

The Place and Character of Positivist Thought in
Kemalism:
An Evaluation Based on the Example of Eskişehir
Sugar Factory

Anıl Sakarya



A thesis presented to the

Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
at Boğaziçi University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

June 2025

Approvals

“The Place and Character of Positivist Thought in Kemalism: An Evaluation Based on the Example of Eskişehir Sugar Factory,” a thesis prepared by Anıl Sakarya in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, has been approved on _____ by:

THESIS ADVISOR

Professor Mehmet Asım Karaömerlioğlu
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Associate Professor Okan Ceylan
Department of the Principles of Atatürk and
Turkish Revolution History
Ege University

Professor Murat Metinsoy
Department of Political Science and International
Relations İstanbul University

Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this thesis, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.



Copyright ©2025 Anil Sakarya.

Some rights reserved.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

To view a copy of this license, visit

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

Abstract

The Place and Character of Positivism in Kemalism: An Evaluation Based on the Eskişehir Sugar Factory Example

Anıl Sakarya, Master's Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2025

Professor M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Thesis Advisor

In this thesis, the relationship between Kemalism, the founding movement of the Republic of Turkey, and the positivist thought that is prevalent in its discourses is questioned. What is expressed here with Kemalism is the mental world of its founder Atatürk and its reflection. The evaluation in this study, unlike many studies in the field, is made by focusing on actions and positioning discourses as complementary elements. In this sense, the example chosen is the actions around the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, which was seriously valued by the government and had contact with many areas of life in the 1930s, the period when Kemalism could realize its ideals relatively most freely. The main test of the evaluation is to evaluate the structure of Kemalism's relationship with positivism on the axis of establishing an organic or pragmatic bond. Thus, Kemalism, a political movement that managed to come to power, is questioned by focusing on its actions, as it should be. Discourses are not excluded but take their place in the evaluation as a complementary element. Thus, discourses are verified through actions. In addition, geographical and climatic factors also contribute to the research through the detailed data provided. In addition, the effects of internal power struggles within the CHP administration on the government's business style are among the factors examined. As a result, it can be seen that the Kemalist administration, from the moment it came to power, immediately began to implement methods aimed at scientific development in order to improve the legacy it received from the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, the main method applied is a system in which new institutions are

created by bringing foreign experts to the country, successful students are sent abroad, those who studied abroad return to Turkey and keep the scientific institutions alive, and foreign experts are used again when improvements are needed. This entire method has been applied in a very realistic, systematic and disciplined manner. As a result, actions proceeded in a manner consistent with the discourses. On the other hand, another important indicator to see the Kemalist administration's connection with the positivist approach is that all parties defend their theses with very rational methods in the internal power struggles. Moreover, the Kemalist administration never deviated from this when it was at its strongest and most free. Therefore, the conclusion reached here is that Kemalism's bond with positivist thought is quite organic and this bond is reinforced for pragmatic purposes and by the benefits seen.

37,000 words



Özet

Kemalizm’de Pozitivizmin Yeri ve Karakteri: Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası
Örneği Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme

Anıl Sakarya, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2025

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Profesör Dr.M.Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tezde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kurucu hareketi olan Kemalizm’in söylemlerinde geniş bulan pozitivist düşünceyle ilişkisi sorgulanır. Burada Kemalizm ile ifade edilen kurucusu Atatürk’ün zihin dünyası ve bunun yansımasıdır. Bu çalışmadaki değerlendirme de alanda yapılmış pek çok çalışmanın aksine eylemleri merkeze alıp söylemleri tamamlayıcı unsur olarak konumlandırarak yapılır. Bu anlamda, seçilen örnek ise Kemalizm’in kendi ideallerini görece en özgürce gerçekleştirebildiği dönem olan 1930’larda hükümet tarafından ciddi şekilde değer verilen ve hayatın pek çok alanına teması bulunan Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikasının çevresindeki eylemlerdir. Değerlendirmenin ana sınama konusu da Kemalizm’in pozitivizmle ilişkisinin yapısını organik veya pragmatik bağ kurma ekseninde değerlendirmektir. Böylece, iktidara gelmeyi başarmış bir siyasi hareket olan Kemalizm olması gerektiği gibi eylemleri merkeze alınarak sorgulanmış olur. Söylemler de dışlanmaz, tamamlayıcı unsur olarak değerlendirmede yerini alır. Böylece, söylemlerin eylemler üzerinden sağlaması yapılmış olur. Ayrıca, coğrafi ve iklimsel faktörler de sağlanan detaylı veriler üzerinden araştırmaya katkı sağlar. Bunlara ek olarak, CHP yönetimdeki iç güç çekişmelerinin hükümetin iş yapma tarzına etkileri de irdelenen unsurlar arasındadır. Sonucunda, Kemalist yönetimin iktidara geldiği dönemden itibaren zaman kaybetmeden Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndan aldığı mirası geliştirmek için bilimsel gelişimi hedefleyen yöntemleri uygulamaya başladığı görülür. Bu anlamda, uygulanan ana yöntem yabancı uzmanların ülkeye getirilmesiyle yeni

kurumların oluşturulduđu, başarılı öğrencilerin yurtdışına gönderildiđi, yurtdışında eğitim görenlerin Türkiye'ye dönerek bilimsel kurumları yaşattığı ve iyileştirmelere ihtiyaç duyulduğunda yabancı uzmanlardan yeniden yararlanıldığı bir sistemdir. Tüm bu yöntemi de oldukça gerçekçi, sistematik, disiplinli bir şekilde uygulanmıştır. Bunun sonucunda, eylemler söylemlerle tutarlı şekilde ilerlemiştir. Öte yandan, Kemalist yönetimin pozitivist anlayışla olan bađını görmek için içindeki güç çekişmelerinde tüm tarafların kendi tezlerini oldukça rasyonel yöntemlerle savunması da diđer bir önemli göstergedir. Dahası, Kemalist yönetim en güçlü olduđu dönemde de bundan hiç ayrılmamıştır. Dolayısıyla, burada ulaşılan sonuç Kemalizm'in pozitivist düşünceyle bađının oldukça organik olduđu ve bu bađın pragmatik amaçlarla ve görülen faydalarla pekiştirildiđidir.

37,000 kelime

Table of Contents

List of Tables *xiii*

Abbreviations and Acronyms *xv*

1	Introduction	1
2	The Importance of Sugar and Its History in Turkey	7
	2.1 History and importance of sugar First-Degree Heading Title	7
	2.2 Sugar Industry in Turkey before the Republic	11
3	Economy, Sugar Industry and New Institutions in the Early Years of the Republic	21
	3.1 The inheritance left to the Republic	21
	3.2 The birth of the sugar industry in Turkey	27
	3.3 Breakthrough in agriculture modernization	33
4	1929 and After	37
	4.1 1929 and the new, unfettered period in the economy	37
	4.2 “Liberation” in customs tariffs and a new era in the economy	38
	4.3 The economic crisis of 1929 and its aftermath	39
	4.4 1929 and the Turkish economy	41
5	The Road to the Establishment of Eskişehir Sugar Factory and the Establishment Process	49
	5.1 Discussions on the sugar policy after 1929	49
	5.2 The establishment process of Eskişehir Sugar Factory	54
6	Developments in the Operation Process of Eskişehir Sugar Factory	67
	6.1 Mikush Report, before and after	67
	6.2 Establishment of Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi (Turkish Sugar 50 Factories Corporation) and the new sugar policy	71

7	Geographical and Climatic Analysis of the Production Area of Eskişehir Sugar Factory	85
7.1	Structure of sugar production and optimum conditions for it	85
7.2	Geographical and climatic structure of the Eskişehir region and the function of the institutions of in this area	88
7.3	Development of geography studies in Turkey	89
7.4	Rasadat-ı Cevviye and a new era in meteorology	90
7.5	Climatic data and production efficiencies of the Eskişehir region between 1932-1939	94
8	Achievements in the Early Republic Period	103
8.1	Turkish sugar industry in the 1930s	103
8.2	Overview of the Turkish economy in the 1930s	108
8.3	Demographic situation	110
8.4	The structure and economic conditions of Eskişehir Sugar Factory employees	113
8.5	Educated human resources	114
9	Historical Development of Positivism and its reflections in Pre-Republican Turkey	119
9.1	The birth and evolution of positivist thought	119
9.2	Positivist thought in pre-Republican Turkey	122
10	Kemalist Positivism	125
10.1	Major studies written in this field and the authenticity of this thesis	125
10.2	Atatürk's intellectual development	129
11	Eventual Evaluation	137
12	Conclusion	145
	Bibliography	149

List of Tables

Table 7.1	Optimum average temperature and rainfall conditions for sugar beet cultivation	87
Table 7.2	In this sense, the monthly average air temperature and total precipitation values observed at the Eskişehir Meteorology Station in 1932	94
Table 7.3	Values obtained when we examine the climatic data of 1933, when the beet planting was carried out while the factory was still being built	95
Table 7.4	Climatic data for 1934, the first full production year of the factory	96
Table 7.5	Temperature and precipitation data in Eskişehir region in 1935	96
Table 7.6	Temperature-precipitation data for Eskişehir region in 1936	97
Table 7.7	Temperature-precipitation data for Eskişehir region in 1937	97
Table 7.8	Temperature-precipitation data for Eskişehir region in 1938	98
Table 7.9	Climatic data for 1939	98
Table 7.10	General summary of climatic data	99
Table 7.11	1930-1939 Eskişehir region April-September Monthly Average Temperature Data	101
Table 7.12	1930-1939 Eskişehir Region April-September Monthly Total Rainfall Data	102
Table 8.1	Statistics about Turkish sugar sector and ESF in the 1930s	106
Table 8.2	Summary of main data on the Turkish economy in the 1930s	110
Table 8.3	Sectoral distribution of employees in Turkey (%)	113
Table 8.4	The table that emerges when we collect the data for this area in a single table	115



Abbreviations

CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress
DSO	Devlet Sanayi Ofisi
ESF	Eskişehir Sugar Factory
FED	Federal Reserve System
MTA	Maden Tetkik ve Arama
İTC	İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti
SCF	Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası
TBMM	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi
TŞFAŞ	Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirk

Introduction

The life and therefore history is a temporal flow that occurs as a result of the interaction of actors with factors in many areas such as physical, social, intellectual, political, economic. Moreover, coincidences also play a role. Therefore, especially when the effect of coincidences is also considered, it is not possible to fully understand life and so historical periods. At this point, the most comprehensive method that can be applied is to try to better understand the mentality of the actors and to examine the relationship of this mentality with factors outside of them. In this sense, all these factors should be examined in a historical context. Especially the physical ones, namely the geographical and climatic factors in the world, should not be ignored in a historical assessment as they determine the basic conditions of the environment in which we live.

In addition, an assessment of the actors should be made by making comparisons within the conditions of the period. On the other hand, when a mentality has a multidimensional character, a one-dimensional assessment is not enough. In addition, the impact of power relations is also an element that should not be overlooked in the assessment.

In this sense, the dominant power in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey was Atatürk and therefore the Kemalist mentality. Kemalism in this sense is Atatürk's mind itself. What will be evaluated here is this

mentality and the mentality of the CHP of the Early Republican Period that emerged under its influence. Otherwise, as the Kemalist mentality is not a rigid ideology, there are countless formations and people who combine Kemalism with many worldviews. Their evaluation cannot be done within a single framework.

Therefore, there are many studies on the character of Kemalism, but almost all of them take Atatürk's readings, writings and statements as a basis and share his actions (usually the most controversial ones) as complementary elements or examples supporting their theses. However, as Kemalism and its leader Atatürk were main actors who acted as the founder of a new order, his character and the mentality he adopted should be evaluated through actions rather than statements.

What will be evaluated here is the place of the positivist understanding, which has a wide place in Atatürk's world of thought and discourses, in this mindset. The aim of this questioning is not to question the philosophical and academic depth of Kemalism's positivist, rationalist, science-oriented structure. Indeed, Kemalism is a movement that has found the opportunity to realize its mindset, not a philosophical formation. Atatürk is also the founding leader of this movement, not a thinker who could not seize the power. In this sense, making this evaluation on the depth of ideas, as many do, remains problematic. A person or a community can build organic ties with an idea or belief without having in-depth knowledge of it, thinking about it and discussing it deeply. Therefore, the aim here is to see how organically the positivist understanding, which has a wide place in discourse, is built and how pragmatic ties are formed by focusing on actions. In this way, it is possible to evaluate the structure of Kemalism's positivist character in the most naked way in the real world.

In that sense, a political movement who seized the power could apply scientific methods completely pragmatically for any kind of improvement, especially economic development even though it has no organic commitment to positivist understanding. Therefore, any examination on the relationship should be done to see its real character

should focus on what it do when it has the chance do behave differently, namely unscientifically.

