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# ATATÜRK AS A WRITER AND JOURNALIST

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### Abstract<sup>1</sup>

One of the least known characteristics of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is his authorship and journalism. As far as we can tell, he is a writer who wrote 14 different books. Until he reached to the level of his competence, he has developed a great passion for reading. After his student years, he fed his world of thought by reading many books written on sociology, culture, education, history and literature. Among the books he wrote, as well as focusing military topics, the one he explained very important concepts for contemporary democracy comes forward. He wrote a book translating geometric terms into Turkish, literally inventing new words. He also wrote out many of his memories. Besides that, he was very influential in the emergence of the newspapers *Minbar*, *İrade-i Milliye* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. He also wrote for *Minber* under various names as a ghost writer.

The purpose of this article is to reveal this little-known characteristics of Mustafa Kemal.

**Keywords:** Atatürk, Journalism, Writing, *Minbar*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *İrade-i Milliye*

## ATATÜRK'ÜN YAZARLIĞI VE GAZETECİLİĞİ

### Öz

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün en az bilinen yanlarından birisi, onun yazarlığı ve gazeteciliğidir. Saptayabildiğimize göre O, 14 ayrı kitap yazmış bir yazardır. Bu düzeye gelinceye dek Atatürk, büyük bir okuma tutkusuna kapıldı. Öğrencilik yıllarından sonra sosyoloji, kültür, eğitim, tarih, edebiyat üzerine yazılmış pek çok kitabı okuyarak, düşünce dünyasını besledi. O'nun yazdığı kitaplar arasında, askeri nitelikli kitaplar olduğu gibi, çağdaş demokrasi için çokönemli olan kavramları anlattığı kitabı son derece önemlidir. Geometri terimlerini Türkçeleştiren bir kitap yazmış, pek çok anısını

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kaleme almıştır. Bunun yanı sıra Minber, İrade-I Milliye ve Hâkimiyet-i Milliye gazetelerinin çıkmasında etkili olmuştur. Minber de değişik isimlerle yazılar da yazmıştır. Bu yazının amacı, Mustafa Kemal'in çok az bilinen bu yönünü ortaya koymaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Atatürk, Gazetecilik, Yazarlık, Minber, İrade-i Milliye, Hakimiyet-i Milliye

## Introduction

Horace Mann, in one of his famous quotes, said: "*Had I the power I would scatter libraries over the whole land, as a sower sows his wheat field*". In the 19th century, there was a wise man who spoke over the Atlantic, from the United States of America to the world; Shakespeare, a famous poet from England in old Europe, has contributed: "*My books are a great kingdom to me!*" A word from Orhan Burian, Turkey's one of the elite thinkers: "*A book is like a life filtered through an alembic!*"

Every person can create a unique kingdom among his books. He can live enjoying his unlimited freedom among his books. The most beautiful love, heroism, virtuous and primal positions can be witnessed in this kingdom. Every curious mind can build up such a kingdom; there is no doubt about that... It seems quite easy for the reader to set up a kingdom for himself, just like that.

What about the writer?

What is his place in this process?

There is a kingdom consisting of a library of books to read; but every time he writes a book, he continues his reign of the nice kingdoms over and over again... The one who reads the book, accumulates his books, he buys his kingdom; but he creates his own kingdom with his own hands, accumulating knowledge and essence, as if they are drops, dripping and turning into a lake. The author of the book has another privilege; when the day is come, real kingdoms go down. However, every well-written book shows resistance to the cruel attacks of time, to such a degree that the human mind cannot even reason, absorb its loutish slaughter. If the work written is like a lush water that flows from its writer's identity, emotion and thought, then it is like a "warrior" fighting against the darkness. For example, it defends the mind and virtue of the society, fights against the slick dictators who is crushing the members of the society with their treacherous passions, throwing them like they are worthless creatures, imposing their delusions and dogmas. The principles spreads over the individual's

memories and minds, slam over the blunt knots that have created the darkest and fiercest order that pushes societies into captivity. They resist the injustices and the facts and formations that are in conflict with the values that make human beings human. During the process, the works that shake the established structure can be collected and burned by the oppressors or interest groups. Heaps of books can be buried under the ground just to prevent enlightenment of the society; as if they were creatures of Black Death, they could be thrown away in the sea. All kinds of anger and mischieves can be ruthlessly directed against such works in the hands of "tyrants". However, it cannot be killed in spite of all those cruel attacks against itself. It keeps breathing. If it is thought to have been killed and destroyed, and thrown into the darkness of temples for a temporary period, it always survives, finds a way to come to the light, continues to fight against the darkness and those who represent the darkness; and it will eventually win the battle... Inevitable victory belongs to it. A word from Rufus Choate: "*The book is the only immortality!*"

### **1. 1 Can Books Be Killed?**

Yes, the only thing that has the power of immortality is books. Books cannot be killed even if they want to be killed. For example, during the Age of Antiquity, Plato and Aristotle of the Age of Reason, Xenophon, and the books of the other like-minded writers began to illuminate the darkness by questioning the body, the mind and nature. These works were seen as curses of a very godly religion at the time; for this reason vulgar Christian knights sometimes threw them into the midst of the flames with hate, other times tearing them down under the shoes of their horses, screaming hysterically that blessed their achievements as they destroyed the books. They certainly believed that their victory would be permanent, believing that the "Order of God", which they had created with their own belief system would last forever. Later, while the inquisition laws increased their powers, obsessions of dogmas capturing their bodies and souls seemed to be the only reason for them to exist. The unchanging, presumingly permanent principles were introduced in the name of faith were the most effective rules in everything and in all circumstances. Law, in the name of these dogmas, was the imprisonment of lawlessness. The Inquisition was slamming its iron fist with all its power and hatred on to the writers who advocated order, rights and justice. As knights of the holy warriors who were received their crosses sent from the God to the Earth, putting them on their chests, kneeling

