

Economy And Moral Education In Early Republican Period Of Turkey⁸

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Abstract

In the early Republican period of Turkey, governments placed significant importance to education council meetings in order to structure educational policies. While these councils gathered as a consulting unit, necessary reports on the subjects determined by governments were prepared and submitted back to governments as suggestions. Whereas the first of these councils was held in 1939; the second one was held in Ankara under the title of “the Second Educational Council (SEC)” to discuss issues on morals, language and history in the period of February 15th-21st, 1943. In the present study, reasons and purposes of the moral education taken into consideration during the SEC were tried to be comprehended. To that end, four basic principles considered within the scope of the moral context in the council were tried to be structured on the economical context of the early Republican period. As a result of the study, it was concluded that some behavior and attitude types requested by leaders of the mentioned era and institutional spurts taken into the agenda along the economic targets determined during the construction of modern Turkey were taken into consideration under morality concept in the SEC in 1943.

Keywords: Early Republican Turkey, the Second Educational Council, morals, education, economy

Introduction

Moral education, as a government tool to raise loyal citizens in the modern times, was first taken into consideration systematically in the SEC in the history of the Republic of Turkey. The government added subject of morals next to the language and history subjects in the agenda of the council gathered for the period of February 15th-21st, 1943; a report on morality issue

⁸ This article was generated from the master thesis under title of “Moral Education in the Building of Modern Turkey: 1943 The Second Educational Council”.

comprised of moral principles which are to be followed by Turkish youth was accepted at the end of this council meeting. Ministry of National Education published two separate course books based on the principles adopted in the council for primary and secondary schools under title of “Türk Ahlâkının İlkeleri” (Principles of Turkish Morals) at the end of the council; thus, decisions made concerning Turkish morals were put in practice.

The purpose of the present research is to determine aim of the Turkish government with the moral education by 1943s in the lights of the SEC talks, moral education commission report and course books published within the scope of the council. Indeed, there have been various studies oriented on expectations from the moral education considered in the SEC based on the absence of religion courses in curriculums. According to the agreed point of view, the reason for inclusion of morality subject into the agenda of the SEC held on February 15th, 1943 was dismissal of religion courses from formal education institutions progressively after 1930s and consequent moral depression observed among youth (Ergin, 1977; Ayhan, 2014; Ersoy, 2007; Efendioğlu, 2013). Defending this issue in the relevant studies, “personal critics” driven against the government in the parliament or in the press concerning dismissal of religion courses or negative behaviors observed in morals of youth were expressed. At this point, there are couple of issues which need some particular attention.

First, whereas personal critics against the government were not sufficient in explanation of that there was depression among youth; even members of the government of the concerned era did not take these critics seriously and carried them into the agenda of the SEC. In fact, similar critics were voiced in the parliament before the SEC; nevertheless, government official, Minister of National Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, who took the floor to answer critics, was not agree with critics and stated that those critics were rather personal instead of realist ones; he also stressed necessity of empirical observations to make an appropriate conclusion (Eronat, 1999). Actually, if explanation suggested by the contemporary educational scientists that the impact of education on economic development could only be “felt” rather than directly “measured” is taken into consideration (Akyüz, 1992), aforesaid critics should have include measurement tools and their findings regarding the relationship between “lack of religion education” and “moral depression” clearly so that they could not have been taken as nothing but personal. Again, as a result of similar critics were aimed at the Ministry of National Education in another parliament session, Minister Hasan Ali Yücel stated that couple of occasional incidents reported from schools could not have been generalized to all Turkish children and that Turkish children were well-behaved and characterized with higher morals (Eronat, 1999).

Second, it was realized that aforesaid studies ignored the explanations made by government members and other council members about the reason of inclusion morality subject into their council agenda. Indeed, it was clearly and repeatedly emphasized along the council sessions that moral issue considered was not referring any issue subject to a depression observed in youth's morality. Chairman of the council and Minister of National Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, addressed this issue in the opening speech as below (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943):

“This essential issue which we included in our agenda was not considered because of an influence caused by depression observed in youth's morality... I could tell in confidence and proudly that Turkish children do not deserve miserable complaints of their seniors who are assigned for upbringing them. If there should have been such a circumstance, I could have been the one in charge, who complained and took serious measures to resolve this problem.”

