

**THE FIRST 15 YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE HISTORY OF
POSTAL STAMPS**



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SEPTEMBER, 2021

**THE FIRST 15 YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE HISTORY OF
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BY

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**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

SEPTEMBER, 2021

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

22. 09. 2021
Gül Tuğçe AKÜN

ÖZET

Milliyetçilik Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin inşasının temelini oluşturan ideolojidir. Milliyetçilik ile birlikte çoğunlukla Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun ilk 15 yılında, 1923-1938 yılları arasında Türk milletine dayalı bir ulus devlet inşa edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaca yönelik eğitim, askeri, ekonomi, haberleşme gibi alanlarda somut adımlar atılmıştır. Türk ulus devletinin başlıca amacı atılan adımların kalıcılığını sağlamak ve ortaya çıkan yeniliklerin Anadolu merkezli olmak üzere halka iletilmesi ve yaygın hale gelmesini sağlamaktır. Bu amaçla haberleşme faaliyetlerinde gelişmeler yaşanmıştır. Haberleşme faaliyetlerinde etkili araçlardan biri de posta pulları olmuştur. Posta pulu Anadolu'nun her köşesine ulaşan bir iletişim aracı olarak görülmüştür ve devletin sesi olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devletinin hakim ideolojisi ve yapılan yenilikler pullarda yer almıştır. Bu çalışmada 1922-1938 yılları arasında Milli Mücadele ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dönemlerinde basımı gerçekleştirilen posta pulları ve bu pulların Türkiye'de ulus devlet inşa sürecine sundukları katkı değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milliyetçilik, Ulus İnşası, Ulus Devlet, Ulus Devlet İnşası, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Posta, Posta Pulu.

ABSTRACT

Nationalism is the founding ideology of the Turkish Republic. With nationalism, it was aimed to build a nation-state based on the Turkish nation, mostly in the first 15 years of the establishment of the Turkish Republic between 1923-1938. Concrete steps were taken for this purpose in fields such as education, military, economy and communication. The main purpose of the Turkish nation-state was to ensure the permanence of the steps taken and to guarantee that the emerging innovations are communicated to the public and become widespread, mainly in Anatolia. For this purpose, certain developments were observed in communication activities. Postage stamps were among the effective tools in communication activities. The postage stamp was seen as a means of communication reaching every corner of Anatolia and was described as the voice of the state. The dominant ideology of the Republic of Turkey and the innovations were included in the stamps.

This study analyzes the postage stamps printed in the National Struggle Period and Republican Period between 1922-1938, and how these stamps contributed to the nation state building process in Turkey.

Keywords: Nationalism, Ulus İnşası, Nation State, Nation State Building, Early Republican Period, Postage, Postage Stamp.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Tlay Alim Baran for being my advisor, believing in me and my research, and for her continuous support in this process. Your understanding and support during the hardship of COVID-19 is invaluable. I would like to thank Prof. Ahmet Taađıl, whom I assisted for years with joy and pride for my current academic achievements and his support.

I would like to thank my family, my mother Nermin Akn and my father Cneyt Akn, who have supported me in every period of my education life starting from the kindergarten, and who have given me the greatest support in all the hardships I had to endure and who have contributed endlessly to all the diplomas I have received. I am especially grateful to my brother Atakan Batuhan Akn for all the financial and moral support he provided during this process. I am also grateful to my second family akmaks for opening their homes and hearts to me. I am very lucky and grateful for my sister Assoc. Dr. Gizem Aliođlu akmak, whom I take as an example both for her academic and moral values, for holding my hand every time I fall, for being my biggest motivator and my best friend. I am grateful to my brother Evren akmak for not giving up his support even for a single moment, for comforting me with his nice conversation whenever I was tired.

My friends Furkan, Merve, Zeynep, İlayda, Merthan, Emine, Nisa and Esra; I would like to thank you for your support throughout the process. Every sip of coffee we shared and every motivational speech assisted me to successfully complete this process.

The biggest thanks go to Okan Akn, the beautiful child of the Republic, my grandfather, who inspired me to continue my academic career and who introduced me to history. I am grateful to you, my grandfather, for your understanding when we could not spend much time with during this process. Of course, there can never be a right time for someone to say goodbye to a loved one, but I would love for you to see that I graduated with success, to read this thesis of which you are the inspiration, and to have enough of your beautiful life to do all that. Thank you very much for everything you have given me.

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INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes the postage stamps printed in National Struggle Period and Republic Period between 1922-1938, and how these stamps contributed to the nation-state building process. The images of the postage stamps used in this study are acquired from T.C. PTT Stamp Museum and Istanbul Philately and Culture Center Turkish Stamps Catalogue.

This study aims to suggest answers to such research questions: "Are postage stamps relevant to history?", "Is it possible to identify how postage stamps reflect history?", "Is it viable to observe the historical progress through postage stamps?", "Are the topics selected for stamp design reflect a pattern and have an objective?", "Do postage stamps aim to transmit a message and function as a means of positive propaganda?".

The symbols on all the stamps designed during Ottoman Period, National Struggle Period and Republic Era are examined for the purpose of analysis. To consider these signs in line with the conditions of their respective era, the political and social history of the relevant era are also analyzed. At the end of the analyses, affinity between the symbols and the historical process is observed.

The first chapter of this study addresses the concepts of "nation", "nationalism", "ulus" and "nation-state building". Due to the ambiguous nature of the aforementioned concepts and their tendency of being interpreted through diverse views, opinions that are predominantly referred in the literature that maintain their validity will be discussed. Concepts of "nation" and "nationalism" will be discussed in detail. Pursuing this part, concepts of "ulus" and "nation-state building" will be addressed, and input on the activities of nation-state building in Turkey will be presented.

In the second chapter of this study, the history of correspondence and postal service will be examined in detail to explain the postage stamps that are argued to be influential in the nation-state building process. In this chapter, the emergence of correspondence in the primeval times and its progress until the development of the modern tools of mass communication will be put forth. The history of postal activities in the world and in Turkey, which largely corresponds the need for correspondence will be reviewed. This chapter will also include the developments that changed the course of postal activities. Postage stamps will

be addressed as the most influential one of the aforementioned developments and the history of the postage stamps will be addressed.

In the third chapter of this study, the functions of the postage stamps, previously discussed in the former section, will be discussed. Understanding on the purposes of the postage stamps and their definitions that have changed in due course will be provided. Following the information given so far, images of the postage stamps printed during the National Struggle Period and Republic Period will be presented. By including these images, the stamps printed between 1922-1938 will be examined and analyzed, and a historical relationship will be established with the period they were printed. Through this examination, the historical process will be discussed through the lens of postage stamps and the contribution of the postage stamps to the nation-state building process will be scrutinized.

In the conclusion part of this study, the above-mentioned three chapters will be summarized and inferences will be suggested.

Within the literature, it is established that there is no study which conducted historical analysis and monitored the traces of the nation-state building process through postage stamps during the period intervals that constitute the scope of this study. This study aims to contribute to the relevant literature.

1 CONCEPTS OF NATION, NATIONALISM AND NATION-STATE BUILDING

1.1 Nation and Nationalism

The present meanings of the words "*homeland*" (vatan) and "*nation*" (millet) in Turkish has taken shape in time. We've seen "*homeland*" as the Arabic word that means "*the birth or residential place*", translated into Turkish. This meaning of homeland does not bear any political sentiments necessarily. It was in the midst of 19th century when the word homeland received a political sentiment through "*patriotism*" (vatanseverlik) with the French influence. During this time, we see homeland mainly in the political context in Turkish press (Lewis, 1993, p. 332).

The word "*nation*" (millet, in Turkish) is an Ottoman Turkish word borrowed from Arabic. Meaning *community-communitas* in Arabic, this word is used to describe a religious community (Ortaylı, 1985, p. 996). In their conference named *Millet nedir?* (What is a nation?), Renan described nation as an essence and a moral principle. Renan indicates that the continuity of the will to cherish the legacy passed on from the past and the consensual coexistence are the building blocks of a nation. A nation is a product of an established history, and the social principle to build a nation is to gain strength from the past. Per Renan, the loyalty of communities to their ancestors is organic because our ancestors define us. Renan states the preconditions of being a nation are the shared victories achieved in the past and the desire to accomplish once again. The belief that these can be realized as "one" maintains the unity (Renan, 2016, p. 50). Bauer defines nation as "*the people of common fate*" (Smith, 1996, p. 181).

According to Şaylan, on the other hand, nationalism is defined as the political belief that enables social unity and coexistence in modern societies, and legitimizes the form of political authority that emerges in this society (Şaylan, 1995, p. 1945).

Elements of national identity are significant to comprehend the idea of nationalism. Smith, who works on national identity and nationalism, states that national identity occurs in line with the certain elements of national identity.

The prerequisite for nations to have well-defined countries and territories is one of these elements. Smith states that the land in question is not just any land; it should be interpreted as a rooted land, homeland and the cradle of the people (Smith, 1994, p. 25).

Smith addresses the idea of *patria* as the second element of the national identity (Smith, 1994, p. 26). Legal equality is acknowledged as another element (Smith, 1994, p. 27). One of the elements crucial for the formation of national identity is the idea of partnership. Smith points out that in order for the people to stay together; their lines of vision must be the same, they should have aspirations and ideas for the future, their objectives must be expressed with a common civic ideology, and beyond any doubt, cultural stance must be common (Smith, 1994, p. 27).

This model is identified as the "*Western Model*". Apart with the Western Model, there also exist an Eastern Model. This model is also described as the *ethnic* nation (Smith, 1994, p. 28). Smith states that the main characteristic of the concept of ethnic nation is that it is innate and the idea of an innate community is emphasized (Smith, 1994, p. 28). The difference between the Western and Eastern models of nationalism is underlined by Kohn as well.

Undeterred by the fact that the Western model of nation and ethnic model of nation are inherently distinct from each other, they share numerous aspects. These shared aspects constitute the basic treaties of national identity. Departing from this inference, Smith lists the previously mentioned treaties as:

- 1- A rooted land/country or homeland
- 2- Shared myths and collective memory
- 3- Shared mass society culture
- 4- Common rights and duties applicable to all members of the society

A common economy in which members of the community have free movement over the country (Smith, 1994, pp. 31,32).

Eliciting from these points Smith defines nation as "a community that shares a rooted land/country, has shared myths and collective memory, a mass society culture, common economy, and has common rights and duties" (Smith, 1994, p. 32).

As apperceived from Smith's definition, nation bears many sub-titles that act as its building blocks and it is unattainable to scale down the concept of nation under single title.

According to Özkırmılı, Smith's main argument is that nationalisms should be considered together with past ethnic communities and loyalties, otherwise it would not be perceived (Özkırmılı, 1999, p. 203). The main reason for this view is that many of today's nations are the continuation of an ethnic community in the past.

According to Smith, there are six basic treaties of ethnic communities. These are as follows: "a shared particular name, a shared ethnic myth, shared historical memories, at

least one notion that diversifies the shared culture, a bond with the particular homeland, and the sense of solidarity between the big portion of the population" (Smith, 1994, p. 42).

Various ethnic communities are needed to lay the groundwork for the formation of the nation and to start the process of nation-building. These communities are titled as *lateral* and *vertical*. Lateral ethnic communities include aristocrats and clergymen, bureaucrats, high-ranking officers, and wealthy merchants. Vertical ethnic communities, on the other hand, involve all stratum and does not comprise any communal dichotomy or cultural disparities. According to Smith, the nation-state building process in lateral and vertical communities comes true in different ways (Smith, 1994, pp. 89,91).

Nationalism per se does not have any political connotations. Having a unifying side enables political clarity. Nationalism co-exists with certain components. These components are listed as "symbols, languages, mythology and belief" (Yıldırım S. , 2018, p. 320).

1.1.1 Types of Nationalism

Hayes is the first researcher to work on establishing the types of nationalism. Hayes' work encompasses humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional, liberal, integral, and economic nationalisms (Smith, 1996, p. 182).

The German-born historian Kohn developed two different types of nationalism based on the criterion of geography. He names these nationalism types as *Western* (discretionary) nationalism and *Eastern* (organic) nationalism. For Kohn, Western nationalism is political and rational. Eastern nationalism, on the other hand, is surrounded by cultural and mystical elements. Having secular, urban culture and a strong middle class are the common treaties of societies spanned by Western nationalism. The social structure of Eastern nationalism is expressed as the opposite of Western nationalism. The middle class of the societies spanned by Eastern nationalism is weak and has predominantly peasant population. Eastern nationalism is susceptible of being exposed to myths and mysticism. While Western nationalism advances on a rationalist basis, Eastern nationalism establishes its model by glorifying the ties between land and community (Kerestecioğlu, 2001, p. 135).

Breuilly, in his study of the perspectives on nationalism in the literature, states that there are three different approaches towards nationalism in the literature. According to Breuilly, nationalism is treated as a notion, emotion, and a political movement in the literature (Breuilly, 1993, p. 404).

Kellas, on the other hand, addressed nationalism as in ideology and a pattern of behavior. For Kedourie, nationalism is a doctrine. As for Smith, nationalism is an ideological movement. Per Geller, nationalism is a political principle. According to Calhoun, nationalism is a discourse (Özkırmı, 1999, p. 67). For Kafesoğlu, nationalism is, "In its briefest and most universal definition, is the commitment of people to their nation with feelings of love and respect" (Kafesoğlu, 1970).

The question of the extent to which nations and nationalism are modern stands out as a question that is aspired to be resolved in the literature. Several approaches have emerged to come up with an answer to this question. These approaches are discussed in two categories: Primordialist and modernist approaches. In addition to these two approaches, the ethno-symbolist approach has also been added to the literature (Akıncı, 2014, p. 139).

1.1.2 Primordialist Approach

The root of the word "primordialism" is *primordial*, and means "*existing as of the beginning of the world*" (Oxford Learners Dictionaries).

The primordialist approach defines nations as structures natural or existing since the old ages (Breuilly, 1996, p. 149). There are three perspectives on the primordialist approach as naturalist, biological, and cultural (Selçuk, 2011, p. 3857).

The "naturalist" perspective is considered as the most extreme one of the primordialist approaches. This approach addresses ethnic identity just as inherent as the ability to speak, smell, see or gender, and suggests that ethnic societies of the people are predetermined. Per this perspective, people are born into an ethnic society just as they are born into a certain family. With all these effects, the separation of humanity into different ethnic groups emerges as a natural necessity, and for this reason, people tend to exclude those who do not belong to them. Those who adopt the primordialist approach with this point of view argue that nations have natural borders. For them, nations have an innate origin, personality, mission, and destiny. With this point of view, nationalism is considered as the most essential characteristic of humanity in every era (Özkırmı, 1999, pp. 78,79).

The primordialist approach is mostly adopted by the nationalists. Since the 19th century, the naturalist perspective has been the basis of the understanding of nationalism adopted by historians in the education system, and by politicians seeking to establish a nation-state or to control an existing state (Özkırmı, 1999, p. 79).

Smith developed a new perspective within the naturalist approach. This new point of view, which is skeptical of the view that asserts nations exist naturally, is called

"perennialism". The perennials are settled with the idea that nation and nationalism have existed since ancient times. Per perennials, nations are not natural formations. Nations are phenomena that have existed for a long time and this phenomena have lived up to today. Perennialism is singled out from the naturalist perspective, which is labelled as extreme. Smith here highlights the continuity of nations (Smith, 2001, pp. 49,50).

The word *"perennialism"* is derived from *"perennial"*. Perennial means "existing for a long time, recurring" (Oxford Learners Dictionaries). Perennialism, on the other hand, means *"perpetualism"* (Tureng).

Smith, who was the first to include the word perennialism in the literature of nationalism studies, addressed this concept with the meanings of "antiquity" and "immutability", rather than continuity. The word has been used to describe the existence of nations since ancient times and that they have survived to the present day without undergoing changes or losing their essence (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 80).

As can be clearly seen from the meanings of the words put forth, today's nations are considered together with the past by the perennials. According to perennials, modern-day nations are the extension of a long-standing unity to the present day. Perennials assert that even though nations undergo changes, the essence of nations remain the same.

According to perennials, core treaties that define a nation are perpetual even though the tools of the governing bodies are enhanced and derived with technology. National essence is indestructible despite adversities. What nations need is the reanimation of nationalism. Nations become stronger again with nationalism (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 81).

Biological perspective, which is another viewpoint of the primordialist approach, evaluates the origin of ethnic loyalties with genetic characteristics and instincts. According to this point of view, which argues that the basic motive of an human being is their success in the act of reproduction, they choose the one who is ethnically close and culturally similar to them for this action. Cultural characteristics related to the origins of ethnic groups form the basis of this choice (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 83). From the biological perspective, ethnic communities are regarded as an extension of families (Selçuk, 2011, p. 3857).

The last perspective of the primordialist approach is cultural perspective. This perspective addresses the primordialist approach through three core qualities. The primary commitments, which are qualified as the first, are considered as being *given*. These commitments are considered as inherent and they do not bear any social origins. It is not possible to draw definite conclusions about their origins as they are thought to have a

rooted history. There are also feelings that are qualified as firsts. Such feelings are complicated to describe. Although they are complicated to describe, these feelings have a compelling and binding place in society. The primordial commitment is associated with feelings and ideas, and it is distinct from personal interests. The primordial commitment is considered as the outcome of "sensation" (Eller & Coughlan, 1993, p. 187). Connor, one of the writers who advocate the cultural point of view, defines nation as "a group of people who believe that they are descended from the same lineage and share a common history" (Connor, 1994, p. 202).

According to Brass, the primordialist approach is of significant importance for the review of ethnic communities with a rich cultural background. It is much effortless for communities with a rich cultural background to come together and act together compared to other communities. In addition to what has been discussed so far, the deep-rootedness of the ethnic community brings about the deep-rootedness of the institutions, and these institutions are instrumental in carrying the wishes of the ethnic groups to the political arena (Brass, 1991, p. 74).

1.1.3 Modernist Approach

In the modernist approach, nations and nationalism are considered as concepts belonging to modern times. According to the modernist approach; processes and concepts such as capitalism, which took place in the modern time and came forth in the modern time, industrialization that occurred along with the industrial revolution, the establishment of centralized states, urbanization, and secularization formed the concepts of nation and nationalism. For modernists, these processes and concepts cannot be considered independently of nation and nationalism. They assert that nations occurred as a result of nationalism. Modernists focus on the processes and concepts of modern times. The reason behind this view is their assumption that the pre-modern periods did not provide the social, political and economic conditions that would enable the formation of nation and nationalism (Akıncı, 2014, pp. 141,142).

Deutsch is one of the pioneers of the modernist approach. He points out that the emergence of nations and nationalism parallels the transition from traditional society to modern society (Llobera, 1999, p. 8). He argues that matters such as urbanization, increase in social mobility, increase in literacy rates, and spread of mass communication are directly effective in the establishment of nations (Smith, 1994, p. 83). Deutsch states

that communication is the most important element in the formation of a nation (Llobera, 1999, p. 8).

Deutsch points out the stages of nation building as: "The implicit or explicit resistance to the political mosaic within the common nation state; minimal integration to passively accept the government's order; a deeper political integration based on preserving the unity and diversity of the ethnic or cultural group while actively supporting the common state; lastly, the overlapping of the political mosaic with the integrated national community through the assimilation of all groups under a common language or culture" (Jaffrelot & Dieckhoff, 2010, pp. 31,32).

As understood from this view, Deutsch regards political unity as a criterion of becoming a nation-state. He claims that it is a necessity of the nation state that various groups within the culture come together under a common roof and become a national community by forming a unity.

According to Narin, elites have massive influence over the society. It is possible for the society to come together and form a common nation through the activities of the elite. In order to show advance, states and nations that have completed this process before should be imitated. Nations that aspire to have factories, schools and parliaments should imitate the states and nations that have achieved them through their elites, and such imitation should occur without any direct external interference. For this reason, there is a need for a society conscious of its own identity, which is secluded from any external interference, and convinced of the transgression of direct intervention by alien parties. The elite is regarded as the pioneer to form such society. Being secluded from external benefits and interventions in the creation of the society reveals a fact. This is the fact that societies have only the manpower to realize themselves. The people, with all their differences, is the only reality in the hands of the elite (Nairn, 1981, p. 340). The elites bring the people together with a common and coherent history.

According to Nairn, nationalism is employed as a driving force for the progress of societies. Societies strive to achieve their goals with the influence of nationalism. At this point, history is the biggest companion of nationalism. It is sought to ensure that societies reach progressive goals by reviving the myths and heroic couplets of the past through history (Nairn, 1981, p. 353).

The British historian Breuilly treats nationalism as political movements that aim to seize power or the state, and justify this by attributing it on nationalist arguments (Breuilly, 1993, p. 1).

In the modern age, it is seen as a necessity to create discourses that would embrace and appeal to all communities. Nationalism plays a central role in meeting this obligation. Nationalism has been used to the benefit of elites in terms of its inclusiveness and variability by striving to bring together understandings of nation (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 127).

Breuilly divides nationalist movements into three categories by their aims as follows: separatist, reformist and unificationist. Turkey falls into the reformist category (Breuilly, 1993, p. 9).

Hobsbawm states that the concept of nation is not as old as history, and its modern definition cannot be traced back to the 18th century (Hobsbawm E. J., 1995). Hobsbawm, one of the most cited names of the modernist approach, considers nations and nationalism as products of social engineering. He states that notions of nation and nationalism should be researched in depth. He claims that the most important phenomenon that needs to be clarified as a result of research is invented traditions. Invented traditions signify the rules, habits, and various practices that have a historical feature, ceremonial or symbolic nature, and are directly or implicitly accepted. The repetition of invented traditions and social rules, habits and practices brings about social internalization. All these ensure a connection between the past and today, and create a sense of continuity in societies (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 1).

