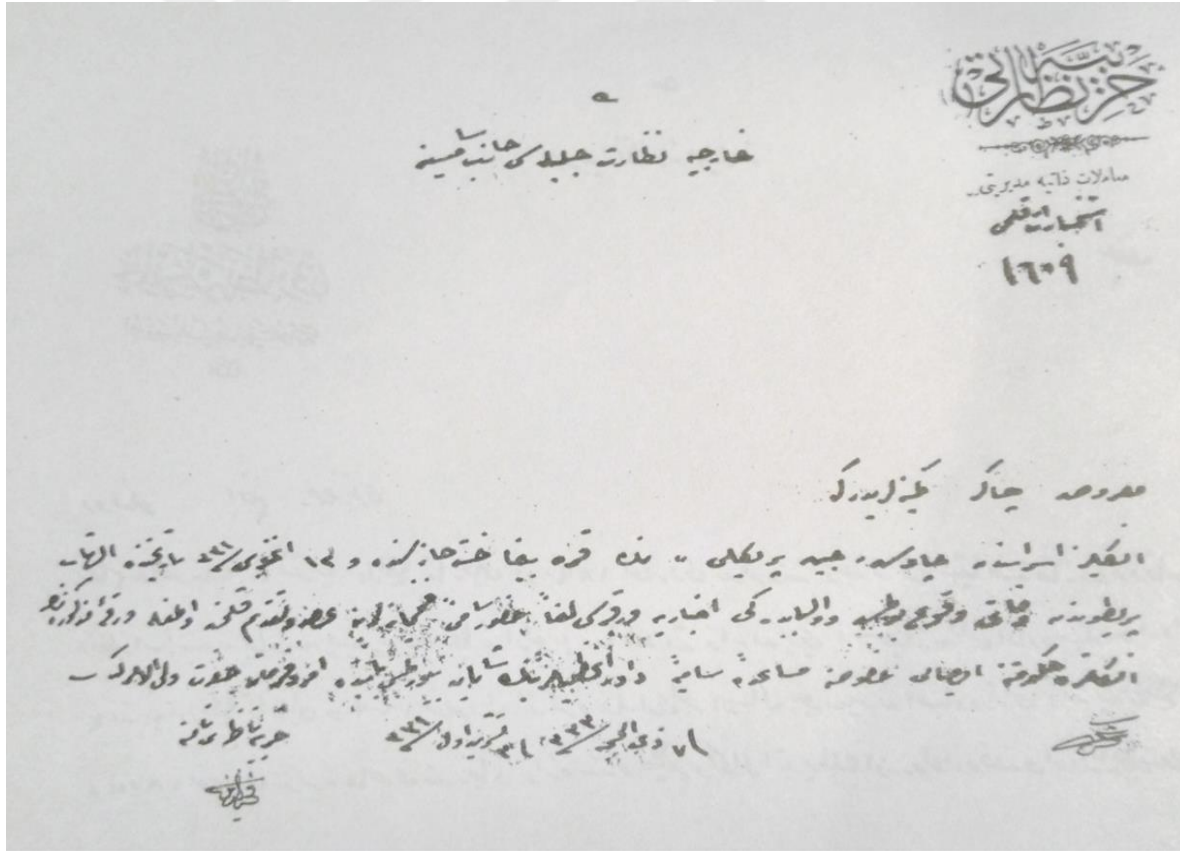
²⁸⁷ ATASE, BLH-289-420-11.

I. Third Army Corps Commander Brigadier General Es'ad Pasha and His Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin in August²⁸⁹



²⁸⁹ Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Arşivi (ATASE A.), Çanakkale Muharebelerinden Kesitler ve Fotoğraflar.

K. Assistant Undersecretary of the War Minister Lieutenant Colonel Fahreddin's Writing about Sergeant Jean Pericl's Death in October 1915²⁹¹



²⁹¹Osmanlı Belgelerinde Çanakkale Muharebeleri II, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2005), p.417.