Similar to the chairman of the council, other members of the council declared that the issue was not related with any moral depression seen among youth. For instance, Cemil Bilsel, member of the moral education commission determining moral principles, stated in his discourse during board of members meeting that “if moral issue was included in agenda of the SEC meeting, it should not be implied that we are facing a moral depression circumstance” (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943) and thus, addressed the point emphasized by Yücel. Another member of the moral education commission, Rauf İnan, put the moral issue into the words in general board of members meeting as follows (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943):

“Just as it was brought in by master academicians, the issue is that the next generations would be cleared off deficiencies and sicknesses that we already have rather than whether an immorality exists in the country. Which measures should be taken and which methods should be followed to ensure that new generations could be free from our current some deficiencies?”

Accordingly, it should be admitted that the theory that the government took moral education into the meeting agenda just because of moral depression observed in youth was not able to explain developments here. This article, therefore, search for reasons and purposes of the moral education emphasized in the SEC in other rationales. While purposes of moral education are tried to be comprehended, it could be considered that education systems and moral institutions are social events subject to the structure and requirements of the society in which they function (Tezcan, 1996). At this point, it could be concluded that principles taken into consideration within the scope of the moral education, opinions voiced at the council and printed course books of Principles of Turkish Morals arose as a result of social needs. Hence, based on a literature review covering the

period before 1943, it could be seen that some moral principles which occurred in this period were ideological behavior and thinking patterns requested by the government in the economic development process of Turkey.

The present study aims to discuss four principles in the moral education report approved by the council and issued under the title of “Primary Social and Individual Principles of Turkish Morals” and which were directly included in published school course books to understand reasons and purposes of moral education taken into consideration in the SEC.⁹ These four principles were given as follows (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943): “(1) There are number of tasks to be implemented to ensure persistence of the homeland. Each person, who fulfills completely and honestly each of these tasks, deserves respect in the same proportion. Service of people who labor with handiwork to this country is considered as important as the ones who labor with headwork. (2) Conservation of personal health is the task assigned by the nature. Hygiene of body, dressing and personal good are essential requirements of this task. Healthy thinking could only be possible by conservation of body health. It is necessary to perform exercises which strengthen and aestheticize the body. (3) Persons who abuses substances which could only provide pleasure for a brief of time jeopardize both their lives, lead to sickness and give harm to their generation. (4) Luxury and wasting are devastating for individuals and the community. Constructivism could only be possible by means of saving and sparing. As much as the generosity is good character, parsimony is as bad as that.”

We should admit that we lack of historical document which propound rationales and purposes of council members clearly while they were approving these four principles during the SEC moral education commission meetings. Yet, as it was mentioned above, these four moral principles considered within the framework of the official education could be taken into consideration as social result which emerges during fulfillment of social needs so that their rationales and purposes could be determined. Accordingly, in this work, requirements which produced these moral principles considered that they arose as a necessity were searched for within economic spurt period of the Republic of Turkey in the pre-council times. For this, council talks which elucidate rationales and purposes of aforesaid principles and information in the course books of Principles of Turkish Morals published after the council meeting were presented. Moreover, newspapers and periodicals which mentioned the SEC debates on morality

⁹ Title is consisted of totally twenty-three principles. This study tries explaining four of them.

were utilized in the present study as well.¹⁰ It was concluded that these four principles approved at the end of the council meetings were composed of ideological thinking and behavioral patterns necessitated by economic development of the modern Turkey in its construction period.

Economy of Modern Turkey and Principles of Turkish Morals National Morals and Economy

In the SEC meetings, subjects concerning boundaries and foundations of the moral education designated for schools were taken into the agenda. In council talks, it was underlined that the essential issue was not “universal values”. Hence, chairman of the council and Minister of National Education in the relevant period, Hasan Ali Yücel, emphasized upon various comments on moral principles that their agenda was not universal values by stating in the general board of members meetings that “indeed, we are not determining general principles of morality, embraced by the whole world now...” (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943). Additionally, “national values” prevailed in the council. One of the permanent members of the council, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1943), stated in his speech just before the council meeting that “it has been focused on abstract concepts in moral education since 1908; no any opinion concerning national morals has been suggested yet; but in this coming meeting, the council will concretely consider principles of Turkish morals.