down, crossing themselves, isolating themselves from the earthly world, trying to prove their loyalty by showing extreme devotion to the God, they were regarding it as a sacred duty to destroy the human being. Those swords that were slaughtered in the name of faith were not just butchering the bodies, but also the common memory and the wisdom that mankind put forth, like the drips that flowed until then. As if those swords and whips descending on the bodies were acting on behalf of God. That way, a new ethical and legal order was embodied in religious beliefs. Where ever those Christian armies would go, books in major libraries were burned and destroyed in the name of making the ruling dogma. In doing so, the dogmatic head believed that he would rise in the presence of God, believing that he was performing a meritorious action, destroyed the values mercilessly that would make human beings human. In spite of the rudeness and vandalism, the day came, and some copies of the works were found in dark galleries, behind the ruined walls, and eventually taken to the daylight. Scientific awakening based on dialogue, observations and experiments, was reborn in the hands of those who pioneered Renaissance culture, leaping from the dark corridors of the Middle Ages. Since that time, the works began to enlighten humanity once again. Thus the rebirth, so-called "Renaissance", was a definite victory of the works which could not be removed from sight. The dark order was being demolished, the collective memory of mankind, and the mind was re-enlightened again. The Renaissance was the beginning of great inquiries and scientific awakening. After going back and forward through centuries, human-centered "enlightenment" culture was created. Progress did not stop; In spite of the bloody revenge attempts and battles between those representing the dark order and those trying to bring in the light, the effect of the rotten old days was gradually broken. The enlightenment created Industrial Revolution; which took the level of civilization to highest level stretching from 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup>. Undoubtedly, every book that was written those days have contributed to this process<sup>2</sup>. In parallel to this process, events and facts have been transformed into the quantum, and post-modern culture, creating many versions of themselves, finding a way through the endless loops and finally flown into its right path<sup>3</sup>. Every book was a new world in the flow.

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<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> Although there are many works describing this process, for example see Dorinda Outram, *Aydınlanma*, (Translated by M. Hamit Çalışkan, Sevda Çalışkan), Ankara, 2008; see also *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Caner Taslamam, *Kuantum Teorisi*, Felsefe ve Tanrı, Caner yay., İstanbul, 2008.

If every work, composition is a world, and there is no doubt that it has a creator. Naturally, people thinking, researching, learning, acquiring knowledge; and transfer their intellectual works to others and future generations, receive the honor of putting out the most splendid, indestructible, and unquestionable monuments. Today, every intellectual knows Socrates' Advocacy, which has been calling out for centuries, there are still lessons everyone will take from Yunus Emre's sincere sayings and verses. Aren't the dark corridors that still stretch from the past, being illuminated with the works of the scientists, thinkers like Spinoza, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Volter?

No one can beat the nature; the one who writes the book, will die one day. It's a rule of nature. However, this death of the body cannot be considered a true death. In every book written, the essence is resurrected, and as long as the work is known and recognized, it lives forever. Sör William Davenant did not say it for nothing; "*Books are the monuments of lost minds!*"...

If each book is a monument; as long as it is well written; it does not care about the winds, the snow, the thunderstorms; it stands on its feet without being worn, without being worn out in that great process of reaching eternity. It calls out future generations. The owner of this magnificent monument conveys an unlimited message to future generations, in the network of influence which extends from past to future; as long as his book lives, the writer lives and becomes heroic... The book creates its author; as well as the one who reads itself... A word from Payot: "*Reading gives the power of escape and freedom*"...

## **2. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as a Journalist and Writer**

So, there are a number of requirements to be free, to reach this greatness. In history many leaders have struggled to bring freedom and independence to their nation. Some have been successful in this, some have given their lives in this auspicious occasion. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is a great identity and personality at the beginning of the twentieth century, as a person of an underdeveloped society, led his nation to independence and freedom. However, he did not settle for being the greatest revolutionist in the world by establishing the Republic of Turkey alone, creating a nation from a subject, and bringing that nation as a sense of self-confidence in its contemporary values. That was just not enough for him. He was also a writer who constantly wrote articles and books... When he

said, "*My greatest work is the republic*" he was undoubtedly right; but he constantly explored and questioned the republic in order to complete the mind education of the new generations. He managed to write the results of his efforts in his short life. Through journalism, he tried to create public opinion and wake the public up; by writing books, conveying his knowledge, feelings and thoughts to his people. Like every writer, he was rebuilt while he was writing his books. The famous intellectual Montaigne says: "*Before I created my books, my books created me.*"

## 2.1. Reading Curiosity; Recreation While Reading

A book comes to life; however the book recreates the author before it truly comes to life. That's why every book is a world, and author of every book lives a new world in that book. The writer always reads and investigates thoroughly before giving life to his work; forces his brain and emotional power to the latest stage; infiltrating his knowledge, experience, and reasoning into the lines of his work.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a man who was constantly reading<sup>4</sup>. He was very curious to study and research since early ages. He used to like to argue with his peers. His interests have constantly evolved, expanded and changed. History did convey its experiences, allowing him to see the cause-and-effect relationship between the past and present, and to make predictions about the future. Literature and philosophy were making him questioning and broadening his world of emotion, changing his world view. Economics, politics, and sociology made it possible for him to understand the world he lives in. He was not only learning but also he was able to perceive everyday politics and strategies by acting on the expressions of these books. For this reason he did not only consume the knowledge, he pondered and combined the knowledge with the power of perception. Books were like springs pouring their crystal clear water gently. He filtered and settled the waters flowing from these springs in his mind. The knowledge flowing from them has always fed that historical personality. He was influenced by events and people, and his mind was continuously maturing<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Gürbüz Tüfekçi, *Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar*, İstanbul, 1983; Leman Şenalp, "Atatürk'te Okuma Tutkusu" , *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, V/14, (1989), pp.369-377; Sadi Borak, "Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar ve Kitaplığı" , *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, IX/25 (Kasım, 1992), s.s.72-83; *Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar*, Ankara, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Şerafettin Turan, *Atatürk'ün Düşünce Dünyasını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler, Kitaplar*, Ankara, 1981.

This process that based on learning, perceiving, and feeling, created the genius, Mustafa Kemal. Then that genius; wrote his books which were monuments that reached us today. As one of the most precious gifts to the nation, he produced this valuable heritage... Here, let's recall the question Vasif Bey (Cinar) asked when he was studying history, "*Why are you reading so much?*": "*I was poor when I was a child. Whenever I get a penny or two, I would use the half for books. If it wasn't for me, I would not do any of what I did.*"

It was true; because Mustafa Kemal knew that every book was a filtered life from the alembic; he was absorbing life from every book, adding to his own body; his world of thought was expanding; his ability to perceive events was getting deeper. The more he reads, he was becoming Mustafa Kemal, over and over, and deeper.