Hobsbawm states that there are three ways in which the people can be brought under state control and brought into conformity with the system. The first of these is to create new institutions that include the concepts of festivals, sports and unions. Another is to create new status systems, such as a hierarchical education systems or royal ceremonies. Finally, the emergence of concepts such as the nation, which indicates the unity of groups, is considered as one of these ways (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 137).

Hobsbawm adopts Gellner's definition of nationalism. According to him, nationalism is defined as "The political principle that basically foresees the overlapping of the political unit and the national unit" (Gellner, 1992, p. 19). Hobsbawm sees nationalism as a prerequisite for the political and the national unit to be compatible. Nationalism is possible through the invention of traditions. For Hobsbawm, who argues that national identity and traditions are invented, there is nothing given per acknowledged by the advocates of the primordial approach (Altunoğlu, 2010, p. 3).

Hobsbawm states that peoples can be classified as nations after meeting a certain threshold. There are three criteria for peoples to be classified as a nation on the condition that they meet the threshold. The first of these criteria is the historical ties of the nation to

the current state or its ties to the past, which dates back to very old times. The second is the existence of long-established cultural elites with a national, literary and administrative mother tongue. The third is being able to conquer. In terms of their collective aspects, conquests are advantageous for the people to gain collective consciousness (Hobsbawm E. J., 1995, pp. 55,56).

For Gellner, belonging to a nation is not an innate trait. Nations, just like states, are formed under certain conditions and are not subject to an encompassing obligation. Per Geller, nationalism is an invention. Pre-existing cultural communities are transformed into nations, and nations are invented in non-existent places. In this process, the relevant nation requires certain traces that make it distinct (Selçuk, 2011, p. 3859).

Gellner states that nations are not formed by a universal necessity. According to him, nations are formed depending on conditions like states. States and nations are formed independently of each other in their own unique and particular conditions. The state appear without the help of the nation. Some nations were also formed without government intervention (Gellner, 1992, pp. 27,28).

Gellner introduces two different definitions of nation. The first of these definition is: "Two people are considered from the same nation if and only if they share the same culture. Culture here refers to a system of thoughts, signs and associations, modes of behavior and communication" (Gellner, 1992, p. 28).

The second definition is "Two people are members of the same nation if and only if they acknowledge each other as members of the same nation. In other words, people create nations: Nations are the product of people's own faith, loyalty and solidarity. A group of people, say residents of a country or people who speak a certain language, could become a nation only if they firmly acknowledge that they have some common rights and duties to one another as a result of their belonging to the same group. What defines them as a nation is their recognition of each other as members of the same group, not some common feature that distinguishes them from members outside the group" (Gellner, 1992, p. 28).

Gellner discusses the human history by dividing it into sections as hunter-gatherer, agricultural-sedentic, modern-industrial (Özkırmı, 1999, p. 152). The hunter-gatherer period is the most primitive and least authoritarian period in human history. The emergence of concepts such as nation and nationalism in this period is neither possible nor necessary. It is largely different in agricultural communities. With the spread of sedentism and agricultural activities, various cultures had emerged. These cultures were determined

and shaped in line with the classes of the society. In the agricultural-sedentic period, the central states constituted the authority of the time. In this period, no effort was made to reveal the concepts of nation and nationalism and to make the culture widespread and encompassing. In the modern-industrial period, unlike the latter periods, the dissemination of cultures and the creation of the concepts of nation and nationalism had become necessity. In the modern era, social roles and culture rose to an important place.

Anderson, who worked on the modernist approach and advocated this view, is the author of the book *"Imagined Communities"*, which is extensively cited in the relevant literature. Anderson's theory has become widespread in the literature as *"Imagined Communities"*. Anderson argues that nationality and nationalism are culturally constructed. Nationalism has become applicable in quite different geographies and nations. According to him, understanding cultural productions such as nation and nationalism is possible by understanding the time they were born in history, the way they were born and the changes they went through over time. Along with everything given above; the way these productions are accepted and acquired cultural legitimacy should be acknowledged (Özkırımlı, 1999, pp. 67,68).

Anderson defines the nation as such: "The nation is an imagined political community, an imagined community that is both inherently sovereign and limited at the same time" (Anderson, 1995, p. 20). The common point of nations is that a shared dream can come to life in the minds of individuals. This is the dream of their totality. Even if the individuals who make up the nations have never seen or would never see each other, and even if they would not meet and hear about each other, their totality could form their shared dreams. This is the reason Anderson asserts that nations are imagined (Anderson, 1995, p. 20). According to Anderson, even though there are inequalities and exploitation within their relationship, nations are always conceived as a deep and horizontal comradeship. This sense of comradeship brought not conflict but unity and risking death together for the sake of shared dreams (Anderson, 1995, p. 22). Renan's "The essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common and at the same time they have all forgotten many things" (Anderson, 1995, p. 20) remarks draw attention to the commonality of nations. Nations are imagined as limited. The members of a nation does not dream of the day in which all other nations will join to theirs. As of their emergence, nations have been imagined as sovereign (Anderson, 1995, p. 21).

Anderson draws attention to the historical novelty of the concept of nation-state. The

concept of nation-state is fresh, but it is known by the society that the nation it defines as political is based on a rooted past. It is believed that these nations with a rooted past are moving towards an unlimited future with the power they acquire from the past (Anderson, 1995, p. 25). The fact that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk named the national banks as Eti Bank and Sümer Bank is an exemplar of the formerly put forth assumption (Anderson, 1995, p. 26).

Anderson explains the emergence of concepts such as nation, nationalism, and ulus through cultural changes. Imagining a nation is possible when and where the influence of the three cultural designs begins to wane. The first is the predominance of scriptural languages. The other is the idea that societies are organized around higher centers. In higher centers, there are kings who have a divine quality, who are different from other people, and who claim to have received this difference directly from God. Finally, it is the perception of time that values the origins of the world and humanity as identical, and cosmology and history are not distinguished (Anderson, 1995, p. 51).

The loss of importance of religious communities is also an effective development in the imagination of the nation. Overseas discoveries and the loss of importance of Latin language got religious communities out of perspective. With these developments, national languages have come to the fore and various publications that are not monolingual and not within the boundaries of religion have been available. As such publications became widespread, the dominance established over the societies loosened. This has been one of the developments that initiated the imagination process of societies. Anderson argues that nations have replaced religion and kingdoms. The fact that the perception of time has changed has also been effective in this process. Simultaneous perception convinced individuals that they lived in a certain era and that there would be a divine intervention as long as everyone experienced this process the same. The change in the perception of time has led societies to plan the future. Societies believed that they could shape the future with their actions, and the dreams they had would come true (Özkırımlı, 1999, pp. 169,170).

The role of capitalist printing in making national languages widespread has brought the concept of nation to the fore (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 172). Capitalist publishing, with the massive sphere and competitive environment it created, paved the way for broadcasting in national languages used prior to Latin. Languages that once hadn't been able to stand robust once became widespread with the aid of capitalist publishing. This enhanced the

assumption that nations had existed since antiquity. The diversity of languages in publications and the abundance of printed books on the market have brought about an increase in literacy rate. Educational activities should be given priority in order to increase the literacy rate. In order for a common language to be formed, it is imperative that the common alphabet be taught to all members of the nation. The common language and alphabet are the essential elements of the common nation.

According to Anderson, the development of capitalist publishing and the changes in the perception of time created imaginary communities through imaginary ties such as newspapers, calendars and novels. Capitalist publishing is substantial in terms of the proliferation of these materials and their delivery to various regions. With the change in the perception of time, the idea of social unity emerged when the members of the society reached the materials published on the same date. Individuals who have not seen each other believe that they are members of the same society and form a unity by using the same calendar, reading the same newspaper and novel, with a common perception of time. This enables an imagined society to be established within the minds of individuals (Anderson, 1995, pp. 39,40,41).

Hroch defines nationalism as "The perspective that sees the values of nations as more important than all other values and interests". He named the aim of attaining all the qualities of a nation as "national movements". According to Hroch, nationalism is a type of national consciousness that takes place in national movements (Hroch M. , 1995, p. 65).

Hroch points out that national movements have distinct objectives. The first of these is the creation of a culture based on language. This language should be used actively in social life, especially in education, management and economic fields. Another is the creation of a complete social structure. This social structure should include the peasants and workers along with the educated. Finally, civil rights and the right to self-government should be achieved. The objectives of the national movements are realized with the effect of these titles and the developments parallel to such titles (Özkırmı, 1999, p. 185).

Hroch states that there are three structural phases for the successful culmination of national movements. The characteristics, roles and the levels of national consciousness of the group members constitute these phases. Hroch names these phases as A, B and C. In

the A phase, the goal of the nationalists is to reveal the treaties of social groups. The aforementioned treaties are religious, cultural and historical, to some extent. At this point, nationalists do not expect the social group to form any nation. The B phase differs from the A phase, and aims to organize the social group. This organization is aimed to shape the cultural and the political. In this phase, there is the objective of forming a nation, and nationalists seek support for this process. Phase B is the foundation of phase C. Phase C is not an achievable phase for a number of national movements. In phase C, the social group organizes around a national identity. At the end of phase C, we could speak of a social structure. After the phase C, a state could be established (Hroch M. , 1999, p. 81).

According to Hroch, the modern nation-building process begins with the collection of information about the history, language and traditions of the ethnic group in question. Studies carried out to reveal the characteristics of social groups in phase A are conducted for this purpose. Researchers and archaeologists play an active role in this regard. Such studies are of academic objectives. The findings of such studies contribute to the formation of national consciousness. In the phase B, the emotional effects of these academic studies are discovered. It is thought that there are various reasons for the emotional aspect of study in addition to the academic aspect in the transition process to the phase B. Social crises, dissatisfaction of the people with the current situation, and loss of faith in the traditional moral systems are the main reasons. These reasons bring along the expectation of new results. This is how national movements begin. For this reason, the nature of research and the public's perspective on these researches have changed. According to Hroch, there are basic criteria for the mass results of the national movements that started. Widespread social communication is one of these criteria. The most important enabler of a widespread social communication is high literacy and increase in schooling rate. Another criterion is vertical social mobility. The existence of vertical social mobility supports the authority in approaching the masses (Özkırımlı, 1999, pp. 188,189).

1.1.4 Ethno-Symbolist Approach

The ethno-symbolist approach emerged as a reaction to the Modernist approach. The term "*ethno-symbolist*" is used to describe theorists who base and support ethnic background and culture in their analysis of nationalism (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 194).

Political scientist Conversi states that the ethno-symbolist approach advocates that

nations cannot be created out of thin air, and that national identities are shaped by myths, values and symbols from the past. According to Conversi, ethno-symbolism approach tries to cross the two extremes between primitivism and intermediarism (Conversi, 1995, pp. 73,74,75).

Ethno-symbolists point out that the emergence of nations that make up modern states cannot be considered independently of ethnic background. They consider today's nations as the continuation of the ethnic communities of the pre-modern era (Özkırımlı, 2010, p. 34). According to ethno-symbolists, the development processes of nations should be studied within wide spans of time. Ethnic identities preserve their essence despite all the negative incidents throughout history. The nations of the modern era are shaped by the basis of ethnic cultures that have managed to preserve their essence for centuries. For this reason, ethno-symbolists argue that today's modern societies can be analyzed together with their ancestors.

Armstrong, an American political scientist, states that it is fundamental to consider the development processes of today's nations from ancient times to the present, spanning a wide period of time. With this aspect, Armstrong is considered as the founder of the ethno-symbolist approach by today's researchers, even though he is described as a "primordialist" and an "perennial". Armstrong states that nations existed before nationalism, and yet he claims that the concept of nation is not an eternal concept but was invented in a certain period of time (Özkırımlı, 1999, pp. 197,198).

Armstrong defines today's nationalism as the last state of ethnic consciousness that has been developed by people for many years and that guides all shapes of political-social organization. According to Armstrong, it is possible to encounter ethnic identities even in ancient times, and accordingly, ethnic consciousness is capable of persisting. He states that the persistence of ethnic consciousness is the most essential feature (Armstrong, 1982, p. 4).

The myths that separate ethnic groups from each other can exist for many years. For Armstrong, there are several reasons for this persistence. The first reason is the lifestyle. For instance, in Europe and in the Middle East, ethnic identities are shaped by various lifestyles. The sedentic lifestyle in Europe has brought about the dependence of the society to the land and the place they live, and to define themselves in this way. Symbols and myths created in a process involve fidelity to the land as a requisite of life style. In the case of the Middle East, on the other hand, the opposite effect is in question. The Middle East mostly had a nomadic

lifestyle. This put forward the lineage and blood ties. The myths and symbols of that region also reflect their nomadic lifestyle. Another reason is religion. Religions have led to the development of different civilizations. Symbols, rituals and values belonging to religions have been influential on ethnic identities. Armstrong considers the effects of organizational forms and language on ethnic identities (Armstrong, 1982, pp. 4-6).

Another advocate and analyst of the ethno-symbolist approach is Smith. Smith argues that modern types of nationalism cannot be considered independently of previous ethnic communities and dependencies. According to Smith, three questions must be answered to identify the origins of nations:

- 1- "Who constitutes the nation? What are the models and ethnic foundations of the modern nation? How do individual nations emerge?
- 2- How and why is a nation born? That is, what are the general originators and mechanisms that initiate the formation of the nation out of the variability and diversity of ethnic ties and memories?
- 3- When and where did the nation emerge? What are the special ideas, groups and places that enable the formation of individual nations at certain times and places? (Smith, 1994, p. 39)"

The answers to these questions are essential to reveal the origins of nations.

Smith divides the formation of ethnic communities into two as "*unification*" and "*separation*". Unification is the formation of ethnic groups by the coming together of different units. For this reason, Smith also considers ethnic communities as the intermingling of separate units. It is also an option for one of the units to continue to exist within the other. Furthermore, ethnic groups can also be subdivided for various reasons. This is explained as separation (Smith, 1994, p. 46).

Smith states that incidents such as war, immigration, exile, change of religion, and slavery during the historical process have an impact on ethnic identities. Despite all this, ethnic identities have maintained their resilience throughout history. The important point for the preservation of the mentioned resilience is to ensure the transfer of cultural continuity between generations. Despite the changes, cultural continuity between generations preserves the resilience of ethnic identity. Smith states that even the most radical changes cannot affect or destroy the idea of continuity within the minds of individuals (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 205).

For Smith, the mechanisms that enabled ethnic communities to survive are religious reforms, cultural borrowing, popular participation and ethnic election. (Smith, 1994, p. 67) Ethnic nuclei are formed in the process where ethnic identities continue to exist. The identification of ethnic cores contributes to answering the question of what constitutes a nation. Nation states are formed when a dominant ethnic group incorporates other groups around the ethnic core (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 206).

In this study, it is put forth that various ethnic communities are required to form the basis for the formation of the nation and to start the process, and these communities are defined as *lateral* and *vertical*. Vertical ethnic communities, which are a model of nation-building, refer to ethnic communities that are under yoke. Within these communities, there are intellectuals who have the function of influencing the masses. Intellectuals make use of history and the golden ages of nations to provide national revival and to transform into a historical cultural community. In this process, the intellectuals were either making a conscious and modernizing return to the traditions (*traditionalism*), either integrating with the western models that have an example (*assimilation, modernism*) or by creating a synthesis with western models and resorting to the method of reviving the pure community thought to exist in the golden age (*reformist re-awakening*) (Smith, 1994, p. 105).

The method adopted by the intellectuals is important in terms of revealing the quality of the nation to be established. All of the above-mentioned methods have a common purpose. This aim is to present new goals to the community and to make the passive community active. In line with these methods and purposes, the intellectuals were influential in mobilizing the active community to form a nation around the newly discovered fresh, indigenous and historical culture (Smith, 1994, pp. 106,107).

According to Smith, the term "nationalism" is used to refer five different objectives. He lists these objectives as: "Building nations maintaining nation states; The consciousness of belonging to a nation; A language related to the nation, as a symbolism; A cultural doctrine of national will, an ideology containing prescriptions for the realization of national goals; A social and political movement that aims to realize the goals of the nation – the national will (Özkırımlı, 1999, pp. 209,210)".

Smith divides nationalism into territorial and ethnic. There are two different periods of territorial nationalism as "*pre-independence*" and "*post-independence*". Before independence,

striving to be free from the foreign administration, which aims to achieve independence, is the first goal. Afterwards, a nation-state is attempted to be built on these lands that were liberated from colonization. Such are anti-colonization nationalism types. After the independence, it is aimed to unite various ethnic communities living on lands that were colonized in the past within a single state. In this respect, these types of nationalism have an integrative feature. Ethnic nationalisms are also divided into two as "*pre-independence*" and "*post-independence*". It is a type of nationalism that aims to establish a nation based on separation and ethnicity from a large political structure. They shall be articulated as separatist nationalism. After independence, these nationalisms demonstrate the tendency of being expansionist. They aim to expand to include their cognates and their lands outside the borders of the nation based on ethnicity (Smith, 1994, pp. 210,211).

1.2 The Concepts of Nation State Building and Nation-State Building Process in Turkey

1.2.1 The Concepts of *Ulus* and Nation State Building

The word "*nation*" was defined in the Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy before 1884 to mean "*the sum of the inhabitants of a province, country or kingdom*". In its 1884 edition, the word is defined as "*a state or political unit that recognizes a common administrative center above all else, the lands formed by this state considered as a whole, and the people living on these lands*". In 1925, it acquired its current definition as "*a collective of people of the same ethnic origin, generally speaking the same language and sharing a common tradition*" (Hobsbawm E. J., 1995, p. 30).

The translation of "*nation*" into Turkish is "*ulus*". The Turkish equivalent of the word "nationalism", which is derived from "nation", is the word "*ulusçuluk*". The words *Nation* and *Nationalism* correspond to "*Millet*" and "*Milliyetçilik*" in Turkish. In this study, the concepts of *Ulus* - Nation and *Ulusçuluk* - Milliyetçilik will be addressed from different angles.

According to Kohn, "Nationalism is a political tool that underlies the unity and solidarity of contemporary societies and legitimizes claims to authority. Nationalism focuses the highest devotion of the overwhelming majority of the people on the existing or desired nation-state. (Akşin, 1995, p. 1941)"

According to Tanör, the concept of "*nation (ulus)*" is defined as "a group of people who descend from the same historical root, share the same culture and tradition, generally live in the same land and economic area, and speak the same language" (Tanör, 1997, p. 67).

Tanör states that the concept of "*nationalism (ulusçuluk)*" means "the ideology of creating and maintaining a national society and its independent state, and keeping national interests above individual, global, class-oriented and religious interests" (Tanör, 1997, p. 68).

Atatürk's understanding of nationalism includes all individuals of the nation acknowledging a common goal, destiny, belief and language, attaining the awareness of a common national identity and being able to say "I am Turkish". Nationalism requires moving forward together and jointly celebrating for or struggling with the positive and negative developments expected to be experienced in this process. Nationalism (*ulusçuluk*) is the first and most important step of modernization in every field for the future of the state and nation (Kili, 2003, pp. 333,334). Ateş puts forth that, despite their differences, the binding point that enables communities to gather under the roof of the nation-state is "*a certain sense of satisfaction for today and a certain shared hope for the future of the community in question*" (Ateş, 2016, p. 29). If there is no shared hope for the future among the community; the unity of language, religion, race and culture is insignificant. They only help strengthen the bonds.

Nationalism (*ulusçuluk*), which first emerged in Western Europe, is a popular ideology that aims to ensure the unity of all classes. It is regarded as the ideology of peoples who want to modernize their homeland. Kohn states that the duty of nationalism is to bring unity and togetherness. The type of nationalism that does not categorize all the people within the society under any social class aims to create a unity. It receives support from various elements to create this unity. Such elements could be common language, religion, country or history. Nationalism aims to ensure the unity of the people with the aid of these elements and to reveal their distinctness compared to other nations (Akşin, 1995, p. 1941).

There are three tools for the dissemination of the elements essential to ensure the likeness of the nation-state and to spread the elements essential for the formation of a national society in the modern era to all segments of the society. These tools are listed as school, the army and ballot box. In other words, education, conscription and political participation are necessary tools for the formation of a national society (Erözden, 1997, p. 116).

There are varying viewpoints on the formation of the nation and nationalism. One of these viewpoints is that nations create nationalism. Another is the view that nationalism creates nations. The general acceptance is that nations exist and nationalism follows (Akşin, 1995, p. 1941). The most noteworthy argumentation for this general acceptance is that nationalism demands a nation-state. The nation-state is established on the demand of

nationalism and these two concepts provide for each other in a continuum (Aydın, 2018, p. 241).

The process of forming a nation is referred as *nationalization*. Nationalization ensues in three waves. The first wave is the one which was also influential on France and England during 17th and 18th centuries. The second wave is the delayed nationalization of Europe and South America. The nationalization processes observed in this wave are the product of 19th century. The nationalization processes that took place in this wave aim to get rid of foreign domination. The second wave directly affected empires such as the Ottomans. The nationalization activities of the Balkan peoples under the domination of the Ottoman Empire took place at this stage. The third wave was experienced during the 20th century, and Turkey is amongst the pioneers of this wave. The third wave includes the process of independence and nationalization that emerged with the abolition of Asian-African colonialism (Tanör, 1997, p. 68).