Indeed, it was observed during the talks maintained in the council that a national “Turkish” morals was tried to be structured instead of a general morality with universal foundation. The difference of national Turkish morality understanding and universal morality even reflected on the media under reference of “national-Turkist” and “humanist-humane”. Journalist Peyami Safa (1943a) who closely monitored moral education commission meetings mentioned in his column that there was debate on foundation of the moral principles to be adopted either “Turkist” or “humane” in the first council meeting. Again he included commission discussions in his article published under title of “National morals or humane morals?” In these talks, one of the permanent board members, Sadri Maksudi Arsal, claimed that universal codes are known by everyone and the essential subject of the council should be morals of the Turkish nation with his words (Safa, 1943b): “We are not to establish moral principles from the beginning. Universal principles are common for everyone. Our focus is required to be morals of Turkish society instead of abstract moral case.”

¹⁰ In regard to accessing newspapers and periodicals, master thesis prepared by Adem Ersoy under title of “İkinci Maarif Şûrası’nda Alınan Kararlar ve Dönemin Aydınlarının Görüşleri” was rather guiding.

In the council, one of the significant areas to whom national morality would serve was economic issues; and it was emphasized that moral principles must be considered according to the needs in this area. Of the outstanding social scientists of the period, and one of the permanent members of the moral education commission, Hilmi Ziya Ülken (1943), mentioned in his column which issues to be discussed in the SEC with these sentences:

“Whatever the principles of our morals are, they must be deduced from our actions and business life rather than our words. ...hence, origins of all moral issues which are considered as totally theoretical are indeed regular business organizations...since in each society, upper values and codes are certainly required to rely on a sub-structure, similarly morals is required to rely on the relevant business life of that specific major about the subject to be inspired. ...a certain type of business organization necessarily exists within every society, and transformation of understanding of business organizations into codes represents their morals.”

Ülken (1943) also stated in further section of his article that the issue to be discussed in the council was morals of a nation experiencing evolving into the industry society through various reforms; and thus, he stated that morality subject was to be related with economic issues. As a matter of fact, it was observed that these four principles could only be regarded meaningful with respect to the general economic policy of the country. It was realized that whereas the first principle was aiming to resolve the problem encountered by the industrial vocational high schools which supplies qualified personnel to the industry of the country; the second and third principles had functions in establishing workforce one of the important component of the national economy. Finally, the fourth principle was significant in terms of general saving and sparing policies of the country and in creating national investment capital. Following three sections try to put aforesaid principles into the economic circumstances of the early Republican period so that their targets could be better understood.

Issue of Industrial Vocational Schools and Morals

Administrations of the late Ottoman period and early Republican period were always aware of the fact that one of the antecedents of the modern economy is industrial revolution. Hence, two industrial incentive laws were enacted in both 1913 and 1927. Developments in industry were tried to be funded by founding Türkiye İş Bankası in 1924 and Endüstri ve Maadin Bankası in 1915 (Akşin, 2013; Buluş, 2015). Development was experienced in this field in 1930s. Then Sümerbank was established to manage all industrial breakthroughs; prepare etudes and feasibility projects of factories to be established; operate facilities; and provide funding for

industrial institutions (Kipal & Uyanık, 2001). Whereas Sümerbank was established as core center of industrialization; its path was determined in the scope of the First Five-Year Industrial Plan (Boratav, 2004). Although the plan exceeded envisaged period about 9 years, it was completed in the period of 1934-1948. In fact, majority of this plan was executed within the estimated time. Thus, when it comes to 1938, foundations of 19 of the 23 planned factories were laid (Kipal & Uyanık, 2001).

Subjects regarding foundation of schools and raising higher engineer, technician, master and workers necessary for industrial facilities that would be built in Turkey were specified in both among foundation purposes of Sümerbank and in the First Five-Year Industrial Plan (Kipal & Uyanık, 2001). Accordingly, parallel to all these developments, significance of schools supplying workforce to the industrial organizations increased along the industrialization process. These schools¹¹ were vocational institutions which supplied workers and technicians who could answer industrial needs of the country and who could accommodate evolving need of the industry (Turan, 1992; Turan, 1996). A report prepared in 1936 by a commission established among various ministries indicates need towards these schools and rationales behind foundation of them. In this report founding of a large number of medial and advanced industrial schools to train skilled and competent workers who would be needed by existing and future factories was found necessary (Doğan et al, 1997; Cicioğlu, 1985). On the basis of the importance attached to them, it was observed that while industrial schools were funded by local city administrations until 1935, they were included in government budget afterwards of this date (Doğan et al, 1997). Nevertheless, by 1943, it was seen that educators in the SEC were complaining about difficulty experienced by industrial schools to find students because of society's negative point of view toward handiwork.