## 1.2 His Passion for Writing

One of the least known aspects of Mustafa Kemal, which must be the one needs to be known his journalism and authorship. It is known that during his childhood and youth he was very interested in one of the major professions of his time; journalism. It goes as far as his student years at İdadî Mektebi (1896-1899). He was most influenced by Ömer Naci during those years. According to him, Ömer Naci was expelled from Bursa İdadî Mektebi, and came to Mustafa Kemal's class. He was very curious about poetry and very interested in the art of speech. One day Ömer Naci asked for a book to read from Mustafa Kemal. When Mustafa Kemal showed the books he read, he did not like any of them. That event left a deep scar on Mustafa Kemal's soul. Ömer Naci's attitude gets Mustafa Kemal to his nerves; but she learns an interesting lesson: There was something called poetry and literature. He wants to study poetry but one of his teachers says that such a pursuit would take him away from his military studies. Following his teacher's advice, he changes his mind; yet, he was still very interested in art of speech and writing<sup>6</sup>.

He was fall for speaking and writing beautifully. On the other hand, he began to be interested in historical topics. One of his teachers at Manastır İdadîsi, Mehmet Tefvik bey had an influence on his interest. He started reading Namık

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<sup>6</sup> This topic is addressed in all the bibliographic works that deal with Atatürk's life and the sections that Atatürk told about his life. For example see. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam*, I, Remzi Bo-  
okstore, 3rd edition, İstanbul.

Kemal, Abdülhak Hamit, Ahmet Mithat and historian Murat bey's works. His national consciousness was built by these readings. One of the most influential people was his friend Ali Fethi Bey. He now had Voltair, Montesguieu and Rousseau in his world of thought. He had the opportunity to learn French history of enlightenment; recognized the basic concepts of human dignity; he perceived that believing them was a must<sup>7</sup>

## 2.1 First Journalism Experience

He never lost his interest in writing. It continued after İdadi Mektebi, while he was a student at Harp Okulu. Many of his teachers were influential in the formation of his world of thought<sup>8</sup>. The winds of nationalism are blowing in the world; II. Abdul Hamid's Administration was not pleased that the works written under the influence of this wind had entered the country. The books distributed secretly through Iran, was reaching Mustafa Kemal too. Under the dim lights of his dorm room, he was trying to read secretly about equality and freedom concepts. By diving into long thoughts every night, he tried to perceive the conditions of his own country, trying to weight and understand the problems. Eventually there was a buildup of knowledge. He wanted to share his thoughts and findings with his friends. He decided to publish a newspaper using his writings. He sometimes writes the writings of the journalist whom he tried to cooperate with his trusted friends. Coming together with his trusted friends, they were trying to publish the newspaper using their writings and sometimes, he was the only one writing articles. They wrote about their ideas. At some point, the administration figured what they were doing. It was a very close call but he managed to escape<sup>9</sup>.

After all, he became a young officer serving in the army. The country was living in her darkest days. Because of his ideas, he was exiled to Şam during the period of Abdülhamit, which he was criticizing intensively. No matter how much the freedom was being limited, punished, it was impossible to stop Ottoman Empire coming to an end. Battles were continuously breaking out, one after another. He witnessed the collapse of a great empire with his own eyes like many other patriotic individuals of his own generation. It was tearing him apart, so he joined to the fight to defend his country. He fought in Derne, Çanakkale

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<sup>7</sup> Turan, *ibid*, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Turan, *ibid*, p. 5-8.

<sup>9</sup> Uluğ İğdemir, *Atatürk'ün Yaşamı: 1881-1918*, Ankara, 1989.

and Eastern Front. He was assigned to the commander of Yıldırım Orduları. While he was witnessing the defeat of the empire, he was trying to a way to defense the country. Even under these incredible circumstances, we see a portrait of a man, Mustafa Kemal, who was still reading, asking his friends to send him books to read<sup>10</sup>.

And the inevitable end of the empire; The Armistice of Mudros; the empire officially surrenders... Mustafa Kemal's return from Syria to Istanbul... In the morning of the shadow of the artillery of the Entente fleet directed on her, the gloom and the haze has collapsed on Istanbul... It's a very intense and heavy historical process that a human being would rarely encounter in his life...

## 2.2 His First Books

In this process, Mustafa Kemal did not ignore writing important works. The painful experiences of the Balkan War, the turmoil in the army, the imperfections seen in the chain of command led him to write books. At the time, one of his most valued friends was Nuri Conker. They were born on the same date. A strange game of fate, the death of Nuri Conker was close to Atatürk's: 1937... Conker, whom he valued very much, was a friend of the same neighborhood. They went to the same schools. Then they became a classmates; they shared the same profession.

He was a comrade in the Turkish Army. While the empire was slipping through their fingers, they ran to the fronts to fight for her. Their lives have been intersected countless times so far. In Tripoli, they were again together while organizing the resistance against the Italians. Then they found themselves in Çanakkale. When the Balkan War started, they immediately travelled to Balkans from Tripoli. Because the danger here was much closer and bigger... The Balkan War represented a complete collapse in terms of the Turkish military. Army Commander Abdullah Pasha had fallen into such a difficult situation that he could not deliver his orders to the nearest combat forces. In the army there was no communication; command and control has almost collapsed, the army was withdrawing in rush, without firing a single shot<sup>11</sup>. Like a mythological story, the great empire was collapsing. Nuri Conker occupied himself writing a book.

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<sup>10</sup> To see the list of authors Atatürk read during this period, see. Turan, *ibid*, p. 18-24.

<sup>11</sup> Rahmi Apak, *Yetmişlik Bir Subayın Hatıraları*, Ankara, 1988.

He examined the problems of the Turkish Army command and control structure. This book was his only book. He published the book. The name of the book was *Officer and Commander*. Mustafa Kemal participated in some of his friends' opinions, but in some, he did not. He also wrote a book that criticized his friend's book, named it as *Officer and Commander, A Friend's Thoughts...*<sup>12</sup>

They expressed their views on the army which had went through Tripoli and Balkan Wars. Their views on command and control, incompetence and disruption in the administration. The aim was to diagnose the problem. They knew that no disease could be treated without diagnosis. These two highly valued officers in the army were trying to find solutions to the urgent problems of their country; exchanging their knowledge, discussing very specific topics respectfully, sharing their observations and carefully criticizing each other. There was an important principle in this book that was complementary and intelligible: good management and good command. They knew that an army without proper and profound commanding would fail.