The nationalization process is initiated when the members of the nation believe that they are part of a nation. Nation-based societies foster nationalism. For this reason, the rise of nationalism is normal. Rising nationalism bears traits unique to the nation in question. Nationalism functions as a bridge between the nation and the state. Modernization and nation-state building processes in Turkey advanced with the support of nationalism (Yıldırım S. , 2018, p. 319). Schnapper stated that in order to keep people together in the age of nations, the ties of religion and dynasty were replaced by the political, namely nationalism (Schnapper, 1995, p. 18).

1.2.2 The Period of Turkish Republic and Nation-State Building

Compared to the communities living in the Ottoman Empire, the Turks acquainted themselves with nationalism and nationalism later. The reason for this is that the dominant element and the ruler of the state is the Turks, and the idea of nationalism is refrained from being an example for other communities. One of the reasons for this is that the Turks built the bourgeois and working class after other peoples. For all the reasons mentioned above, Turks acquainted themselves with nationalism towards the end of 20th century (Şaylan, 1995, p. 1948).

Throughout the historical process, being a Muslim rather than being a Turk in the Ottoman Empire signified an identity. Being Turkish had been an indicator of an individual's

mother tongue rather than their ethnic identity. The most important responsibility of Turkish nationalism, which aims to reverse the presumption above and to create a nation, was to spread the awareness of belonging to a nation within the society (Akşin, 1995, p. 1942). In the Ottoman Empire, there are periods during which the word "*Türk*" would mean primitive peasants, tribesmen or provincials. For a long time, the word *Türk* was given a negative and cynical connotation (Ahmad, 1995, p. 114). Turkish nation building process has acted to change this situation. The spread of national consciousness has progressed in parallel with the spread of education. Along with education, military service, the increase in mass communication and the enhancements in transportation networks also contributed to the spread of nationalism among the *Türks* (Akşin, 1995, p. 1943).

Turkish nationalism has been attributed as the task of creating the land, country or homeland that is the subject of nationalistic feelings. Namık Kemal, known as the "*Poet of the Homeland*", is an influential figure in this regard. The lands imagined by Namık Kemal, who built his nationalism on Ottomanism and Islamism, expressed the generic Ottoman borders (Akşin, 1995, p. 1943).

One of the ideas that have a fundamental role in the formation of Turkish nationalism is considered to be Turkism. Turkism has developed with the works of Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura, who is described as the "*Father of Pan-Turkism*", and has become one of the founding philosophies of the Republic of Turkey. With Turkism, the purpose was to emphasize the consciousness of being a *Türk*, which had been ignored for many years in the Ottoman Empire.

Turkism is defined in the Turkish dictionary as "*Panturkism, the movement that emerged in the last years of the Ottoman Empire and aimed to unite all *Türks* in one homeland and under a single flag against the Ottomanism and Islamism movements*" (TDK). With the Turkism movement, the emphasis on Turkishness in the Ottoman identity was tried to be strengthened primarily. Names such as Mustafa Celaledin, whose real name is Konstanty Polklozie-Borzêcki, started to conduct research on the historical ethnic origin and language of the *Türks*. Intellectuals such as Ali Suavi supported Mustafa Celaledin's views. Suavi also added the word "*Türk*" to the title of the newspaper *Terakki*, published in Istanbul. The analysis of the Orkhon Inscriptions by Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893 contributed to Turkish studies. In the same period, the influence of Russian Muslims also played a role in the development of the concepts of Turkishness and Turkism. Gaspıralı İsmail Bey was among

them. Gaspıralı had the opportunity to convey his ideas to the intellectuals living in the Ottoman Empire through the newspaper "*Tercüman*", which he published in the city of Bahçeşarayı (Hanioglu, 2012, pp. 551,552). The formation of the theory of Turkism movement took place through Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp.

One of the most important works of Yusuf Akçura is the article named *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, which he sent to be published in the newspaper *Türk*. Yusuf Akçura wrote most of his works on Turkism outside the territory of the Ottoman Empire of the period. After coming to Istanbul, he became part of the founders of associations related to Turkism and carried out activities in these associations. Among the associations, *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* and the journal named *Türk Yurdu*, the publication organ of the society, draw attention (Yüce, 1989, p. 228). Akçura prioritized Turkish nationalism, unlike the intellectuals of the period who prioritized the religion of Islam in their studies. His article named *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* clarifies this issue. Akçura stated in his article that Islam should serve Turkish nationalism (Akçura, 2011, p. 61). He emphasized the need to "*Nationalize*" Islam. Despite this idea, Akçura did not aim to create a "*Turkish Islam*". The main purpose of Akçura was to break the influence of Arabic, which is necessary for perceiving Islam, and to enable Turkish people to understand the religion of Islam with their own language. The suggestion of translation of Qur'an into Turkish could be one of the examples serving this purpose (Georgeon, 2008, p. 510). In the same article, Akçura pointed to a political Turkish nation based on race. The Arabic word "*ırk*" (race) he used means "origin, pedigree" (TDK). Akçura expressed his views on Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism for the salvation of the Ottoman Empire in his article and was the first to compare these views. Akçura's indicating in his article that the view of Turkism is the most appropriate thought, his role in the establishment of the *Türk Ocağı*, and his articles published in the journal *Türk Yurdu* made him known as the leader of Turkism thought. In Akçura's definition of nation, religious unity is not sought, the main elements are race and language.

One of the names that played an important role in the development of Turkish nationalism is considered to be Ziya Gökalp. Gökalp was also influenced by currents of thought such as Ottomanism and Islamism, but the thought of Turkism became the basic idea he advocated and is now called *the Father of Turkism*. Like Akçura, Gökalp's articles were published in the journal *Türk Yurdu* as well. Gökalp emphasized Turkism and westernism against Pan-Islamism and Ottomanism between 1912-1914. Gökalp considered the unit "nation" as the most developed of the social groups. According to Gökalp, the nation is based

on social unity and solidarity. The highest form of solidarity is based on a common language, culture and sensitivity. It is necessary for the rise of the Turkish nation to introduce itself to her nation and to declare its national responsibilities. Gökalp defines Turkism as "*raising the Turkish nation*". He accepted the definition of nation as "*a group or community composed of individuals who have received the same education and share a common language, feelings, ideals, religion, morality and aesthetic sensitivity*" (Ünüvar, 2008, pp. 30,31). Gökalp suggests that every person who identifies themselves as Turkish and are sincere in their opinion is accepted as Turkish (Bars, 2017, p. 43). This idea of Gökalp formed the basis of the citizenship principle of the Republic of Turkey.

Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp are the names that played an intellectual role in the establishment of the Turkish Republic. They influenced the founding cadres of the Republic on Turkism, which was the main thought behind the National Struggle and the Republican Period.

20. century has a revolutionary aspect. The revolutionary aspect of Turkish nationalism combined with the phenomena of national independence and national domination, and changed the way of the institutionalization of power. This aspect of Turkish nationalism was also transferred to the Republican administration (Şaylan, 1995, p. 1949).

Turkish nationalism during the Republican era introduces various titles that emerged historically. It appeared bearing religious sentiments in the years of 1919-1923 National Struggle. Between 1924 and 1929, a secular type of nationalism was dominant. Religion has been replaced by the political, and nationalism has come to the fore. Between 1929 and 1938, it appeared with ethno-cultural elements (Kadioğlu, 2007, p. 285).

The War of Independence directly affected Turkish nationhood. This effect of the War of Independence is also related to the social traumas experienced before. The consequences of the First World War against the Ottoman Empire, the damages and losses in every aspect along with the arduous armistice conditions caused social traumas. All this negative process has made grounds for the formation of a nation-state. Nation and national homeland clearly appeared in this process.

The fall of the Ottoman Empire affected the Turkish nation-state. The Turkish nation-state did not inherit a multinational empire. As the ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire gained their independence, social diversity decreased to a minimum when compared to the

empire. Loss of lands led the formation of natural borders. All these conditions have prepared the required environment for the formation of nation-states. The negativities and social traumas experienced have made the ideas of nationalism and national independence rising values. The process of nationalization accelerated (Tanör, 1997, p. 71). The lands lost and the decreasing ethnic did not only created natural borders, but also brought the peoples living within those borders to the fore. The peoples, who could not be effective against Rumelia for centuries under Ottoman rule, became the dearie nation-state that was built. The nation-state took its power from Anatolia, and the center of gravity of the society against the state has changed (Lewis, 1993, p. 478).

The distinctive feature of the Republican period is that it adopted the principle of national sovereignty and independence instead of the traditional Islamic-Ottoman foundation. The activities that took place during the foundation period of the Republic of Turkey emerged to realize these principles. The Turkish nation had the goal of catching up with the level of contemporary civilization. In order to achieve this goal, traditionalism, which is closed to development, was regarded as a concept that should cease to exist. It was aimed to implement non-traditional rules, practices and institutions. The goal was to ensure the transition between tradition and the era by trying to raise the new generations of the nation according to the requirements of the age. Berkes considers the sum of the Republican revolutions as the "new orientation" revolution (Berkes, 2012, p. 522).

Atatürk stated that after the War of Independence, the real war was to join modern civilization and it started for this struggle. For this reason, he said, "Existing in the modern world depends on changing ourselves" (Berkes, 2012, p. 524).

According to Deringil, the Republic of Turkey is a phoenix born from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire (Deringil, 2007, p. 264). Atatürk and the founding cadres of the Republic acted as necessary with the idea that the established regime had nothing in common with the Ottoman Empire and that a complete break with the problematic past must have been achieved (Ahmad, 1995, p. 10). Safa expresses the intellectual break between the Republican period and the Ottoman Empire as "Islamism left Istanbul with the Allied navy, fled with Vahideddin, and the policy of Ottomanism was hanged together with Ali Kemal in Izmit (Safa, 1981, p. 83)".

According to Ortaylı, the empire bequeathed political institutions such as

parliamentary, political parties and the press to the young Turkish Republic. The doctors, scientists, lawyers, historians and philologists of the young Republic came from among the late Ottoman intellectuals. The Republic inherited its education system, universities, administrative organization and financial system from the empire as well. In this way, the revolutionaries of the Republic with a society that is the remnant of the empire that spent its last century with modernization efforts rather than a medieval-minded society. The reason for the radicalism of the republican modernization should be sought in the non-radical modernization of the Ottoman Empire (Ortaylı, 1987, p. 25).

It was aimed to destroy the influence of the past on the new Republican generation and to replace the currents of thought such as Islamism and Ottomanism with Turkish nationalism. In this process, the view of *Kemalism (Ataturkism)* emerged. Kemalism started with the adoption of six basic principles in the third party congress of the People's Party. These six principles were declared as fundamental and unchangeable. With these principles, it was aimed to gain the trust of the people and to accelerate the development. In 1937, these six principles were included in the constitution as "The Turkish State is Republican, Nationalist, Populist, Etaist, Secular and Revolutionary". (Ahmad, 1995, pp. 90-92).

Social elements such as history, language, education, economy and religion formed the basis of nation building in the Republican era. These elements were evaluated in the axis of nationalism, and the construction of the Turkish nation was ensured. The objective of all elements is to create partnerships and they are designated to encompass the whole nation.

The first signs of the revival of Turkish nationalism were seen during the Ottoman Empire. During the reign of Murad II, Central Asian Turkish legends and traditions were included in the tradition. The first book of Raşid el Dîn's History, which addresses the history of the first Turks, was translated from Persian to Turkish. Works about the first ages of the Turks were translated. The stories that the Ottoman dynasty had a lineage from Oguz Khan entered among the dynastic historical traditions (Lewis, 1993, p. 329).

Ahmet Vefik Pasha is an Ottoman bureaucrat who started to work on Turkism and worked on Turkish history during the period in which the Ottomanism discourse sustained. He is an important name in historiography in terms of handling Turkish history and Ottoman history separately from each other. This emerges as the most important point in the first years of the historiography of the Republican period (Berktaş, 1995, p. 2456).

The emergence of the nation-state necessitates the discovery of the shared past. History is the totality of the past experiences of societies and the values they have created. During the foundation years of the Republic, historical studies and history-writing were carried out under the control of the state due to the conditions of the period. Internal and external reasons led to such control. It was aimed to make the historical researches to be done systematically and to ensure the permanence of the researches.

The Turkish Historical Research Society was established on April 15, 1931. The aim of this society was to provide historical awareness of the nation building process. The Turkish Historical Research Society, aka the Turkish Historical Society, has carried out studies with the aim of researching the past and sharing the results with the public. Thanks to this institution, scientific history studies have been paved in a geography where "*dynastic history*" has been written for centuries (Mumcu, 1996, p. 148). The works of the Turkish Historical Society, and even the institution itself, emerged as a result of the revolutions. The desire to gain historical awareness in the society has brought this institution to the fore. In addition to the Turkish Historical Society, the History departments established in universities enabled the emergence of educated historians.

There are various reasons why Atatürk attached importance to history in the nation-state building process. He thinks that history functions as a mirror, as can be understood from his saying, "Those who look at history can see their present and future in the mirror of the past, while those who do not can neither comprehend the present nor be hopeful about the future (Demircioğlu, 1971, p. 453)". Knowing the history and facing it are accepted as the requisites of progress.

The Republic of Turkey has adopted an official understanding of history. It is aimed that the Turkish History Thesis, which emerged with the understanding of official history, reaches every segment of the society. With the studies conducted on history, it had been aimed to prove that Anatolia was a Turkish homeland for many years. This is very essential for the nation to feel a sense of belonging to the land they live on. Land, that is, homeland, is one of the criteria of being a nation. With the Turkish History Thesis, it is aimed to increase the belonging to the lands the people live on.

The adventures of the Turks that extend from the Central Asian steppes to Anatolia are at the forefront of the issues that were aimed to be clarified in the nation-state building

process. The claims that the Turks established the Sumerian and Hittite civilizations and the prehistoric civilizations of Anatolia are among the subjects that constitute the content of the Turkish History Thesis (Goloğlu, 2017, p. 78).

One of the first scientists and historians of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk's adopted daughter Afet İnan stated that she closely followed Atatürk's historical studies. According to Afet İnan, the last book Atatürk saw shortly before his death was *Belleten*, the publication of the Turkish History Research Society (İnan, 1939, p. 243).

In the nation-state building process, language has a unifying effect as well as history. Language unity characterizes the social and cultural identity of societies. Language unity in social and political terms ensures the unity of the nation (Yıldırım S. , 2018, p. 321).

Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha, in his work titled "*Les Turcs Ancients et Modernes*", claims that Turkish is the root language that influenced European languages, especially Latin and Greek. He points out that the sentence structure is the same in Turkish, Greek and Latin (Karal, 1985, p. 315).

For the establishment of the nation-state, it is of great importance to make educational activities widespread and to increase the literacy rate rapidly. In the nation-state building process that takes place in a place where there is education, innovations can reach large masses. The alphabet reform was initiated in 1928 for this purpose. It was aimed to eliminate the existing alphabet and language incompatibility, and to increase literacy rates. In the 1927 census, the 9% literacy rate was aimed to change rapidly. Promoting literacy was seen as a national task (Ahmad, 1995, p. 119). Atatürk attributed great importance to the dissemination of literacy activities so that the Turkish nation could make sense of themselves and learn about their history full of proud. New alphabet was also essential in order to take part in the civilized world. "Our nation will take its place in the civilized world with its own alphabet and with its unique intelligence" (Ahmad, 1995, p. 119). As can be understood from Atatürk's words, it was aimed to have a say in the modern world with the new alphabet of the nation.

It is regarded that one of the social and cultural purposes of the alphabet reform was to open a new door towards the future while closing the door to the past. The Arabic alphabet is seen as an Ottoman continuation. The objective was to break the ties with the past, namely the East, and to pave the way for the nation to be included in the modern Western civilization in every respect (Lewis, 1993, p. 278).

In 1932, the Turkish Language Congress was held under the chairmanship of Atatürk to discuss and identify the reforms to be made regarding the language. Following this meeting, the reforms to be made regarding the language were scheduled and the Turkish Language Investigation Society, which would later be called the Turkish Language Institution, was established (Zürcher, 1995, p. 276).

Another step taken to revive the old Turkish culture and language was the step to simplify the language. With the activities of the Turkish Language Investigation Society, a language reform was carried out to purify Turkish language from Persian and Arabic. In this reform, numerous steps were taken such as adapting words from Central Asian Turkish language, dialects and former literary sources into Turkish, and using syllabic meter instead of prosody meter. In addition to all above, involving Turkish melodies in orchestral and opera compositions were among the steps taken. All these steps aim to raise and spread the consciousness of Turkishness in Turkey. These steps appear as a state policy (Lewis, 1993, p. 10).

All studies on Turkish language aim to include the nation in the nation-state building process. Ensuring the simplification of the language, making the alphabet more understandable and expanding educational activities enabled the nation to be included in this process. With the Turkish language being a common language of the nation; literature, art, and media activities became widespread. With all these developments, a consensus was achieved (Yıldırım S. , 2018, p. 322).

Nationalism is an ideology that is open to innovations, and brings innovation in every sense. Under the leadership of Atatürk, revolutionary changes from the alphabet to history, from law to universities, from economy to music, from gender equality to social life took place in order to build a modern nation-state (Akşin, 2015, p. 221).

The issue of what is the most appropriate regime to be an independent nation was one of the most important points of the Turkish nation-state. The transition was from a monarchy, in which the power to rule was thought to be inherited from the God, to a Republic, where the rule of the people is indispensable. This is the philosophical side of the revolution. To establish the Republic of the honorable citizens out of a monarchy with fatalistic rules was the objective of the revolution within the domestic politics. Its objective within the foreign policy, on the other hand, was not to compromise on full independence under any

circumstances and to establish egalitarian relations based on past experiences. Kemalist revolutions were realized in line with these purposes. All these purposes are the essence of Kemalist revolution (Ateş, 2016, p. 37).

The establishment of the nation-state refers to a process in which the people directly contributed to the nation-state building activities. In this way, nationalistic feelings and collective thoughts were created. In their conference called "What is a nation?," Renan stated that "One loves in proportion to the sacrifices that one has committed and the troubles that one has suffered. One loves the house that one has built and that one passes on" (Kerestecioğlu, 2010, p. 320). Since nation building directly concerns every individual of the nation and is realized with the efforts of individuals within the community, its foundations are to be laid solid.

2 HISTORY OF POSTAL SERVICE AND POSTAGE STAMP IN THE WORLD

Communication has existed since the first eras of human history. Humanity started its communication activities with quite primitive methods. Throughout the communication process ranging from primitive methods to modern mass communication activities, the need for communication was met with various tools and equipment. The most common of the mentioned communication tools and equipment involved the postal service. The fact that every society in the world has a postal organization regardless of the conditions is an exemplar of this statement. Today, despite the existence and spread of state-of-the art mass media tools, postal activities also maintain their significance.

The word "*communication*" originates from Latin language. It informs about the changes in communication objects, events and facts that make up the attitudes, judgments, thoughts and feelings realized in the community or social life of people and transfers information about them in-between the people (Öskay, 1992, p. 15). Prior to the process extending to postal activities, communication was sustained through primitive methods. Humanity has primarily based its communication on speech. The first activities of correspondence were carried out through signs. Objects and activities such as smoke, light, mirrors, drums, pipes and whistling helped people to satisfy the need for correspondence and

initiate communication (Uçankuş, 2000, p. 676).

Mass communication is possible with the transmission of the news. One step taken by the humanity affected the course of news transmission until today. This step was taken when animals started to replace human power in correspondence. Activities of correspondence that depend on human power tend to be limited. Various animals contributed to the communication process. Donkeys are the first animal species used. It is known that donkeys were first used in Egypt in 3000 BC. During 3000s, oxen are known to be used to pull two and four-wheeled vehicles. Using animals for such purposes paved the way for vehicles to become widespread as far as India and Syria in 2000 BC. (Alemdar, 1981, p. 16). The process that started with donkeys and oxen continued with horses and camels.

The horse played an instrumental role in the development of communication activities. Compared to other animals used for transportation, horses are physically stronger, more resistant to difficult road and harsh climatic conditions. The domestication of the horse shortened the distances of communication. Being on a horse and being able to make use of the horse effectively brought about social, military and economic development as well. Those on horses established material and moral dominance over those on foot. From the historical perspective, the horse has paved the way for the development of humanity in every field. Distances were shortened and innovations spread between societies despite the distances. The domestication of the horse is the contribution of the Turks to humanity, so Turkish history cannot be reviewed independently of the horse. Horses lived in wild conditions in various parts of Asia and Europe prior to their domestication (Kafesoğlu, 1991, p. 26).

Along with animals such as donkeys and horses, pigeons were also used as means of communication. Pigeons were first used in Egypt, ancient Greece, and by the Romans (Isakov & Ünal, 2019, p. 1444). Pigeons are fast flying animals that are attached to their nests and have the ability to return. They are also capable of finding a place instinctively. All these features were effective in using them as a tool during wars and postal activities. The pigeon was also frequently used in intelligence and communication activities in the Islamic World and the Seljuks (Güllü, 2020, pp. 1177-1180). Messages were placed in specially sewn covers that were attached to the pigeon's feet with a tiny rope (Yılmaz & Ertuğrul, 2012, p. 2). The change in communication tools and the development led to a decrease in the use of pigeons.

In addition to the use of animals for communication, the invention and development of

writing is also important for the advancement of news transmission. Along with the development of writing, information was passed on to the next generations. The writing increased the reliability of the phenomenon of correspondence as the correspondence activities carried out through verbal transmission became substantial. With the writing, the memorization method of the messengers became obsolete. Before written communication, the messengers on foot or on the horseback were to memorize the messages and transfer to the other party. For instance, in Peru, human memory was of great importance and having messengers memorize the news was crucial for communication. As written communication developed, correspondence activities were carried out without intermediaries and in a healthy manner (Aydoğmuş, 2015, pp. 2,3).