Moreover, it could be deviate from scientific methods for populist purposes when it feel a profit by doing so if its ties with positivist view of life is pragmatical.

For this reason, the true character of a person or group should naturally be evaluated based on the actions they take at the “junctions” during the period when they can move most freely, so that their “real face” can be seen. This evaluation should be made based on the actions that touch the most areas, so that analysis can be made on the broadest and most diverse data set.

This period was the 1930s (1929-1939) for Kemalism. The 1920s were years of demographic and economic recovery after long years of war. When it seized power, the Kemalist administration immediately began to implement methods parallel to its understanding in almost every area of life. However, many conditions inherited from the areas mentioned and formed in the environment of the period restricted this. For example, in the economic area, which is one of the most fundamental layers of life and country administration, customs duties were fixed until 1929 as per the provision of the Treaty of Lausanne. So, the CHP government did not have the freedom to form economic policy in this sense. Both the gaining of this freedom in 1929 and the searching environment created by the global economic crisis paved the way for the government to pursue economic policy more freely. In 1939, the start of the Second World War, which seriously affected Turkey economically, politically and militarily, and the fact that Atatürk, who led the movement in every sense, passed away the previous year meant the end of an era in many ways.

In terms of sample study, first of all, it should be evaluated as a case study of an action that the regime values and can be examined in many areas. In this sense, Eskişehir Sugar Factory, which was one of the factories with the highest production capacity established by the state in these years. It was directly related to the agricultural sector, which had a very large weight of 80 percent in the Turkish economic structure of the

period, provides quite extensive data. Therefore, it would be an accurate choice for this research.

During the evaluation, the importance of sugar, its history in Turkey, the economic, demographic and intellectual heritage that the Republic received from the Ottoman Empire and the steps taken in these areas in the 1920s will be examined. Afterwards, the period of change brought by 1929 will be summarized and the steps in the establishment and operation of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory will enable the evaluation of the positivist aspect of the Kemalist government through actions. On the other hand, in order to understand the structure of sugar beet production in the region as part of agricultural production, the geographical-climatic suitability of the region and the situation of the climatic conditions in the years covered by the study will be examined through detailed data. It will also be questioned how much attention was paid to these factors in these years and what is done in that sense.

As a result of these actions, the situation of the Turkish sugar sector in the late 1930s and basic data on the Turkish economy will be examined to see the short-term results of the government's actions in these areas.

On the other hand, the origins and historical development of positivist thought will be summarized and positivists in Turkey and their ideas will be examined to see the sources of inspiration for Atatürk. In this context, the environment in which Atatürk grew up, the education he received and the books he read will also be part of the evaluation.

In this way, both actions will be centered, and discourses will not be excluded. In order to directly see the difference of this study from other studies in the field, it will be useful to examine the main studies written on the subject as examples.

In addition, the conditions of the 1930s should be taken into consideration when making an assessment, so that Kemalism and its actions can be understood in the context of the day. Otherwise, assessments that are detached from the historical context will not be a study of history, but an unhealthy judgment, and many times an ideological showdown. In addition, just as life progresses chronologically, the events discussed in this thesis will be followed in chronological order

as much as possible, so that it will be easier to evaluate the reason for the actions, the purpose of the actors and the methods they adopted in the context of the day they took place.

Ultimately, as Atatürk stated in his speech in the Grand National Assembly in 1937, his main goal was to create a revolution in mentality, and as a “dynamic ideal,” the path to this was through “unity of thought and action” established by working in a rational manner.¹ This revolution in mentality also had multiple dimensions. When the discourses are taken into consideration, perhaps the most important of these was that the new society aimed to be created by the Republic internalized access to knowledge in life only through reason and scientific methods.

Therefore, in this thesis, the evaluation of this positivist character of the Kemalist understanding beyond discourses through actions is made, and when compared to the studies on this subject, an evaluation is made based on the realized aspect of the mentality with an original study, at least in terms of method. Thus, the evaluation of Kemalism, which aimed for social change and achieved the dominance of power to achieve this, is made not in terms of ideological depth, but through its actions. Discourses are not excluded, and the unity of discourse and action is also one of the points to be questioned. In this way, a comprehensive evaluation and analysis of the relationship of the mentality with one of its most important mainstays is provided.

¹ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.20, session 3,01.11.1937,7.



The Importance of Sugar and Its History in Turkey

2.1 History and importance of sugar

The phenomena covered in a study, the value given to them and their changes over time should be examined in detail so that their place in the time covered can be seen and a satisfactory context can be provided to the reader. As the example of this study is a sugar factory and the developments around it, firstly importance of the substance called sugar for humans should be revealed. Then, the history of sugar production and consumption should be summarized. In this way, the importance of this production and its place in the historical context can be better understood.

In this sense, first of all, the human body needs energy to live and function. Carbohydrates are the most basic sources for this energy need. Glucose, as a subtype of carbohydrate, provides the organism with approximately 4 kcal of energy per gram and this energy is used relatively quickly in the body, making it a valuable energy source.² Sugar is also a direct energy source for humans, as it is the generic name for the nutrient sucrose, which is chemically composed of glucose and fructose

² Drewnowski, Adam. "Nutrient density: addressing the challenge of obesity ." British Journal of Nutrition , October 30, 2018:9.

molecules.³ In parallel with this, humans have had an evolutionary desire for sugary foods.⁴

Historically, during the Paleolithic period, wild honey sources were first collected and became a source of sugar and therefore energy for humans.⁵ In addition, the sap of various trees such as maple and palm was also consumed as a source of sugar.⁶ It is thought that sugar cane, as the main source of sugar, was first cultivated in New Guinea around 4000 BC at the latest and spread to the world from there.⁷ The production of refined sugar from sugar cane began centuries later in India. Moreover, the etymological origin of the word sugar comes from the Sanskrit word "sharkara" (earth-soil), the Latin version of which "sugarum" eventually became the English word "sugar".⁸

On the other hand, in India during this period, sugar was mainly used for medicinal purposes.⁹ Sugar production from sugar cane spread from here to China and Iran over time.¹⁰ Sugar culture, which was spread to the Mediterranean geography by the Arabs,¹¹ was taken from the Middle East to Europe by the Crusaders.¹² Sugar was also used in Europe for centuries, even until the 18th century, mainly for medicinal purposes.¹³

³ Smith, Andrew F. *Sugar A Global History*. London : Reaktion Books Ltd. , 2015,9.

⁴ Drewnowski, 1144p.

⁵ Crittenden, Alyssa N. "The Importance of Honey Consumption in Human Evolution." *Food and Foodways*, December 8, 2011:259.

⁶ Eyüboğlu, Ceyhan A. "Şeker Fabrikasyonunun Tarihçesi ve Türkiye'den Şeker Sanayi." *Kimya Mühendisliği*, volume 3, issue 23, 1967:14.

⁷ Smith,10.

⁸ Avenas, Pierre. " Etymology of Main Polysaccharide Names ." In *The European Polysaccharide Network of Excellence (EPNOE)*, by Patrick Navard, 13-23. Vienna : Springer, 2012,14.

⁹ Gopal, Lallanji. "Sugar - Making in Ancient India ." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, April 1964,71.

¹⁰ Abbott, Elizabeth. *Sugar: a Bittersweet History*. New York: Duckworth, 2010,19.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Bronstein, Judith, Edna J. Stern, and Elisabeth Yehuda. "Franks, Locals and Sugar Cane : a Case Study of Cultural Interaction in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem ." *Journal of Medieval History* , May 2, 2019:317.

¹³ Fischler, Claude. " Attitudes Towards Sugar and Sweetness in Historical and Social Perspective ." In *Sweetness* , by J. Dobbing, 83-98. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1987,87.

The developmental leap in sugar production was seen in the Age of Geographical Discovery, when Christopher Columbus carried sugar cane seeds to the American continent.¹⁴ With the efforts of Portuguese colonists, sugar cane plantations were established in the Caribbean and Brazil in the 16th century, and there was a huge increase in sugar production. So much so that the sugar production and export in these colonies, especially in Brazil, destroyed the sugar production in the Mediterranean.¹⁵

During this period, sugar was transported to Europe in its raw form and refined in refineries in Europe.¹⁶ Thus, production was made in Europe and from there, sugar was sold to the world. In addition, since production was provided in Europe, which was the main consumption center, distribution to the main market was relatively easy. In the 16th century, Antwerp became rich thanks to the sugar trade, but when the Spanish captured the city, Antwerp lost its wealth. In the 17th century, the British, Dutch and French began to establish sugar cane plantations in their colonies, and the dominance of Brazil was broken. Port cities such as London, Bristol and Amsterdam became rich thanks to the sugar trade.¹⁷

Sugar production in North America began in the 18th century with the production of sugar cane in the southern Mississippi basin, and a refinery was established in New York. In the 19th century, the first technologically advanced refinery was established on Long Island in New York by German entrepreneurs who immigrated from England.¹⁸ As in every production area, industrialization in sugar production rapidly increases production.

Another important development in sugar production in this century was the beginning of sugar production from the sugar beet (beta

¹⁴ McGregor, Duncan. " Contemporary Caribbean Ecologies: The Weight of History ." In *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples* , by Stephan Palmié, A. Scarano and Francisco, 39-52. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011,39.

¹⁵ Smith,13.

¹⁶ Smith,14.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Smith,21.

vulgaris). In fact, in the late 16th century, French botanist and agriculturalist Olivier de Serres obtained sweet syrup from beets, but this practice did not become widespread in these years.¹⁹ In 1747, German chemist Andreas Sigismund Marggraf discovered that there was sugar in beets and managed to extract this sugar from the plant using alcohol, and beets became a source of sugar. Marggraf's student Franz Karl Archard industrialized this production method, and a new era in sugar production began.²⁰ The first sugar beet sugar production factory was established in Prussia in 1801 under the patronage of the Prussian King William III.²¹ However, since the sugar produced from sugar beets was below that of cane sugar during this period, beet sugar producers of the period suffered losses. Therefore, the development of the sector was slow in its early years.

Over the years, the sugar content of beets has been increased through genetic modification, reaching 15-20 percent.²² European powers that did not want to import sugar from British colonies also started sugar beet cultivation in their own countries.²³ With negative influence of the Haitian Revolution, which began with the rebellion of slaves in the French colony of Haiti, which accounted for approximately 40 percent of the world's sugar production in 1791, sugar production from beets developed in France in the first half of the 19th century under the leadership of Napoleon.²⁴ France, Germany, Russia and Austria were the major producers of beet sugar in the 19th century, and over a hundred sugar factories were operated in these countries.²⁵ In the United States,

¹⁹ Carioca, JOB, Leal, and MRLV "Ethanol Production from Sugar-Based Feedstocks." In Comprehensive Biotechnology 2nd Edition, by Murray Moo-Young, 24-34. Elsevier, 2011,29.

²⁰ Cooke, DA, and R. K. Scott. The Sugar Beet Crop: Science into Practice . Chapman&Hall, 1993,8.

²¹ Cooke;Scott,10.

²² Eyüboğlu, 15. Cooke; Scott, 14.

²³ Knight, Franklin W. "The Haitian Revolution ." The American History Review, Volume 105,issue1, February 2000,107.

²⁴ Cooke;Scott,13.

²⁵ Cooke; Scott,18-19.

although the sugar industry developed later than in Europe, at least 34 sugar factories were established by 1900.²⁶

In summary, sugar is a basic source of energy for the human body as a carbohydrate source. As a result, after humanity had access to sugar through gathering for thousands of years, sugar cane cultivation began in Southeast Asia around the fourth millennium BC. Refining sugar from sugar cane and turning it into powder began thousands of years later in India. From here on, sugar was consumed primarily for medicinal purposes for centuries until modernity.

Sugar production from sugar cane, which spread throughout the world over time, has also been the primary sugar production method for a long time. Due to the growing conditions of sugar cane, agricultural production has been limited to tropical and subtropical climate zones. Sugar production from sugar beet was first realized in Germany in the 18th century, and thus sugar production began in Europe, which was the main consumer of sugar during this period. Therefore, sugar production from beet is a much newer method than sugar cane production, and its emergence was provided by scientific studies and was the beginning of important developments in the scientificization of sugar production.

2.2 Sugar industry in Turkey before the Republic

In such an evaluation, especially in the early period of the Republic, it is essential to examine the events and conditions before the Republic in order to evaluate the developments in the period in question more fairly. In this sense, the situation of the sugar sector in Turkey before the Republic should be described here so that the inquiry taking the Early Republic Period as an example can proceed with awareness of the historical background and the conditions of the period.