The soldiers had to have scientific knowledge. Courage was, of course, something that should have must possessed. In addition to this, the ability to make decisions on his own, in critical times was certainly a required skill of a soldier. A soldier who has not completed his individual development could not have succeeded...

The works of Nuri Conker and Mustafa Kemal complement each other in two separate books. Both of them described how could failure at the command level affect destiny of army and the country. Courage, ability to make decisions on its own, and individual traits were as important as the scientific knowledge. Mustafa Kemal wanted to publish the book at the end of the Balkan War. However, the First World War made it impossible to realize this will immediately. About six months after the publication of the book, Mustafa Kemal Pasha came to Samsun to discuss the destiny of the Turkish nation and the country in Anatolia, where imperialist forces has occupied and wanted to remove them. The government of Damat Ferit Pasha, one of the toughest enemies of the national struggle in Anatolia, annihilated the book, which was published while Mustafa Kemal was in Istanbul<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Mustafa Kemal, *Zabit ve Kumandan İle Hasbihal*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür yay., İstanbul, 2006

<sup>13</sup> The book was published for the first time during the Republic in 1956, as a cultural series by Turkish Business Bank.

He was a military attaché in Sofia when the war broke out. He was writing letters to his friends in Istanbul and asking for new books; spending his time researching and reading. He could not indulge in staying in a stationary mission while his motherland was in such a painful period of life and death. He wrote a letter to Enver Pasha and asked for an active duty. Now he has actually participated in the First World War. In this period, we see him as the 19th Division Commander in Çanakkale. He could not stay idle, he both read and wrote. He even wanted books to read from friends in Istanbul, even under the worst conditions of the First World War. During the fiercest time of the Gallipoli war, journalist Eşref Ünaydın, a journalist who came to see him for a long time, had a long meeting with him.

Ruşen Esref Bey, who published this interview in the newspaper he was working for, described Atatürk's room with pleasant words, also emphasized his curiosity about reading books. He mentioned that he saw books from Balzac, Maupassant, Boule de Suif and Lavedan on his table. Mustafa Kemal wrote letters to his friend Ömer Lütfi Bey asking him to find some books and send them to him. It was obvious from his own writings that how he was happy and graceful when the books arrived. He was a fan of Tevfik Fikre, one of the most popular poets of the time. He was following very closely Abdullah Cevdet's thoughts and ideas, he was pleased to read Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi's semi-philosophical book "Is it possible to deny God?" He was finding a great pleasure reading articles on freedom from Namık Kemal, patriotic works of Mehmet Emin Yurdakul and Mithat Cemal Kutay. Georges Fonserrive's *Mebadi-i Felsefeden Birinci Kitap: İlmünnefs* was one of the books he was reading<sup>14</sup>. He also read Alphonse Daudet's *Sopho* and *Moeurs Parisienne*<sup>15</sup>. He was even reading while he was in the front lines. While he was Commander of 16<sup>th</sup> Army Corps in the East Fronts, he wrote his joy and happiness in his "Autograph"<sup>16</sup>.

Mustafa Kemal, who gave himself to read, research and learning, was also spending much of his time to write. During the First World War, as well as the other ones, he wrote his autobiography. Two of these were named the Arıburnu Battles Report and The History of Anafartalar Battle. While the Gallipoli Battle was finding its place in the history in his lines; he revealed what a great literary personality he was. He added official reports to his observations; so that it all

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<sup>14</sup> Turan, *ibid*, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Turan, *ibid*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> These notes kept by Atatürk are published by Şükrü Tezer: See. *Atatürk'ün Hatıra Defteri*, TTK press, Ankara, 1972.

became an actual documentary. In these two works, Çanakkale Fronts was re-viving in the eyes of the next generation; decorated with the notes kept on day by day by himself, they were told through Mustafa Kemal's eyes.

The battles took place on the front of the Dardanelles came to life vividly through his pen. Mustafa Kemal who says "How beautiful history is!", says "This is the spirit that saved Çanakkale!" while he was writing about Conkbayırı Operation, emphasizing how the Turkish spirit was revived<sup>17</sup>. In these two works, he explained the details of the war day by day. He recorded the history of the battles that took place in the region. He was supporting all events and topics with documents<sup>18</sup>.

The Turks were wanted to be wiped out in this Great War; but they haven't been killed, but resurrected.

### 2.3 Two Important Newspapers of the National War

During the period of ceasefire, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was in pursuit of many quests. At some point, he published *Zabit* and *Kumandan* and *Hasbihal*, which were later going to be collected and destroyed by Damat Ferit Pasha. In those days the Turks were living in the darkest days of their history. At the end of the First World War there had been large land losses. He has left the Commandership of Yildirim Army Group and came to Istanbul, rented a house in Şişli. He was coming together with his friends frequently, trying to figure out remedies for salvation of the nation<sup>19</sup>. He was sure about that there would be no help or use from the Ottoman Sultan and his government. He was developing connections with the governments which were coming and going rapidly in power, looking for ways that could be more effective in the new period. In the end, there was no hope from the governments, nor the Sultan, Istanbul herself. The nation had to be embraced and whatever was necessary, had to be done with the nation. At the same time, however, he believed that some useful tasks could be done through the political path, at least needs to be demanded that way. When he arrived in Istanbul, he had some money that he could not spend

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<sup>17</sup> Kemal Atatürk, *Arıburnu Muharebeleri Raporu*, Ankara, 1990; Kemal Atatürk, *Anafartalar Muharebatına Ait Tarihçe*, Ankara, 1990.

<sup>18</sup> İsmet Görgülü, "Atatürk'ün 'Arıburnu Muharebeleri Raporu' ve 'Anafartalar Muhaberatına Ait Tarihçe' Adlı Eserlerinde Yer Almayan Emir ve Raporlarından Bir Demet", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VII/ 19.