2.1 History of Postal Service the Postage Stamp In the World

"Post" descends from Latin language. It is from the sub-Latin dialect of the word "*Posita*" that descends from the verb "*Ponere*", meaning "*to put*" (Buyan, 1952, p. 6). The word "*posta*" that we use today in Turkish was first used in French. The word "*postale*" in French was borrowed by English as "*Postal*" (Tureng). The Turkish equivalent of the word "postal" is "*all of the letters and entrusted goods that are sent to or from a certain place* (TDK)". As can be understood from the definition of mail, the realization of such activities aroused from the need of communication. Mail emerged in a region where there the distance of communication was substantial and the disadvantages of such distances must have been eliminated.

The first postal organization in the history was established by the Persians. The most significant reason for this was that the Persians had a state system that required postal activities. Persians did not have a specific type of state organization. Some large and small states formed city-states, tribes and clans. The necessity for the center to communicate with this dispersed structure led to the establishment of the postal organization. The establishment of the postal organization, then, brought along the postal routes. One of the most well-known and well-studied roads was the *King's Road*. It is historically recorded that there were 111 postal stations on this road (Mansel, 1999, p. 257). The transportation network established by the Persians became an example for societies that followed them.

Postal activities in the world first took place for the service of a certain group or for military purposes. Postal activities further developed to sustain correspondence activities of

the kings and the communication during the war time was continued via the postmen. The first known postman in the world was Zenon, the postman of the Eastern Roman Emperor Flavius Valens. Postmen carried out their postal activities in numerous ways. One of such ways was dependent on sole human power. Deliverers on foot were effective in this regard. Postmen on the horseback and mail coaches that came after were also effective on postal activities (Akoba, 1963, p. 11).

A Frenchman named Jean-Jacques Renouard established the internal postal service in Paris. This service initiated its activities by accepting letter submissions. Afterwards, package submissions were processed. This innovation, which took place in France, also spread to England, and an Englishman named Jan Musey established an internal postal service in London. In England, postal affairs began to be carried out by the state in 1635 and the ministry of postal services was established during the Cromwell period (Akoba, 1963, p. 12). The establishment of a ministry for postal affairs was an important step in terms of introducing the postal activities into the system. While this method was used in England, different systems were implemented in other parts of the world in line with the needs and conditions of the time.

In the United States, Pony Express was established in 1860 by the partnership of William H. Russell, Elexandr Majors and William B. Waddel. It is considered as the basis of the establishment of the postal organization in the USA. Pony Express was a post rider mail service and had an extensive organizational structure. Thanks to his organization, postal activities in the Americas gained momentum (Akoba, 1963, p. 13).

The "*Taxe Method*" used for pricing was invented by an Italian named Van Taxi (Düzenli & Kavuran, 2004, p. 190). Taxe method meant that the postal delivery was collected from the recipient. This method could be regarded as the beginning of the process that leads to the use of postage stamps. The advent of the postage stamp enabled the postage to be collected in advance and helped to regulate the system.

There have been various definitions regarding the postage stamp. In general terms, postage stamps are defined as "*small pieces of paper with glue on the back, picture on the top and mostly laced around, issued by the postal administrations of all states of the world providing postal services*" (Kayral, 2015, p. 22).

The idea of postage stamp was first put forward by a Frenchman named Renouard de Vélayer in 1653. Vélayer used papers called prepaid tickets in order to collect the postal fees in the city post, where he got the privilege of operating under the name of "*Petite Poste*" in the city of Paris in 1653. Vélayer's idea was the beginning of the process that led to the

postage stamp, but it was not possible for the stamp to be used all over the world at that time (Aykara, 1985, p. 31).

The first postage stamp in the world was introduced in England on May 6, 1840, with the initiatives of the postal minister of the time, Rowland Hill. The most substantial reason for the emergence of the stamp was the problems in the collection of fees. When the postage fee, which was 1 Shilling at the time of its emergence, was not paid by the buyer oftentimes, the service rendered could not be charged. This led the system to lose money. It is known that there were various types of encryption among the people during correspondence. Such encryptions involved markings on the envelopes. With the markings, the receiver understood the message and returned the envelope without paying the fee. News transmission was sustained as such at the time. Hill deemed that this problem had to be solved. He submitted a proposal to the government and after negotiations, "*Penny Postage*" system emerged. This system, also the first postage stamp ever known, required the fee to be pre-paid. Pre-payment was ensured through the postage stamps. *Penny Black* is the first postage stamp in the history, having the portrait of Queen Victoria on it. As Penny Black was invented in England, no country name were available on the British postage stamps. Postage stamp is considered as the service of the English to the world. This activity still persists today (Pilgerim, 1952, pp. 9,10) (Erman, 1984, p. 42).



Figure 1 Penny Black. (Stamp World, 2021)

2.2 Postage in the Pre-Islamic Turkish History and Islamic World

It is known that postal activities began in the pre-Islamic Turkish history during the era of Great Hun Empire and the Gök-Turks. The Turks, who adopted the nomadic lifestyle,

lived in a wide area of domination in the Eurasian steppes and activities of correspondence were of great importance.

Communication activities in the Great Hun Empire were carried out by horsemen and ambassadors in two ways: internal and external. Within the borders of the country, the letters of the *kağan* were carried by the messengers on horseback, and the letters to and from outside the country were carried by the ambassadors. Messengers and ambassadors are considered as the first postal workers in Turkish history. In order to ensure their safety in harsh steppe conditions, these officials carried a security sign belonging to the khan, and had free protection and food supply with this sign (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2007, p. 39). The correspondence between Mete, the khan of the Great Hun Empire, and the Chinese Emperor in 176 BC was made possible by the of the communication organization of the time (Ögel, 2001, p. 100). In Turks, the equivalent of the word letter is as "*Bitik*" (Eski Türkçe Sözlük, 2021).

The Turks also used flags and drums in communication, especially for signaling. Communication of the armies was ensured with the drums at night and the flag during the day (Ögel, 2000, p. 81). This primitive state of communication with sound and image, which is first observed in the Great Hun Empire, was used by all Turkish states, including the Ottoman Empire. Over time, the use of pipes was added to the communication tools.

As was in the Great Hun Empire, communication in the Gök-Turks was carried out in two ways: internal and external. Communication within the country was carried out by officials named "*Sabçı*". In the 9th line of the South side of the Tonyukuk Inscriptions, the name of the messenger as *sabçı* is remarked and the news he delivered is mentioned (Orkun, 1987, p. 102).

The Gök-Turks also carried out communication activities through the fire towers they named "*Kargu*". There were guards constantly present in these towers, and in case of any adverse event, like invasion, the guards would light fire on the top of the tower. Mahmud al-Kashgari defined the word "*kargu*" as "*It is a structure built in the form of a minaret on mountain tops, and a fire is lit on it so that everyone is present when the enemy comes*" (Mahmud, 1985, p. 426).

Mahmud al-Kashgari proposed definitions for the postal terminology used by Turks. *Ulağ* was defined as "*The messenger who rushes on horse with the command of the Khan*" (Mahmud, 1985, p. 122), the long postal route was "*Eşkin*", and the postal horse on the rush was named "*Eşkinçi*" (Mahmud, 1985, p. 109).

"*Berîd*", the postal and communication organization of the Islamic world that influenced the "*Menzil*" system, which was the postal system of the Ottoman Empire, in the following steps. Post houses were built during the reign of Caliph Omar. During the Umayyad period, the state organization was formed under the influence of Byzantium and Iran. A systematic postal organization was established during the Muawiya period. This organization was named *Divanü'l-berid* (Aycan, 2005, p. 334). During the Umayyad period, the postal organization was improved and the communication network was expanded. The innovations in the Umayyad period formed a basis for the states that followed. During the Abbasid period, the postal organization was reorganized for further improvement. "*Divanü'l-berid*" existed during the Abbasid period. During Harun al-Rashid period, it was aimed to bring the postal organization to the level of the Umayyad period's (Bozkurt, 1997, p. 260).

The word *Berîd* bears various meanings such as "*cavalryman, postman, messenger, distance between two postal destinations, letters and files sent to the post, mail related to official affairs*". There are various views regarding the origin of the word. There is a viewpoint that asserts that it comes from the Latin word "*Veredus*", meaning "*mail delivery animal*". In addition to the view suggesting that it descends from Arabic language, it is claimed that the word is rooted from the Persian word "*Berîde-dumden*", meaning "gashed-tailed" (Harekat, 1992, p. 498).

Postal activities in the Great Seljuk Empire were also carried out through the "*Divanü'l-berid*". Although it was overlooked and closed in the first years of the Great Seljuk Empire, it became important as a postal and intelligence organization in the consecutive periods. *Dîvân-ı Berîd* had duties such as ensuring communication between the center and the provinces, and transmitting the incidents to the center. The name at the head of *Dîvân-ı Berîd* was called "*Sâhib-i Berîd*", and the postal officers working under this council were named "*Sâhib-i Haber*" (Merçil, 2013, p. 28). In the Rum Seljuk Sultanate, "*Dîvân-ı İnşâ (Dîvân-ı Tuğra)*" was the council responsible for written communication activities and carried out the internal and external communication activities of the state (Merçil, 2013, p. 156). In terms of communication activities, the period of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate constitutes a model for the Ottoman Empire.

For Islamic states, uninterrupted communication between the Islamic world, establishment of a connection with Byzantium, rapid and reliable communication during the conquests, and accurate communication with the ambassadors sent to various places and regions were essential.

2.3 Postage and Postage Stamp during the Ottoman Empire

Postal history in the Ottoman Empire is divided into two periods as before and after the *Tanzimat* period. In the pre-Tanzimat period, postal works were carried out under the responsibility of the "*Ulak (Messenger)-Menzilhane*" system. "*Messengers*" were in charge of fulfilling the communication service of the state in centers in various parts of the country. They would serve on foot or on the horseback. "*Menzil*" refers to the accommodation places in the transportation system. News would reach to *Menzils* from the messengers (Alşan, 1992, p. 8). As such, postal activities were carried out only as a state service to deliver official correspondence to the parties. In the post-Tanzimat period, the establishment of the Ministry of Post made it possible for the civic population to access postal activities. As in the contemporary states of the period, the postal service was opened to the use of the civilian population as well. In 1840, the Ministry of Post greatly influenced the scope of postal activities in the Ottoman Empire (Yazıcı, 1990, p. 157).

The word "*Postane*" (post office) is a Persian word and is derived from the word "*çaparhane*", the place where the messengers are located. Before the regular postal activities of the Ministry of the Post, official correspondence services were provided by the "*Menzil Organization*". The horsemen who carried the mail were given names such as "*sâî, ulak (messenger), tatar*". The messengers accommodated in inns called *menzil* and sustained providing correspondence services. With a road system centered in Istanbul, communication took place over three main branches. Apart from Istanbul, there were also Anatolia and Rumelia branches. These roads were designed in a planned manner in order to transport urgent correspondence and documents rapidly (Halaçoğlu, 2004, p. 159).

The local population of the area was encouraged to ensure the management and security of the inns for the needs and protection of the messengers. Persons assigned to duty were exempted from the tax of *tekâlif-i örfiyye*. The fact that the taxes were loaded and varied in the Ottoman Empire is a situation that compelled the people. It was important to be exempt from tax and not to lose it for those who have earned this right. For this reason, continuity was ensured in the safety and maintenance of the *menzils*. With this application, the importance of communication and transportation activities for the state could be observed (Halaçoğlu, 1991, p. 127).

It is known that messengers are carefully selected. It is important that they are good equestrians, agile and reliable. When a transporter arrived at the inn, he changed horses and continued on his way after meeting his needs. In some unfavorable situations, another

messenger, who was waiting at the destination would receive the document and carry out the delivery task. Although the messengers were carefully selected, this was not the preferred method. In particular, it was preferred that confidential and important documents be carried by a single messenger. This was deemed necessary for the reliability of the system (Turgut, 2018).

The postal organization in the Ottoman Empire developed during the post-Tanzimat period. The classical system was largely modified and regulated. It was no coincidence that this process took place in the post-Tanzimat period. Reforms were carried out in the Ottoman institutions in general in order to correct the state organization that deteriorated after the Tanzimat. The postal service was one of such institutions. The effort to apply the examples in Europe to the Ottoman institutions was one of the reasons.

II. Mahmud period is an important period in terms of communication activities. After the Hatt-ı Hümayun in 1832, some innovations were made to systematize the communication organization. For example, a postal route was built between Üsküdar and İzmit in 1834. The purpose of this route was to transport mail by cars. This step was followed by the acceleration of postal activities between Edirne and İstanbul. Hence, it can be stated that during the reign of Mahmud II, steps were taken to transition from the Menzil system to the regular postal system. In the aforementioned Hatt-ı Hümayun, it was requested that suitable people and places be commissioned to provide postal service in "*appropriate areas of Anatolia and Rumelia*". At the same time, postal activities of state officials, Muslim and non-Muslim people were also addressed. This indicates that the system extended to the people (BAO, 29.12.1248).

II. Mahmud's orders were put into practice in 1834 with a decree two years later. This decree is also important as word "*post*" was used for the first time. In the same memorandum, it was envisaged to establish places called *postahane* (post office) at intervals of a few hours between Istanbul and Edirne for experiment purposes. In 1834, Paris Ambassador of the time, Mustafa Reşit Pasha was requested to provide information on French postal organization, and Mustafa Reşit Pasha sent a copy of the French postal regulation. This regulation was scrutinized extensively. The aforementioned postal route between Üsküdar-İznik was built with the inspiration from the French postal system (Turgut, 2018, p. 22).

The Ministry of Post was officially established on October 23, 1840, the foundation of which was laid with the increase in the importance given to communication activities and the innovations introduced (Yazıcı, 2006, p. 61). Ahmet Şükrü Bey was appointed as the Minister (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 1984, p. 19). Ottoman postal system moved into a different

dimension with the establishment of the Ministry of Post. Postal works were reorganized, postal activities were chased to be a state service and offered to the public as well.

Another milestone for the Ottoman postal service was the opening of the first post office called "*Postahane-i Amire*" in 1840. The civilian population's use of the postal service and the accessibility of the mail were ensured by the establishment and with the spread of post offices. Postahane-i Amire was put into service in the Yeni Mosque courtyard in the Eminönü district of the capital, Istanbul (Eskin, 1942, p. 16). The first post officers of the Postahane-i Amire were Süleyman Ağa and Sofyalı Ağyazar Efendi (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 1984, p. 19). It was important that the first post office, which would set an example for the provinces, should've been opened in the capital, Istanbul. There were various reasons for the opening of the first post office in the Eminönü district. Eminönü was close to the center of the state and was also the center of İstanbul. Besides, it was a gateway to the world in terms of being a district where maritime trade was carried out. Due to its geolocation, İstanbul was open to innovations. The fact that the post office was in the Eminönü district led openness to innovations in postal activities.

Apart from the post office established in İstanbul, it is possible to have information about the situation of the provincial post offices through the principles in the First Postal Law of 16 November 1841. In the law of 1840, it was stated that post offices should be located in the city centers, in the form of a room with lockers and shelves, a partition between the officer and the incoming client, a sign stating that it is a post office, and a sign showing the working principles and wage descriptions. At the same time, it was necessary to have tools such as seals, scales and notebooks used during service in the post office. The first provincial post office with these features was opened in Edirne (Yazıcı, 1995, p. 1641). Other packages that could be sent by letter and post continued to be carried by horse-drawn tatars or sailors. Postal tatars would process the packages they received in a declaration called "*jurnal*" (journal) and put them in sealed bags (Turgut, 2018, p. 28).

Another important communication tool for the provision of communication activities apart from postal mail was the telegraph. Especially in the 19. century, telegraphy occupied a significant place in military, political and economic terms. The telegraph facilitated the administration and management by helping the states to organize their armies. The Telegraph Directorate was established in 1855 by the Ministry of Post in order to use the telegraph by the state. The Telegraph Directorate served the same purpose as the Post Office, which was established in 1840. The aim was to ensure the correct transmission of news and that this process took place under the control of the state. It was also aimed to have these two

communication tools in a common organization and to save personnel while providing efficient service in this way. Considering all these, on September 21, 1871, the Telegraph Directorate was merged with the Ministry of Post and was included in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Parlak, 2013, p. 23).

Telegraph is an important communication tool for the Ottoman Empire. It was ensured that the news and orders sent from the capital were delivered to the most remote corners of the state within the reach, and the provincial-central relations were strengthened. Telegraph also provided a faster transmission of news than postal activities. The importance of the transmission of news between the capital and the dominated lands also central in this process.

The use of postage stamps was also important in the Ottoman postal history. The period in which the stamp was not available on the postal history is called the "*Pre-philatelic*" period. In this period, postage rates were determined according to the hourly calculation in the Ottoman Empire. There were problems about postage due to the diversity in the means of transportation. For example, postal transportation by sea was supposed to be more affordable than other means, but the prices were required to be kept high in order to generate income for the treasury. The Minister of Post, Agah Bey, prepared a detailed report on the postal tariffs, and as a result of this report, he proposed that the charges based on distance be waived and that the fares be reduced. In this way, it was aimed to provide more correspondence to the people and to sustain income. Another proposal Agah Bey suggested was the use of stamps to ensure fairness in remuneration (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2007, p. 167). Agah Bey's offers regarding wages were not approved, but the postage stamp application proposal was accepted.

With the initiatives of Agah Efendi, the first postage stamp was used in the Ottoman Empire in 1863. The first postage stamps, "*Tuğralı Pul*" (Stamps with the Sultan's Signature), were printed in lithography at the Imperial Mint. The stamp would bear the signature of Abdulaziz, the sultan of the period, and the inscription "*Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*" between the lower and upper lines of the crescent (Aykara, 1985, p. 32). The design of the stamp with the monogram came about as a result of the efforts of Abdülfettah Efendi, the private secretary of the Mint, and Eksercioğlu Agah Efendi (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2007, p. 169).



Figure 2 The First Edition of Stamps with the Sultan's Signature. (Isfila, 2018, s. 1)

Agah Bey took Rowland Hill, the British postal minister, as a role model for his work. With the use of postage stamps, communication activities became regular. Arbitrary activities as in England were prevented and the work of civil servants was streamlined. Postage stamps contributed to making the system simple and easily understandable.

It is known that there were uncertainties about wages in the Ottoman State postal system. These uncertainties caused deficits in the system against the arbitrary practices of civil servants that could have harmed the state. Remuneration was not fair. The fees written on the envelopes could be deleted due to the circumstances and the shipping fee might have been calculated incorrectly. For this reason, the system was prone to victimizing both the state and the people who wanted to receive this service. With the use of postage stamps, the fee tariff was guaranteed by the state and the practice functioned better. The postage stamp that regulated the wage system in the Ottoman Empire will be evaluated for other purposes, which will be included in this study, during the National Struggle and the Republic section.

2.4 Postal Activities During the National Struggle Period and the Republican Period

Communication activities are important for meeting the communication needs of societies. States take responsibility for ensuring communication. Ensuring the communication of the state with its people was also possible with the means of communication. Communication needs increase, especially in times of unfavorable war. Strong communication is another dimension of wars. No matter how well-equipped the military power is, unhealthy communication can even lead to defeat. For this reason, the Republic of Turkey, which was established under the leadership of Atatürk during the National Struggle

period and afterwards, experienced the importance of communication during the wars, and investments were made in institutions and organizations ensure the continuity of development in this field.

Postal and telegraph activities began to be effective before the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The most important telegram sent in this process is considered to be the telegram of Manastırlı Hamdi Efendi, who notified Mustafa Kemal of the occupation of İstanbul on March 16, 1920 (Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, p. 546). With this telegram of Manastırlı Hamdi Efendi, the critical aspect of the postal and telegraph organization during the years of the National Struggle was revealed.

After the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920, ministers were elected and duties were allocated. One of the most significant duties in this allocation process was the management the Post and Telegram Office. It was deemed that the bureau would be kept within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Salim Bey, one of the Post and Telegraph Transaction Inspectors in Kastamonu, was brought to the Directorate of Post and Telegraph Supervision. Avni Bey, the former director of the Damascus PTT in Sandıklı, was also appointed as the Accounting Manager. Inspector Edip Bey was appointed as the Director of Public Inspection and Legal Affairs. Hakkı Bey and Celal Bey continued their duties as inspectors. Ankara Science Inspector Niyazi Bey was also appointed as the Head of Science and Equipment Committee at the center (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009, pp. 228,229).

The fact that the Post and Telegraph office was divided into sections in this way, the allocations and its operation within the Ministry of Internal Affairs caused delays in the performance. Salim Bey conveyed this situation to Deputy of Internal Affairs, Cami Bey, and stated that it was necessary for all units to have a common general directorate. It was decided to elect a Post and Telegraph General Manager from the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. İzmir Deputy Sırrı Bey was appointed to this duty on 20 May 1920 (Yurtoğlu, 2016, p. 51).

In the same period, a post and telegraph office was opened under the name of "The Post and Telegraph Center of the Grand National Assembly Government" in a tent in the garden of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. In this center, the first date stamp was also printed with the same inscription (Yıldırım S. , 2008, p. 519). The Post and Telegraph Center of the Grand National Assembly Government was established during the National Struggle Period and is the first post office of the Republic of Turkey. The importance of this opening was acknowledged especially during the years of national struggle. The fact that the parliament, which was the center of the National Struggle, had such a news communication

center, ensured healthy communication with Anatolia. Telegrams sent from here were recorded in the communication books.