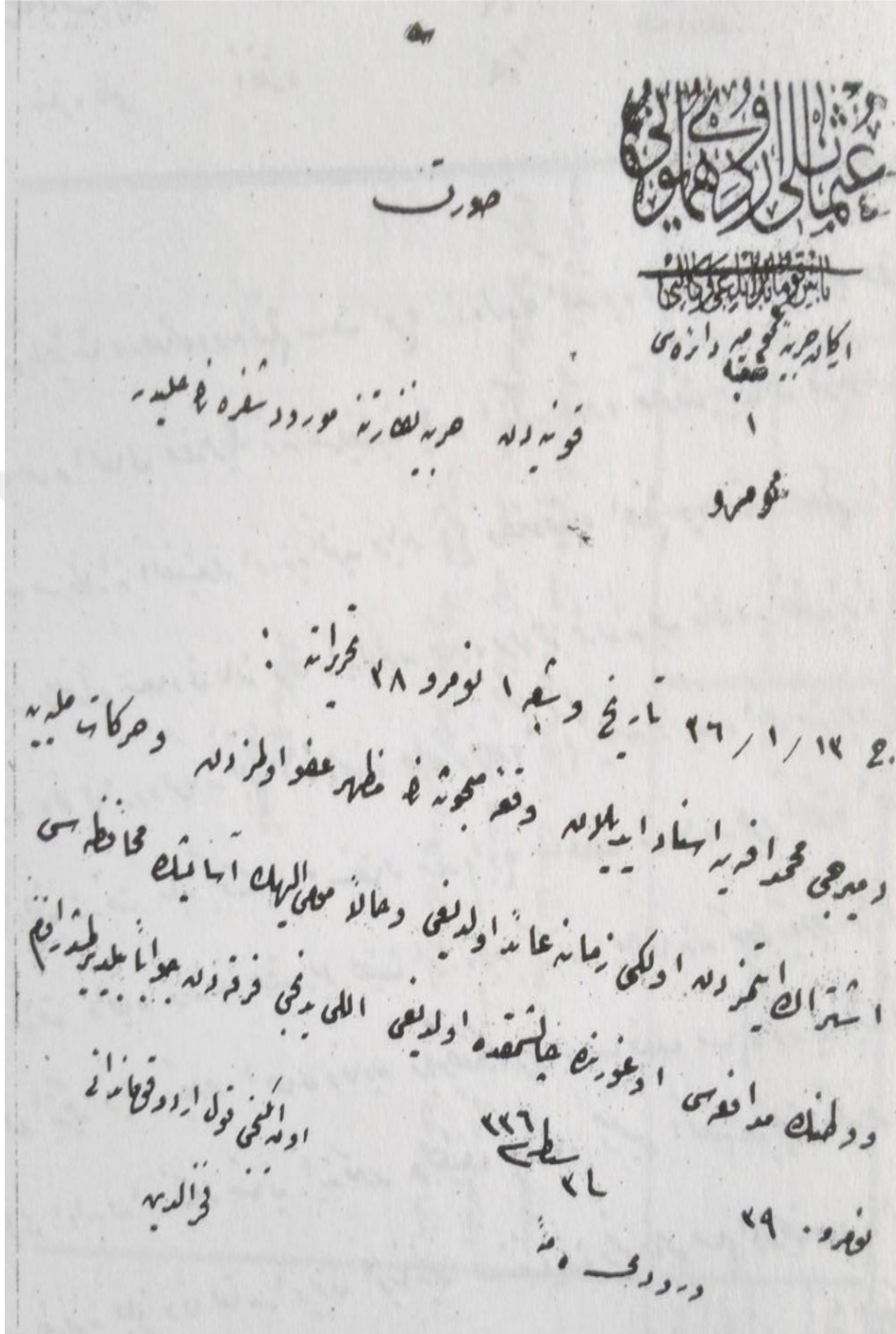
L. Twelfth Army Corps Commander Colonel Fahreddin and His Staff Officers in the Headquarters in Konya²⁹²



²⁹² Örses Arşivi Göresel Kütüphanesi.

M. Colonel Fahreddin's Writing to the Ottoman War Ministry about Demirci

Mehmed Efe on 3 February 1920²⁹³



²⁹³Osmanlı Belgelerinde Milli Mücadele ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2007), p.432.

N. Mersin Deputy of the National Assembly Colonel Fahreddin²⁹⁴



مرسين مبعوثى فخر الدين پاشا
مجلة النطاق تاريخى : ١٥ مايس ١٩٣٦

²⁹⁴ Bir Tarihçe ile Meclis-i Aza-yı Kiramın Tasvirlerini Muhtevi Albüm, Büyük Millet Meclisi Kitaplığı, 80-1029.