If it is considered that industrial schools were the primary workforce supplier of country's industry, workforce problem faced by industrial factories in those years could make educators' concerns to be better understood. In 1939, Tokat deputy, Hasib Ahmet Aytuna, stated in his speech concerning this issue in parliament that (Eronat, 1999):

“Gratefully we could mention that our country has been through an extensive industrialization process. Large industrial organizations have

¹¹ In official documents it can be seen that official names of these schools changed through the history. In the field of industry the first school was founded in the early 1860s, under the name of “İslâhane”. They became widespread in time and were called “Mekteb-i Sanayi” in the Second Constitutional Era. In the period between 1923 and 1935 they were named as “Sanatlar Mektebi” and “Bölge Sanat Okulu” after 1935. When it comes to 1974 their names were changed to “Endüstriyel Meslek Liseleri” (Cicioğlu, 1985; Turan, 1996; Doğan, 1983). In the present study “industrial schools” is preferred to refer to them.

exhibited great development across Turkey. However, according to the issues submitted to us, these organizations are not able to find skilled worker and master. Nevertheless, we extremely need these employees.”

It is possible to state that one of the factors which caused labor problem in industry, as it was reflected to the SEC, was difficulty experienced by industry schools with finding student which originates from negative prejudice of society toward handiworks.¹² In fact, it was noted that this situation was inherited the Republican Turkey from the Ottoman Empire period. In the Ottoman period, except couple of intellectual government members, handiwork profession was despised; and the most popular professions were military and public positions (Turan, 1992). Based on the common understanding of that period, education meant a chance to escape from working with hands. Among educated people, even doing their own handiworks was condemned by the society. According to educated Ottoman individuals, handiworks were considered as laborious and donkey work and therefore they were belittled (Yalçın, 2006).

In the Republican period, it was observed that some of graduates of the industrial schools transferred to secondary public servant positions (Turan, 1992). Therefore, Hasan Ali Yücel (1993) requested in his radio speech on September 30th, 1940 from families that they need to advise their children to have technical jobs rather than official positions since government positions were already full. These concerns of the period studied reflected onto the council agenda and on moral education talks. In 1939, whereas a parliament deputy stated on the platform that Turkey was industrialized but these facilities were having difficulty to find skilled worker and masters; and; he suggested increasing number of industrial schools as a solution (Eronat, 1999); the SEC considered morality comprehension issue as a solution rather than technical precautions. In general board of members meeting of the council, it was mentioned that families were reluctant to send their children to industrial schools and even they did not allow their girls to marry with boys graduated from such school because of their weird perception towards handiworks; and therefore, council members declared that they had to add an article which indicates “handiwork” and “headwork” were equivalent to each other. While Hasan Ali Yücel presented justification for the relevant article in the council sessions as “we used to experience hard time to find students for our industrial schools. Again, we did not let our girls to marry with craftsmen. Even today, there are some families who still do the same... This is the issue” (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943); member of

¹² For possible other reasons see *Ameleden İşçiye*, work by Ahmet Makal in which he handled labor history of early Republican period of Turkey.

moral education commission, Tezer Taşkıran, made following explanation (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943):

“...the reason for us to think in this way was that, as it was stated by our chairman, there are various points of views towards handiworks in the country, which could be considered as weird and which is witnessed very well by my colleagues who work at high schools and secondary schools. For example, I am one of your colleagues who have been school principal for a long time. When I say many parents of students that ‘your children would be happy in industrial schools, please register your children with these schools’ their answer was that ‘no, I will send my children to university so they would receive education in here.’ We want to save them from this circumstance. Since we want to inspire that hand work and brain work are equally precious for this country, we placed the relevant article.”

In this way, expressions of “there are number of tasks to be implemented to ensure persistence of the homeland. Each person, who fulfills completely and honestly each of these tasks, deserves respect in the same proportion. Service of people who labor with handiwork to this country is considered as important as the ones who labor with headwork” (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943) involved in the aforesaid report as moral principles under the title of Primary Social and Individual Principles of Turkish Morals emerged within this period.