In this context, by the 19th century, sugar cane production had been going on for centuries in the Ottoman geography, specifically in Egypt and

²⁶ Cooke;Scott,22.

Cyprus.²⁷ Over time, the sugar factories in Egypt also increased.²⁸ After sugar consumption continued for many years in Turkey, the need to produce sugar was felt in the 19th century. As a result, there were attempts to establish sugar industries in various regions of the empire by investors with various identities. In his doctoral thesis evaluating the sugar industry in Turkey, Sedat Avcı also states that the factories established during the Tanzimat Period can be divided into 3 groups: 1) factories with military identities established with state capital, 2) domestic private initiatives, 3) factories established by foreign monopolist investors.²⁹ The attempts made to establish sugar factories also show a similar diversity.

In this sense, the first attempt to establish a sugar factory in Turkey was made by Müşir Mustafa Necip Pasha in 1838. Pasha aimed to establish a sugar factory in Istanbul and planned to supply sugar cane from the Antalya region. In the following years, there were disagreements about the factory land, while factory equipment was supplied from England, after the Pasha's death, the factory remained unestablished.³⁰

However, during this period, attempts in the sugar sector did not end on the contrary, it was a beginning. Indeed, in 1840, the Istanbul merchant Dimitri Efendi applied to the Ministry of Trade and obtained a license for a sugar factory. He also ensured that no taxes other than tithe were collected. However, since the beets produced in the country during this period were not suitable for sugar production, Dimitri Efendi was informed that he had to import seeds.³¹ Despite state support, the

²⁷ Karademir, Zafer. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Şeker Üretim ve Tüketimi." Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi, Spring 2015,184.

²⁸ Karayaman, Mehmet. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Şeker Fabrikası Kurma Teşebbüsleri." Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi, July 2010:300.

²⁹ Avcı, Sedat. Türkiye'de Şeker Sanayii. PhD Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1991,40.

³⁰ BOA. A.MKT.MVL. 4-85; Karayaman, 301/302.

³¹ BOA., HAT., 755-35678 ;Karayaman, 302.

establishment of the sugar factory did not take place under these conditions.³²

In this period, attempts were also made to modernize agricultural production. In this sense, the “Zirâat Talimhanesi” (Agricultural Training Center) was established in Yeşilköy in 1847, education was given in the school on agriculture (including sugar production), animal husbandry, plant and animal diseases.³³ However, the education in the school could not be provided as efficiently as desired and it was closed only four years later in 1851.

In 1862, the French engineer Dopeper wanted to establish a sugar factory in Istanbul, but this attempt was unsuccessful.³⁴ In 1863, the governor of Canik, Ali Rıza Bey, applied to the government to develop sugar cane farming in the Kızılırmak delta and to establish a sugar factory. Sugar cane seeds were imported in 1864, and in the following years, permission was granted to Kirkyan Serkez Efendi, one of the entrepreneurs of the region, for the sugar factory he wanted to establish, with a 5-year tax privilege.³⁵ This attempt also was unsuccessful.

On the other hand, in 1866, Davutoğlu Karabet Efendi applied to the Izmir Governorship to establish two sugar factories in Istanbul and Izmir. He planned to obtain the sugar raw material from both sugar cane and sugar beet and requested a 25-year privilege. As a result, Karabet Efendi was granted a 20-year province-based privilege for Istanbul and Izmir, and a multi-layered, detailed license with 9 articles was issued for the operation of the factory.³⁶

Meanwhile, in 1867, the Ottoman government established the Rasathane-i Amire (today's Kandilli Observatory) in Pera and began making meteorological measurements, which continued until a fire in

³² Avcı, 1991, 43.

³³ Kadioğlu, Sevtap. "Osmanlı Döneminde Türkiye'de Ziraat Okulları Üzerine Notlar ve "Tedrisat-ı Ziraîye Nizamnamesi"." Kutadgubilig: Felsefe Bilim Araştırmaları, 2005,241.

³⁴ BOA.,MVL., 406-27.; Karayaman, 314.

³⁵ BOA.İ.MMS.,38-1578.;Karayaman, 303.

³⁶ BOA.A.MKT.MHM., 357-86.; Karayaman, 304.

1911 ended meteorological measurement activities.³⁷ Until the establishment of this observatory, modern meteorological measurements consisted of individual measurements made by foreign civilians from 1839 onwards, with the observatory, measurements by the state began.³⁸ As these measurements ensured the determination of climatic conditions had fundamental importance for many activities, including agricultural production.

On the other hand, attempts for starting sugar production continued. In 1879, the Monsieur Michel Efendi applied to the state with a request for a privilege to grow sugar beets between Darıca and Hendek on the railway around Istanbul and to establish a sugar factory. This request was discussed in "Meclis-i Vükela", the Council of Ministers.³⁹ A report was prepared by the "Nafia Nezareti", (Ministry of Public Works), which was the equivalent of today's Ministry of Environment and Urbanization at that time. The report stated that sugar was a basic consumer good and therefore domestic production was seen as beneficial in reducing imports. Even though it meant going against the liberal competitive understanding of the period, it was decided to grant a privilege to establish a sugar industry. This privilege was also a package of 15-20 years, limited to 5-6 provinces and containing various tax privileges.⁴⁰ Monsieur Michel Efendi found the privilege period insufficient and objected to it, requesting a 37-year privilege. This objection was not accepted.⁴¹

In 1879, students were sent to France to receive education in agriculture. These students gained experience in the production of many

³⁷ Yılmaz, F., Tsamados, M. & Osborn, D. " Digitizing Ottoman daily weather Observations of Halkalı Agricultural School in Istanbul , Turkey (1896–1917)." *Geoscience Data Journal*,11, 2024,161.

³⁸ Yılmaz, F., Tsamados, M. & Osborn, D.,2024,163.

³⁹ BOA. İ.MMS, 64-3020.; Karayaman, 306.

⁴⁰ BOA., İ.MMS. 65-3054.; Karayaman, 307.

⁴¹ BOA.ŞD.TNZ., 2432-10.; Karayaman, 308.

agricultural products, including sugar beets.⁴² In 1887, Moller, who retired from the French embassy, wanted to establish a sugar factory with his partners, but he was unsuccessful.⁴³ In 1890, German officers served as vice chairmen in the commission formed under the chairmanship of Ferik Tefvik Pasha to deal with sugar factory applications.⁴⁴ This is an indication that regulation was needed in this area. Considering that sugar production developed in Germany in the 19th century and the Ottoman-German collaborations of the period, it is not surprising that German officers were included in the commission, but it is noteworthy. Following this, another unsuccessful attempt occurred in Elazığ in 1890.⁴⁵

In 1891, after years of effort, Halkalı Higher Agricultural School was established and modern agriculture, forestry and veterinary education was started.⁴⁶ In addition to these, an observatory was established in the Agricultural School and meteorological measurements were made there between 1896 and 1917.⁴⁷ This school was also inherited from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic.

Again, in 1891, Marshal of the Imperial Army (Hassa Ordu-u Hümayun Müşiri) Mehmed Rauf Pasha applied to the government to establish sugar beet farming and a factory near Edirne, where he had previously served as governor. He requested a ten-year tithe tax privilege on the beet to be produced. The request was accepted along with various other tax privileges.⁴⁸ Rauf Pasha also requested that the privilege be extended to 20 years, and that no customs duty be collected on the sugar syrup to be imported due to the possible negative effects on beet farming as a result of adverse soil and climate conditions. These demands were also

⁴² Polatoğlu, Mehmed Gökhan. Atatürk Ansiklopedisi. October 17, 2022.

<https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/seker-fabrikalari/> (accessed August 30, 2024).

⁴³ BOA.Y.PRKZ. AZJ.,12-62.; Karayaman, 314.

⁴⁴ BOA.İ.DH.,1192-93307.; Karayaman, 308.

⁴⁵ BOA.İ.DH,1171-91527.; Karayaman, 314.

⁴⁶ Kadioğlu,242.

⁴⁷ Yılmaz, F., Tsamados, M. & Osborn, D.,2024,163.

⁴⁸ BOA.İ.MMS., 126-5396.; Karayaman, 314.

accepted by the government in 1892.⁴⁹ Rauf Pasha also took steps to ensure efficient beet farming. For example, he sent the produced beets to Europe and had them analyzed, and then agricultural engineer Aziz Bey was sent to France to receive training in this field.⁵⁰ In 1896, a delegation from Germany came and held talks with Rauf Pasha about a sugar factory, and in 1899, a company was established in parallel.⁵¹ However, Rauf Pasha's efforts were also unsuccessful, as he believed that local sugar could not compete with imported products.⁵² On the other hand, his efforts influenced the deputies of the region years later and became the inspiration for the establishment of the Alpullu Sugar Factory.⁵³

Meanwhile, in 1892, Vitalis Pasha applied to establish a sugar factory on his farm near Rumeli Kavağı in Istanbul. However, the application was rejected because the area was a key place for the protection of the Bosphorus and was close to military units.⁵⁴

In addition, in 1895, Ahmet Refik Bey and his partners applied to the government to establish a sugar factory in the province of Syria and requested the same privileges as those granted to Müşir Rauf Pasha.⁵⁵ In response, Ahmet Refik Bey was granted many privileges and permission. In 1897, Yusuf Bey from Afyonkarahisar applied to Ticaret ve Nafia Nezareti, (the Ministry of Trade and Public Works) and requested a 30-year privilege to establish a sugar factory in the Afyonkarahisar district. In the ministry's response a year later, the contributions of domestic sugar production in Russia were praised and this request was accepted. However, it was stated that the factory must be built within two years and

⁴⁹ BOA.İ.MMS., 131-5613.; Karayaman, 309.

⁵⁰ Karayaman,309.

⁵¹ BOA.İ.HUS. 73-1316-L-29.; Karayaman,309.

⁵² Avcı, 1991, 45.

⁵³ Habil Akıltepe, Sabri Malkoç, İhsan Molbay, Türkiye Şeker Sanayi ve Şekerpancarı Ziraatı, Mars

Matbaası, Ankara, 1964,32; Ceylan, Okan. "Bir Mahsul, Bir Coğrafya, Bir Endüstri: Şekerpancarının Alpullu Ve Civarının Sosyo-Ekonomik Dönüşümündeki Rolü (1925-1950)." XIX. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 2024,805.

⁵⁴ BOA. A.MKT. MHM.,502-68.; Karayaman, 310.

⁵⁵ BOA. İ. İMT., 1-1312-B-2.; Karayaman, 310.

that otherwise the permit would be cancelled.⁵⁶ As a result, the factory could not be established.⁵⁷

In 1898, Fuat Zafer and Musa Kazım Beys applied to the government to establish a sugar factory in Adana. They were granted permission with a ten-year privilege. It was also stated that the sugar cane and beet they would produce in the region would be exempt from the tithe tax.⁵⁸ In addition, in 1906, the state aimed to establish a sugar factory in Erzurum, but it did not happen.⁵⁹

After the 1908 revolution, the İTC (CUP) administration attached importance to developing industrial production. In this context, a letter was sent to the Erzurum governorship in 1911, requesting that the agricultural results and economic needs regarding the production of beets planted for experimental purposes in the region a year earlier be reported to the government.⁶⁰

In the same year, the Observatory was moved from its first location, Pera, to its current location in Üsküdar, as a result of a fire, and meteorological measurements there continued until 1936.⁶¹

In 1913, a commission was established on sugar production. In the report prepared by this commission, it was emphasized that sugar production should be granted for 15 to 25 years on a provincial basis.⁶² In 1916, sugar beet trial fields were established in Ankara, Bursa, Çanakkale, Kastamonu, Sivas and Elazığ. The beets produced here were analyzed in Halkalı Higher Agricultural School and Paris.

In 1916, the report submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture by engineer Landgreyer stated that the regions of Konya, Akşehir, Kastamonu, Erzurum and Sivas were suitable for establishing a sugar factory.⁶³ A year later, the Germans attempted to establish a sugar factory

⁵⁶ BOA. İ.TNF, 8-1316-Ş-03.; Karayaman, 311.

⁵⁷ Avcı, 1991, 44.

⁵⁸ BOA.İ.TNF, 7-1315-Z-05.; Karayaman, 312.

⁵⁹ BOA.DH.MKT, 1031-43.; Karayaman, 312.

⁶⁰ BOA.DH.İD., 99-9.; Karayaman,312.

⁶¹ Yılmaz, F., Tsamados, M. & Osborn, D, 2024,161.

⁶² BOA.MV, 175-125.; Karayaman, 313.