<sup>19</sup> Aydemir, *ibid*, p. 370.

in the years of war. First he wanted to buy a house for his mother with but money; he could not succeed. He gave the remaining money as capital to this everyday newspaper to be published<sup>20</sup>. Together with his friend Ali Fethi Bey, he attempted to publish the newspaper to awaken the public. He tried to publish a newspaper called Minber. Dr. Rasim Ferid took the privilege of the publisher and became the responsible manager of Minber. Atatürk also wrote articles on this newspaper with the nickname "Minber".The newspaper was shut down after the 50<sup>th</sup> issue on November 21, 1918<sup>21</sup>.

This little experiment showed that Atatürk gave high importance to the newspapers to enlighten the nation<sup>22</sup>. In an interview with Falih Rıfki, he described this initiative as follows: "*Fethi Bey was publishing a newspaper named Minbar in Istanbul. He was the owner and the editorial. I have also partnered with him to publish our thoughts together. I do not know how successful the newspaper was*"...<sup>23</sup>

It has been told by many writers that Atatürk was writing under the names "Hatib" and "Minber"; but there were also comments that Hatib cannot be Mustafa Kemal<sup>24</sup>.

However, this effort has not been successful. Anatolia was boiling. Anatolia was surging up. The Greek army came to Izmir with the support of Great Britain, and they have shed the blood of Turks in the city<sup>25</sup>. Thousands of Turks had died under the Greek bayonets. While Greeks were invading the city and committing this unbearable crime, Mustafa Kemal Pasha concluded that it was not necessary to expect anything from İstanbul, therefore, he took the liberty of acting for the nation and together with his 19 friends, and he arrived Samsun, Anatolia on May, 19<sup>th</sup>, 1919. At the same time, the nation was helplessly trying to find a way to protect the country. But Mustafa Kemal was determined; establishment of a fully independent, new stated based on national sovereignty... He knew the difficulty of explaining this idea to people<sup>26</sup>. Opposes would put all sort of barriers to stop him; and the ones who do not understand the idea would

<sup>20</sup> Fethi Tevetoğlu, "Atatürk'le Okyar'ın Çıkardıkları Gazete: Minber", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, V/ 13 (1988), p. 184.

<sup>21</sup> Tevetoğlu, *ibid*, p. 185.

<sup>22</sup> Erol Kaya, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün İlk Gazetesi Minber*, Ankara, 2007; Erol Kaya, "Minber Gazetesinde Mustafa Kemal Paşa İle İlgili Haberler", *Erzincan Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, VI/2 (2004).

<sup>23</sup> Falih Rıfki Atay, *Atatürk'ün Hatıraları: 1914-1918*, Ankara, 1965, p.89;

<sup>24</sup> Şerafettin Turan, "Minber Gazetesinin Hatib'i M. Kemal Atatürk Olamaz"; *Çağdaş Türk Dili*, 12 (February, 1989), pp. 557-559.

<sup>25</sup> Haydar Rüştü Öktem, *Mütareke ve İşgal Anıları*, Ankara, 1991.

<sup>26</sup> Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk*, İstanbul, 1938, p.9.

act in the same way, even though they were patriotic. For this reason, he believed that a road map has to be constructed first. He decided to divide the object in several, smaller stages and act upon when the time has arrived for each stage planned. And of course, the conditions should have been favorable, only then he would try to communicate with his friends, colleagues and the nation too.

There were two dimensions of the struggle he was facing. The first was the battle against the Ottoman monarchy on the basis of national sovereignty, the battle to its institutions and concepts. And the second one was to start the fight for freedom against the colonial powers, who were occupied the country in order to destroy the land, divide it into pieces.

It was the only way to communicate thoroughly with the nation in a way that would be only then possible to explain these struggles. At that time, many newspapers were published in Anatolia, especially in Istanbul. Some of them in Anatolia were supporting the nation under Mustafa Kemal Pasha's leadership, while there were those who opposed it claiming that it was a mischief and banditry. For example, the newspapers *Alemdar* and *Peyam-i Sabah* were against this war. Famous newspapers such as *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *İkdam*, *Vakit* and *İleri* were more moderate in spite of the prosperity of the occupation forces. In Anatolia, there were newspapers those who oppose as well as those who support it<sup>27</sup>.

Atatürk knew the power of the press. For this reason, he was placing high importance to the newspapers that would tell and explain the nation about this war for freedom. While he was traveling from Samsun to Amasya, and back to Sivas, from Sivas to Erzurum and finally to Ankara over Sivas and Amasya, he established relations with many newspapers along the way. He believed in the necessity of telling the world, in particular, about the justification of the ongoing national struggle; for this reason it was important that articles should be published in foreign newspapers. During the days of Sivas Congress, the *Chicago Daily News* sent a correspondent to Sivas from America. The name of the journalist was Lous E. Brown. Atatürk tried to explain the justification of this national war. As well, he decided to publish a newspaper to mold public opinion, to announce the decisions taken at Sivas Congress, to explain the works done so far, and to attract supporters inside and outside the country. He applied for the governorship of Sivas and got the franchise of the newspaper. He gave ownership and responsible manager role of the newspaper to Selahaddin, one of the young people of Sivas. The name of the newspaper was *İrade-i Milliye*.

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<sup>27</sup> İzzet Öztoprak, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Türk Basını*, Ankara, 1981.

The newspaper was printed in the house of governorship of Sivas. On September 14<sup>th</sup>, he wrote the following under the name of the newspaper: "Defender of the Nation's will and purpose".

The newspaper was being printed in the county printing office. The propaganda of the new national war in Anatolia was going to be made through this newspaper. In addition to some enthusiastic people to publish newspapers, Atatürk directly asked for the publication of the newspaper. For this, it was asked to the governor and 22 yrs. old Selahattin bey has been received the franchise of the newspaper. The newspaper was 30x50 cm in size. The printing machine had remained from constitutional period and it was man-powered, and did not have enough type sizes. A part of the printing office was transformed into the head office of the Sivas Müdafa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti. That was the reason Mustafa Kemal Pasha would frequently go there. The basic principles of the National Struggle has begun to be published in this newspaper with the directives of Atatürk. The newspaper was delivered to all four sides of Anatolia in many ways. The British who had obtained a copy of the newspaper came to Bab-i Ali and protested the newspaper. The news and articles were prepared by Atatürk's friends and published after being confirmed by Atatürk. In the first issue of the newspaper, Atatürk's speech at the opening of the Sivas Congress took place. In addition, the national memorandum and the telegraph which was sent to Sultan by the convention found its place in the newspaper. When Atatürk left Sivas on December 18th, 1919, the newspaper was actively being published and delivered. The newspaper published a total of 138 issues, until 1921, when the printing office was burned and destroyed<sup>28</sup>.