Economy, Health and Morals

In order to consider discourses and policies of early Republican period about development accurately, health policies of the period are required to be considered together with them. As it was stated by a Turkish physician who was interested in Atatürk-era health policies, “foundation of Ministry of Health is not an accidental or a discrete incident for our country... This is result of a certain point of view, philosophy or public policy” (Aydın, 1995).

It was observed that early Republican Turkey was deprived of necessary workforce needed for economic development. Besides the factors such as long war periods which have massive negative impact on population, epidemic diseases such as malaria, cholera, dysentery, typhus and plague seen across the population caused loss of important portion of productive population (Sarıkaya, 2012). Lack of competent personnel emerged as one of the obstacles in the post-Independence War before the beginning of modern Republican state (Buluş, 2015). Concerns about possible adverse impacts of diseases on economic development reflected on the report prepared by General Director of Health, Dr. Ekrem Hayri, who were sent to Antalya City upon broke out of epidemic malaria, in 1920 (Aydın, 1995):

“In case a victim of malaria disease experiences at least ten seizures in a year, this counts to impressive amount of work-hour loss for example 4 million hours only for Antalya City, which can be considered as waste for the country. Accordingly, I would like economic specialist to calculate the resulting total economic losses because of work-hour losses caused by diseases... Finally, this disease spending effort to destroy Turkish people living across the Anatolia grabbed destiny of our nation and threaten our country to transform it no man’s land slowly.”

According to this report, the government was aware of importance of economic functionality of healthy population. President of the assembly, Mustafa Kemal, made following speech at the opening reception of the parliament on March 1st, 1922 (Sevim et al, 2006):

“Our purpose with respect to health and social service is that: protection and strengthening health of our nation, reducing death rate, taking precautions to increase population, minimizing and neutralizing social and epidemic diseases so as to ensure members of the nation could have vigorous and perfect body structure appropriate for work.”

Moreover, Manisa Industry Deputy, Kazım Karabekir who made a speech at the Izmir Economy Congress, in which economic path of the country was determined, emphasized the relationship between health and economic development (İnan, 1972):

“If we fail to conserve our health because of ill-conditioned villages, houses, public fountains and swamp areas and if we suffer from various infectious diseases... all prescribed economic measures and laws would mean nothing... Our doctors and veterinary practitioners who have travelled across and get acquainted with our country are required to organize congresses similar to the economy congress that we are holding now so that we could conserve our health and thus, we develop our economy.”

It was observed that an article which inspires living healthy was added onto the economic principles adopted at end of the congress, which was given below (Ökçün, 1997):

“In addition to increasing our country’s population which has been decreased because of numbers of wars and difficulties, conservation of our people’s health is our most essential target. Turks are abstained from microbes, dirty air, epidemics and dirt; they prefer clean air, water, sun light and hygiene. They try to perform physical training inherited from ancient generations such as horse-riding, marksmanship, hunting and sailing. As they exhibit the same care and attention to their animals, they try to increase their population and enhance their breed.”

In this period, importance of personal health and conserving health were explained to public for development of the country and this process conducted in parallel with the educational mobilization (Gül, 1988). Besides

the fight against alcohol and substance addictions threatening public health by means of enacted laws (**Temel, 2008**), an article was added onto the School Discipline Directive issued in 1939 such that “(Turkish youth) do not harm their health and strength dedicated for service to their country and nation by means of detrimental and poisonous substances” (**T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1939**). As a support to children health at schools, especially physical training courses were emphasized; and purpose of these courses were determined as raising “healthy” and “hard-worker” children for the country. Hence, the purpose of physical training courses was indicated in the 1938 High School Curriculum as below (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 1938):

“The purpose of gymnastic training, games and sport activities held at high school level is to raise healthy, strong, respectful, skillful, committed, hard-worker, youngsters who love their nation and homeland.”