It is known that the management staff of the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph worked in a room during this period. Due to the conditions of the period, there was a problem in the supply of the tools and equipment they required to fulfill their duties. For this reason, a writing desk and inkwell were provided for common use. The blackboard in the room was also designated for common use (Tanrıkut, 1968, p. 229).

Sırrı Bey, who assumed the office on May 20, 1920 and provided great services, resigned from his duty on September 12, 1920. Refet Bey (Bele), who was elected to the Ministry of Internal Affairs on September 6, 1920, took the directorate under his own responsibility (Çolak, 2015, p. 117). When Refet Bey assumed the Ministry of Internal Affairs, he demonstrated his experience in postal and telegraph matters and aimed to make regulations on these issues. He specifically focused on motivating the post officers. Being aware of the difficulties of the postal and telegraph business, he aimed to improve the conditions of the employees. He was known to be an experienced officer especially in the field of telegraphy. Refet Bey stated that postal and telegraph works were just as important as fighting directly at the front. The post and telegram could not be considered separately from the front. One of the indicators of this was that he appointed İzzet Bey, one of the officers of the Erkan-ı Harbiye, to the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph on his behalf (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009, pp. 231,232).

Despite all these difficult conditions, it is known that the budget of the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph was increased by cutting down on other institutions and ministries to ensure that communication activities continue without interruption during the war period. The reason for this budget increase is not a noticeable improvement in the salaries of managers and employees. The supply of products, most of which came from abroad, and the difficulty of war conditions necessitated such increase in the budget.

The budget expenditures of 24 departments included in the general budget were arranged by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on February 28, 1921, and 1.427.898 lira of the total budget expenditures, which was determined as 63.018.354 liras, was reserved for the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph (Yurtoğlu, 2016, p. 53). These numbers are significant for the budget. During the war, it was one of the indicators of the importance that the parliament put into communication tools such as post and telegraph. This amount allocated to postal and telegraph services is interpreted as war service allowance today. The

reason for this was that all the communication needs of the army were carried out by the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph.

After Ankara became the center of the National Struggle, telegraph lines were drawn in order to increase communication with Anatolia. Due to the negative conditions of the period, old and incomplete materials were used. In order to provide a solution to this issue, the materials were repaired. In this way, the use of scrap and broken machines was ensured. With all these activities, the telegram became an effective communication tool (Deniz, 2020, p. 222).

Atatürk emphasized the importance of the Post and Telegraph organization at every opportunity and expressed his satisfaction with the work of the organization. In the speech of the Third Legislative Year of the Turkish Grand National Assembly's First Term, Atatürk's "Some innovations brought into being in the Post and Telegraph administration, including the affairs of the interior, are worthy of satisfaction," (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2013, p. 11) speech is an indicator of this.

"Sirs, in the meantime, let me state that the selfless service of our general telegraphers to our efforts and operations has an important place in our national history. I consider it my duty to thank them publicly today." (Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, p. 255) He also expressed the importance of the activities of telegraphers in his work titled Nutuk, in which Atatürk describes the establishment process of the Republic of Turkey, and thanked them for the key role they played.

Apart from Atatürk, politicians frequently mentioned the organization. During his duty as the Speaker of the Assembly, Ali Fethi Okyar delivered the opening speech of the Second Legislative Year of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, stating that: "Posta, Telgraf ve Telefon kanunları gibi devletimizin bu ana kadar muhtaç olduğu halde elinde mevcut bulunmayan kanunları sürat ve dikkatle itmam eden meclis-i Âlînin neşir ve efkâr ve malûmatın feyizli membaı telâkki eylediği matbuata, bu kanunlar münasebetiyle gösterdiği alâka ve kadirşinaslığı zikretmeden geçemeyeceğim." (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2013, pp. 60,61).

Apart from postal and telegraph activities, newspapers also played a role in the development of communication activities of the period. The struggle of national independence spread every corner of Anatolia through newspapers. With the opening of *İrade-i Milliye* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspapers, the need for the official publication of the Ankara government was satisfied. After the establishment of the newspapers, communication activities accelerated with the establishment of Anadolu Agency. Anadolu Agency was

established on April 6, 1920, when the intellectuals came to Anatolia from İstanbul after the occupation of Istanbul. The main purpose of the agency was to provide accurate and healthy news flow to Anatolia and to aggregate news in a single center. In addition to all mentioned so far, it was also intended to explain the War of Independence to the global public opinion. Anadolu Agency has positioned itself as the "*Voice of Anatolia and the National Struggle*" as can be understood from its founding purposes.

The founding idea and name of Anadolu Agency emerged in a dialogue between Yunus Nadi and Halide Edib, two of the intellectuals of the period. Nadi mentioned of these dialogues in his memoir titled "*First Days of Ankara (Ankara'nın İlk Günleri)*":

"I could only meet with Ms. Halide Edib in haste during a break at Akhisar Station. Joan of Arc dreams and such were nonsensical. Ms. Halide Edib never complained about travel and its troubles, as if she had gone to Kayışdağı Mountain for an excursion, on the contrary, she was talking about business. A practical Turkish woman. I explained Atatürk's answer to the radio telegraph question I asked to him in the battle of Kuşçalı:

"Now, as soon as we arrive, we'll shout to the whole world through this", I said.

"Very nice," she said. Better yet, let's set up an agency as soon as we arrive, and we'll tell everyone through the agency.

This is the first condition, madam. Then, of course, comes the details of this. For example, at the first stage, the publication itself needs an organization. Then comes the types of propaganda...

Of course, all shall be done in order. But the first order of business must be the agency. In fact, let's find a name right now: How about Türk Ajansı? Ankara Ajansı, maybe? Or Anadolu Ajansı? We can come up with more.

Anadolu Ajansı sounds ideal to me.

I agree. Isn't that right? After all, Anadolu will save itself first, then, if possible, it'll save the whole country. It is decided: Anadolu Ajansı.

Yes indeed, Anadolu Ajansı..." (Nadi, 1955, p. 77)

The establishment of a national news agency and the naming it Anatolia, where the National Struggle took place, contributed to the political atmosphere of the period and the strengthening of the idea of independence in favor of Ankara.

After the journey from İstanbul to Ankara, they shared the idea of establishing an agency with Mustafa Kemal. Mustafa Kemal welcomed this idea positively as it was proposed in the early periods when he came to Anatolia. It was decided to establish the Anadolu Agency on April 6, 1920.

During the years of National Struggle, the postal organization in Anatolia remained attached to the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and managed to run the military and civilian postal and telegraph services with very limited means. This government made a significant contribution to gaining the trust of the Anatolian people and ultimately winning the war. This contribution is testament to the critical role played by postal, telegraphic and telephone services.

The Republic of Turkey was founded after the Ottoman Empire, which lost its independence in every sense, by fighting for independence. The biggest reason and basis of its existence is the idea of independence. For this reason, institutions that had been reorganized or built from scratch were based on the principle of full independence in foreign policy. The fact that the current situation of the Ottoman Empire was far from independence, especially in the post and telegraph activities during the years of the national struggle, adversely affected Anatolia. The use of existing lines and tools had to be fought over. Despite the transportation and supply difficulties, Ankara government had to procure many communication products from various parts of Anatolia or abroad. All these reasons led to the characterization of the liberation of post and telegraph from foreign domination as a vital issue during the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

During the Ottoman Empire, the privileges of the post, telegraph and telephone companies were given to foreign states or companies. Following the establishment of the Republic, these privileges, which cost the state millions of lira, were abolished. As in every part of the country and in every sector, a national policy started to be implemented in the field of communication (Alşan, 1990, p. 393).

Peace negotiations to prepare and sign the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the founding agreement of the Republic of Turkey, started on 20 November 1922 in Lausanne, Switzerland. One of the demands of the Turkish side was to abolish the monopoly of foreign parties over the post. Peace negotiations resulted in the signing of the treaty on July 24, 1924 (Akşin, 2015, p. 137).

"Tarafeyn-i Âliyeyn-i Âkideyn, her biri kendisine teallûku cihetinden Türkiye'de ecnebi postahanelerin ilgasını kabul ederler." (Düstur, 1931, p. 113) With the relevant article of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the monopoly of foreign posts was ended and full independence was achieved in communication activities.

With the Republican Period, significant developments occurred in postal activities as in every field. In these development, in addition to the revolutionary interventions made by the state, the conditions of the era were also effective. With the Republican Period, general

transportation vehicles such as automobiles, airplanes and railways could be used for postal activities. The railways built during the Ottoman Empire period in Anatolia were nationalized and it was aimed to reach every corner of Anatolia with new lines. The expansion of railways is very important in terms of postal transportation. Another important development in terms of the advancement of communication activities in the Republican period is the alphabet revolution. With the alphabet revolution, the population of the literate increased and accordingly, the need for mail increased.

PTT General Directorate was affiliated to the Ministry of Transportation in 1933 and to the Ministry of Communications in 1939. The General Directorate of PTT was transformed into an economic state enterprise under the Ministry of Transportation with the Establishment Law No. 6145 on 17.10.1953 (PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 1984, p. 20).

2.4.1 Postage Stamps During the National Struggle Period and the Republican Period

Turkish philately is divided into two periods. The first period is the Ottoman period, which started in 1863 and took the name of the 1920 the Second London edition. The second period is called the Republic period, which begins from the occupation of İstanbul and continues to the present day (Günseli, 1979, p. 34). There are also philatelists who divide Turkish stamp making into three periods. In some catalogs, in addition to these two sections, it is thought that there is a transition period as "Ankara Government Stamps". There is no consensus among philatelists on this issue.

On March 16, 1920, İstanbul was officially occupied. As of this date, the independence of the Ottoman Empire is irrelevant. The occupation of İstanbul is a declaration of the end of independence. The activities carried out before and after the occupation ceased the independence. As the voice of the nation and its legitimate government, the Ankara Government has emerged on the stage of history. For this reason, the stamps printed in this period and thought to be Ottoman stamps are stamps belonging to the Ankara Government. Independence is the prerequisite of the ability to print stamps. Since it is not possible to discuss about an independent Ottoman State in the mentioned period, the stamps of the period do not belong to the Ottoman Empire.

During the years of the National Struggle, the supply of stamps was a serious problem. Despite the difficult conditions during the war years, one of the first steps taken was the circulation of Ankara surcharged¹ postage stamps belonging to the new Turkish state. Collection and surcharge of Ottoman State stamps was possible through illegal means. In order to meet the need, stamps were collected from various parts of Anatolia and attempts were made to transfer stamps illegally from İstanbul. The seized stamps were divided into two and used. The desired result could not be obtained with this method, and the idea of printing stamps brought to the agenda. The main reason for the issue of stamp printing was the urgent need for stamps in Anatolia. War conditions also made it difficult to reach the printing house and it was not possible to print stamps from scratch in Ankara under the conditions of the period. Stamps, which were collected with the decision taken due to the printing press problem, started to be surcharged with wood stamps in the center of Ankara. This process progressed very slowly and with human power. In order to speed up the surcharge process, the officials applied to the "*Yenigün*" printing house in Ankara. Seventy-two surcharged stamps were obtained through the Yenigün printing house (Diker, 1995, p. 46). The first Ottoman stamps of 1914 were surcharged. The "*Ankara*" surcharge was printed on the intact layers of the stamps and distributed to Anatolia. Stamps with the inscription Ankara, which were dispersed to various parts of Anatolia by the surcharge method, became the first sign of independence of the newly established Turkish state, and announced the establishment of the government wherever it reached (Demir, 1998, p. 166).



Figure 3 "Ankara 3 Gurus" Surcharged Ottoman Stamps. (Isfila, 2018, s. 119)

With this event, it was realized that materials must be obtained from abroad for stamps, which are an important part of postal activities, as in telegraph. Following this

¹ Surcharge: It is a method of reprinting and re-using a stamp to commemorate a different subject, keeping the value and design the same.

suggestion, the printing of stamps directly in the abroad came to the fore, and Turkish stamps were printed abroad for many years.

As in the other activities of the Post and Telegraph Organization, the issue of stamps were brought to the agenda of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. On 17 May 1921, in the Law No. 125 "On Postage Stamps", it was decided to create postage stamps with the phrase "*(Memorial of the National Struggle)*" written on them and containing the photographs of İstanbul, İzmir, Balıkesir, Bursa, Adana and other historical places, hence the first concrete step was taken in regards of postage stamp printing (TBMM, 1921).

The surcharge process became even more difficult with the deterioration of the war conditions. In these difficult times, there was a shortage of ink. For this reason, the soot in the stove pipes in Ankara was collected and mixed with naphtha oil. This was an attempt to create ink. It was poured over the wools of the sheep, hence the seal appeared. In this way, the seals were surcharged. An oil layer was formed on the surcharged flakes due to the materials used (Diker, 1995, p. 108). Since it was not possible to correct the errors on these stamps, it is possible to notice some errors.

3 NATION-STATE BUILDING IN POSTAGE STAMPS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE POSTAGE STAMPS DURING THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND REPUBLICAN PERIODS

States design, finance and print postage stamps. The stamp bears the name of the country it is issued. For these reasons, it is a symbol of independence like the flag, national anthem and money. Postage stamps are considered valuable paper (Akyol, 2017, p. 64). The issuance of the stamp is determined by the emission schedules. Emission programs in Turkey are prepared annually by the General Directorate of PTT. Inter-institutional dialogue is considered important in the preparation process of emission programs. Although the General Directorate of PTT is authorized in the selection of the subjects to be included in the program, it negotiates these subjects with the Presidency, Ministries, General Staff, foundations and associations, then takes decisions. In the prepared program, the dates of the stamps are

determined, the design is created and the printing phase is initiated (Tarlakazan, 2018, p. 712).

The stamp has never been considered as a paper showing that the postage was paid in advance at no time in history. In the first years of the Republic, various articles about postage stamps were written in magazines, and articles written abroad were translated. These articles aimed to define and promote the postage stamp and to create awareness in the society about postage stamps. In the articles, the postage stamp was expressed as "*the most famous traveler in the world*" and "*the largest illustrated magazine in the world*". As it can easily reach all parts of the world by various means of transportation, postage stamps was expressed as such. It was aimed to express the subject variety of the postage stamp by giving various examples. For instance, themes such as kings, presidents, princesses, mountains, bridges, ports, animals, wars, artists and revolutions can be featured on stamps (Brady, 1952, p. 7).

Stamp is also considered as a work of fine arts, a promotional and educational material with its visuals. For example, Nefesli stated in the article titled "*Pulun Sosyal Mahiyeti*" (The Social Nature of Stamp) that the stamp is in fine arts such as sculpture, architecture, painting and ornamentation. According to Nefesli, the stamps of the world that appeared after the wars would be the proof of this. Stamp is like an item in our house now. It is a work of art that we put in catalogs and preserve in this way, such as a vase, a painting, or an ornament in our house. With this aspect, stamp has become a part of our social life as well as our household (Nefesli, 1948, p. 329). Some authors have argued that the stamp is a tool that has an educational role, especially used in children's education. In the article titled "*Pul ve Çocuk*" (Stamp and Child), Yalın says, "Among the channels used to raise the child in the desired way for the benefit of the country and the nation, the stamp is the only means by which we can greatly make use of their curiosity, enthusiasm and intemperance. Since it is possible to transmit the most important information we want to put into their heads perfectly via these tiny little pieces of paper, there should be no doubt that to treat the issue as a state affair means to put into motion a machine that has been put aside for a long time and to seek ways to benefit from it" (Yalın, 1952, p. 3). Yalın stated that stamps should be considered as a state policy and that they are an important tool to be used in the education of children.

Stamps reflect the domestic and foreign policies of the country in which they are printed. This feature of the stamp caused its design to be done in a planned way. States also demonstrate the messages they want to give and the achievements they want to make visible through postage stamps. Postage stamps of the Republican Era in Turkey were also analyzed for these purposes. An example of this is a decree in 1935 containing the signatures of

President Atatürk and the Council of Ministers. "Issuing postage stamps, picture postcards and cards, as in many countries, in order to promote the beautiful and historical landscapes of our country and the innovations made in the field of public works and economy, both inside and outside" is the context of the mentioned decree (BCA Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı, 26.11.1935). The "Fifteenth Anniversary Series of the Republic", which will be explained in the next section, is an example of stamps issued for this purpose.

Postage stamps are also related to the culture of a country. The stamp includes the historical, geographical, economic and social expressions and symbols of a nation. Stamps are an eye-catching communication tool and in some cases, they can be a propaganda tool as well. This role was emphasized by philatelists in the early years of the Republic (Nefesli, Pul, 1952, p. 7).

If it is a reference to a specific event or topic or designed and published for such event and topic, it becomes a material that gives a concentrated message. Stamps can provide the function of posters with a condensed narrative despite their small size (Scott & Hoek, 1994, p. 60).

Regarding the nation they belong to, and with the symbols they carry, stamps express "*who and what they are, where they come from, what they defend and their values*" (Elhan, 2017, p. 85). In the studies of the literature, stamps are described as "*tiny representatives of nations*" and "*paper ambassadors*" due to all these features (Yılmaz M. , 2019, p. 232).

Postage stamps are one of the rare means that governments reach every household. Postal activities are common in all periods of history and stamps are a necessity for the execution of these activities. Every citizen who has access to the mail is acquainted with stamps. Developments in transportation have also improved postal activities. The scope of domestic and international circulation of stamps has expanded. In this way, the stamp printed by the state reached every corner and conveyed its messages.

Only sultan's signatures and crescent-star motifs were used from the 1863 *Tuğralı Pul*, which was the first stamp in the Ottoman State postage stamps, to the 1912 *Hilal-i Ahmer Şefkat Pulları* series. The distinctive feature of the period in which they were printed was the changing signatures of the sultan. Apart from this, the stamps do not bear any clue about the period they were issued. For the first time in Ottoman stamps, the series named "*Yeni Postahane*" (New Post Office) entered into force in March 1913. This series was followed by the "*1913 Londra Baskısı*" (London Edition) series. Edirne Selimiye Mosque takes place in this series. Another series was published in London in January 1914. This was a series of İstanbul landscapes. In this series, in addition to the İstanbul landscapes, the portrait of Sultan

Reşad, the sultan of the period, was also included on a stamp. This stamp is the first stamp with a statesman on it in Turkish postal history. These stamps were mostly surcharged until the 2nd London Series, which was the last Ottoman Empire stamp series issued in 1920. Anatolia was not included in Ottoman stamps. Except for the capital İstanbul and its surroundings, the symbols reflecting the Anatolian culture did not find a place on the stamps.

The phrase "*Ankara*" added to the stamps surcharged by the Ankara Government was the first step taken for postage stamps. The limitation of sending stamps to Anatolia by the Ottoman Empire and the poverty made the printing of stamps compulsory.

The first postage stamp series printed by the Ankara Government during the National Struggle was called "*Genoa Printing Postage Stamps*". The stamps, which entered into use on January 23, 1922, take this name because they were printed in Genoa, Italy. The series consists of twelve stamps. These stamps are offered for sale with a tariff of 10, 20 para and 1, 2, 10, 25, 50, 100, 200 kuruş (cents). This series contains clues about the National Struggle and the Republic of Turkey to be established.

3.1 Postage Stamps During the National Struggle Period

3.1.1 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps

The stamps printed in Genoa before the proclamation of the Republic in 1922 appear as the first postage stamps issued by the Ankara government. The Ankara Government fully assumed the design and implementation of these stamps. Before the proclamation of the Republic, the designer of the postage stamps was Painter Vahdet Bey (Akan & Kuran, 2019, p. 165). It gives the first clues about the nature of the National Struggle and the view that would dominate the state to be established.



Figure 4 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 2 Guruş. (İsfila, 2018, s. 139)

On the 2-cent stamp in the Genoa series, a soldier holding a bayonet is depicted within the frame. As it can be understood from the crescent-star figure cap on the head of the soldier, he is a supporter of the Kuvayi Milliye. It is known that when Mustafa Kemal Pasha wore civilian clothes during the National Struggle, he would choose a cap as a headgear. In this process, Kuvayi Milliye supporters also followed him and cap became one of the symbols of the National Struggle supporters (Aysal, 2011, p. 12). On the edges of the frame with the soldier, the verses of the National Anthem are placed. On the left of the frame are the lines "*Hakkıdır hakka tapan milletimin istiklal*" (Freedom is the right of my God-worshipping folk) and "*Hakkıdır hür yaşamış bayrağımın hürriyet*" (For freedom is the absolute right of my ever-free flag) is on the right side of the frame. The National Anthem was adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on March 12, 1921. According to Mustafa Kemal, in his own words, "*this march expresses the spirit of our revolution*" (Altınbaş, 2015, p. 30). The national anthem is one of the symbols of the existence and independence of nations. With his words, he reflects the consciousness of being a nation, the philosophy of establishing a state, and his point of view towards the world and other nations (Aktaş, 2013, p. 74). The National Anthem was written by Mehmet Akif Ersoy and the feelings it contains were accepted by the whole nation and survived for generations, reaching today as one of our symbols of independence.



Figure 5 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 10 Guruş. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 139)

In this series, the existence of a historical figure that would emerge with historical studies and contribute to the process of creating a nation-state draws attention. This figure is the "*bozkurt*" figure and is featured on the 10-cent stamp of the series. Bozkurt is an important figure in Turkish history. It is especially common in Turkish mythology.

Bozkurt is especially associated with the Gök-Türk State. One of the reasons for this is that the symbol of A-shih-na, the founding dynasty of the Gök-Türks, is the wolf (Böri-Börü).