⁶³ Avcı, 1991, 45.

in Turkey. Engineer Osman Bey signed an agreement with the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture on behalf of the Hamburg Sugar Union in March 1917. In November of the same year, a scientific and administrative delegation came to Turkey on behalf of this union and conducted examinations in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmit, Eskişehir, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri, Ulukışla, Konya, Akşehir, Afyonkarahisar and Kütahya.⁶⁴ As a result, the German Turkish jointly established “Zenith Company” was established, but the factory could not be established this time either.⁶⁵

As can be seen, in the late Ottoman period, at least 15 attempts were made to establish a sugar factory from 1838 to the 1908 revolution. After 1908, there was an attempt within the framework of partnership with German entrepreneurs. These attempts were made by both the state and local entrepreneurs and foreign investors. While some of these attempts planned factory production together with beet or cane farming, some aimed to establish a system suitable for raw material supply by establishing the factory around Istanbul.⁶⁶ However, all these attempts were unsuccessful. Karayaman lists the reasons for this as the privileges given to Europeans, the lack of protective customs duties, and the lack of capital and knowledge.⁶⁷ In this sense, it is clear that the sugar sector cannot be seen separately from the environment created by the economic capitulations in the last century of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, under these conditions, even prominent figures of the state such as Müşir Mustafa Necip Paşa and Müşir Mehmed Rauf Paşa could not establish a sugar factory despite all their efforts and the many privileges they obtained.

On the other hand, the fact that scientific efforts began to be seen in attempts at sugar production from the 1870s onwards and the scientific evaluation of the issue also shows that the positivist mentality began to be effective in this period, even without having political power. It is clear that this also had a utilitarian function. In this sense, it is debatable

⁶⁴ BOA.DH.EUM. 5.Sc., 49-8.; Karayaman, 313.

⁶⁵ Karayaman, 314.

⁶⁶ Karayaman, 316.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

whether the depth of scientific research was an organic part of the mentality that dominated in this period. In conclusion, these economic and technical elements summarize the reasons for the failure of attempts at sugar production and the methodological transformation.





3

Economy, Sugar Industry and New Institutions in the Early Years of the Republic

3.1 The legacy left to the Republic

In such study where the mentality of actors is evaluated, the starting point situation should be presented in detail so that the evaluation can proceed healthily. In order for an evaluation made regarding the Early Republican Period to be fair, naturally, the conditions received from the Ottoman Empire should first be examined. Here, the conditions regarding the demographic, economic and intellectual areas inherited by the Republic will be examined as basic indicators.

In this context, the long years of war ended with the Armistice of Mudanya in October 1922. On November 21, 1922, peace talks began between Turkey and the Allied Powers in Lausanne, Switzerland.⁶⁸ In the spring of 1923, while the talks in Lausanne were stalled due to disagreements on economic conditions, an economic congress was held in Izmir and Turkey's economic road map was drawn.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Türkylmaz, Ubeydullah. Birinci İzmir İktisat Kongresi ve Hukuki Etkileri. Master Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013,51.

⁶⁹ Koç, Ceyhan İ. "İzmir İktisat Kongresi'nin Türk Ekonomisinin Oluşumuna Etkileri." Atatürk Dergisi 3, February 2010,148.

When we look at the prominent articles of the declaration of the congress, the first thing that is emphasized is the need for protective customs duties for domestic production.⁷⁰ An open door was left open to foreign capital that would invest in Turkey, provided that it did not monopolize and complied with the laws. However, development was aimed with domestic capital in every possible area.⁷¹ In addition, the importance of sugar beet production and establishing a sugar industry was also mentioned in the congress.⁷² Thus, decisions were made at the Izmir Economic Congress that determined the framework of Turkey's economic vision and had the characteristic of indicating intentions for the economic discussions of the Lausanne negotiations. In general, the aim was to create and protect a national capital and to attract investment by keeping foreign capital under control.

In July 1923, the borders of the new Turkey, except for Hatay, were determined with the Treaty of Lausanne, and the framework of the Republic of Turkey was determined by the agreement between the Ankara government and the Allied Powers in many economic, political and demographic areas. Therefore, the articles of the Treaty of Lausanne should be examined in detail.

In this sense, the first article of the agreement decided on a permanent peace, and the second phase, starting with the second article, determined Turkey's borders.⁷³ With the 23rd article, the sovereignty of the Straits was left to a high commission to be established under the presidency of a representative appointed by Turkey.⁷⁴ All capitulations with Turkey were abolished in the 28th article with this statement: "Each of the High Contracting Parties hereby accepts, in so far as it is concerned, the

⁷⁰ Türkylmaz, 62.

⁷¹ Türkylmaz, 82.

⁷² Tekeşin, Hüsni. Alpullu Şeker Fabrikası Tarihi. Master Thesis, Uşak: Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2012,5.

⁷³ Treaty of Lausanne(1923), accessed in " League of Nations Treaty Series." United Nations. 1924.
<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/lon/volume%2028/v28.pdf> (accessed September 9, 2024),15.

⁷⁴ Treaty of Lausanne,27.

complete abolition of the Capitulations in Turkey in every respect.”⁷⁵ With the 46th article of the agreement, the debts remaining from the Ottoman Empire were shared with the countries that left the Empire in the Balkan Wars and Turkey.⁷⁶ With the 142nd article, the terms of the Turkish-Greek exchange agreement made in January 1923 were deemed valid as is.⁷⁷ In the first two articles of the agreement signed between Turkey and Greece in January 1923, it was decided that the Greek Orthodox community in Turkey would go to Greece and the Turkish Muslim community in Greece would go to Turkey, but the Greeks in Istanbul and the Turks in Western Thrace were not included in these conditions.⁷⁸

On the other hand, with the first article of the trade convention numbered 705 added to the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey's customs duty rates were fixed to the rates on September 1, 1916.⁷⁹ This rate is 13 percent on average.⁸⁰ While the third article of the agreement prohibits a ban on any product from being traded, with some exceptions, goods "for the purpose of establishing or operating a giant monopoly" are also listed among these exceptions.⁸¹ According to this agreement, the consumption tax on sugar will be 15 piastre per kilogram, while the tax rates on products containing sugar such as chocolate and milk will be adjusted according to the amount of sugar they contain.⁸² The validity period of the agreement is also stated as 5 years with the 18th article.⁸³

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Treaty of Lausanne, 37.

⁷⁷ Treaty of Lausanne, 111.

⁷⁸ Lausanne Peace Treaty VI. Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923. nd
https://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa (accessed September 9, 2024).

⁷⁹ Treaty of Lausanne, 175.

⁸⁰ Pamuk, Şevket. Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013, 176.

⁸¹ Treaty of Lausanne, 179.

⁸² Treaty of Lausanne, 183.

⁸³ Treaty of Lausanne, 193.

The agreement was ratified by all signatories and entered into force on August 6, 1924. Thus, the protective customs tariff application, which was basically aimed at in the Izmir Economic Congress, became possible only from 1929 onwards.

Three months after the signing of the agreement, the Republic was declared on October 29. The Republic of Turkey inherited a country that was worn out in every sense due to the effects of wars. First of all, demographic deterioration was huge. So much so that, while the population of the Ottoman Empire was around 18 million 520 thousand in 1914,⁸⁴ the population of the Empire was around 15 million in 1917.⁸⁵ The number of people who migrated from Turkey to Greece through the population exchange was around 1 million 200 thousand, 1 million of whom were in 1922. Following the Treaty of Lausanne, that is, after 1923, the population that migrated from Greece to Turkey was around 350 thousand.⁸⁶ In other words, while there was a population loss of around 1 million in 1923 due to the population exchange, this loss concluded around 850 thousand with the continuing population exchange in the following years. The population estimate for 1923 was around 13 million.⁸⁷

Therefore, due to the territorial losses after 1917 and the devastating effects of the Turkish War of Independence, there was a total population loss of around 1 million in Turkey. As a result, in order to learn the population clearly, the first official census of the Republic was conducted in 1927 and the population of Turkey was counted as 13 million 650

⁸⁴ Shaw, Stanford. "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, October 1978, 336.

⁸⁵ Aksoy, Erdal. "1919-1955 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'nin Nüfus Yapısı ve Uygulanan Nüfus Politikaları." *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Spring), 2016, 28.

⁸⁶ Hirschon, Renée. *Crossing the Aegean : An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsion Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003, 14-15.

⁸⁷ Aksoy, 29.

thousand.⁸⁸ Due to the effect of all this population loss, pronatalist population policies were followed in the early years of the Republic in order to increase the population rapidly.⁸⁹ As a result of this, the population increase was high, and the population of 16 million 158 thousand was counted in the 1935 census.⁹⁰ The 8-year increase was around 2 million 500. When these data are compared, the population of 1917 was exceeded only around 1930.

As can be seen from these data, the 1920s were years of demographic recovery. In addition, approximately eighty percent of the population lived in rural areas. The male population also decreased due to the effects of wars and proportionally constituted 48 percent of the population in the 1927 census.⁹¹ Considering the technological conditions of these years, this would be a negative factor in the economic structure based on agricultural production dependent on physical labor, and industrialization steps also naturally affected by the loss of labor.

When we examine the economic data, the data regarding the Ottoman economy in 1913 show that the gross national product per capita was at the level of 1400 US dollars.⁹² The economic size per capita in 1913 was only exceeded in 1929, reaching 1500 US dollars per capita this year.⁹³ In other words, the 1920s were years of recovery in economic terms as well.

In these years, the low customs duty in accordance with the relevant article of the Treaty of Lausanne caused domestic production to be unable to be protected against foreign trade. This is a matter that should not be forgotten when evaluating the economic structure of the 1920s.

⁸⁸ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1927). Official Report, Ankara: Republic of Turkey. Prime Ministry, General Directorate of Statistics, 1927,17.

⁸⁹ Adalı, Tuğba, Sinan A. Türkyılmaz, and Murat M. Yüceşahin. "Population Policies in Turkey and Demographic Changes on a Map ." *Border Crossing* , October 2016, 246.

⁹⁰ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1935). Official Report, Ankara: Republic of Turkey. Prime Ministry, General Directorate of Statistics, 1935,3.

⁹¹ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1927),17.

⁹² Bolt, Jutta, and Jan L. van Zanden. "Data Page : GDP per capita." *Our World in Data*. September 9, 2024. <https://dataverse.nl/api/access/datafile/421302>.

⁹³ Bolt and van Zanden.

On the other hand, the 4,000-kilometer railway line, which was received as a "beneficial legacy" from the Ottoman Empire as the main transportation and transportation method of the period and which belonged mostly to the Germans,⁹⁴ was largely nationalized in the 1920s and provided economic benefits for many years.⁹⁵ In fact, all railways in the country were nationalized in 1948.⁹⁶ In addition, the CHP governments built 3,750 kilometers of railway lines by 1950, accelerating the circulation of passengers and goods, including sugar, in the country.⁹⁷ The 4,000-kilometer railway line makes significant contributions to transportation and transportation even today, and is an infrastructure asset that should not be overlooked when evaluating heritage.

Finally, when we evaluate the level of education of human resources in the early years of the Republic, according to the official census in 1927, 91 percent of the population was illiterate.⁹⁸ In other words, there was a great lack of educated people. Therefore, it was a necessity for the young Republic to create educated people in order to advance towards its goals.

As a result, the 1920s, when very negative conditions were inherited in basic areas except for the railways, passed as a period of recovery and establishment in every field, when independent economic policies could not be followed due to the restrictions on customs duties. The importance given to sugar production also began in these recovery years.

⁹⁴ Coşar, Nevin, and Sevtap Demirci. "Incorporation into the World Economy: From Railways to Highways (1850–1950)." *Middle Eastern Studies* vol.45,no.1, January 2009,24.

⁹⁵ Bozkurt, Birgül. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Demiryollarının Millileştirilmesi: Anadolu Demiryolları ve Mersin-Tarsus Hattının Satın Alınması." *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 2021,698.

⁹⁶ Coşar,25.

⁹⁷ Pamuk, 2013, 179.

⁹⁸ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1927), 46.

3.2 The birth of the sugar industry in Turkey

After seeing the conditions at the starting point, following the developments in the Republican Period as chronologically as possible will help to progress without losing touch with the conditions of the day. For this, developments in sugar production in the early period of the Republic should be examined here. In this way, the conditions in the period taken as an example can be seen better.

In that sense, the first attempt to produce sugar in the new era was made by private entrepreneurs, Nuri Şeker and his partners in Uşak in 1923. After establishing their company, these entrepreneurs held meetings with Prime Minister Rauf Orbay and Minister of Economy Esat Bozkurt in Ankara to receive state support.⁹⁹

On the other hand, during this period, Türkiye İş Bankası was established on August 26, 1924, under the leadership of Atatürk and with his direct investment, in order to have an impact on the banking sector and to manage the financing of investments.¹⁰⁰ İş Bankası had an impact on the Turkish economy and politics for many years, and by making 36 investments from its establishment until 1929, it directly contributed to the Turkish economy and became one of the locomotives that drove the economy during these years of recovery.¹⁰¹ Sugar factories were also among these investments.