It was observed that these concerns and targets defined within the education system were reflected on the SEC by 1943. Hasan Ali Yücel remarked in the council as well that citizens with poor health jeopardize their countries as much as themselves. Yücel, in the opening speech of the council, addressed that children must be explained about the vital importance of personal health for them as well as for the Turkish nation comprised of them; and dangers faced by the citizens and the country because of members of society who do not fulfill health requirements (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943). Additionally, Yücel stated in his speech in which he assumed personal health as a citizen task that individuals do not satisfy this rule by attending tobacco café shops and taverns were lack of citizen responsibility through following expression (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943):

“Let’s explain our children... that people who rush in tobacco café shops and taverns and who kill majority of their time and health in these places are in fact the persons who do not understand their obligations against themselves, others and their society or who pretend that they do not understand their obligation...”

After all these opinions remarked in the council, moral education commission report was added following two principles (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943): “Conservation of personal health is the task assigned by the nature. Hygiene of body, dressing and personal good are essential requirements of this task. Healthy thinking could only be possible by conservation of body health. It is necessary to perform exercises which strengthen and aestheticize the body” and “persons who abuses substances which could only provide pleasure for a brief of time jeopardize both their lives, lead to sickness and give harm to their generation.” Again, in the course book of Principles of Turkish Morals printed along the report, it was considered that conservation of health and body was self-obligatory task for

citizens as well as this task has economical function in terms of citizens' service to their country as follows (Taşkıran, 1943b):

“We could only fulfill our services and obligations toward our nation and all humanity as long as we are strong and healthy. ...our health status is significant determinant of being a hard-worker professional.”

In the aforesaid book, healthy nutrition, avoiding drinking and smoking, fresh air, regular sleeping hours, personal hygiene, epidemics and exercises to strengthening and aestheticizing body were emphasized; and necessary habits expected from students to ensure them to conserve their health and body, which was considered as a national task were listed (Taşkıran, 1943b).

Saving, Sparing and Morals

In the early Republican period, it was observed that issues of saving and sparing habits were reflected on speeches of political leaders of the period and official economic targets at government level. Hence, it was observed that these behavior patterns were included among the articles of the “Misak-ı İktisadi” (Economic Pact) accepted in the Izmir Economy Congress and became policy of the Republican government (Özer, 2013). In the mentioned congress, congress chairman and Manisa industrial deputy Kazım Karabekir mentioned about sparing at the last article while he was addressing necessary precautions for economic development (İnan, 1972):

“First of all, we need to conserve our people, animal and crops ultimately... Second importantly, we need to increase our production and to build our railways, ferries, and especially roads so that we could send our products to countryside... The third issue is extremely important. This task is of our women: reducing the consumption and sparing their resources.”

Again, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stated in his parliament opening speech made on March 1st, 1923 that “maximum sparing is required to be our national purpose” (Tokgöz, 1982).

The development which underlined the significance of saving and sparing was the Great Depression encountered across the world in 1929. The National Economy and Saving Association was established as a reaction against this global crisis on December 12th, 1929 (Duman & Varnalı, 2013); and the following expression was included in its foundation paper as its aim that (İloğlu, 1974): “inviting citizens to fight against wasting resources and to live by saving and sparing their available resources”. Moreover, afterwards of 1929, the week between December 12th and 19th each year have been celebrated as Saving and Domestic Products Week (Özer, 2013).

Since its foundation, the association has informed society about having control on their consumption and aimed to raise awareness towards saving; and strived to create national capital which plays significant role in national economic development. The Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, in his

speech made on the parliament on December 13th. 1930, mentioned importance of capital accumulation for economic development; then, declared tasks of the National Economy and Saving Association along with the purposes specified in its regulation (Özer, 2013):

“Through small amounts saved from decent revenues of every family, our essential national capital could be created on its own. National Economy and Saving Association is entitled to enlighten the public especially about the fact that large capitals could be acquired by means of small savings.”

Again, the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü emphasized the relationship between saving and national capital during the speech in the first activity of celebration of Saving and Domestic Products Week and wished from all citizens to undertake responsibility regarding this issue with his words below (İloğlu, 1974):

“For capital needs, importance of temporary loans from external sources could not be questioned. However, essential national capital should be accumulated by means of personal saving of the members of this nation. The most permanent and solid capital could be saved through humble efforts of each family in the country.”