The figure of the Bozkurt had a great place in the social and political life of the Gök-Türks. The "*tuğ*", that is, the "*wolf-headed flag*", was used by the khans as a symbol of sovereignty and independence (Taşağıl, 2015, p. 179). The wolf-headed flag sent by the Chinese in 582 and the recognition of the independence of the Gök-Türk khan named Tardu are examples of this (Taşağıl, 2018, p. 137). Legend has it that the A-shih-na Dynasty was saved from extinction by a she-wolf and was reborn from this she-wolf. They believed that the only remaining member of the dynasty was protected by a female wolf and that the continuity of the lineage was ensured with this wolf. It is mentioned in Chinese sources that they call themselves "*böri*", that is, wolves, and the reason for this was not to forget their origins (Taşağıl, 2018, pp. 41,42). Bozkurt is a figure in the Oğuz Kağan Legend. According to the legend, during the expedition, a light like the sun enters the tent of Oğuz Kağan and a big male wolf with sky-like mane and sky-like feathers emerges from this light. This wolf says to Oğuz Kağan, "*Oğuz, I want to walk in front of you*" and guides Oğuz Kağan in the legend (Bars, 2013, p. 189). The wolf motif in Turks is seen in two ways as "Patriarch Wolf" and "Matriarch Wolf" (Ögel, 2010, p. 45). On the stamp, behind the gray wolf depicted in the steppe, a light figure like sunlight can be seen. Explanation of the wolf's appearance in this way is related to the "Patriarch Wolf" motif. The descent from the wolf is usually associated with the "Matriarch Wolf". Turks mostly have the "Matriarch Wolf" motif.

Bozkurt is also an important symbol for Anatolia. The word *bozkurt* is used in many proverbs and idioms that have survived until today. Syriac historian Mikail claimed that the Seljuks came to Anatolia by following a dog-like animal. For this reason, the bozkurt was regarded as a sacred animal for Anatolia as well (Ögel, 2010, p. 40).



Figure 6 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 50 Guruş (İsfila, 2018, p. 139).

In this series, there are two stamps worth 50 kuruş. On these stamps, Sivas High School was depicted with its name during the Republican Period, Sivas Mekteb-i Sultanisi. Sivas High School is an important building for the National Struggle because it hosted the Sivas Congress held on September 4, 1919 (Kuzucu, 2006, p. 116). The National Struggle movement was organized in this building by the members of the Representative Committee.

At the Sivas Congress, the idea of mandate was rejected and full independence in the political sense was adopted as the only goal. The staff of the Representative Committee was expanded and it was ensured that they would represent the whole country. The national societies established in Anatolia and Rumelia were united under the name of "Anatolian and Rumelian Association for Defense of National Rights". With this advancement, it was aimed to centralize the national forces from a single stop (Kısıklı, 1988, p. 35). With these decisions taken, the process of ensuring national unity was accelerated. The Sivas Congress strengthened Mustafa Kemal's leadership of the National Struggle and increased the support for the National Struggle in Anatolia.



Figure 7 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 200 Guruş. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 139)

A map showing the borders of the National Pact is depicted on the 200 kuruş stamp in the series. The top description of the stamp reads "Türkiye Postaları" (Turkey's Posts) in Ottoman, and "Sevgili Yurt" (Dear Homeland) at the bottom description.

The National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*) was accepted in the last Ottoman Parliament on January 28, 1920. The borders of the Ottoman Empire at the time of the signing of the Mudros Armistice Agreement were taken as the basis and these borders were adopted as national borders. It is considered as the final stage of the decisions taken in Erzurum and Sivas congresses. The understanding that the homeland is an indivisible whole is documented

in this six-item declaration. As it can be understood from the words "National Oath" and "National Promise", the National Pact has become an important text, a national ideal, which determines the principles of the Republic of Turkey, which was established as a result of the new National Struggle, and to be worked on for its realization (Küçük, 2005, p. 175). The National Pact is seen as the program of the democratic and nationalist movement announced to the world.

The map also plays an important role in the nation-state building process. Maps are among the tools that add visibility to nations. Considering about the nation and feeling loyal to the homeland has been strengthened by the existence of maps. The demarcation of boundaries and the acquisition of visual material provide a coherent view of the nation and a place to connect with (Adadağ, 2020, p. 294). According to Anderson, three concepts that help when imagining a nation are "census, museum, and map" (Anderson, 1995, pp. 204,205). With the National Pact, which came into force in 1922, absolute borders were announced to Anatolia. Thanks to the stamp, the National Pact reached every corner of Anatolia.



Figure 8 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 25 Gurus. (İsfil, 2018, s. 139)

In the Genoa series, there are the famous places of the cities in Anatolia. The Yılan Kale and Seyhan River in Adana are depicted on the 25 kuruş stamp (Demir, 1998, p. 170).



Figure 9 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 20 Para. (İsfil, 2018, s. 139)

There is a picture of the İzmir dock on the stamp of 20 coins. This stamp appears to be the first stamp depicting İzmir. At the time the stamp was printed and used in domestic and international postal activities, the liberation of İzmir had not yet taken place. The inclusion of the stamp in this series is important in terms of seeing the effect of Ankara on İzmir.



Figure 10 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps - 1 cent. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 139)

The Genoa series is a series of religious items found in Anatolia. There are two 1-cent stamps in this series. There is Edirne Selimiye Mosque on the first 1 cent stamp. This stamp is similar to the 40 kuruş Ottoman State stamp printed in 1913. Konya Sultan Selim Mosque is featured on the other 1 cent stamp.



Figure 11 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps -100 Gurus. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 139)

There is Urfa İbrahim Mosque on the 100 kuruş stamp.



Figure 12 Genoa Printing Postage Stamps -500 Gurus . (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 139)

The last stamp of the series, the 500 Gurus stamp, contains examples of calligraphy taken from Turkish artworks (Demir, 198, p. 170). On this stamp, there is "Shahada " (*Kelime-i Şehadet*) written in kufic style.

In the Genoa series, the politics of the period stands out. The first indicator of Turkism on stamps was the "Bozkurt Stamp". The message of Turkism is highlighted with the Bozkurt stamp. The stamp depicting the borders of the National Pact also fed the idea of "common homeland" in the nation-state building process. It is also quite significant that a warrior struggling to save this common homeland from enemy occupation is on the stamps. The fact that Sivas High School, which hosted one of the congresses in favor of the participatory and democratic Republic, is on the stamps also carries clues about the Republic of Turkey.

Having Mosques in Edirne, Konya and Urfa are on stamps and that there is a stamp with the "Shahada" inscription are proof that a message was given for Islamism as well. In these stamps distributed to Anatolia, the message of Turkism and Islamism was conveyed together in this way. In 1922, Islamism was more dominant than nationalism in Anatolia and it was aimed to gain the support of Anatolian people in this way. (Ahmad, 2008, p. 109). Especially Mustafa Kemal was aware of his commitment to the religious belief, culture, tradition and religious institutions of the Turkish society. For this reason, he often included this sensitivity as well as nationalism.

3.1.2 Turkish Grand National Assembly Series



Figure 13 Turkish Grand National Assembly Series 5 Para. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 140)

Another of the stamps printed by the Ankara government was the "Turkish Grand National Assembly" series. This series came into use in January 1922. Likewise, this series was also printed in Genoa and entered into force in January 1922. It consists of seven stamps. With this series, the picture of the assembly, which was the center of the National Struggle, spread throughout Anatolia. At the same time, with these stamps sent abroad, the Turkish Grand National Assembly became known abroad. The parliamentary stamps were designed by Vahdet Bey. There are motifs inspired by Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque on the side and lower columns of the stamp (Akan & Kuran, 2019, p. 165).

The Turkish Grand National Assembly emerged as an indicator of an understanding based on the will of the people and "*Egemenlik kayıtsız şartsız milletindir*" (Sovereignty unconditionally belongs to the People) principle summarizes the purpose of the parliament. With the official opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920, the hints of the process leading to the proclamation of the Republic came to fore. The Assembly was the administrative center of the National Struggle movement in Anatolia. The understanding that there is no authority above the Turkish Grand National Assembly was dominant in Anatolia.

From Mustafa Kemal's opening speech of the Education Congress on July 16, 1921, "*The Turkish Grand National Assembly, which convened to defend our right to live against those who did not want to keep us alive, came to an end here in Ankara*" is an indication of the importance of the assembly for the existence of Anatolia and the nation (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, p. 19).

Parliament is regarded as one of the symbols of independence. Güneş described the assembly as the "*Revolutionary Assembly*". The biggest consideration for this is that the Turkish Revolution, which has a nationalist, populist, fully independent and democratic nature, is possible with the activities of the parliament (Güneş, 2008, p. 2). The Grand National Assembly of Turkey is an institution that serves the purpose of making national decisions as the voice of the people and is the voice of a new system after the Ottoman Empire. It forms the basis of the transition from empire to nation-state. The Assembly, with its decisions, is the most influential decision-making body in the organization and successful conclusion of the National Struggle, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and the design of the Turkish nation-state. Parliament is the cornerstone of the Turkish revolution.

3.1.3 Crescent and the Star Series First Issue



Figure 14 Crescent-Star Series 1st Print - 10 Gurus. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 142)

It is a rare situation to find traces of Ottoman Empire period stamps in the National Struggle and Republic Period stamps. The symbol that has continuity from the Ottoman Empire was only the crescent and the star symbol. Ali Nazmi Bey was the designer of this stamp. The first series, consisting of twenty stamps, was printed in 1923 at the Ali Nazmi Bey Printing House in İstanbul using the lithograph method. The Crescent and the Star series was printed two more times in 1924 in İkdâm and Düyûn-ı Umûmiye printing houses (Akan & Kuran, 2019, p. 207).

The last stamp series printed by the Ankara government before the proclamation of the Republic was the "Crescent and the Star, the First Issue". This series involved stamps of 20 different colors and values.

Years	The Period of the National Struggle and Nationalism Themed Stamps	Mustafa Kemal Atatürk	Social and Economic Developments	Modernization
1922	12	-	-	-
1923	1	-	1	-
1924	-	-	-	-

Table 1 Overview of stamps designed and printed by the Ankara Government between 1922-1924 according to themes².

² Table 1 was created by taking into account the İSFİLA Turkish Stamps Catalogue (1863-2018).

3.2 Postage Stamps During the Republican Era (1923-1938)

3.2.1 Commemorative Stamps for Lausanne Treaty of Peace



Figure 15 Commemorative Stamps for Lausanne Treaty of Peace Series January 1924 - 3 cents. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 154)

The first postage stamp of the proclamation of the Republic and the established Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923, was the series named "Commemorative Stamps for Lausanne Treaty of Peace", which was printed in memory of Lausanne Treaty of Peace. This series entered into use in January 1924 and was printed in the Düyün-u Umumiye Printing House in İstanbul. The series consists of eight stamps of different colors and values.

In the lower frame of the stamp, "*Memorial of Peace*" is written. A ruined bridge and a war-torn Anatolian city are depicted on the stamp. There is also a mosque on the stamp. Behind Mustafa Kemal in the frame, light shines on the destroyed city. Mustafa Kemal is depicted in a military uniform and a cap-shaped frame. Its frame is surrounded by an olive branch. In Greek mythology, Jewish and Christian traditions, the olive tree and olive branch are associated with peace. At the end of the flood, the fact that a dove brought an olive branch to Noah was interpreted as everything turned into comfort and peace again. At the same time, the olive tree symbolizes immortality due to its resistance to the great flood (Ersoy, 2000, p. 378).

The Lausanne Peace Stamp is the first postage stamp depicting Mustafa Kemal. It can be thought that Mustafa Kemal's military uniform refers to the Commander-in-Chief of the National Struggle. Mustafa Kemal is depicted as the savior leader on this stamp. Leadership is defined as "*the sum of the knowledge and abilities to gather a group of people around certain goals and to mobilize them to achieve these goals*" and the leader is the person who can do all these (Geçikli, 2012, p. 23).

Mustafa Kemal's leadership was not given by birth and was absolute. As a result of the parliamentary decision, he had the duty of the Speaker of the Assembly and the Commander-in-Chief, which he had carried out during the years of the National Struggle. Due to the course of the National Struggle, he submitted a proposal to the Presidency of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on August 4, 1921, stating that he wanted to be the Commander-in-Chief. As a result of long discussions in the Assembly, a draft law stating that "The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which is the only supreme power that directly seizes the destiny of the nation and the country, and which has the Commander-in-Chief in its spiritual personality, has given the duty of Commander-in-Chief to its President Mustafa Kemal Pasha in the following records. The Commander-in-Chief is authorized to actively use the powers of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on behalf of the Assembly in order to increase the material and moral power of the army and to strengthen its administration once again. This title and authority granted with it is limited to three months. The Assembly can extend this period if deemed necessary." was created and enacted on 5 August 1921 (Güneş, Atatürk Ansiklopedisi, 2021). The said law was extended for three more months on 31 October 1921, 4 February 1922 and 6 May 1922, and deemed indefinite on 20 July 1922 (Turan, 2020, p. 383).

Mustafa Kemal referred to the authority given by this law, which came into force with the decision of the parliament, as "*the most precious reward of my life* (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, p. 187)". The authority of the Commander-in-Chief contributed to the successful results in the Battle of Sakarya, the Great Offensive and the Field Battles of the Commander-in-Chief. All these authority and achievements are the reasons why he is regarded as a savior leader. The leadership he demonstrated during the war and the steps taken during the peace put his picture on the stamp.

There are various reasons why the first stamp issued during the Republic of Turkey was issued for the Lausanne Peace Treaty. The Lausanne Peace Treaty symbolizes the end of the long war times. After Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed, the newly established Republic of Turkey became globally acknowledged. The Lausanne Peace Treaty is the document and guarantee of the political, legal and economic independence of the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, it is one of the most important documents in Turkish history. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk wrote about Lausanne in Nutuk as "Honourable Gentlemen, I believe that there is no room for further comparison of the principles of the Lausanne Peace Treaty with other peace proposals. This treaty is a document thought to have been prepared against the Turkish nation for centuries and to have been fulfilled with the Treaty of Sevres, expressing the atonement of

a great nefarious caste. It is a work of political victory that has no precedent in the history of the Ottoman period!" (Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 2014, p. 982). Lausanne is a unique treaty and a turning point for Turkish history.

Ceremonies were organized on the anniversary of the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed on July 24, 1923, and that day was mentioned in the newspapers with the lines "The day the chains of captivity that were intended to be put around the neck of the Turkish Nation were broken" (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 23.06.1924). In Anatolia, July 24th is celebrated as the "Peace Day".

With the Lausanne Peace Treaty, many persisting problems were resolved peacefully. This success in foreign policy has also brought success in domestic politics and revolutions. The negativities of the war environment that lasted for many years were reversed with a solid foundation. The Lausanne Peace Treaty is still regarded as the title deed of the Republic of Turkey today.

3.2.2 London Printing Postage Stamps

It was printed at the Bradbury Wilkinson Printing House in London in 1926 and consists of four different stamps (BCA, Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı, 10.10.1925). Although it was printed before the alphabet reform, the stamps of this series, except for Mustafa Kemal's portrait, write "Türkiye Postaları" (Turkey's Posts) in Latin alphabet. In 1925, a design competition was organized for the printing of postage stamps and postage stationary emissions in harmony with each other. Painter Ali Sami (Boyar) won the competition. Despite the limited opportunities, it was requested that the stamps be printed in a high quality manner in London and Ali Sami Bey was appointed to deal with this request (Akan & Kuran, 2019, p. 192).



Figure 16 London Printing Postage Stamps - 10 Para. (İsfil, 2018, s. 156)

The first stamp of the series is the stamp printed were 10-20 para and 1 kuruş denominations. This stamp depicts a gray wolf (*Bozkurt*) and a blacksmith. For this reason, it is thought to refer to the Ergenekon Legend, which has a mythological value for the Turks. Ergenekon is the oldest legend of the Turks. Old Turkish legends begin with the wolf and, as mentioned, the wolf is the most important symbol of Turkish mythology. There are various opinions about the meaning of the word *Ergenekon*. According to Ögel, the word "*Kon*" means "*mountain back, gorge*", and the word "*Ergene*" means "*steep, jagged*" (Ögel, 2010, p. 62). The Ergenekon Myth is also mentioned under various names in Turkish history as the Ergenekon Legend and the Descent Legend. The legend is first mentioned in the first part of Reşideddin Fazlullah's *Cami'üt-Tevarih*, which was written in the 1250s. In this work, the Ergenekon Legend was from a Mongolian perspective, but at the same time, Reşideddin considers the Mongols as a tribe of the Turks (Bastem, 2019, p. 228).

The Ergenekon Legend is an event that has an instance in the history of Gök-Türk. It is associated with the Ergenekon Legend that Ch'e-pi Kağan, one of the Gök-Türks, escaped from the Sir Tardush in 648 and came to a region in the north of the Altai Mountains and stayed there until the population reached thirty thousand. Their hiding place in the Altai Mountains is surrounded by steep cliffs on three sides, as in the legend, and has a steep gorge that only a chariot or cavalry can pass through. The land is flat and wide (Taşağıl, 2018, p. 256).

The Ergenekon Legend is also associated with more than one founding legend of the Gök-Türks. According to the associated legend, the first ancestors of the Gök-Türks were killed by a tribe called the Lin, and only one boy survived. This child's arms and legs were cut off and thrown into the swamp. A she-wolf brought the boy food every day and kept the boy alive. Over time, the wolf and the child bonded, and the wolf became pregnant. When the Lin State heard that the boy was alive and took action to kill him, the wolf got the news of the holy spirits and fled. The wolf went to a mountain in the east of the western sea. There was a cave under this mountain, and in the middle of the cave was a large plain. The wolf gave birth to ten sons here, and A-shih-na, the founding family of the Gök-Türk state, was descended from one of these children (Ögel, 2010, pp. 22,23). This legend is considered to be the prototype of the Ergenekon Legend.

In the Ergenekon Legend, however, the peoples who lived among the mountains and started to reproduce could no longer live there, and they sought a way out. They all gathered

together and gathered wood to melt the mountain and placed the wood they gathered in front of the passage and set it on fire. As the woods burnt, the iron gate melted and the mountain was shattered. In this way, the people trapped inside could easily get out. Afterwards, they spread to the steppe and settled in different regions (Ögel, 2010, pp. 62,63). The mountain is an important symbol for the Turks. Because of its size and proximity to the sky, it means proximity to the God. It is an element that has hindered the Turks to settle, and this has changed the course of their history for a long time. The mountain also protects from the enemy and symbolizes a shelter. In legends, this meaning is generally emphasized. Due to its protectiveness, every Turkish lineage has had a mountain.

Blacksmithing, like mountains, has an important place in Turkish history. Turks called iron "kök-Temur", which means "Sky-Iron" in modern Turkish (Ögel, 2010, p. 67). As can be understood from the word "sky", iron is sacred to the Turks.

The dominated geography is rich in iron mines and it is known that the Turks have knowledge on how to hammer iron. The Altai Mountains are rich in iron mines today and were the subject of legends at that time. The Huns and Gök-Türks serve as an example for the Turks' relationship with the iron mine. The reason why the Huns had a better war industry compared to their neighbors is that they could make war tools by processing iron ore. According to the data revealed today, ornaments and household items made of various metals during 3000s BC have been unearthed (Taşağıl, 2015, p. 77). The Gök-Türks were also skillful in processing iron. It is known that they shipped iron products to neighboring states and countries (Taşağıl, 2015, p. 123). The use of iron in the war equipment has also implied the powerful aspect of iron.

The Gök-Türks adopted iron working as their artistic understanding. In Chinese sources, the skills and activities of the Turks in ironworking are mentioned. In the archaeological excavations, iron tools and equipment are associated with the Turkish states.

In this stamp, published in 1926, in which the Legend of Ergenekon is depicted, the traces of the nation-building activities of the period could be seen. With the historical studies, the footprints of the civilizations established by the Turks in Anatolia and Central Asia are traced. This stamp is important in terms of reflecting the policy of the period.



Figure 17 London Printing Postage Stamps - 5 Gurus. (İsfil, 2018, s. 156)

Ankara Castle is depicted on the other stamp of the series. The stamp was printed in four different colors and values as 5, 6, 10 and 15 cents. It is significant as it depicts Ankara, the capital of the Republic of Turkey for the first time. There are Ankara Castle, a mosque and classical Ankara houses in the stamp.

Ankara was the center of the National Struggle. Ankara's proximity to Western Anatolian cities, carrying military significance, and its railway transportation with many cities in Anatolia, especially İstanbul, played a major role in Ankara's being the center. It is claimed that Ankara's being the center came to the agenda during the days of the Sivas Congress, but this was kept secret. After the Sivas Congress, the representatives of the Representative Committee set out for Ankara on 13 December 1919 and reached Ankara on 27 December 1919. They were warmly welcomed by the people of Ankara, and Ankara became the temporary headquarters of the Representative Committee with the published statement. There was an environment of social solidarity in Ankara, which was sought after. This environment of solidarity enabled Ankara, which was declared to be the temporary center, to become the Capital of the Republic of Turkey in the future (Aytepe, 2004, p. 19).

There were various reasons for Ankara to be the center of the National Struggle under the conditions of the period. Ankara's geopolitical, strategic and geographical locations are the most important of these reasons. As mentioned, the representatives of the Representative Committee were warmly welcomed in Ankara and this could be interpreted an expression of the support given by the people of the city to the National Struggle. There was this spirit of Kuva-yı Milliye in Ankara. In addition to all these, the political and social insecurity felt in İstanbul was very effective in choosing Ankara the center (Dinçer, 1997, p. 229).

The opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara and the execution of the National Struggle from there were the developments that made Ankara the de facto

capital. Ankara became the official capital in 1923 after the Lausanne Peace Treaty. This timing is not a coincidence. In the competition between İstanbul and Ankara, Ankara was supposed to be the official capital. On October 9, 1923, deputies, including Malatya deputy İsmet İnönü, submitted a proposal to the parliament regarding Ankara being the capital. On October 13, 1923, Ankara officially became the capital of the Republic of Turkey (Çoban, 2017, p. 108).

The change of the capital is one of the ways to announce that the policy and structure of the state has changed. Capitals reflect the goals of states. The fact that the capital of the Republic of Turkey is Ankara is an expression that another symbol of the empire has been removed. Ankara demonstrates the existence of the nation-state and the fact that it is gaining strength. A capital city with a nationalist basis is one of the requirements of the nation-state. Ankara is not only the capital of the state, but also the capital of democratic and national culture. The biggest reason for this is that it hosts the assembly that carries out the process without deviating from democratic ways even under war conditions. Many steps that led to the establishment and development of the Turkish Republic were taken in Ankara. It denotes the independent State of the Republic of Turkey and is therefore also depicted on postage stamps.



Figure 18 London Printing Postage Stamps - 25 Gurus. (İsfil, 2018, s. 156)

President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is depicted on the last stamp of the series. It was printed in four different values and colors, 25, 50, 100 and 200 cents. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is pictured on this stamp with cutaway collar shirt and tie. It is the first stamp on which he was depicted in civilian clothes. This stamp reflects the demilitarization environment experienced in the first years of the Republic. President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who built the modern Turkish nation-state, can be seen on the stamp.

3.2.3 London Printing Taxe Stamps



Figure 19 London Printing Taxe Stamp - 2 Cents. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 156)

Technological developments and revolutionary steps taken in the first years of the Republic took place in postage stamps and postage stamps played an active role in the promotion of these steps. In this regard, especially railway and airplane come to the fore. Despite the financial inadequacy and lack of material experienced in the founding years of the Republic of Turkey, the printing of stamps for railways and airplanes was given importance.

The first visual about the railway was included in the series named "London Printing Postage Stamps", which came into force in May 1926, and the stamp depicting the Sakarya Strait in the series is important in terms of depicting the railway. This stamp features a train track passing through the mountains. The "London Printing Taxe Stamps" series, which came into effect in the same year, is a series related to the railway with all its stamps.

The series named "London Printing Taxe Stamps", consisting of five different colors and values, entered into force in May 1926. They were printed at the Bradbury Wilkinson Press in London. There is the phrase "Türkiye Postaları" (Turkey's Posts) in the series. A train traveling on the Ankara-Sivas line passing through the Kızılırmak Bridge is depicted. This stamp has also been included in the series of selected stamps. For example, it was reprinted in the "London Printing First Postage Stamps with the New Alphabet-Republic" in 1929 and in

the "London Printing Postage Stamps-Republic" series in 1930. On 30 August 1930, the "Surcharged Commemorative Stamps for the Opening of Angora-Sivas Railway Line" series entered into effect again.

Railways have a symbolic importance for the Republic of Turkey. The fact that the railways were colonized during the Ottoman Empire and that they were separated from national consideration in this regard was reversed in the Republican period. The importance given to railways is an indication of a nationalist and independent attitude. Railways are also critical for meeting the communication needs. The current situation in the first years of the Republic did not make it possible to have an uninterrupted news flow in Anatolia. Considering the conditions of the period, apart from communication, the lack of railways in the cities affected their development negatively. The railway played an important role in ensuring the communication between the mountainous Anatolian cities and the connection with the capital Ankara.

Besides the social and political reasons that made the railway important, there were also economic reasons. Railways provided the integration and development of internal trade. Thanks to the railway, it was aimed to deliver the goods and products to every corner of Anatolia (Toprak, 2007, p. 27).

The railway line remaining from the Ottoman Empire period is 4,138 kilometers. Efforts were made to nationalize existing lines and build new lines. In the first years of the Republic, "*One inch more railway*" was the dominant view (Temizgüney, 2015, p. 261). As could be understood from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's "*The railway is a holy light that illuminates a country with the glare of civilization and prosperity. The railway is the way of prosperity and hope*" (Ortak, 2010, p. 142) words, the railway was deemed necessary for the people to live in good conditions and in a civilized manner.

A business person named Nuri Demirağ was influential in the construction of the railway. Firstly, Samsun-Sivas Railway was given to the bidding with the Law No. 449 enacted in 1924 (Yalçın, 2009, p. 748). This was an important step in terms of allowing Turks to enter the railway construction race against the foreign enterprises. Demirağ won the bidding for the first part of the line between Samsun and Kavak, and in this way, a Turkish contractor started the construction of the railway (Akkurt, 2018, p. 71). The lines built by Demirağ are listed as "*Samsun-Sivas Line, Fevzipaşa-Diyarbakır Line, Afyon-Antalya Line, Sivas-Erzurum Line, Irmak-Filyos Line*" (Yalçın, 2009, p. 749).

The Ankara-Sivas line, which was the theme of the stamp, was completed on 30 August 1930 with an opening. From the proclamation of the Republic until 1938, 3302 kilometers long railway was built independently (Avcı, 2014, p. 49).

As we can understand from the words "*We weaved the motherland with iron nets, from end to end*" in the 10th Anniversary Anthem, the railways, which are seen as one of the achievements of the Republic, are quite significant. Especially since the days when the Ottoman Empire lost its economic independence, the railways in Anatolia were confiscated by foreign companies and the new lines to be built were completely under the control of foreign companies. The railway lines built by a Turkish entrepreneur like Nuri Demirağ in many parts of Anatolia were also regarded as a concrete indicator of independence. Railways also played an effective role in the nation-state building process. The changing policy of the state has manifested itself in the field of transportation just as well as in every field. In the field of transportation, it was aimed to adapt to the innovations in the world and relevant studies were carried out. The railway was considered as one of the means to spread the policies of the state to every corner of Anatolia from east to west. Posts were delivered to Anatolia in the fastest way by rail. Railways were the voice of the state in Anatolia.

3.2.4 Turkish Aeronautical Association Aid Stamp



Figure 20 Turkish Aeronautical Association Aid Stamp 1926- 20 Para. (İsfila, 2018, s. 157)



Figure 21 Turkish Aeronautical Association Aid Stamp 1927- 50 Gurus. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 158)



Figure 22 Aviation Stamps 1936-1937- 1 Cent. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 176)

The most common figure featured on the stamps issued until 1938 in the National Struggle and Republic Period postage stamps is the airplane figure. The airplane figure, which is included in the series with various names as aid stamp, aircraft stamp, defense stamp and surcharged stamps, also appears on stamps with different themes.

The Turkish Aeronautical Association Aid Stamp series was first published in İstanbul in 1926. The series was printed eight times in different periods until 1933, either by reprint or by surcharge method. This series was followed by the first edition of the "First Surcharged Aircraft Stamps" on 15 August 1934. The series was surcharged by drawing on the stamp depicting the Sakarya Strait and the one depicting the Ankara Castle. The same series was re-enacted in 1938 with its surcharged version. The series named "Aviation Stamps", which was introduced in 1936, is another series that entered into force in the first years of the Republic.

The long period of wars and the experiences gained from these wars caused the aircrafts to become a national sensitivity. The fact that war materials were contemporary brought military success. The period of the National Struggle has been a period of poverty in this sense. There are several reasons for such hardship. Firstly, it was effective that most of

the materials remained from the Ottoman State military system and that these materials were technologically far from the conditions of the age. When new military materials were needed to make up for the inadequacy, the difficulty of transporting tools such as weapons to Anatolia brought along a new problem. All these difficulties have caused the Republic of Turkey to see the supply of a modern and contemporary army as a vital issue. The army was considered as the protector of the Republic, and it had to be kept up to date with the necessities of the age to prevent it from being threatened in any sense. One of the important indicators of being modern in the conditions of the period was to have an airplane or to be able to produce an airplane.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk frequently expressed his views on aviation both in his trips in the country and in his speeches in the parliament. His words "The Turks should be able to navigate in the skies of the country in the same way and with knowledge and self-confidence as they walk and wander in the mountains, forests, plains, seas and every corner of the country" describes his perspective on aviation in the Early Republic period. (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, p. 322) His view led to the establishment of the Turkish Aircraft Society. The Turkish Aircraft Society was established on February 16, 1925 under the auspices of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Honorary Presidency of İsmet İnönü. The name of the association was changed to Turkish Aeronautical Association in 1935. In the opening speech, Mustafa Kemal said: "The future is in the skies because nations that cannot protect their skies can never be sure of their future..." (Aslan, 2014, p. 141).

Sabiha Gökçen, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's adopted daughter and the first female fighter pilot of the Republic of Turkey, described the interest of Mustafa Kemal in aviation as "He was following all foreign publications related to aviation, trying to put the developments in this field into practice in Turkey without delay. According to him, the biggest developments that will come into the service of humanity from now on will be in the field of aviation" (Gökçen, 2007, p. 70). sözleri ile ifade etmiştir.

The purpose of the stamps issued for the Aircraft Society was to provide financial support to the society. Apart from stamps, the society was supported by various means from all over Anatolia. Support to the society was interpreted as a civil society movement. Turkish people donated produce, animals, salaries, lands, wedding rings for the development of aviation. Donations were made by a people who survived the First World War and the National Struggle Period and struggled with economic adversities before the Second World War (Ulusal, 2021, p. 2334).

The business people of the Republic also supported the donation campaigns and activities of the society. For example, Demirağ started to make plans for the production of Turkish-made airplanes since 1932, in addition to donation. "I am absolutely convinced that the fate of nations that cannot dominate their skies will be a disaster. For this reason, nations that do not dominate their skies are doomed to crawl on the ground and rot under the ground." Demirağ said these words, which he accepted as a principle, while he was making plans (Erdem, 2016, p. 196). Especially in the first years of the Republic, business people like Demirağ had a goal of being "national" in their work. It was aimed to prevent foreign dependency in aviation and to develop in this field with Turkish-made aircraft.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's phrase "*The Future is in the Skies*" expresses an ideal for the Turkish nation in the Early Republican Period. In addition to military aviation studies, this ideal was tried to be realized by conducting civil aviation studies with the Turkish Aircraft Society (Gökçen, 2007, p. 71).

3.2.5 London Printing First Postage Stamps with the New Alphabet

The version of the series, which was published in London in 1926, with completely new Turkish letters, entered into force in 1930. The series differed from the 1926 series with the stamp on which only Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was depicted. Another portrait of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in civilian clothes is featured in the new series.



Figure 23 London Printing Postage Stamps with the New Alphabet - Atatürk Portrait - 200 Liras. (İsfil, 2018, s. 162)

3.2.6 The First Atatürk Series of 1931



Figure 24 The First Atatürk Series of 1931-1932 - 100 Lira .(İsfila, 2018, s. 166)

The series was first published in London. Upon the insistence of the philatelists and the philatelic press, it was decided to print it in the Stamp Printing House. Ali Sami Boyar and Bulgarian artist Hristo Lozef were commissioned to design the stamps. The works of the artists were examined and the PTT administration decided to use Lozef's works (Kavukçu, 1951, p. 6). The selection of Lozef's work received reaction, especially in the philatelic community of the period. The design was thought to be unsuccessful, and philately magazines commented on the stamps as "*a sample of distastefulness*" and "*eyesore*". It was considered that the stamps reflected a foreign spirit, were distant from the national spirit and did not reflect the puissance of Atatürk. In addition to the mistakes in the design, the fact that the stamp was designed by Lozef instead of a Turkish artist disturbed the philatelic community. According to the community, only the sons and artists of that nation could express the ideas and spirit of a nation. Therefore, these stamps could not be approved by the community (Tüzcet, 1954, pp. 5,6). Despite the reactions, the series was reprinted in 1933 and 1936, and was surcharged in 1938 and entered into force as a mourning stamp.

3.2.7 10th Anniversary Commemorative Stamps of the Republic

From the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923 until 1939, which constitutes the scope of the study, there are two series of stamps bearing the Republic

as the theme. When the postage stamp catalogs are examined in detail, it is seen that the series were printed in 5 and 10-year time periods.

The series named 10th Anniversary Commemorative Stamps of the Republic was published in İstanbul Stamp Printing House on 29 October 1933 and entered into force. The series emerged with the design of two different stamps in various values and colors. The designer of the stamps is Painter Münir Bey (Düzenli, 1998, p. 52).



Figure 25 10th Anniversary Commemorative Stamps of the Republic - 2 Kuruş. (İsfila, 2018, s. 169)

The first stamp of the series has the number 10 in its center. There are shapes that are thought to symbolize sunlight, and shapes that are considered to symbolize the sea and waves at the bottom. The color green on the stamp signifies sprouting, and it has a symbolic meaning with its color (Düzenli, 1998, p. 53). The sun signifies brightness and rebirth, the sea and waves signify change (Ersoy, 2000, p. 195).



Figure 26 10th Anniversary Commemorative Stamps of the Republic - 3 Kuruş. (İsfila, 2018, s. 169).

In the center of the second stamp of the series, "X" is written in Roman numerals. On the left of the stamp, factories, spikes, spinning wheels, and on the right, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is depicted in a frame wrapped in bay leaves while looking at all this.

Laurel represents eternity, immortality and youth (Ersoy, 2000, p. 381). Being around Mustafa Kemal Atatürk represents his founding and eternal leadership.

The spike represents the heart of the earth and the foundation of agriculture (Ersoy, 2000, p. 391). Like many aspects inherited in the first years of the Republic, primitiveness prevails in agriculture and areas related to agriculture. It was obligatory for the founding cadres of the Republic to carry out developmental studies on agriculture, which was the main income area of the country. In the Republic of Turkey, agriculture has started to develop thanks to modern institutions and practices. In the field of agriculture, İzmir Economics Congress especially played a significant role. The Congress convened between 17 February and 4 March 1923. The congress, which was organized according to the principle of "*professional representation*" by the Deputy of Economics Mahmut Esat and chaired by Kazım Karabekir, started with the opening speech of Mustafa Kemal. The congress provided a forum environment where all the economic policy problems that the Republic of Turkey might face were discussed and decisions were taken by the votes of farmers, traders, industrialists and labor groups (Boratav, 1988, p. 33). During the İzmir Economics Congress, the emphasis on national economy was at the forefront. The Congress included an economic plan in which Turks would be at the forefront in all kinds of economic activities such as agriculture and industry (Tekeli & İlkin, 1977, p. 34). Spike, which is the symbol of agriculture found its place in the tenth anniversary commemoration series to represent the efforts demonstrated for its development.

A modern and contemporary industrialization had not been inherited in the field of industry as in the field of agriculture. The state tried to eliminate the depression in the Turkish economy caused by the long wars and undertook some reforms in order to create a favorable environment for the economic and social development and nationalization of the country. The vast majority of these reforms also involved industrialization. An example of this is the nationalization of mines and railways, which are important for industrialization, and taking steps to create financial resources (Hatiboğlu, 1973, p. 42). The depiction of the wheel and the factories on the tenth anniversary series also expresses the developments in the field of industry in the Republican Period.

Development in the fields of agriculture and industry provided economic independence. The idea of independence in the nation-state building process also includes economic independence. A developed agriculture and industry has led to a decrease in foreign dependency. Nationalization steps were taken to regain the economic independence lost

during the Ottoman Empire. Postage stamps also played an intermediary role in promoting this process to the public.

3.2.8 Women's Rights Society 12th International Congress Commemorative Stamps



Figure 27 Women's Rights Society 12th International Congress Commemorative Stamps Series April 18, 1935. (İsfila, 2018, s. 172)

The series, which entered into force on April 18, 1935 and was emphasized by the philatelists of the period for its informative nature, was printed in the Courvoisier Printing House in Switzerland (Pulcan, 1952, p. 5). The series consists of fifteen different stamps.

The proclamation of the Republic ensured the continuity of the developments of women's rights. All acquired rights have been mutually supportive. With the Law of Unification of Education, which was first adopted in 1924, equality between men and women in education was ensured. With this law, the education of girls was made widespread and it was ensured that they were visible among the generations who grew up with the consciousness of the Republic. The most important step taken to strengthen the place of women in social life has been the Civil Code. Decisions such as the restriction of child marriages, the prohibition of marriage with more than one woman, and the obligatory civil marriage, introduced by the Civil Code, strengthened the place of women in social life (Özer, 2013, pp. 138,139). The Republic of Turkey is a state founded by men and women fighting together. During the National Struggle and the War of Independence, women were influential in rallies, in the press, in societies and on the front (Kurnaz, 1996, p. 257).

In Turkey, women gained the right to participate in the municipal elections on April 3, 1930, the right to be elected as Mukhtar on October 26, 1933, and the right to elect and be elected as a deputy on December 5, 1934. Upon these developments, it was decided to hold the Women's Rights Society 12th International Congress of the in Turkey.

The Congress convened between 18-24 April 1935 at Yıldız Palace in İstanbul. One of the topics discussed at the Congress was cooperation between women, especially on issues related to social customs and laws that put women behind all over the world. In The Times Newspaper, the role played by Turkey in the congress was commented on May 23, 1935, as "Turkish representatives seem quite competent when speaking on this issue, as the experiences of the past generation have given them a perspective on social change, few of which have been overcome" (Ahmad, 1995, p. 129).

With the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the perception of women has changed. This change in the perception of women has become one of the symbols of the modern and nationalist ideals of the nation state. It has been at the center of the cultural transformation that it is aimed for women to be effective and visible in education, politics and the public sphere (Yılmaz M. , 2019, p. 240). Women were seen as the source of the foundation of the Republic and its transmission from generation to generation. The upbringing of generations affiliated with the Republic was primarily dependent on women's self-development (Atatürk, 1972, p. 65).

Published in 1935, the series depicted the place of women in Turkey and the rights they gained. In this series, *Goddess Themis* holding the scales of justice, Turkish teacher, Turkish farmer, Turkish woman typing, Sabiha Gökçen with her plane and Turkish women

voting are depicted. The stamp depicting Turkish women voting represents three different women. The series also includes the Yıldız mansion with its name from the Republican period, which was an Ottoman palace in the past, and the photographs of seven world-famous female scientists. The last stamp of the series depicts Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the most influential figure in women's gaining rights in Turkey. In this series, Turkish women with the most important professions of the period are depicted. The Republic supported women to receive good education, enter business life and have a profession.

The printing of special stamps for the Women's Rights Society International Congress also caused controversy in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. For example, in the session on 13.03.1935, army deputy Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz asked whether stamps were issued for international meetings held in countries other than Turkey, and he questioned the necessity of this. Mükerrer Ünsal, Deputy Chairman of the Budget Committee of the period, stated that a similar inquiry was made by them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that there was no harm in its publication from a political point of view. On the contrary, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was thought that the international meeting and the stamps to be printed would benefit the publicity of the country in various parts of the world (TBMM, Zabıt Ceridesi, 13.3.1935). In addition to contributing to the promotion of the country in the international community, the stamps in the series are the proof that women play an active role in all aspects of life in modern Turkey.

3.2.9 The Second History Congress Series

The series was printed in İstanbul Stamp Printing House in 1937 and consists of two types of stamps. A bust of Atatürk is depicted on one of the stamps. The other one has a deer motif. By the decision of the Council of Ministers, it was agreed to publish the series as a subject and it was requested that the visuals to be included in the series be determined by the Historical Society (BCA, Kararlar Daire Müdürlüğü, 14.7.1937).



Figure 28 The Second History Congress Series September 20. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 174)

During the reign of Murad II, The Turkish History Congress was held on 20 September 1937. In the congress, it was tried to prove that the Turks have existed since prehistoric times and that they had an impact on other nations in terms of civilization. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's invitation to foreign researchers and the participation of researchers enabled the congress to gain an international character. A history exhibition was also opened at the same time as the congress. In this exhibition, the stages of Turkish history were depicted and archaeological findings that would confirm the Turkish History Thesis were also exhibited. With the decision of Mustafa Kemal, the exhibition was not removed after the congress and was open to visitors for one year (Öztaş, 2009, p. 100). As it can be understood from the exhibition and the special stamp printing for the congress, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk put importance to the teaching of visual materials.

The fact that one of the stamps printed specific to the convention bears a deer motif hints the content of the convention. As stated in the previous sections of the study, with the Turkish History Thesis, it is claimed that the Turks are one of the oldest civilizations and that they are central in the Anatolian Civilization. The deer depicted on the stamp is a symbol unique to the Hittites, one of the Anatolian Civilizations.

History studies of the Republican period were carried out with the support of philology and archeology disciplines. Alacahöyük excavations are examples for archeology studies. Two researchers, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay and Remzi Ollık Arık, were assigned to carry out excavations in the area in 1935. Excavations were carried out with the support of the Turkish Historical Society. The aim of the excavations was to reveal the ancient history of Anatolia, the arrival of the Turks in Anatolia and how they affected the historical process in Anatolia. During the excavations carried out in the region, many artifacts belonging to the Hattians, which are thought to be the oldest civilization of Anatolia in the pre-Hittite period, were found (Çığ, 2005, p. 191).

Artifacts such as the bronze sun disc and the silver decorated bronze deer statue found in the excavations are important in terms of shedding light on the history of Anatolian civilizations. The deer figure depicted on the stamp is the figure in the deer sculpture found in the Alacahöyük excavations. These works also influenced the art understanding of the Hittite Civilization. Such works have become the symbol of the Hittite Civilization today.