In April 1925, "Şeker Fabrikalarına Bahşolunan İmtiyaz ve Muafiyet Hakkında Kanun" (the Privilege and Exemption Law on Sugar Factories) was enacted to encourage sugar production.¹⁰² With this law, sugar factories to be established were granted a 25-year privilege.¹⁰³ In

⁹⁹ Güvemli, Oktay, and Karayaman Mehmet. "Uşak Şeker Fabrikasının Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi." *Accounting and Financial History Research Journal* , July 2017, 8.

¹⁰⁰ Yılmaz, Hasan. "History of Investment Incentive System in Turkey." *Journal of Academic Research and Studies*, 2020,161.

¹⁰¹ Yılmaz, 2020, 165.

¹⁰² T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, "Şeker Fabrikalarına Bahşolunan İmtiyazat Ve Muafiyet Hakkındaki 14 Nisan 1341 Tarih Ve 601 Sayılı Kanunun 8 İnci Maddesinin Kaldırılmasına Dair Kanun", May 7, 1935, vol.2996.; Tekeşin,8.

¹⁰³ Tekeşin,136.

addition, according to article 3 of the law, sugar beets produced in Turkey were exempted from consumption tax for eight years.¹⁰⁴ A few months later, in June 1925, "İstanbul ve Trakya Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi", (the Istanbul and Thrace Sugar Factories Joint Stock Company) was established by CHP deputies and a number of entrepreneurs.¹⁰⁵ 78 percent of the company belonged to Türkiye İş Bankası.¹⁰⁶ In other words, this company that would establish and operate the Alpullu Sugar Factory was established with direct state initiative and was under the auspices of the state.

Another important development that took place in 1925 was the abolition of Aşar (the Tithe tax), which had been applied to agricultural income for centuries, on February 17, 1925.¹⁰⁷ The abolition of the Tithe tax, which was supposed to be collected at a rate of 10 percent but in practice rose to 40 percent,¹⁰⁸ reduced the economic burden of farmers who made a living from agricultural production, which constituted the majority of the economy and population.

However, the tithe tax constituted approximately one-third of the state's income and had negative effects on fiscal management.¹⁰⁹ In fact, not content with the consumption tax introduced in 1922, an attempt was made to compensate for this gap by imposing consumption taxes on substances such as salt, sugar, and gas in March 1925¹¹⁰ and 1927.¹¹¹ Boratav also evaluates the removal of the tithe and the introduction of consumption taxes as a transfer of the economic burden from the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Tekeşin,20.

¹⁰⁶ Tekeşin,21.

¹⁰⁷ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, vol.84, February 23, 1925; Okçuoğlu, Gülsevin, and İzzettin Önder. "Aşarın Kaldırılması." İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, 1987,261.

¹⁰⁸ Okçuoğlu,266.

¹⁰⁹ Okçuoğlu,267.

¹¹⁰ Kurmuş,188

¹¹¹ Okçuoğlu,268.

peasantry to the urban population.¹¹² We can see the removal of the tithe as a contribution to the agricultural sector, a result of the need to please the peasant population, which constituted a large part of the population at a time when radical changes were beginning to be implemented and was much more resistant to change than the urban population, and in general, as an important part of the steps to break away from the Ottomans.

In addition, in 1925, the installment sale of ownerless lands up to 200 acres to landless farmers was added to the budget law, and it was made permanent with "İskan Kanunu" (the Settlement Law) enacted the following year, but the desired pace of land acquisition could not be achieved.¹¹³ Moreover, in order to lead agricultural production, a forest farm was established in Ankara, in the basin of the Ankara River, which is a branch of Sakarya River on May 5, 1925, with the individual initiative of Atatürk.¹¹⁴ A plow factory was established in Orman Çiftliği (the Forest Farm) and agricultural equipment production was also carried out.¹¹⁵ These initiatives are also clear indicators of the aim of reviving agricultural production.

On the other hand, Sanayi ve Maâdin Bankası (the Bank of Industry and Mining) was established in April 1925 to found, operate and support industrial and mining investments through loans.¹¹⁶ The bank became a partner in the Uşak Sugar Factory and ensured that this factory could be established.¹¹⁷ The foundation of the Uşak Sugar Factory was laid this year, and the factory's machinery was purchased from Czechoslovakia.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Boratav, Korkut. Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985. İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998,42.

¹¹³ Yiğit, Ali Ata. "Türkiye'nin Tarıma Dayalı Sanayi Politikası (1923-1938)." Doğu Üniversitesi Dergisi, 2012,319.

¹¹⁴ Ülkenli, Zeki Kamil. "İç İçer İki Genç Cumhuriyet Ütopyası ve Dönüşümleri: Ankara ve Atatürk Orman Çiftliği." Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2017,43.

¹¹⁵ Ülkenli,47.

¹¹⁶ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 2, (II), vol.105, 18.04.1925, 138-151.

¹¹⁷ Güvemli, 11.

¹¹⁸ Güvemli, 12.

In December 1925, the foundation of the Alpullu Sugar Factory was laid.¹¹⁹ In order to support these factories, on February 6, 1926, sugar imports were monopolized with the law numbered 724 on sugar monopoly and domestic production was tried to be protected.¹²⁰ Against the article of the Treaty of Lausanne that prevented the determination of customs duty, domestic production was tried to be protected with the state monopoly. In October 1926, the first sugar production was made in the Uşak Sugar Factory.¹²¹ Thus, the production that had not been achieved despite many efforts since 1838 was achieved in 1926. The first sugar production in the Alpullu Factory was realized in November 1926.

The opening of the Alpullu Sugar Factory was held on November 26, 1926. The ceremony was attended by names such as İş Bankası General Manager Celal Bayar and Finance Minister Hasan Saka.¹²² The opening of the Uşak Factory was held on December 17, 1926, and the then Minister of Trade Rahmi Bey also attended the opening. In other words, the first sugar factory to be opened was the Alpullu Sugar Factory, and the first production was made in the Uşak Sugar Factory a month later. What is important here is that the 90-year dream was realized, and the state directly supported these initiatives. The first manager of the factory was Hungarian Joachim Herman Guthertz, while Kazım Taşkent became the manager of the factory from 1932 onwards.¹²³

In the following period, on May 28, 1927, Teşviki Sanayi Kanunu (the Industrial Encouragement Law) was enacted, aiming to regularly support investments to be made in the industrial sector. In the same period, on the other hand, the entire assets of İtibarı Milli Bankası, which was established by the Union and Progress administration in 1916, were transferred to İş Bankası and the bank was closed.¹²⁴ This development

¹¹⁹ Hakimiyet-i Milliye Newspaper, December 24, 1925.; Tekeşin, 28.

¹²⁰ Güvemli, 18.

¹²¹ Güvemli, 9.

¹²² Tekeşin, 36.

¹²³ Ceylan, Okan, 2024, 807.

¹²⁴ Eker, Abdullah, Murat Pıçak, and Duygu Süloğlu. "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Türkiye İş Bankası'nın Kuruluşu ve Ekonomiye Etkisi." In *Dünden Bugüne Ekonomi Yazıları*, by

both strengthened İş Bankası and thus increased the dominance of the CHP government in the economic structure. It was also an important development as it represented a break from the İTC past. An industrial census was also conducted at the end of 1927. Thus, the current status of the industrial sector in the country was determined. Thus, the data necessary for policy making was obtained.

When the production and balance sheet data of the two existing sugar factories in these years are examined, it is seen that more than 3 thousand tons of sugar were produced in Uşak Sugar Factory until 1929,¹²⁵ but the company to which the factory was affiliated incurred a loss of over 1 million TL in 1926-1928.¹²⁶ As a result, on January 16, 1929, President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk instructed the Ministry of Finance to support Uşak Factory.¹²⁷ Alpulu Sugar Factory, on the other hand, made a small profit during this period, around 275 thousand TL in total in 1927 and 1928.¹²⁸ In other words, there is a serious difference in terms of financial sustainability between Uşak Sugar Factory and Alpulu Sugar Factory.

On this issue, Sedat Avcı argues that sufficient preliminary work was not done during the establishment of the Uşak Sugar Factory, that Nuri Bey, as an entrepreneur, chose Uşak, his hometown, as the location of the factory. This location was disadvantageous in terms of providing beet, water and energy to the factory, and that therefore the Uşak Sugar Factory was constantly losing money.¹²⁹ On the other hand, he states that the Alpulu Sugar Factory was established in a much more favorable location as a result of the preliminary work.¹³⁰ Catherine Alexander also states that German engineers suggested that the Uşak Sugar Factory be built close to the Menderes River, but Nuri Şeker accepted years later that

Kerem Çolak, Sema Yılmaz Genç and Selçuk Koç, 151-170. Kocaeli: Umuttupe Yayınları, 162.

¹²⁵ Güvemli, 32.

¹²⁶ Güvemli, 24.

¹²⁷ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 1-13-21, 16.01.1929.

¹²⁸ Tekeşin, 54.

¹²⁹ Avcı, 1991, 203.

¹³⁰ Avcı, 1991, 204.

misunderstood that at the time and he had built the factory in Uşak.¹³¹ This is a clear example of the importance of scientific research and rational decision-making processes in the establishment of factories.

On the other hand, when we look at the general situation of the Turkish economy and industry until 1929, the share of agriculture and textile industries in industrial production, which was approximately 80 percent in 1913,¹³² remained at a similar rate in the 1927 industrial census.¹³³ In total, the industrial sector grew by an average of 7.5 percent annually between 1924 and 1929, while the agricultural sector grew by 13 percent and the service sector by 8.2 percent.¹³⁴ In other words, although the industrial sector grew at a very high rate, the structure of industrial production was still dominated by agriculture and textile areas where relatively simple production was carried out.

The rapid growth of agricultural production shows that the steps taken to strengthen agriculture yielded positive results. Moreover, it is also stated that drought in some years restricted agricultural production.¹³⁵ However, due to the fact that customs tariffs could not be increased, exports were able to cover an average of 80 percent of imports between 1924 and 1929.¹³⁶ Therefore, there was a constant trade deficit in the 1920s.

In this sense, Alpullu and Uşak Sugar Factories rapidly increased production since their establishment and produced a total of 8 thousand tons of sugar in 1929 (Alpullu factory 4700 tons ¹³⁷, Uşak factory 3200

¹³¹ Alexander, Catherine. *personal States : Making Connections Between People and Bureaucracy in Turkey*. Oxford University Press, 2002,124.

¹³² Şahinkaya, Serdar. "Cumhuriyetimizin İlk Sanayi Sayımı 1927: "Bir Hesaplaşma Hazırlığı"." *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 2019,184.

¹³³ Şahinkaya, 202.

¹³⁴ Özdemirci, Ata. "Kurumsal Değişimde Aktörün Rolü: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Kuruluş Dönemi Sanayileşme Politikaları ve Uygulamaları." *Marmara Business Review* , December 2016,91.

¹³⁵ Özdemirci,82.

¹³⁶ Özdemirci,89.

¹³⁷ Tekeşin,64.

tons¹³⁸) and contributed to preventing the trade deficit from growing further by even though meeting a small amount of Turkey's annual average sugar consumption of 70 thousand tons in this period.¹³⁹ From 1929 onwards, a new era began in the Turkish economy.

In order to systematically execute this economic development, many scientists from Europe were invited to Turkey and numerous studies were conducted, as a result of which many institutions were established, and many Turkish students were sent abroad for education. These are also important in evaluating the character of the Kemalist mentality. Therefore, their place in this great transformation should be evaluated in detail.

3.3 Breakthrough in agriculture modernization

Of course, in order to develop agricultural activities, agricultural production itself should be modernized in addition to geography and climate studies. Therefore, this area is one of the areas that should be examined to see better the technical situation of sugar beet farming.

In this sense, steps began to be taken to modernize agricultural production in the 1920s. In this sense, President Atatürk emphasized the need to take science as a guide in agriculture, as in every field, in his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on November 1, 1926.¹⁴⁰ In 1927, Law No. 1109, “Ziraat ve Baytar Enstitüleriyle Ali Mektepleri Tesisine ve Ziraat Tedrisatının Islahına Dair Kanun” (On the Establishment of Agricultural and Veterinary Institutes and Ali Schools and the Improvement of Agricultural Education) was enacted, aiming to reorganize agricultural education en masse.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Güvemli, 32.

¹³⁹ Tekeşin, 133.

¹⁴⁰ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 2, vol. 27: 1, 1.11. 1926, 3.