On December 27th, 1919, Atatürk was in Ankara. Now the days of Ankara have begun. He chose Ankara as the center of national warfare. He was staying at Ziraat Mektebi in Keçiören. At the time, there was a newspaper published in printing office of the Ankara province; but this official newspaper was not steady; it was not even clear when it would be printed. And if it is even published, there was only news about the province and couple of official news. On the second day of his arrival to Ankara, he decided to publish a new newspaper in the city. First he thought about what the name would be. According to the suggestions he received, first he thought it would be "The Voice of Anatolia".

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<sup>28</sup> Hüseyin Yıldırım, "İrade-i Milliye Gazetesi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VIII/23 pp. 325-330; Ömer Sami Coşar, *Milli Mücadele Basını*, p. 113.; Yücel Özkaya, *Milli Mücadele'de Atatürk ve Basın: (1919-1921)*, Ankara, 1989, pp. 60-61; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönü İle Basın*, Ankara, 1969; İzzet Öztoprak, *ibid*, p.385.

Then this decision was abandoned. And after that, the new name has been chosen; "Hakimiyet-i Milliye". Thus, it has been established on January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1920. However, The Voice of Anatolia appeared as an article which is thought to be one of his works. There was no proper printing house for the newspaper, it was rare to get the newspaper. Regardless, permission to publish the newspaper was issued for lieutenant governor of Ankara, Yahya Galip. Recep Zühtü was appointed to the General Manager. The manager's room was a tiny room upstairs, through narrow and wooden steps in the printing office. Mazhar Müfit Bey mentions those difficult days after seeing Ziya Gevher writing under the light of a five watts lamp, on the edge of a wooden table, on one of those days<sup>29</sup>. Later, on the Ulus Square in Ankara, two rooms were rented on the first floor of the Veli Han, near the first Grand National Assembly, and the editorial board was placed in this room. The newspaper was printed in the printing office situated at the ground floor of the county building.

In the first issue of Hakimiyet-i Milliye on January 10<sup>th</sup>, the newspaper clearly set its position. As it was emphasized in the editorial, the attitude of the newspaper was clearly defined its side as the country and sovereignty of the nation. The newspaper announced that it was advocating Kuvay-i Milliye, the nationalist movement, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

In the meantime, Atatürk always continued to read. During the most difficult days of the War of Independence, Anadolu Agency was established to follow the events of the world and to announce the events in Turkey to the world. He also continued to watch domestic and foreign press, and continued reading books, expanding his view and background of world affairs. Between the Sakarya War and the Great Offensive, Pasha was reading and studying Islamic History.

He had a great passion for reading. He could not build a solid library environment while his life was disrupted with wars continuously. But every time he was away from home, he asked his friends and wanted books to read. As a person who knew that every book was a life, he added life to his life from books. He nourished his mind through every single line he read. Being a writer is the next step after having such a filled mind with knowledge and life from books. Brain gets filled up; emotions get developed, improved; the way of looking at

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<sup>29</sup> Mazhar Müfit Kansu, *Erzurum'dan Ölümüne Kadar Atatürk'le Beraber*, II., Ankara, 1968, p. 503; Mehmet Önder, "Milli Mücadele'nin Gazetesi Hakimiyet-i Milliye Nasıl Çıkarıldı?", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VII/20.

life becomes richer; the maturity in the mind becomes reflected in the body language. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is an identity and personality with superior features, so there is nothing unnatural or surprising as reading so much. And if it is a developmental concern for journalism and writing; it is inevitable to read too much.

### 3.1. The Other Books

He has taken examples from history; expressing his admiration for some, and hate for others. For example, while he made the interpretation of "the honor of the Turk was saved" for the hero of Silistre, Osman Pasha; However for Napoleon; "I do not like this man at all, because he dragged a great nation after him for his own glory and reputation." He also interpreted Jesus, and Moses too... He has made comments on what religious leaders and thinkers have done and their achievements. Every time he read a book, he was influenced by the leader and thinker of every acquaintance; He created a spring of his own personality. Mustafa Kemal has been influenced by many people and books in the way of his writing style<sup>30</sup>.

The book is an unlimited life; personalities emerge in each book; and the reader will enjoy an eternal dialogue with the sharpest intellects of the past. Mustafa Kemal is a person who made these historic meetings often...

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is not an individual who reads alone, but an intellectual trying to enlighten society with what he writes. Unfortunately, his writings are not well known by society. Someone who is on his way to understand Atatürk has to head towards two important processes. The first is to examine the writings of Atatürk; the second is to read Atatürk's biography. However, once they are done, it would be then possible to go deeper into the analyses. However, Turkish intellectuals in Turkey have not made enough efforts to write Atatürk's biography. It cannot be said that enough biographical work has been done that expresses Atatürk's life story. Most of them were written by foreign writers; which is another aspect that needs to be criticized... Although his writings are published by different institutions from time to time, the fact that these writings are late in simplifying the language and at least but not last, they

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<sup>30</sup> Şerafettin Turan, *Atatürk'ün Düşünce Dünyasını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler, Kitaplar*, Ankara, 1981; Sadi Borak, *Atatürk ve Edebiyat*, İstanbul, 1998; Utkan Kocatürk, *Atatürk'ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri*, Ankara, 1999.

have not been introduced into the Turkish education curriculum. All these issues have prevented Atatürk being recognized as a writer, and left his works unknown. He himself has said; "*Seeing me does not necessarily mean to see my actual face; Understanding and perceiving my thoughts and feelings is just enough!*" Instead of understanding and feeling Atatürk, consciously or unconsciously, the society has been directed to an image-based, factitious discourse and artificial posture. The most prominent proof is Atatürk sculptures spread throughout Turkey, which many do not carry aesthetic values, and all those epic and meaningless speeches given in different platforms. Society, for this or that reason, has not been directed to the true process of recognition of Atatürk. It cannot be said that the Turkish intellectual knows Atatürk well enough. For example, just to make politics or criticize Atatürk, many so-called intellectuals and scientists has emerged who not only said but wrote that Atatürk did not mention the word "Democracy" ever. With these ignorant courageous words, so-called taboos were being torn down, the established public opinions were changed, the bright and democratic "the second republic" was paving its way. This was the true "ignorant courage"; because Mustafa Kemal wrote a book to promote democracy after his attempt to establish two political parties, and then the book was taught as a compulsory course book at secondary schools. This approach, talking about him without having enough knowledge about him, without knowing him and his thoughts and feelings, turned into a struggle of opinions and judgment, was a matter needs to be emphasized on its own. John Lyly's words sum up the matter very nicely: "*The empty container makes a lot more noise than the full barrel*".