O. Cavalry Group Commander Colonel Fahreddin and His Staff Officers on the Sakarya Battlefield²⁹⁵



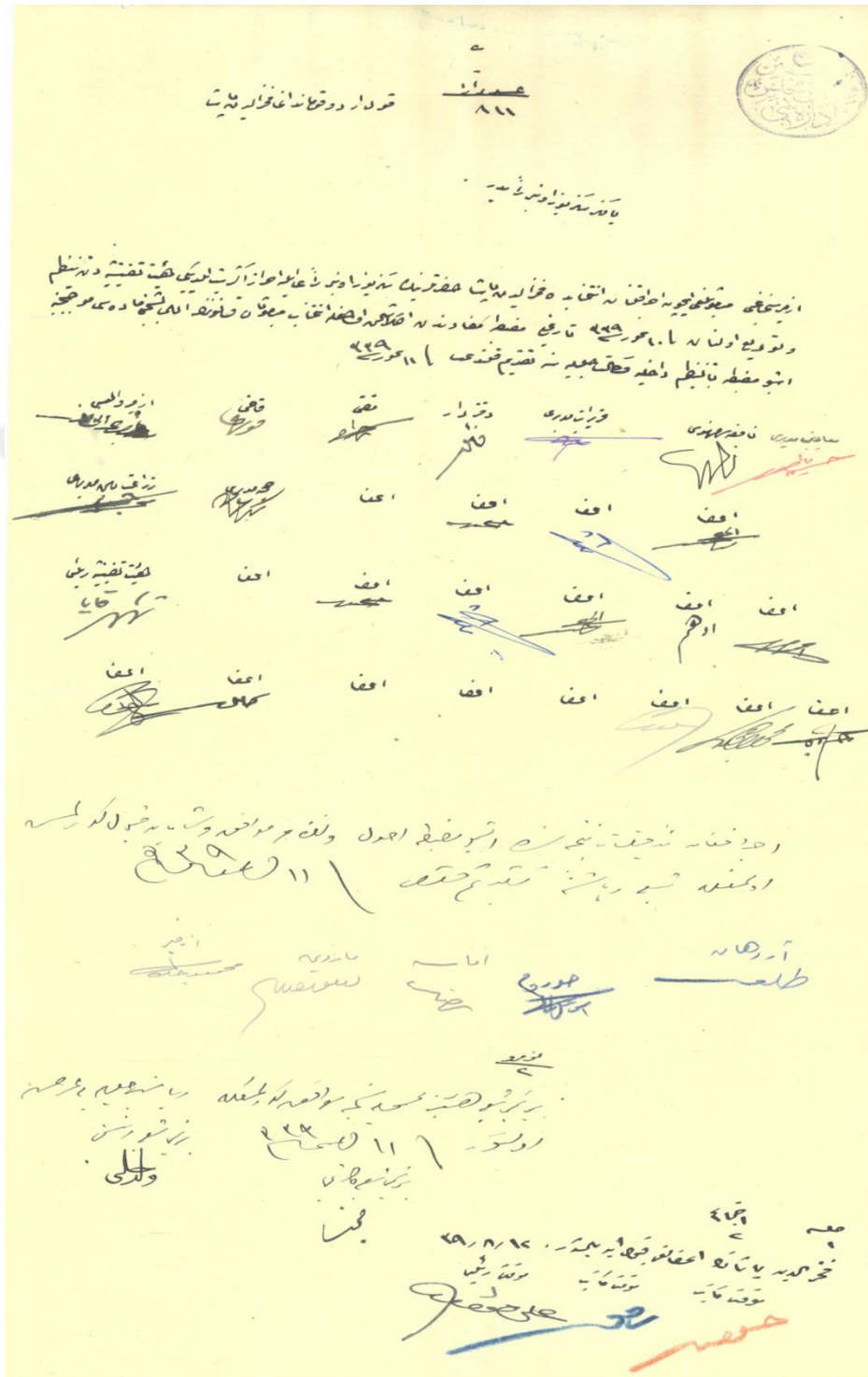
²⁹⁵ Mücahede-i Milliye ve İstiklal Harbi Fotograf Albümü, Büyük Millet Meclisi Kütüphanesi, 76-2582, 76-5356.

P. Immediately after the Secret Meeting over Commander in Chief Field Marshal Mustafa Kemal Pasha's Explanation about the Offense to the Army Group Commanders on 6 August 1922 in the Western Headquarters in Akşehir. (Fahredden Pasha is on the far right)²⁹⁶



²⁹⁶*Cephelerden Kurtuluş Savaşı'na, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e*, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), p.519.