¹⁴¹ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, “Ziraat ve Baytar Enstitüleriyle Ali Mektepleri Tesisine ve Ziraat Tedrisatının Islahına Dair Kanun”, July 5, 1927. Vol. 625, 2.

Sugar beet production was seen by the government as a tool for improving agricultural mechanization and fertilizer use.¹⁴² During this period, Alpulu Sugar Factory served as an internship area for students studying in agricultural production-related departments and contributed to agricultural development.¹⁴³

In addition, agricultural expert Ali Numan Kır  , who was on duty at Orman   iftli  i, was personally sent to the USA by President Atat  rk for training on dry farming practices.¹⁴⁴ In 1928, German agricultural bureaucrat Dr. Oldenburg and his delegation came to Turkey and prepared a report at the end of a 6-month study.¹⁴⁵ The delegation led by Oldenburg toured various regions of Turkey and conducted research. During these trips, they conducted research on agricultural diseases, pests, animal husbandry, and seed improvement. Fritz Rummel, a member of the team, also conducted experiments on sugar beets at Eski  ehir Tohum Islah İstasyonu (Eski  ehir Seed Improvement Station).¹⁴⁶ As a result of the report, a temporary laboratory was established at Ankara Ziraat Mektebi (Ankara School of Agriculture), and this laboratory became the precursor of Ankara Y  ksek Ziraat Enstit  s  ¹⁴⁷ (Ankara Higher Institute of Agriculture), which would be established in 1933.¹⁴⁸

The opinion of Prof. Shutt, the director of the Berlin Agricultural School, was also sought regarding agricultural education. Shutt examined the Halkalı Higher Agricultural School and stated that the educational structure of the school did not meet the requirements of modern agricultural education, and therefore a completely new structure was

¹⁴² Tekeli, İlhan. "Cumhuriyet D  nemi Boyunca Kırsalın Ge  irdi  i D  n    m Ve Kırdan Kopu  ", Efil Journal, vol.2, no.6,17.

¹⁴³ Ceylan, Okan, 817.

¹⁴⁴ BCA., 30-18-1-1,: 26-54-4, 20.09.1927.

¹⁴⁵ K  rkpınar, Nurullah. "Atat  rk D  nemi'nde Tarım Politikalarının Belirlenmesinde Yabancı Etkisi: Oldenburg Raporu'nun Rol   ."   a  da   T  rkiye Tarihi Ara  tırmaları Dergisi, 2023, 742.

¹⁴⁶ K  rkpınar, 776.

¹⁴⁷ BCA., 30-10-0-0, 185-275-6, 30.09.1928,23-26.; K  rkpınar, 744.

¹⁴⁸ K  rkpınar,757.

required.¹⁴⁹ Radical steps were taken also due to the damage to agricultural production caused by the severe drought this year. The Halkalı Agricultural School and local agricultural schools were closed on July 1, 1928. Many people interested in agriculture were sent to Europe for education.¹⁵⁰ The young Republic's need for trained human resources in the field of agriculture was tried to be met in this way. As a result, agricultural schools were reduced to a secondary level with the new regulations and education began again.¹⁵¹ These studies were not the end, but the beginning of the steps taken to modernize agriculture.

As is seen, in the 1920s, new institutions for scientific studies began to be built and the first steps were taken to create a trained workforce. A holistic effort to develop agricultural production began.

¹⁴⁹ Kirkpınar, 746.

¹⁵⁰ Kirkpınar, 751.

¹⁵¹ Kirkpınar, 752.



4

1929 and After

4.1 1929 and the new, unfettered period in the economy

Naturally, in a historical assessment, the significant changes in the period under consideration should not be overlooked. In this sense, 1929 was a year of serious changes for the Turkish economy. Therefore, it would be useful to present this milestone in detail so that the assessment does not lose its context.

In this context, Turkish economy experienced major changes in 1929. These changes also took place in two dimensions, one was an economic policy implemented by the government with the customs tax regulation, and the other was a global economic crisis and its effects.

First, the 5-year customs duty restriction imposed by the Trade Convention added to the Treaty of Lausanne expired, thus customs duties were rearranged, and a new era began in the Turkish economy.

Depression , which began with the economic downturn in the US, expanded with the great loss of value on the Wall Street stock exchange in October, and whose effects lasted for years, had global effects and became another determinant in the economic structure. Naturally, these changes deeply affected the Turkish economy, and developments in the sugar industry and its surroundings cannot be evaluated independently of this.

4.2 “Liberation” in customs tariffs and a new era in the economy

The young Republic needed changes in many areas during its founding years. One of these was customs tariffs. Even if freedom in this area was achieved in 1929, preparations would begin much earlier.

In this sense, the freedom to determine customs tariffs and thus the need to protect domestic production was felt from the years of establishment, and parallel to this, initiatives regarding customs policy began in 1925. Tarife Komisyonu (Tariff Commission) established in this year conducted studies on customs tariffs. As a result of the commission's studies, a strategy was developed to increase customs tariffs and support domestic production. Ali İktisat Meclisi (High Economic Assembly) also discussed customs tariffs in its first meeting in March 1928 and prepared a report. This report recommended a customs duty of 15-30 percent on the value of the goods.¹⁵² In the assembly meeting in December of the same year, it was emphasized that customs policies should be conducted together with industrialization.¹⁵³ The new customs tariff law was also accepted in the Assembly on June 1, 1929.

When we look at the law, while many products are taxed ad valorem, products such as cotton and silk are taxed based on weight. An 18 percent tax is imposed on the import of raw sugar, and a 27.2 percent tax is imposed on processed sugar.¹⁵⁴ The first article of the law also determines the customs duty for products not specifically mentioned in the law as 40 percent.¹⁵⁵ With this law, the Republic of Turkey will be able to determine customs duty rates in a holistic manner for the first time,

¹⁵² Akın, Fehmi, and Serkan Bayraktar. "Erken Cumhuriyetin İktisadi Kurumlarından Biri: Âli İktisat Meclisi." *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 29, April 2011, 119.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, "Gümrük Tarifesi Kanunu.", vol.1230. July 1, 1929., 7786.

¹⁵⁵ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, "Gümrük Tarifesi Kanunu", 7733.

and will also gain the power to use these taxes as an instrument for foreign trade and therefore economic policies. Therefore, the government will now be able to act much more freely in the economic field.

In order to better understand the change brought by the law, we should evaluate the new rates comparatively with the previous tax rates. In this sense, according to Orhan Kurmuş's study, the customs duty rates increased by over 200 percent with the 1929 law compared to the 1916 rates.¹⁵⁶ According to Kurmuş's calculations, while the protection rate of the 1916 taxes was around 13 percent, the protection rate of the 1929 customs law was at the level of 45 percent.¹⁵⁷ In other words, a serious step was taken to limit imports and protect domestic production.

Among the taxed products, the product with the highest customs duty rate rise during these years was sugar, with an increase of over 600 percent.¹⁵⁸ With this law, the sugar monopoly law enacted in 1926 also became invalid.¹⁵⁹ As a result, sugar imports decreased by an average of six percent per year in the 1930s.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the increase in customs duties made a significant contribution to reducing sugar imports. The effect of customs duties on domestic production should be evaluated together with other factors related to production. In terms of general economic policy, a period was entered in which foreign trade was tried to be kept under control, much more protectionist than the previous period.

4.3 The economic crisis of 1929 and its aftermath

Another major development in the economic field in 1929 was the global economic crisis that developed towards the end of the year. The effects of this crisis should also be examined in detail so that the economic

¹⁵⁶ Kurmuş, Orhan. "1916 ve 1929 Gümrük Tarifeleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler." ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi, 1978,194.

¹⁵⁷ Kurmuş,196.

¹⁵⁸ Kurmuş,198.

¹⁵⁹ Özer, Sevilay. "Türkiye'de Şeker Sanayisi (1925-1950)." Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi 17 Issue 33, Spring 2021,107.

¹⁶⁰ Kurmuş,199.

conditions of the period can be seen. For this, it is essential to present the conditions of the period in a holistic manner.

As the 1929 Economic Crisis is one of the greatest crises in modern history, naturally, this crisis has many causes. Discussions on these causes continue. First of all, in the 1920s, production in North America and Europe increased rapidly, for example, the economy in the USA grew by 40% between 1920-1929.¹⁶¹ Although there were also large increases in consumption, it remained below production, so demand remained relatively low. As a result, the prices of products, especially agricultural products, remained low, and producers began to have difficulty paying their debts. In this sense, the FED's monetary policies in the 1920s are also seen by many economists as one of the causes of the crisis.¹⁶²

In this environment, John Maynard Keynes, the government's economic advisor in England, suggested a transition to protectionist economic policies in February 1930.¹⁶³ In June 1930, protectionist policies were introduced in the USA by increasing customs duties with the Smoot-Hawley Act.¹⁶⁴ During this period, customs tariffs were also increased in Britain and France. As a result, global trade decreased by 30%.¹⁶⁵ In addition to protectionist policies, decreasing incomes played a significant role in this.¹⁶⁶ The crisis expanded in the last months of 1930, and in 1932, when the crisis was felt most deeply.

This data clearly summarizes the extent of the crisis. As a result, the US economy shrank by 25% and the world economy by 10% from 1929 to 1932.¹⁶⁷ In contrast, the fact that the Soviets were relatively less

¹⁶¹ Parker, Randall. An Overview of the Great Depression. March 16, 2008., 1.

¹⁶² Parker,2.

¹⁶³ Eichengreen, Barry. "Keynes and Protection ." The Journal of Economics History , June 1984, 365.

¹⁶⁴ Hayford, Marc, and Carl A. Pasurka Jr. "The Political Economy of the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley Tariff Acts ." Explorations in Economic History 29, 1992,32.

¹⁶⁵ Madsen, Jakob B. "Trade Barriers and the Collapse of World Trade during the Great Depression ." Southern Economic Journal , April 2001, 848.

¹⁶⁶ Madsen,849.

¹⁶⁷ Meissner, Christopher M. One from the Many . Oxford University Press, 2024,152.

affected by the crisis and that they expanded their economy through planned industrialization from 1928 onwards¹⁶⁸ led Turkey to turn to the Soviets in its economic policies.¹⁶⁹

Therefore, Turkey adopted protectionist policies as part of its own economic strategy one year before the US and the UK. These two countries adopted protectionist policies in order to reduce the damage caused by the crisis. However, as a result, although the customs duty in Turkey was higher than in these countries in the 1930s, the rate of increase compared to 1929 was not far from that in the US and the UK, in fact below that in France. The fact that the Soviets remained economically strong during the crisis also inspired Turkey in terms of economic policies.

4.4 1929 and the Turkish economy

At this point, the overview of the Turkish economy in 1929 should be summarized so that the economic conditions of the period, the impact of external factors, and the actions of internal actors can be placed in a holistic context.

First of all, in 1929, the restrictions on customs duties in the Treaty of Lausanne were lifted, but on the other hand, foreign debt payments began that year as determined in the Treaty. This also increased the demand for foreign exchange.¹⁷⁰ The decrease in demand for raw materials, especially agricultural products, with the 1929 crisis led to serious decreases in the prices of products. This was very damaging for Turkey and similar countries whose economies were largely based on raw material exports and agriculture.¹⁷¹ Indeed, the protectionist policies that had already begun in Turkey and aimed at reducing imports

¹⁶⁸ Bakırtaş, İbrahim, and Ali Tekinşen. "Dünya Savaşları ve Büyük Buhran Arasındaki Etkileşimin Ekonomi Politikası." *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2004, 91.

¹⁶⁹ Aksöz, Fatmanur, and Berkan Güngör. "1929 Dünya İktisadi Krizi, Otoriterleşen Devletler ve Türkiye'ye Yansımaları." *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, January 26, 2021, 43.

¹⁷⁰ Pamuk, 2013, 186.

¹⁷¹ Boratav, Korkut, 1998, 48.

were further strengthened by the impact of the 1929 crisis. With the impact of the crisis and rising customs duties, the share of foreign trade in the economy fell below 10 percent, and the Turkish economy began to close inward.¹⁷²

The CHP government began to take steps to reduce the effects of the crisis. First, in December 1929, Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti (National Economy and Savings Society) was founded by CHP deputy Hasan Saka under the auspices of Atatürk. The society held an industrial congress in April 1930 to discuss the problems of Turkish industry. As a result of the congress, it was stated that the state should play a larger role in industrialization.¹⁷³ The need for planned industrialization was also emphasized.¹⁷⁴

During this period, it was decided to liquidate the Uşak Sugar Factory, which was constantly making losses. The law enacted in June 1930 aimed to transfer the sugar factories to the state. However, due to the criticism of the SCF in 1930, these did not happen, and the liquidation of the Uşak Sugar Factory was cancelled in October 1930.¹⁷⁵

As be seen, attempts to transition to a new order in industry began in 1930, but these attempts were interrupted before they could mature. During this period, 1927 Teşviki Sanayi Kanunu (Law on Industrial Promotion) was already in effect, so we can describe the period until 1933 as a period of preparation for the new era in terms of industry sector. During this period, the government's monetary policy, unlike many other countries, was to ensure budget balance and protect the value of the currency, so a policy of printing money was not pursued, but the real money supply increased due to the effect of deflation.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, as a result of the negotiations, "Türk Parasının Kıymetini

¹⁷² Pamuk, 2013, 187.