3.2.10 15th Anniversary Series of the Republic



Figure 29 Fifteenth Anniversary of the Republic 29 October 1938. (İsfilâ, 2018, s. 181)

The printing of stamps for the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic was agreed by the decision of the Council of Ministers on 29 August 1928 (BCA, Kararlar Dairesi Müdürlüğü, 29.8.1938). The series, which went into effect on October 29, 1938, consists of six stamps with different themes. On the stamps; the Turkish army, the aircraft fleet, the Kayseri Combine and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were depicted on the agricultural tool, a bridge on the Samsun-Sivas Railway line, the boy scouts and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the Marshal uniform are depicted. These stamps were printed in Switzerland at the Courvoisier Printing House.

On the stamp issued about the Turkish army in the series, the soldiers are depicted in the ready position, with their heads upright. There is also a Turkish flag on the stamp. The modernity and technical power of the Turkish army is expressed by the fleet of aircraft depicted in the sky. This image of Turkish soldiers suggests that they are ready for war at any moment.

The Turkish army is the founding element of the Republic of Turkey. The foundation of the free and independent Republic of Turkey, based on contemporary foundations, took place after the War of Independence was won. This process is considered the greatest success of the Turkish army (Kıvrıkoğlu, 1998, p. 163). For Turkish nation, the understanding of the army-nation is dominant. In his 10th year anniversary speech, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk explained this view as: "We have accomplished many great achievements in such a short time. The greatest of such achievements is the Turkish Republic, whose foundation is the Turkish heroism and superior Turkish culture. We owe our success in this to the determination of the Turkish Nation and its valuable army to march as one and together." (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, p. 318). sözleri ile bu anlayışı ifade etmiştir. The army-nation cooperation was effective in the establishment of the Turkish Republic. It is the nation that creates the army. For this reason, the nation has always stood by the army and supported the army materially and morally.

The main duty of the Turkish army is to protect and watch over the Turkish homeland and the State of the Republic of Turkey against negative developments that may occur inside and outside. The Turkish army is seen as the assurance of the democratic and secular Republic of Turkey, Atatürk's principles and revolutions in every period in the historical process. The last message of Atatürk to the nation, which was read by the Prime Minister of the time, Celal Bayar, at the 15th Anniversary celebrations of the Republic that took place shortly before the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was to the Turkish army.

"The heroic Turkish army, whose victories and history had begun with the history of humanity, always carrying the light of civilization with victory! I have no doubt that you will do your duty with the same devotion, even though you are equipped with all the modern weapons and tools of military technique in today's productive period of the Republic, just as you protected and saved your country from torture, disasters, troubles and enemy occupation in the most depressed and difficult moments. Today, in the face of the great Turkish Nation, who comprehended the fifteenth year of the Republic with ever-increasing comfort and strength, I express my heartfelt thanks to you, and express the pride of our great nation. I and our great nation have full faith and confidence that the Turkish homeland and the Turkish

community are ready to fulfill its duty at any time, which consists of protecting the glory and honor from all kinds of internal and external dangers. I am sure that you are ready to fulfill all kinds of duties by making a great self-sacrifice and seeing life as worthless by getting stronger with the latest system, factories and weapons that our great nation has given to the army. With this belief, I salute and praise the heroic and experienced commanders, officers and soldiers of our land, marine and air forces before the whole nation. Happy fifteenth anniversary of the Republic Day to you." (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, p. 331) Atatürk's last message to the Turkish armies is proof that he regarded the army as the foundation of the nation. In his message, he entrusted the Republic of Turkey to the Turkish armies and thanked the entire nation for the role and services of the Turkish army in the establishment.

It is possible to see the themes of Atatürk's speech on the stamps of the 15th anniversary commemoration series. Atatürk himself, as the eternal Commander-in-Chief, is pictured in Marshal uniform. As can be seen from the stamps of Mustafa Kemal included in our study, the stamp on which he was depicted with a military uniform was the 1924 Lausanne Peace Treaty series. After this series, Atatürk was depicted in civilian clothes in all series.

The reason why the army is so dominant in this series is not because it is the main institution of the Republic. It is thought that it was also published in 1938 with the aim of giving a message to dictatorships such as Germany and Italy, which had fascist policies and threatened the environment of peace in the process leading up to the Second World War. This is an example of the propaganda effect of stamps.

Turkish scouts are featured on the other stamp of the series. Scouting is defined as "*a worldwide sports and educational organization that aims to raise young people in a healthy and beneficial way in spirit and body*" (TDK, 2021). With the Republican era scouting activities, it was aimed to train young people who can contribute to the protection of the nation and homeland, and who are equipped to go to the front armed when necessary (Güven, 2003, p. 70). Young people were raised in accordance with the most well-known slogan of scouting, "*Always Ready*". The depiction of the scouts on the stamp is to convey the message that, apart from the army, the Turkish youth are also ready for the defense of the nation and homeland when necessary, and that they are trained for this purpose. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk emphasized the impact of children and youth on the future of the Republic of Turkey during his speeches. "Young ladies and gentlemen! You are every achievements that the future holds. You will build a bright future for this country. As you work hard, always remind yourselves

your worth and importance. Young ladies, young gentlemen, we expect great achievements from you (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, pp. 45,46)” Atatürk's these words and his Address to the Youth, which affected generations up until today set an example for this.

On another of the stamps included in the 15th anniversary commemoration series, a bridge is depicted on the Samsun-Sivas railway line (Düzenli, 1998, p. 63). As mentioned, transportation activities in the Republican Period were developed by the state. The Samsun-Sivas line were important in terms of providing transportation between the middle parts of Anatolia and the Black Sea region and the development of trade. The construction of the line started on 23 December 1925. All stations of the line were opened on 15 December 1932. The entire Samsun-Sivas line was built by Turkish engineers (Haykır, 2011, pp. 253-262).

Stamps related to developments in agriculture and industry are also included in the series. One of the stamps has a photograph of the Kayseri Combine in Kayseri. Photo courtesy of Austrian-born photographer Othmar Pferschy (Akan & Kuran, 2019, p. 256). Sümerbank Kayseri Cloth Factory is the first factory that emerged as a result of the understanding of national industrialization and etatism in the nationalization process. The factory was created in the form of a combination. It included "*electric power station, foundry, machine repair shops, goods warehouses, garages, cooling pools, canteens, school, lodging, factory dispensary*" (Davulcu & Davulcu, 2019, pp. 10,11). The factory is the product of Turkey-Soviet Union cooperation. It was built on loan from the Soviet Union. The aim of the factory was to process the cotton grown in Turkey and bring it into the economy. The factory, the foundation of which was laid on May 20, 1934, was opened on September 16, 1935 (Semiz & Toplu, 2019, pp. 39,43). The factory was influential in the modernization of the city of Kayseri. In addition to providing job opportunities with its capacity, it also provided economic vitality by developing regional trade. Its establishment in the first years of the Republic was regarded as a success in terms of the national industrial ideal and took place in the 15th Anniversary Series.

On the stamp related to agriculture in the series, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is depicted on a tractor, which is a modern agricultural vehicle. As stated in the study, ensuring development and mechanization in agriculture has been very important for a country like Turkey with an agricultural economy. Like many aspects inherited in the first years of the Republic, primitiveness prevails in agriculture and areas related to agriculture. It was obligatory for the founding cadres of the Republic to carry out studies on agriculture, which was the main income area of the country. As stated in the study, the İzmir Economy Congress was effective in planning the innovations. The direct sharing of the aspires and current problems of the

farmers participating in the congress was effective in the emergence of a planned development. Between 1923 and 1938, efforts were made to increase the import of machinery, agricultural tools and vehicles. Anatolian agriculture, which is mostly a "Closed Economy" due to its limited transportation opportunities, has made progress especially in export products with the investments made and the innovations introduced. With a planned population policy, the lack of manpower created by the long wars was tried to be eliminated. With the institutions established in the villages, it is aimed that the villagers make a conscious agriculture. The schools established in these regions are the most suitable examples of this. The state supported the people in issues such as machinery, railway and highway, security, credit, and grounding. In this way, production in Anatolia increased and the qualified agriculture was enabled step by step. This has been considered as one of the Republic's achievements and is featured in the fifteenth anniversary series.

3.2.11 The 10th Anniversary of the Alphabet Reform Series



Figure 30 The 10th Anniversary of the Alphabet Reform November 2, 1938. (İsfila, 2018, s. 182)

The printing of stamps for the 10th Anniversary of the Alphabet Reform was agreed by the decision of the Council of Ministers on 29.8.1938 (BCA, Kararlar Dairesi Müdürlüğü, 29.8.1938). The series, which entered into force on November 2, 1938, consisted of six stamps of different colors and values. These stamps were printed in Switzerland at the Courvoisier Printing House.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk organized various trips in Anatolia in order to promote the new Turkish letters. On the stamp, his photograph taken while introducing the new letters in front of the blackboard in Kayseri on September 20, 1928 is depicted. During the trips to Anatolia, the new letters were introduced to the public as seen in the image and the purpose was tried to be explained to the public. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's words about the old writing

system "We have to save ourselves from the signs that led us keep our minds within iron cages, signs that we could not understand, and gain a new understanding" (Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, 1997, p. 272) summarize his perspective on the new Turkish letters.

The Alphabet Reform, which took place on November 1, 1928, was influential in the creation of a common written language and in making educational activities widespread in the nation-state formation process. The adoption of the new Turkish alphabet was necessary in order to facilitate and ensure the Turkish nation's participation in the civilized world. In addition, the creation of a national alphabet, which was created with letters suitable for the Turkish language instead of the Arabic alphabet, was necessary to nationalize and create a national culture.

When the postage stamps introduced between 1923-1938 are examined, it is seen that the revolutions carried out in the first years of the Republic are often included in the stamps. The alphabet reform is the only reform to have a dedicated series. This proves the importance attributed to the alphabet reform.

Years	The Period of the National Struggle and Nationalism Themed Stamps	Mustafa Kemal Atatürk	Social and Economic Developments	Modernization
1924	2	1	-	-
1925	-	-	-	-
1926	3	1	2	-
1927	-	-	3	-
1928	1	-	-	-
1929	2	1	3	-
1930	3	1	4	-
1931	-	1	-	-
1932	2	-	3	-
1933	3	2	3	1
1934	5	1	2	2
1935	2	1	5	15
1936	2	4	1	1
1937	3	1	1	1
1938	3	3	12	12

Table 2 Overview of stamps designed and printed by the Republic of Turkey between 1924-1938 according to themes³.

³ Table 2 was created by taking into account the İSFİLA Turkish Stamps Catalogue (1863-2018).

CONCLUSION

The definitions of the words Homeland, Nation and Nationalism vary according to the perspectives of the people using these words and the structure of the society. For example, the use of homeland as a political expression in the modern sense in the Ottoman Empire took place in the middle of the 19th century with the influence of the French language in the middle of the 19th century. The word "nation", on the other hand, has a religious connotation for a long time and has been used to express religious communities. The use of these words with their current meanings initiated the developments that changed the course of Turkish history. It has not been possible to make a common definition for nationalism. Various opinions have emerged in order to define nationalism and to make sense of the concept. These views are explained in detail under three main headings in this study: Primordialist, Modernist, and Ethno-symbolist. These views are also divided into sections within themselves. For example, the primordialist approach is divided into three as naturalist, biological and cultural. The naturalist approach is also divided into another perspective as "perennialism". The prevailing view among historians and politicians who aim to build a nation-state or who aim to build a nation-state and develop this state is the naturalist perspective of the perennialist approach. According to them, the nation has existed naturally and since ancient times. This point of view considers nationalism as the most essential characteristic of humanity in every era. According to the perennialist approach, there are six basic features that make up nations, and these features do not change even if the requirements of the era change, and the national essence cannot be eliminated. In this way, the nation can revive nationalism whenever it needs it.

People who adopt the Modernist approach, which is another perspective that has emerged to make sense of nationalism, consider concepts such as nation and nationalism as concepts belonging to modern times. According to them, the concepts of modern times reveal nation and nationalism. Nations emerge after nationalism. According to some researchers, these concepts belonging to modern times are urbanization, increase in literacy rates and increase in mass media. These concepts are effective in the formation of concepts such as nation and nationalism. The modernist approach also attaches importance to the influence of elites in societies. They claim that societies can form a nation by coming together with the influence of elites. According to the modernists, it is important to follow the nations that have

passed this stage in this process and to adapt them to their own processes independently, closed to outside interventions. The elites are also influential in the creation of national consciousness in the society. History helps the elite in this process. History helps societies to achieve their goals and to adopt concepts such as nation and nationalism. Modernists have also treated concepts such as nationality and nationalism as the product of social engineering. Social engineering is made possible by the invention of tradition. Societies bond with invented traditions and create a sense of continuity. Certain modernist researchers claim that nations were invented through the transformation existing cultural communities. This invention stems from the fact that there can be no awareness of creating a nation at every stage in the historical process. For example, in the hunter-gatherer phase, meeting the basic needs is at the forefront, and it was not possible to feel any belonging to concepts such as nation and nationalism, and it was not possible for such concepts to emerge while there was a struggle for survival. Among the modernists, there are also researchers who argue that nations are imagined communities, and that the greatest condition for being a nation is to be able to revive a common dream in the minds of societies. According to them, concepts such as nation and nationalism became possible with the disappearance of the views and activities that had been dominant in the society for a longer time. For example, the end of the monopoly of Latin and the increase in the visibility and strength of local languages led to an increase in the literacy rate of societies. With the increase in literacy, the way to become a common nation is opened. Societies that have a deep-rooted past and are conscious their roots move forward by obtaining strength from the past. It is important to increase literacy rates to be conscious of the past. Modernists argue that language and history studies contribute to national consciousness.

Ethno-symbolism, the last approach in the study, defines nationalism on the basis of ethnic background and culture. Some researchers argue that national identities are shaped by myths, values and symbols from the past and create continuity. Because of this idea of continuity, the development process of nations should be addressed over a wide period of time. Ethno-symbolists claim that today's modern societies can be analyzed together with their ancestors. According to them, modern nationalism is related to ethnic communities and ethnic identities have preserved their durability despite the adversities experienced in the historical process. This durability of ethnic identities becomes possible through intergenerational transmission. Intellectuals are effective in intergenerational transmission processes. Intellectuals reveal national feelings by making use of history. Intellectuals also enable the passive sections of the society to become active and participate in the nation-

building process. According to Smith, one of the ethno-symbolist writers, nationalism is divided into ethnic nationalism and territorial nationalism. Territorial nationalism types aim to build a nation-state in the lands that became independent after a process of gaining independence. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, aims to establish a nation based on ethnicity and tends to expand after independence.

Nation and nationalism is important for the formation and development of the concepts of *ulus* and nation-state building. The concept of *ulus* expresses a general unity. It is generally accepted as the ideology of peoples who want to raise their homeland to a contemporary level. In the definitions made, the concept of *ulus* is integrated with a land. According to the idea of *ulusçuluk*, communities, often connected by a common language and land, can unite for a common purpose even if their ethnic origins and nationalities are different. This common goal is to create a nation-state. *Ulusçuluk* is an ideology that has the idea of progress in unity despite all differences. When the views on the emergence of nationalism are examined, the general view is that nations exist and nationalism comes later. This is because nationalism demands a nation-state. The nation-state is established after the demand of nationalism. The nationalization process is initiated when the members of the nation believe that they are part of a nation. Nationalism is supplied in nation-states. Rising nationalism bears traits unique to the nation in question. With the emergence of nation-states, the bond of religion and dynasty was replaced by nationalism. Nationalist nation-states took the place of empires that owed their existence to religion and dynasty.

Turks were the last community to meet nationalism and *ulusçuluk* in the Ottoman Empire. This is because they were the founding members of the state. Being a Muslim rather than being a Turk in the Ottoman Empire regarded as an identity. In the process until the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, nationalism spread among the Turks as well. In the succeeding process, it naturally demanded a nation-state and a nation-state was built in which all the members coexist. The Turkish nation-state building process, which provided the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, also contained religious elements during the years of the National Struggle. After 1924, secular nationalism was dominant until 1929. The religious and dynastic bond was replaced by the political nationalism. Turkish nationalism emerged as an ethno-cultural nationalism between 1928-1938. The War of Independence plays an important role in the emergence of the Turkish nation-state. The increase in the sense of unity in order to struggle to realize a common goal and to overcome the social traumas of the years of occupation has formed the basis of nation building. The traditional principle of Islam-Ottoman dualism has been replaced by national sovereignty and full independence. Turkish

nation-state building also has an ideal of modernization. This ideal prevented traditionalism from dominating. Turkish nationalism revealed Kemalism. The basic principles of Kemalism have become inseparable parts of the Turkish nation-state. The targeted modernization and nation-state ideal has been achieved with the principles of "*Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Etatism, Secularism and Revolutionism*". Social elements such as history, language, education, economy and religion have been restructured based on six basic principles according to the requirements of the nation state.

History and language studies were important in the formation of the nation-state. Thanks to the established Turkish History Research Society and the academic studies of the society, the origin of Turkish history was researched and illuminated. History functions as a mirror for societies. It has been regarded as a necessity for societies to discover their past in order to build the future. With the Turkish History Thesis, which emerged as a result of the studies, it was aimed to reveal the evidence of the existence of the Turks in Anatolia. Anatolia means common homeland for Turks. The common homeland is one of the requirements of the nation-state. The idea of having a common and deep-rooted language is also effective in the formation of the nation-state. The most comprehensive study on language is the alphabet reform. The Arabic alphabet inherited from the Ottoman Empire was replaced by an alphabet consisting of Latin letters suitable for Turkish. This step has broken another bond with the past. Thanks to the written language, which became compatible with the spoken language with the alphabet reform, the literacy rate increased. The increase in literacy rate accelerated the nation-state building process. Historical studies have reached more people in this way. At the same time, innovations made through newspapers were disseminated to the public. Through the Turkish Language Investigation Society, which was established in 1932, steps were taken to simplify the language. The Sun Language Theory claims that the languages are descend from the language of the Central Asian Turks. Turks have aimed to reveal that they are among the world civilizations with the history and language studies and even that they are the source of many civilizations.

Communication activities also played an effective role in the formation of the nation-state. Communication has existed since the first eras of human history. Communication activities, which started with primitive methods, continue with modern mass media today. The most important contribution of communication to the nation-state building process was the postal activities. Postal activities form the basis of mass communication. Postal activities first took place for the service of a certain group of executives or for military purposes. With the establishment of the Ministry of Post in the Ottoman Empire in 1840, postal activities

were put into the service of the civilian population. The first post office, named "*Postahane-i Amire*", opened in the same year, facilitated the civilian population to receive postal service. Postal activities were also eagerly used during the National Struggle period. With the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920, one of the priority issues in the formation of the Council of Ministers and the distribution of duties was the "Post and Telegraph Office". In the same period, the first post office of the Republic of Turkey was opened under the name of "Grand National Assembly Government Post and Telegraph Center" in a tent in the parliament garden. Despite the financial difficulties experienced in the war environment, no budget restrictions were made to the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph. Postal activities ensured that the communication needs were met uninterruptedly in the war environment.

Postage stamps, which were started to be used in postal activities to indicate that the fee was paid in advance, also had an impact on the nation-state building process. Stamp is a communication tool that reflects national identity. It gives information about the state and nation to which it belongs to the persons it reaches. For this reason, they are deemed as the ambassadors of the country they are affiliated with. It is very easy for postage stamps to reach the masses. It is possible to make a historical fiction through stamps. The first postage stamp in the world appeared in England. The Ottoman Empire also started to use postage stamps in the process after the establishment of the Postal Ministry. The stamps of the Ottoman State generally consist of the sultan's signatures. The only clue about the current situation on the stamps was the sultan's signature. In the following periods, various images were included in the stamps. The National Struggle and Turkish Republic stamps, unlike the Ottoman Empire stamps, provide many clues about the current situation in their design.

It is known that during the National Struggle, the management staff of the Post and Telegraph General Directorate worked in the same room and used the same table and tools. Despite these difficult conditions, steps have been taken to meet the communication needs. Ankara Government, being aware of the symbolic meaning of postage stamps, found it necessary to issue stamps. Due to the financial impossibilities experienced, first the existing Ottoman State stamps were surcharged. In this surcharge process, the real representative of the nation was underlined by using the word "Ankara". Access to the printing house for the surcharge process was also temporary. There were also processes in which surcharges were made with the works collected in Ankara. Despite all these difficulties, the issue of stamps came up frequently in the parliament and it was planned to issue stamps to commemorate the National Struggle. It is the first series designed and printed with the "Genoa Printing Postage

Stamps" issued by the Ankara Government in 1922. It is possible to see traces of Anatolia, the National Struggle and views such as Turkism-Islamism in the series. The Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Crescent-Star Series were also printed by the Ankara Government. In the period after the proclamation of the Republic, it has been possible to understand and interpret the establishment and development of the Turkish Republic and the Turkish nation-state building process from the postage stamps, from the series named "Commemorative Stamps for Lausanne Treaty of Peace" to the "The 10th Anniversary of the Alphabet Reform, 1938 " series. In the mentioned process, symbols reflecting the ideology that dominated the state, innovations and technological developments, the leader figure, social joys and sorrows, Turkish women, Anatolian cities, events and agreements were depicted on postage stamps. The development and transformation of the Republic of Turkey, from the Lausanne Peace Treaty series featuring a ruined bridge and the founding-rescuer leader figure to the aircraft fleet in the 15th Anniversary of the Republic series, was also reflected on the postage stamps. The state regarded stamps as small posters and carefully determined the themes to be depicted. With the development of postal activities, stamps reached every corner of Anatolia and reached every house. The reach of the stamp into every house means that the state and revolutions reach every house.

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