But even if so, Atatürk's writings are clearly obvious. Both the writings he wrote to the newspapers, the notes he held; even further, his books...

What Cervantes has said; "*The pen is the tongue of the mind!*"

What a right saying... The true way of understanding Atatürk, isn't it not only reading about him, but also understanding what he wrote? Let's add another word from Bacon; "*Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man.*"

Some of the books written by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:

Drills for Battle Team, Cumali Military Camp, Tactical Drills and Transportation, Drills for Troops, Conversations with The Officer and Commander, Minority Concerns and Advices for Applying Commands, Arıburnu Battle Report, History of Anafartalar Battle, Karlsbat Memoirs, Autograph, The Great

Speech, Civil Knowledge, Geometry... And the speeches and statements that can be added to them... It is also known that in the book of history published during his periods by the Ministry of Education, which had four volumes, he wrote the Islamic History... Exactly fourteen books...

Two of them are translations from Germany. Mustafa Kemal has translated two books from the German General Litzmann: Instructions for the Conduct of Platoon Combat (Takımın Muharebe Talimi), Instructions for the Conduct of Company Combat (Bölüğün Muharebe Talimi). He published Turkish translations of two of this famous German General's books who lived between 1850 and 1936. General Karl Litzmann was the former director of the Berlin Military Academy. While Mustafa Kemal was a senior staff captain at the 3rd Army Headquarters in Selanik, he translated the first of General Litzmann's book named "Instructions for the Conduct of Company, Platoon, and Battalion Combat (Seferber Mevcudunda Takım, Bölük ve Taburun Muharebe Talimleri) into Turkish. The book was printed in Asır printing office, Selanik, 1908. In the book, he explained what the communication methods of a full-fledged platoon combat should be under different weather conditions. In these conditions, when the obligation to form a conduct of battalion emerged, it was stated how the fire fight would be on this line. According to the book and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the officers had to be trained in the field. That is why the drills were important. After this one, he translated another book from the same person. This book, Instructions for the Conduct of Company Combat (Bölüğün Muharebe Talimi), battlefields, defense tactics and attacks in established places in the field. Established places had their own defense conditions. These conditions were limiting the soldiers' ability to move in the field. Topics included cleaning fire fields, closing dead zones that could not be under fire attacks, advances in defense, progressing in the field and fire superiority.

There is a need to emphasize another important point about these two studies. From time to time, some argue that in the name of bringing criticism to Atatürk, he does not speak a foreign language and therefore cannot perceive world events. In these claims, as well as prejudice and distortions, there was also an attempt to smear in the name of justification of their worldview they were in. Everyone was deliberately choosing to rebuild history and historical personalities by judging through their own point of view. For this reason Mustafa Kemal was subjected to attack from every direction, from his private life to world of thought. These words and attitudes which have no other meaning than distorting the truth were also effective in deceiving the society. Thus, Atatürk was

being misrepresented and increasingly misunderstood by society; with this in mind, it was their intention to create a sense of insecurity to his political plan and the basic principles of the republic. As Atatürk said, there is a necessity for the people of the society to be very vigilant against those who pledge themselves to mislead the society. The truth is as real as ever; the truth can never be changed; but can be misinterpreted intentionally to direct the society in another direction. Prejudices can be developed by the influence of political views against historical personalities, processes and events. Such claims were intended to create such a bias. Unlike the claims that Atatürk did not speak any foreign language, he knew French language "very well". He has also learned German as a second language. His German was not as good as his French but it was good enough to translate these two books into Turkish. For those who criticize and attack; let's remember that word immediately. It is from Bernard Shaw: "There is no more frightening power, than ignorance on the move".

Atatürk has other works related to military. One of the most famous of these is the name of the Camp Cumalı. Cumalı is a name of a place in Macedonia and it is on the way to Köprülü-İstip. A cavalry brigade under the command of Suphi Pasha was trained and maneuvered in this area; Mustafa Kemal, who participated in this maneuvers, wrote a book called "Camp Cumalı". He has taken careful observations of this exercise for 10 days; and he thought that it would be helpful to published for later generations. This work, which is a small handbook, was published in Selanik in 1909. One of his books of this kind was called "Tactical and Drill Reconnaissance". In this work, Atatürk dealt with the qualifications of the person who was mainly the commander. Not everything is predetermined rules. A good commander will train his troop in peace period and prepare for war. He shows his management and commanding abilities at every stage. He would improve himself skillfully as quickly as possible and be superior to his subordinates. Even that would not be enough to be a good commander. Personal courage, intuition, and the ability to make the best move at the right time must complement them. When this authority is established, the road to success would have cleared.

Even these sentences he wrote give us clues to his general strategy that he had followed during the War of Independence. He had pre-determined what he wanted to do in the War of Independence; but they were put into practice only when the conditions were mature. In this process, he could skillfully direct his closest friends to a certain goal with the art of talent and management skills he

had. All these skills came from the knowledge, experience, and abilities he gained during this period.

And the Great Speech (Nutuk), undoubtedly the most important epic of the War of Independence...

In one of his sayings, Atatürk states: "*Those who are authorized to rule the state in the name of the nation should know that they are obliged to give account to the nation when necessary ...*"

Accounting for the nation; considering that necessary; and going for it... Filled with pride, being able to say; "I want to account for my nation!", and actually able to do so...