¹⁷³ Aksöz, 46.

¹⁷⁴ Kayıran, Mehmet, and Mustafa Yahya Metintaş. "1929 Dünya Ekonomik Krizinin Türk Tarımına Etkileri ve 1931 Birinci Ziraat Kongresi." Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 2016, 50.

¹⁷⁵ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 14-70-13, 20.10.1930.

¹⁷⁶ Pamuk, 2013, 191.

Koruma Hakkında Kanun" (the Law on the Protection of the Value of Turkish Currency) was enacted in the parliament.¹⁷⁷

However, in these years, there was no central bank in Turkey yet, and the Turkish lira was valued in relation to the pound sterling. Therefore, one of the most important developments in order to implement monetary policy was the establishment of a central bank. Finally, with the contributions of Swiss Professor Leon Morf, the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey was established in June 1930 with Law No. 1715.¹⁷⁸ The aim of the bank was to support the development of the Turkish economy through monetary management during and after this crisis. Naturally, this monetary policy directly affected the Turkish economy, including the sugar sector.

In addition, on June 12, 1930, Dahili İstihlak Vergisi (Internal Consumption Tax) was passed in the Parliament, and a tax was imposed on sugar produced in Turkey. The previous tax had been repealed with the 1929 Customs Tax Law.¹⁷⁹ As stated by the Minister of Economy Şakir Bey during the discussions in the Parliament, this tax was imposed for the purpose of generating financial income.

On the other hand, there were significant developments in the political arena. In August 1930, Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası was founded by Fethi Okyar upon Atatürk's request. Although the party defended the liberal economy and its economic understanding could not be an answer in that environment, it attracted great attention during its trips to Anatolia in the environment of discontent created by the crisis.¹⁸⁰ As a result, within a few months, on November 17, 1930, Fethi Okyar dissolved the party in

¹⁷⁷ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official gazette, February 25, 1930, vol.1433.; Sarıgözel, Nedim.

"Türkiye'nin 1929 Dünya Ekonomik Krizine Karşı Aldığı Mali ve Ticari Tedbirler." Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi, November 2021, 7059.

¹⁷⁸ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası kanunu", Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, June 30, 1930, no.1533.; Delice, Güven. "Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası: 85 Yıllık Bir Geçmişin İzlerinden Tarihe Kayıt Düşmek." JEBPIR 1(2), 2015, 27.

¹⁷⁹ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, vol.20(3). "Dahili İstihkak Vergisi Hakkında Kanun." TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, vol.20(3). Ankara, 12.06. 1930., 224.

¹⁸⁰ Pamuk, 2013, 188.

order not to be in conflict with Atatürk.¹⁸¹ What is important here, apart from the emergence of political quest during the crisis period, is the great support that the SCF received, which was a direct reflection of the economic conditions in the country.

The SCF's harsh criticism of the nationalization of sugar production during this period also prevented the sugar industry from being completely taken over by the state in 1930, as the initiatives were halted by the CHP government in October 1930.¹⁸² Therefore, during its short life, the SCF had a temporary effect on the government's actions in the economic field, but not on the scientific methods adopted for development. Undoubtedly, the support it found played a significant role in this. It cannot be ignored that the Turkish economy, which had spent the 1920s as a period of recovery, and especially its agriculture, was in a serious depression in 1930, which was also effective in the emergence of this support.

Thus, in his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on November 1, 1930, President Atatürk also stated that there was an economic crisis that particularly affected agricultural production and that this had a wide impact on Turkey. He listed the drought among the reasons for this and said that measures in this area would be increased.¹⁸³ In fact, the prices of agricultural products fell by more than 60 percent between 1929 and 1932.¹⁸⁴ In addition, while sugar prices fell by about two-thirds in the world between 1927 and 1933, they fell by 20 percent in Turkey.¹⁸⁵

In order to overcome the crisis in the agricultural sector, an agricultural congress was held in Ankara in January 1931. The aim of the congress was to bring together agricultural experts in the country and discuss the problems of the agricultural sector.¹⁸⁶ As a result of the

¹⁸¹ Tunçay, Mete. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981,273.

¹⁸² Karayaman,66.

¹⁸³ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 3(4), vol. 22, 01.06.1930,2.

¹⁸⁴ Kayıran,40.

¹⁸⁵ Kayıran,44.

¹⁸⁶ BCA., 490-1-0-0, 1-4-3,18.08.1930.; Kayıran,51.

congress, the problems of Turkish agriculture were listed. These were primarily the old-fashioned nature of agricultural production and scientific and technical inadequacy. Farmers' resources are limited, which limits the development of production. Technical and financial restrictions in the transportation of agricultural products harm the agricultural sector. The limited business capacity of merchants causes difficulty in reaching foreign markets. The quality of the products is low, and modern techniques must be followed in this area. For this, agricultural education must be developed, especially expert education is lacking. The promotion of Turkish agriculture abroad remains weak. The price of agricultural products remains cheap. The difficult living conditions of the villagers limit agricultural production. The protective customs policies that became widespread in the world during this period harm trade. Finally, the fact that products that Turkey had been the sole producer of until this period began to be produced in other countries also reduces Turkey's advantage.¹⁸⁷ As seen, the problems of Turkish agriculture were identified with a very comprehensive evaluation at the congress.

Following this, CHP governments tried to find solutions to these problems with the methods of developing agricultural production they implemented in the 1930s. First of all, a serious reform was made in agricultural education. In 1932, German Geheimrat Falke was called to Turkey. After Falke's report, Yüksek Ziraat Mektebi (Higher Agricultural School) was converted into Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü (Higher Agricultural Institute). The institute contributed to Turkish agriculture as a school where academic studies in agriculture were conducted under the leadership of German teachers for many years.

Secondly, laws were enacted on seed improvement and improvement stations were established first in Eskişehir and then in various cities. In addition, direct support was given to wheat production with the law enacted in 1932. In the 1930s, the interest rate on loans given to farmers by the Ziraat Bankası was also reduced. Taxes collected from agricultural products were around 10 percent in these years. In this way, it is aimed

¹⁸⁷ Kayıran,53.

to support the agriculture. Finally, various laws were enacted to ensure technical development in agriculture.¹⁸⁸ In short, in the environment created by the transition to protective policies and the economic crisis in 1929, many steps were taken to modernize the agricultural sector and get it out of the depression.

On the other hand, in 1932, preparations for the new era in industrialization accelerated. In February, Uşak Sugar Factory was sold to the Bank of Industry and Mining.¹⁸⁹ This development is an important indicator in terms of the transformation of the state's role in industrial production.

Prime Minister İsmet İnönü went to Moscow in April 1932 to seek ways of economic and technical cooperation with the Soviets. In fact, prior to this, there had been a search for investors in the US and France, but the failure of these in the crisis environment pushed the government to this path.¹⁹⁰ İnönü met with Stalin and obtained an interest-free, 20-year loan of 8 million dollars from the Soviet administration to establish a factory and purchase military machinery.¹⁹¹ The delegation, including Uşak Sugar Factory Director Remzi Bey, visited and inspected Soviet factories.¹⁹²

On the return from the visit, attempts were made to establish Devlet Sanayi Ofisi (State Industry Office), and the Office was established in July. With this office, the Industrial and Mining Bank was closed and Türk Sanayi Kredi Bankası (Turkish Industrial Credit Bank) was established, aiming to meet the credit needs of industrialists.¹⁹³ In the summer of 1932, a Soviet delegation headed by Professor Orlof visited Turkey and

¹⁸⁸ Kayıran,66.

¹⁸⁹ Güvemli, Oktay, and Mehmet Karayaman. "Uşak Şeker Fabrikasının Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi." *Accounting and Financial History Research Journal* , July 2017, 30.

¹⁹⁰ Tezel, Yahya Sezai. *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950)*. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, Ankara: Yurt Publications, 1982,253.

¹⁹¹ BCA., 30-10-0-0, 248-677-8, 08.05.1932.; Müezzinoğlu, Ersin. "İsmet Paşa'nın 1932 Sovyet Rusya Ziyareti." *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, vol 20,no. 2, September 2018,255.

¹⁹² *Akşam Newspaper*, April 24,1932.; Müezzinoğlu,253.

¹⁹³ Sarıgözel, 7060.

conducted inspections in many cities, including Eskişehir. The then General Director of Industry, Şerif Bey, even requested experts from the Soviets for sugar production.¹⁹⁴ In short, during this period, Turkey's relations with the Soviets developed in conjunction with economic policies, and Turkey aimed to obtain every financial and technical benefit in this relationship.

On the other hand, there were disagreements on economic policies within the Kemalist administration. These disagreements led to a power struggle in economic management. In this power struggle, which was basically formed by the group known as the İş Bankası group, led by Celal Bayar, and Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, the İş Bankası group was on the line of defending a relatively "liberal" economy. According to Mustafa Türkes, İsmet İnönü, on the other hand, at least pragmatically adopted a "statist" economic understanding during this period.¹⁹⁵ This conflict shaped the economic policies of the 1930s.

In this sense, after the newly established State Industry Office, with the initiative of İsmet İnönü, prevented İş Bankası from establishing a paper mill and its strict statist attitude, Celal Bayar was appointed as the Minister of Economy by President Atatürk in November 1932 instead of the Minister of Economy Mustafa Şeref Bey.¹⁹⁶ While the foundations of the industrialization of the 1930s were being laid, there was a serious conflict over economic politics. However, the focus of this study is not on this, but on the place of the positivist understanding in this process.

As seen, in order to overcome the economic crisis and to establish the necessary breakthrough, many economic, financial, financial and even political steps were taken, various laws were enacted, institutions were established, the value of the Turkish currency was aimed to be protected and on the other hand, preparations for new industrialization were

¹⁹⁴ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, September 6, 1932.; Çamur, Gazi. Türk-Sovyet Münasebetlerinin İktisadi Boyutları (1923-1938). Master Thesis, Istanbul: Marmara University, 2018,217.

¹⁹⁵ Türkes, Mustafa. "Kadro Dergisi." In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce-Kemalizm, by Ahmet İnsel, 464-476. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009,473.

¹⁹⁶ Özdemirci,86.

started. When we look at the situation of the sugar sector between 1929 and 1932, although no new factory was established, sugar production in Turkey increased from 8 thousand tons to 27 thousand tons, while consumption decreased from 70 thousand tons to 56 thousand tons. As a result, sugar imports decreased by half from 1929 to 1932.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, sugar production in Turkey continued its rapid development during this crisis period and supported the elimination of the trade deficit.

As a result, the protectionist economic policies that were immediately implemented after the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Lausanne ended in Turkey were strengthened and expanded by the impact of the 1929 crisis. Thus, imports decreased by 50 percent between 1928 and 1933.¹⁹⁸

On the other hand, the foundation for industrialization was being built. While doing that, in these years, steps were taken without deviating from rational methods in the search for ways out of the crisis and development. So, scientific development was seen as a method for this purpose, which is itself an important reference point. All of these also tell a lot about the Kemalist mentality. This was the economic, political, financial and ideological landscape in Turkey at the end of 1932.

¹⁹⁷ Özer, 111.

¹⁹⁸ Özdemirci, 89.

The road to Eskişehir Sugar Factory and the establishment process

5.1 Discussions on the sugar policy after 1929

After the economic conditions are determined, the status of the sugar sector should be examined. Thus, an evaluation around the example in the sugar sector would be more holistic. This would allow progress without breaking away from the historical context. In this context, the Turkish sugar sector and the government policies pursued in this regard have been widely discussed areas in the environment created by the economic crisis.

In this sense, the discussions seen in the press about sugar policies in the new economic period that started in 1929 began in the context of the draft law on the transfer of sugar factories to the state in the Turkish Grand National Assembly in June 1930. In this study, the official discussions are evaluated in order to see the government's perspective directly in this discussion environment. A detailed evaluation of these discussions will be useful in understanding the different perspectives on sugar production and factories in this period and the government's understanding of this issue.