Q. Fifth Army Corps Commander İzmir Deputy Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha's Record of Election²⁹⁷



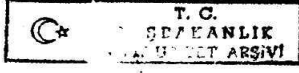
²⁹⁷ T.B.M.M. Arşivi, Yasama Organı Üyelerinin Tercüme-i Halleri ve Mazbataları, SM-344-1-2.

**R. Second Army Inspector Lieutenant General Fahreddin Pasha Is Getting Out
the Grand National Assembly in September 1925²⁹⁸**



²⁹⁸*Türkiye'nin 90 Yılı*, (Ankara: Anadolu Ajansı Yayınları, 2011), p.218.

S. Document on Political Passport Given to Second Army Inspector General Fahreddin Pasha, Who Will Go to Europe together with His Wife on 9 November 1927²⁹⁹



129

بازاری

5796
0497

«قرارنامہ»

عالمیہ بیورو اور بیورو کیلئے جیٹ اولوہ ایچی اور تقیہ بیچ فیلہ خولیدہ یاسا
فقیرینہ سیاسی پاسپورٹ اعطای، خارجیہ کونکے بعد سنک اہ لریڈی ۹۷۷۷ تاریخی
د ۹۷۷۷ زوریلہ تکریم و توجیرولہ تعلیقہ اوزبیکہ اچر وکیلہ کھیت (۸ لریڈی ۹۷۷۷)
تاریخی اجرائش تصویب و قبول اور تکریم .
۹ لریڈی ۹۷۷۷

بازاری
خانہ

خارجیہ وکیل
داخلیہ وکیل
بحریہ وکیل
مدافعت علیہ وکیل
عدلیہ وکیل
باش وکیل
صحیہ و مساوات اجتماعیہ وکیل
تجار و کھوکیلی
زراعت وکیل
ناضہ وکیل
معارف وکیل
مالیہ وکیل
اندری افکارہ و تکریم
معارفہ و تکریم

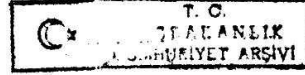
080 18 01 01 026 616

²⁹⁹ Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı (1920-1928), 26-61-6.

T. Diplomatic Passports Given to First Army Commander General Fahreddin Pasha and His Entourage Appointed to Solve the Border Problem between Afghanistan and Iran on 24 September 1934³⁰⁰

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
Kararlar Müdürlüğü
Sayı: 2
1251

KARARNAME



İran ve Afganistan Hükümetleri arasında hudut ihtilâflarını hal için hakem nasp edilen Birinci Ordu Müfettişi Birinci Ferik Fahrettin Paşa ile maiyetlerinde gidecek olan Askerî Müşavir Erkânîharp Miralay Ziya, Emir Zabiti Binbaşı Fahri, Mülhak Zabıt Yüzbaşı Talât, Dr. Yüzbaşı Kâmil Ahmet Beylerle iki topoğraf zabiti, bir küçük zabıt ve beş nefere diplomatik pasaport verilmesi; Hariciye Vekillîğinin 24/9/934 tarih ve 70226/709 sayılı tezkeresile yapılan teklifi üzerine İera Vekilleri Heyetince 24/9/934 te tasvip ve kabul olunmuştur.

24/9/934

REİSİCÜMHUR

Caferi M. Kemal

Bğ. V.

İsmail

Ad. V.

S. Saadettin

M. M. V.

Levâzım

Da. V.

S. Kaya

Ha. V. V.

S. Kaya

Ma. V.

Amas

Mi. V.

Abd

Na. V.

Ali

İk. V.

Caferi

S. İ. M. V.

S. Refik

G. İ. V.

Ali Rana K.

Zr. V.

İsmail

0 20 18 01 02 48 62 11

³⁰⁰ Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı (1928-), 48-62-11.

U. First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay Is Inspecting the High School Military Students on 28 April 1935³⁰¹

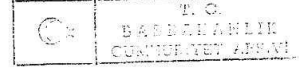


³⁰¹ "Genç Harbiyelilerimiz", *Cumhuriyet*, (29 April 1935), p.1.