In his Great Speech, Atatürk has explained what he has done, and accounted for the nation before the eyes of history. The long speech text, which started with "I arrived Samsun on May 19<sup>th</sup> 1919," depicts a strong image of the nation and the country after The Armistice of Mudros. Then, the occupations that started in Anatolia were discussed; step by step how the occupations developed, the collaborative stance of Sultan Vahdettin and those around him in the face of these developments, and how they are increasingly tried to facilitate the work of the occupation forces. The story behind his decision to come Anatolia, the reason behind it; How did he communicate with the civil-military bureaucracy, community leaders, local resistance organizations and the people after he has emerged in Anatolia; step by step, his role in organizing national posture and resistance. Then, internal revolts, Sultan's edicts, the efforts of the so-called "advisory delegation" was trying to break the national resistance, and finally the establishment of the parliament and the national army; bloody fights with the enemy and eventually epic march to İzmir. He took the rostrum at the 2nd Extraordinary General Assembly of The Republican People's Party in Ankara between 15-20 October 1927 and made long speeches lasting for six days. 6 hours for five days, and 6.5 hours on the last day, the total speech has lasted 36 hours. The speech was named as The Great Speech because of its unbearable length<sup>31</sup>.

The Great Speech is not contented with only telling the story of an historical period of Turkish nation. It also heroically explains how a nation has fought for its existence with everything it had. In terms of its narrative style, it has a great artistic value. It seems that there is no such example in the world that a

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<sup>31</sup> İsmail Arar, "Büyük Nutuk'un Kapsamı, Niteliği, Amacı", *Atatürk'ün Büyük Söylevi'nin 50. Yılı Semineri*, Ankara, 1980, pp. 126-127.

political leader giving such a long speech to enlighten the society and accounting for them. He did not only give account to the lone nation with this speech. He intended to get the nation around its sense of national unity that would determine its future. Thus, national sovereignty and full sense of independence would have been not only a thought but become an ideal. At the same time, while Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was walking towards to the level he wanted to bring the society and political structure, he warned the nation about the threats that could be put before him. Not only he warned the nation, he also quickly moved those people and political views out of his way in his time.

The Great Speech was published for the first time in 1927 by the Turkish Aeronautical Association (Türk Teyyare Cemiyeti) as two volumes in Arabic letters, one being the original text and the other supporting documents. Many editions are published so far.

Atatürk's one of the most original works is undoubtedly the one called "Geometry". He wrote it a year and a half before his death, in the winter of 1936-1937, at Dolmabahçe Palace. The II. Turkish Language Congress has just finished. What is the reason of that book? Why does someone like Atatürk need to write such a book? Atatürk was Mathematician? Of course not.

However, let's pay attention to the following example. "Müselles-i müte-saviyul adla"... It was impossible for the Turkish children who were speaking and understanding Turkish, to understand concepts in Geometry, Mathematics, other natural and physical sciences taught using terms like this one.

Using those unnecessarily complicated Arabic words like "müselles" instead of triangle, "satih" instead of area, "hat" instead of line, was creating a complete anarchy in their brains. It was simply a language issue. It was the confusion in the language preventing Turkish children to learn and improve their scientific knowledge. It was not possible to rely on a geometric image which children could not perceive or understand. Before the Republican era, some books of mathematics and geometry were written. These books were written using an incomprehensible language for the concepts such as "müselles", "murabba" and "hatt-ı mübas". Those words were not making any sense to the children.

For this reason, the society was not able to learn and move on in science, it was the opposite. A scientific leap was not even possible because of the difficulty of the language used, which was far different than the language Turkish

people were speaking. In that case, the most important task was to make Turkish a language of science. Atatürk began to write a Geometry book starting in the autumn of 1936, and published it in 1937.

His main purpose was to prove and show the nation that Turkish could be a language of science, and terms that following Turkish grammar rules and semantics would be much better and faster to learn. On the day of November 13<sup>th</sup> 1937, he went to Sivas. He visited a Geometry class in the building where Sivas Congress were held. He talked to the students and asked them some questions. The teacher was trying desperately to explain some geometric concepts using the old language. The topic was Pythagorean Theorem. While observing the class, he understood the fact one more time that it was very difficult to teach anything using a language so different than Turkish. What he did then was a solid proof that Turkish was indeed a scientific language; he stood up, and explained the theorem using the terms from his own Geometry book.

By doing so, Atatürk has tried to show that a book of Geometry could be written using Turkish terms. Today, day and night, millions of Turkish children and young people in Turkey, learning Geometry using the terms that Atatürk has derived using Turkish language. Many of them don't know where did those terms come from, they don't know that today, they learn Mathematics and other sciences based on Atatürk's works. Millions of people were educated using these terms; generations over generations, yet, those Turkish terms stayed the same.

## Conclusion

Unfortunately, one of the least known aspects of Atatürk is his journalism and authorship. Many of the so-called Atatürkist educated individuals in the Turkish society do not know that he is a writer who wrote over 14 books and that he had struggled times to publish a newspaper for the sake of enlightenment of public during very critical and difficult times. Atatürk's books are almost never read except for a certain curious mass and intellectual. Apart from this, it is extremely painful to see that many authors who wrote books on Atatürk and try to enlighten the society are not aware of these works. Atatürk can be understood by learning about him; it could be only possible to understand him and put his thoughts into practice by reading his works. Without knowing and learning about him, criticizing and gradually pursuing a wrong approach, attitude and evaluation about him, has no meaning except "distortion" of history

and historical personalities. Unfortunately, Atatürk is not well known and understood in his own society today. There is no doubt that it would be impossible to understand a thinker's world of thought without reading his works. Unfortunately, Atatürk's books have not been published at all, or published only insufficiently by state institutions who has the responsibility. Even when it was done, it was often done using the language of that period. It is almost impossible for generations to understand the works of this kind because of the change of language of old times. Even though the recent publication of Atatürk's All Works by Kaynak Press seems to fill the gap, it is still hard to say that they found a place in the libraries in sufficient quantities, or the individuals has shown the necessary importance to the book set. Whereas, there is no possibility to understand him without reading and understanding his works.

For this reason, it is necessary to question why the society and the intellectuals are not interested in these books or why these works are ignored by a certain group at least.

Just as it is a necessary to question why most of Atatürk's biographies have been written by foreign authors, but not Turkish writers.

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