İnönü, in his speech made at the Ankara People’s House where he was invited by the National Economy and Saving Association on December 12th, 1933, indicated that saving cannot be composed of a sole concept of saving money; it is necessary to be differentiated from parsimony. The Prime Minister emphasized that saving could only accomplish its purpose if it contributes into national economy by accumulating capitals either in small or large amounts; and made following remarks (İnan, 1972):

“I would like to stress a point while I am having words on saving. There are individuals who consider that saving means only saving money. These people who view the concept from this aspect and speak out in this way are the same with the ones who bury their money in a treasure chest underground.

Essence of saving is to avoid spending more than you earn; but certainly producing more than ever in order to be capable of spending more. Accumulated capital is required to serve national economy to gain progress. Self-interest of each citizen is also in it.

In order to comprehend meaning of national saving, I should mention about a case from near past: ‘Ergani Internal Loan Bonds’. ...while citizens purchasing these bonds; they make very lucrative and safe investment with their personal savings. But, more valuable than this is their contribution into the national economy. Thus, a significant national natural wealth of the country could be processed and all country, citizens, government could take advantage of this potential in their economic

development and gain strength. Ultimately, all individuals would win. Either in small or large capital amounts, if savings of citizens would contribute into progress of the national economy along this way, it could only be considered that the essential purpose of saving is comprehended by the nation.”

In the further section of speech, İsmet İnönü indicated that certain capital was required for production and commerce; and therefore, there was need for capital and loan; and that they welcomed the development that small savings were increasing national credit volume (İnan, 1972). In fact, banking system gained prominence in this period in term of transformation of small savings into large capitals. Household savings were especially seen as the essential resource to supply loan necessitated by commercial capital requirements (Tezel, 2015). In the studied period, Türkiye İş Bankası was founded to supply national organizations with loans and to take initiative for development of savings and deposits in the country. Mentioned bank applied bonus and penny-bank system to motivate saving. Through these practices, it was ensured that citizens acquainted with the banking system; and banks became the first institution appealed by businessmen when they need external loan (Bozoklu, 2003).

In this period, under the initiative of the National Economy and Saving Association, various activities were conducted across Turkey in order to incent citizens for saving and sparing (Özer, 2013). Additionally, Ministry of National Education directly intervened into saving policy applications. The ministry requested from schools to organize activities within the celebration of Saving and Domestic Products Week and ceremonies in which all students to participate; and to furnish hallways of schools with posts inspiring saving opinion (Duman & Varnalı, 2013). It was observed with the 1936 Primary School Program that saving ideology was to be made one of the pillars of a Turkish family (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 1936). Even, following headlines were thrown by a newspaper from the relevant period (Duman & Varnalı, 2013):

“In order to ensure our children to adopt saving understanding, the Ministry of Education attracted attention of the teachers. Hence, no matter their teaching branch is, all teachers will explain content, benefits and essence of saving understanding; and envisage a small amount saved by a little child from their pocket money to become such a significant fortune in the future.”

When it comes to 1943, it was observed that the same ideological thinking and behavioral patterns were embraced as one of the principles of Turkish morals included in the agenda of the SEC. According to the report concerning Turkish morals, accepted in the council, an article which contained following expressions was included (T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1943): “Luxury and wasting are devastating for individuals and the community.

Constructivism could only be possible by means of saving and sparing. As much as the generosity is good character, parsimony is as bad as that.” Along the proposed report, behaviors expected from Turkish children regarding saving and sparing were mentioned in the course book of Principles of Turkish Morals published for primary schools through the sentences below (Taşkıran, 1943a):

“I will save my money and use my goods like a person who thinks his future. I will not be a piker or wasteful because people who do not think their future and who spend all of their income for vanity and transitory fun will be remained in need and be devastated. We should listen to our ancestors’ advises such as ‘stretch your arm no further than your sleeve reach’ and ‘little and often fills the purse’.”

In the further sections of these sentences, it was mentioned that “as much as sparing is beneficent, parsimony and lack of capability to use personal earnings and money for necessary and beneficent things is such a negative characteristic. Such a person could not be beneficent neither for himself nor other members of the society” (Taşkıran, 1943a). Thus, it was emphasized just like addressed by İsmet İnönü that saving is not solely comprised of accumulating money; instead, saved money should be spent to serve beneficent purposes.