V. A Political Passport Given First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay, Sent Him Europe for Treatment on 21 April 1938³⁰²

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
KARARLAR DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Karar sayısı
2
8360

Kararname



Tedavi için Avrupaya gidecek olan I inci Ordu Müfettişi Orgeneral Fahrettin Altay'a siyasal pasaport verilmesi; Millî Müdafaa Vekilliğinin 15/3/938 tarih ve 268 sayılı teklifi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin 21/3/938 tarihli toplantısında onanmıştır.
21/3/938

REİSİCÜMHUR

K. Atatürk

Bş. V. Ad. V. M. M. V. Da. V.
C. Başgöç *B. Sarısu* *K. Başgöç* *S. Kaya*

Ha. V. Ma. V. Mf. V. Na. V.
A. R. Başgöç *E. Başgöç* *S. Arıkan* *A. Çetinbaşgöç*

İk. V. ve Zr. V. V. S. İ. M. V. G. İ. V. Zr. V.
A. Başgöç *S. H. A. Alalay* *Rana Sarıkan*

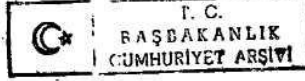
030 18 01 02 52 74 1

³⁰² Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı (1928-), 82-21-1.

W. First Army Commander General Fahreddin Altay's Retirement on 11 July

1945³⁰³

T. C.
M. M. V.
Zat İşleri Dairesi
Şube Kısım
Şube:
Sayı:
Evrak:



Ankara
/ / 194

Öz: .

Karar

19519

İlişiği

Âli Askeri Şura Uyesi Orgeneral Fahreddin Altay(315-1)
Âli Askeri Şura Uyesi Orgeneral Asım Gündüz(316-2)
Orman Koruma Genel Komutanı Tümgeneral Rıza Urcun(320-6)
V eteriner İşleri Dairesi Başkanı Tümgeneral Mustafa Bengi(322-8)
Genelkurmay Veteriner Müfettişi Tümgeneral Cemal Bêke(325-3)
Genelkurmay harp tarihi Encümeni I.şube müdürü Kurmay Albay
İhsan Hün(321-50)
Gümrük Muhafaza Genelkomutanlığı muavini Kurmay Albay İbrahim
Ergüney(323-19)

1- Yukarıda adları yazılı General ve Kurmay Albayların kanun gereğince yaş haddini tamamladıklarından 1683 sayılı kanunun 3.maddesini değiştiren 336 0 sayılı kanunun I.nci maddesinin (A) fıkrasına tevfikan ve ihtiyatta kullanılmak üzere 14/Temmuz/945 ten başlayarak tekaütlükleri tensib kılınmıştır .

2- Bu karar hükümünü yürütmeğe Millî Savunma Bakanı memurdur .

11 Temmuz 1945

Cumhurbaşkanı

Başbakan

M . S . B .

A. B. Mustafa

3. 4. 5.

176.17.19

³⁰³ Bakanlıklararası Tayin Daire Başkanlığı, 176-17-19.

X. Burdur Deputy Fahreddin Altay's Record of Election³⁰⁴

Burdur ili

Milletvekili seçilmiş olanlara ait tutanak

Adı ve Soyadı	Doğum yeri ve tarihi	Meslek veya sanayi	Kazanılan oyların sayısı												Oyların toplamı		Seçimden önceki milletvekili seçimi	Anayasa ve Milletvekili seçimi kanunlarına göre seçimine engel halleri olup olmadığı	Seçimi hakkında şikâyeti olup olmadığı	Düşünceler
			Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	İzmir İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı	Burdur İhtisarı				
Fahreddin Altay	1296	Emekli Dr. Genel	6897	4059	4288	4504								19788	On dokuz bin yediyüz seksen sekiz	5588	41316	Yoktur	Yoktur	

Milletvekili Seçimi Kanunu gereğince limitte yapılan seçim sonunda: Ondokuz bin yediyüz seksen sekiz oy ile Emekli Dr. General Fahreddin Altay birinci Milletvekilğine seçilmiş olduğuna gösterir bu tutanak kurultay tarafından kendisine verildi. 23/ 7/ 1946

Başkan
Burdur Valisi
Nabii Karatekin

Seçim Kurulu ve Belediye Başkanı
Necmi İpeçli

Seçim Kurulu Üyeleri

Oye Nuri Erdaroğlu
Oye Vayşel Akzkal
Oye Mustafa Gömme
Oye Galip Ericevci
Oye Hilmi Onat
Oye A. İsmail
Oye M. İsmail
Oye M. İsmail

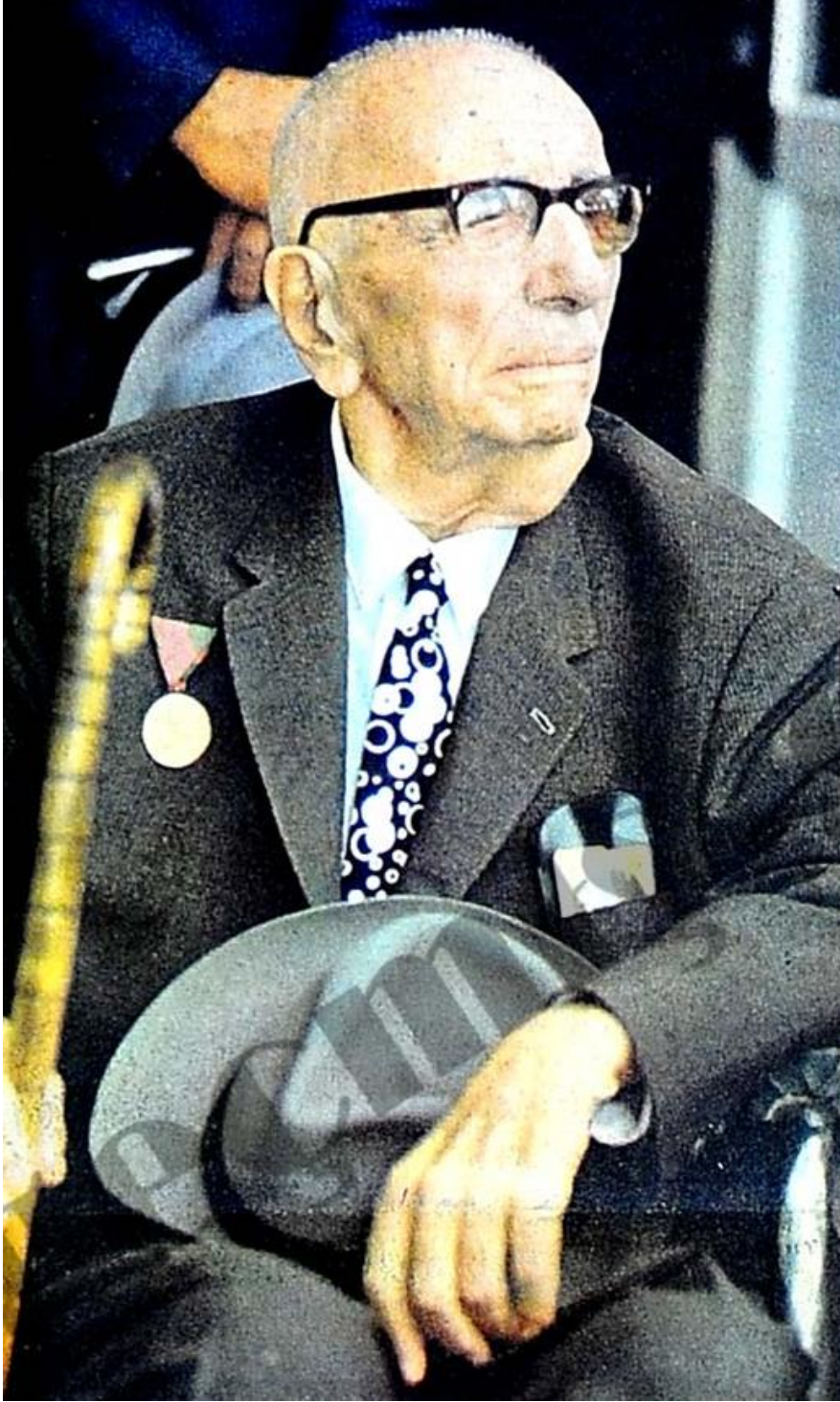
Dejmi Komisyon Üyeleri

Oye M. İsmail
Oye M. İsmail
Oye M. İsmail

Kurultayın 12. Ağustos 1946 tarihli ikinci birleşiminde Okunmuştur.

³⁰⁴ T.B.M.M. Arşivi, Yasama Organı Üyelerinin Tercüme-i Halleri ve Mazbataları, SM-344-1-8.

Y. Fahreddin Altay's Last Photograph³⁰⁵



³⁰⁵ "İsmet Paşa'dan Sonra, Atatürk'ün Hayattaki Son Silah Arkadaşı Fahrettin Paşa da Öldü", *Günaydın*, (27 October 1974), p.1.

Z. Fahreddin Altay's Funereal³⁰⁶



³⁰⁶ "Fahrettin Altay Toprağa Verildi", *Cumhuriyet*, (29 October 1974), p.1.