Conclusion

The most attractive dimension of the SEC for researchers with respect to the other councils was the fact that the moral education was included in its agenda. In this council, the Turkish government considered the moral education systematically for the first time in its history. Additionally, the causes which obligate the government to focus on this subject at official level were associated with dismissal of religion courses from curriculum of the formal education institutions in the contemporary studies probably because of extensive meaning of “morals”; and accordingly, it was claimed that lack of religion education resulted in moral depression among youth and moral issue was brought in the council agenda.

However, no any morality concept was discussed in the SEC as it was comprehended by today’s researchers. Indeed, council members and government officials voiced the fact that the issue taken into consideration at the council was not related with any moral deterioration observed among youth along discussions. Furthermore, it was emphasized moral principles were required to be derived from the specified economic conditions in the council meeting about which it was declared that the national morals was supposed to be taken into consideration. So indeed, it could be clearly seen that four moral principles considered in the present article make sense with economic conditions of the early Republican period. It is possible to

conclude that these conditions were consisted of the policies on industry, workforce supply and saving and sparing.

Hence, it could be understood that the first considered principle was related with industrial spurt and necessary relevant behavior patterns. It was experienced that industrial schools, founded to supply qualified employees to factories established along the industrial spurt in the early Republican period, had difficulty in finding students because of the negative view of society towards handiwork; and this situation reflected on meetings on morality subject at the SEC. It was determined in the council that industry schools experienced difficulty with finding students to recruit due to the despising view of society towards handiworks; and accordingly, an article which indicates that handiworks deserve respect as much as the headworks was added as one of the principles of the Turkish morals. This also indicates how a moral perception that equates, in today's concepts, blue-collar positions with white-collar positions to achieve economic goals was needed in the early Republican era.

Again, it was observed with the second and the third articles that they included the behavior patterns which would create productive citizen type in the needed economic field in the early Republican period. Indeed, similarities between the health-related articles accepted both in the economy report of the 1923 Izmir Economy Congress¹³ and in the moral education report of the SEC were notable. In the early Republican period, conservation and supporting of the national health was found necessary as it was discoursed by Mustafa Kemal “so as to ensure members of the nation could have vigorous and perfect body structure appropriate for work” and by Kazım Karabekir to “develop our economy”; and work hours that could be lost due to seizures of a malaria patients and concerns about their total cost to the country economy were reported. In this line, while it was observed that education programs were demanding from students to develop behavior patterns which support national health such as paying attention to personal hygiene, performing sport and abstaining from addictive substance; the same behavior patterns were accepted in the SEC as moral principles.

Finally, it was understood that the fourth moral principle presented in this study could only make sense together with general saving and sparing policies of the early Republican period. It was contained in the economic reports and public speeches of leaders of the studied period, which tried to convinced citizens to make savings; and the same issue was underlined in educational curriculums as well. By 1943, these behavior patterns were adopted as moral principles. If it is considered that saving was seen as a tool for accumulation of necessary capital and investment in the early Republican

¹³ See page 10.

period, macroeconomic targets of the moral principle included in here could be better understood at government level. In fact in this period, the opinion that economic development could be acquired by means of national capital rather than foreign capital was emphasized; and it was prescribed that national capital could be accumulated through moderate savings inside families. Whereas banks performed mediatory function between money saved by small families and investors through bonus and penny-bank systems, individuals were tried to gain saving habit through activities of National Economy and Saving Association and implementations within the formal education system. While the same behavior habit was accepted as moral principle in the SEC, it was stated in the morality book published for formal education institutions based on the council results that saving was not just composed of accumulation of money, rather it was inspired that money should be used in beneficent activities for the society just like the system need.

Conclusively, it was observed that some behavior and opinion types requested by leaders of the studied period and by institutional spurts taken into agenda along the economic targets in the construction process of the modern Turkey were considered under morality concept in the SEC by 1943. Four principles of Turkish morals handled in this study, in the given form, occurred as a natural result of economic development in Turkish Republic history. All these processes suggest as well that economic history of the early Republican period could not be explained only based on the quantitative data. Indeed, for example, acquired success in establishing facilities as it was determined by the industrial plans of the government suggests that the *financial capital* required for industrial progress was accumulated. However, as reflected to the SEC, it was understood that existence and adequacy of *moral capital* comprised of mental satisfaction provided from glorifying handiworks by attaching importance as much as works required cognitive skills and which directs individuals into blue collar professions, is required to be taken into consideration in explaining industrialization process as well.

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