In this sense, the sugar policy was discussed in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on June 10, 1930, under the title of “Millî bankalarca

teşkil olunacak şeker şirketine iştirake ve avans verilmesine dair 1/717 numaralı kanun lâyihası ve Bütçe Encümeni mazbatası” (Law draft numbered 1/717 on participation and advance payments to the sugar company to be established by national banks and the Budget Committee minutes). When the bill began to be discussed, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, known for his liberal identity and who would become one of the founders of the SCF two months later, requested an explanation from the government. Upon this, the Minister of Economy Şakir Bey stated that they were pleased with the situation of the Alpullu Sugar Factory, but that the Uşak Sugar Factory was experiencing some problems, was making losses, and that a law was being prepared for the transfer of the factory to a company jointly established by the Ziraat and Sanayi Maâdin Bankası in order to better manage it not only in terms of operating techniques but also in the field of agriculture.¹⁹⁹

Kütahya Deputy Ragıp Bey also argues that the financial situation of the factory has started to improve, and therefore there should be no rush to liquidate it. Ahmet Ağaoğlu asks the Minister of Economy about the amount of support the state has given to the factory and the reasons for the factory's problems. Şakir Bey also says that sugar production is a new business in Turkey, so mistakes are being made, and also states that drought has damaged beet farming. He states that the Uşak Factory has been forced to liquidate because it has suffered too much loss according to the Commercial Code. On the other hand, he says that the factory's production has started to increase. Şakir Bey also argues that the economic crisis has had a negative effect, as it has reduced sugar prices.²⁰⁰

Eskişehir Deputy Emin Bey advocates that the factory be liquidated and moved to another location. Thereupon, Besim Bey suggests that the factory be established in Eskişehir. In response, Emin Bey argues that the sugar factory needs large areas of land nearby to provide the necessary beets, and that the factory cannot be operated by transporting beets from hundreds of kilometers away. He states that a sugar factory should be

¹⁹⁹ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 3, vol. 20(3),session 74 , 10/06/1930,162.

²⁰⁰ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 3, vol. 20(3),session 74 ,10/06/1930,163.

opened wherever it is suitable in the country, but that the initiative should be carried out in a way that will not cause losses. Besim Bey argues that the main problems of the factory are low beet production due to drought, wasteful behavior in the administration, and high-interest loans from banks.²⁰¹ Furthermore, he emphasizes that the Uşak Factory is close to fertile lands in terms of agriculture, and that it has a relatively long beet production period in terms of climate, and therefore its location is good. He also states that the semi-arid geography in the steppe climate will be even more disadvantageous.

Ahmet Ağaoğlu also argues that sugar production is a matter of science and knowledge and that we should act accordingly.²⁰² Adana Deputy Zamir Bey also states that the main problem is that sugar, which costs 10 piastre per kilo abroad, is produced in Turkey for 40 piastre.²⁰³ Economy Deputy Şakir Bey also states that the cost of sugar production is below 40 piastre and does not exceed 35 piastre in the worst year.

As a result of the negotiations, a law consisting of 3 articles was accepted on June 16, 1930. According to the law, an official step was taken to establish a company with a capital of 2.5 million liras and an advance of 1.5 million liras, under the authority of the ministries of economy and finance, in order to merge the sugar companies.²⁰⁴

However, two months after the enactment of this law, SCF was founded, and with Ahmet Ağaoğlu playing an active role, the party defended relatively liberal economic policies and provided broad support. As a result, the CHP government also made concessions on some points. In parallel with this, it was stated that a new sugar company could not be established because the Alpullu Sugar Factory did not accept to be transferred to the newly established company with the decision taken on October 22, 1930. In addition, it was argued that the Uşak Sugar Factory was doing better financially this year, and therefore it was decided to

²⁰¹ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 3, vol. 20(3),session 74 ,10/06/1930,164.

²⁰² T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 3, vol. 20(3),session 74 ,10/06/1930,166.

²⁰³ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 3, vol. 20(3),session 74 ,10/06/1930,168.

²⁰⁴ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazette, “Şeker şirketine iştirake ve avans itasına dair kanun”(no.1709), vol.8,June 19,1930.

cancel the liquidation decision of the factory.²⁰⁵ As a result, it was intended to transfer the sugar factories to the state company to be established in 1930, but this was suspended after these developments.

In this environment of debate, the government also feels the need to defend its own policies. In this context, there is a report in the State Archives that is stated to have been written in 1933 but was probably prepared by the Ministry of Economy in 1930 as a response to the criticisms of SCF regarding the sugar sector. According to this report, the two main criticisms of the SCF are that sugar production is unnecessary and that the domestic sugar production initiative increases sugar prices. In response to this, the report argues that sugar production primarily provides development in agriculture and that this is why many states in the world support the sugar sector.

According to the report, world sugar production increased from 17.5 million tons to 26.5 million tons from 1913 to the 1920s, with about half of the sugar produced from cane and the other half from beet. Most of the beet sugar is also produced in Europe. Although sugar consumption increased in the 1920s, beet production increased faster, resulting in increased beet stocks. Therefore, there were international initiatives to reduce sugar production in the 1920s. Cuba, the largest sugar producer, reduced production. However, the Netherlands, the dominant power in Java, the second largest producer, did not accept this restriction and production remained high.²⁰⁶

On the other hand, when we look at consumption data, while annual per capita consumption in Australia and the USA is at 30-40 kilos per person, it is 18 kilos in Europe and 5 kilos in Turkey, which is slightly above the consumption in Africa. The competition between cane sugar and beet sugar leads to a continuous increase in sugar production from

²⁰⁵ BCA., Kararname (10129),30-18-1-2 ,14 - 70 - 13, 22.10.1930.

²⁰⁶ Crespo, Horacio. "6 Trade Regimes and the International Sugar Market, 1850–1980: Protectionism, Subsidies, and Regulation." In *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Construction of the World Economy, 1500–2000*, by Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, Zephyr Frank, Gilbert M. Joseph and Emily S. Rosenberg, 146–173. New York: Duke University Press, 2006,161.

beets. This competition also increases the cost of sugar production in Europe. However, despite all this, domestic sugar production in Europe is not abandoned at the expense of increasing sugar prices. In fact, customs duties are increased due to the impact of the crisis and a protectionist approach is followed. The reasons for this policy are primarily to establish the sugar industry. It takes time to get the rewards of such industrial initiatives. Two sugar factories in Turkey are also going through this process.

In addition, the value given to domestic production increased in the post-war period due to the impact of World War I. Moreover, the way to close the trade deficit is to reduce imports with domestic production. On the other hand, sugar production significantly increases employment and job opportunities in the country. Beet farming is also beneficial to agricultural areas. For these reasons, countries try to develop the sugar industry and beet farming. In Turkey, beet farming has accelerated mechanization in agriculture, beet pulp has contributed to the development of animal husbandry, and productivity in agricultural production has increased.

Moreover, the drought seen in these years has been less damaging to beet farming than to wheat. The value of beet produced per acre is more than twice that of wheat. From the consumer's perspective, the high cost of domestic sugar production rather than customs policy plays a role in the increase in sugar prices. The high costs are due to the fact that the sugar industry is just being established, transportation costs are high, and high payments are made to beet growers. In all these stages, costs will decrease as productivity increases.

Finally, the consumer's spending on sugar is not high. Customs duties are not only for the development of the sugar industry, but also for the general increase of financial revenues in the crisis environment. At the end of the report, it is stated that the data is obtained from the report given by Dr. Vladislav Brdlik at the International Agricultural Congress and the reports prepared by Dr. Gustav Mikush, the sugar expert of the League of Nations.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ BCA., "Şeker Sanayi Hakkında", 30-10-0-0, 181 - 248 - 7, 00.00.1933.

This report is obviously the government's defense of the sugar policy against the criticisms of the SCF in this period. In this sense, the pressure that the SCF created on the government can be evaluated from many perspectives. The important point in the scope of this study is that this defense was made in a generally quite rational manner. Presenting clear theses based on many data is an important reference point for the mentality of the CHP government. In this environment of discussion, no other important developments occurred in the sugar policies and sector until 1932, and the previous order continued.

During this period, it is seen that the discussions around sugar production were also held in the political environment and the issue was evaluated together with economic policies. In this, it is seen that the SCF and the criticism of the liberal politicians such as Ahmet Ağaoğlu, before its establishment, about the economic policies pursued by the CHP government. The responses given to these and the discussions about the efficiency of the sugar factories in operation were briefly shared here. As a result, no drastic change was seen in sugar policy during this period. The CHP government continued the policies in various layers, only some decisions were postponed. On the other hand, the existence of the discussion environment and the government's response to the criticisms directed at it by producing theses based on material data are important indicators in many ways.

5.2 The establishment process of Eskişehir Sugar Factory

After summarizing the discussions and developments leading to the establishment of the factory, examining the process of the establishment of the factory allows to pass to the evaluation of the actors by being aware of the background. In this context, attempts to establish a third sugar factory in Turkey began to become serious in 1932. Therefore, it would be appropriate to start the establishment process of the ESF from here.

In January 1932, the Czech company “Erste Brünnner Maschinenfabriks-Gesellschaft”, which produces factory machinery, applied to the government to provide machinery in the event of a new

sugar factory being established in Turkey. In response to the application, the government stated that there was a report from the Ministry of Economy stating that it was appropriate to establish a sugar factory in Turkey under favorable conditions and that trials for sugar beet farming should be conducted in suitable geographies. Therefore, negotiations were invited on the conditions that the factory would not harm other factories, that the Ministry of Economy would determine the location of the factories, and that the machinery would be new and in good condition, and that a second factory would be established at half the price of the first one.²⁰⁸ In other words, the first step for establishing new sugar factories in Turkey came from the Czech machinery factory. On the other hand, the requirement that the location of the factory be determined from the very beginning by considering its suitability for sugar beet farming are points that show both the influence of the experiences at the Uşak Factory and the *modus operandi* of the Kemalist administration.

A month later, the CHP government asks for the opinion of Remzi Bey, the Director of the Uşak Sugar Factory, regarding the idea of establishing a sugar factory in Eskişehir. Remzi Bey responds by stating that Turkish managers are beneficial in economic and administrative terms, and that employing foreign experts in technical matters is beneficial. He argues that the most critical issue is sugar beet farming, and that the improvement and development of land, animals, and farmers should be carried out by Turks. He also states that sectors such as fertilizer production and dairying around the sugar industry should be carried out by local managers and technical staff, not by foreigners.

In addition, he emphasizes that as a sugar factory to be established in Eskişehir will be a competitor to the factory in Uşak, the distribution of agricultural land to the factories should be done carefully. Especially in dry periods, since both factories will need the same agricultural land for sugar beet supply. He states that there will also be competition in the sale of the sugar produced, that he is not against competition, but that this competition could harm both factories.²⁰⁹ This is a noteworthy

²⁰⁸ BCA., Kararname(12249),30-18-1-2, 25 - 9 - 6, 31.01.1932.

²⁰⁹ BCA., Kararname(13341),30-10-0-0, 181 - 248 - 3, 18.02.1932.

assessment, as well as an evaluation of the possible effects of the location of the new factory and a transfer of experience. In this sense, the fact that an opinion was obtained from an executive within the sector and that this report expressed rational concerns is also an important indicator of the working style of the period.

During this period, in February 1932, Uşak Sugar Factory was sold to Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası.²¹⁰ Therefore, even though it was two years late, the factory was transferred to the bank, which was the largest creditor. As this meant that the sugar industry was completely under state control, it is an important development both for the sugar sector and for the evaluation of the economic policies of this period.

In July 1932, a bill to single-handedly manage the import of tea, sugar and coffee was discussed in the Assembly. In these discussions, the purpose of monopolizing the import of these products was discussed. In response to these approaches, the Minister of Economy Mustafa Şeref Bey stated that the law was designed to expand domestic production while protecting the rights of agricultural producers.²¹¹ As a result of the discussions, the bill was accepted. The first article of the law was: "Provided that no financial interest is pursued in addition to the existing taxes and duties, the Government is authorized to manage the import of tea, sugar and coffee into the country from a sole source. However, those who wish to import these products into the country may be granted a license on condition that they produce Turkish goods to be determined by the Government in accordance with the value of the products they will import."²¹²

Thus, the import of tea, sugar and coffee is left to the government's monopoly. In the explanation of the draft law sent to the Economic and Budget Committee, it is stated that this import monopoly was established both to protect domestic industry and as a response to the obstacles encountered in tobacco exports. As a result, as seen in the article of the law, those who want to import these products specifically must export

²¹⁰ Güvemli, 30.

²¹¹ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 4,vol.9(1),session 76, 2.07.1932,446.

²¹² T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, term 4,vol.9(1),session 76, 2.07.1932,454.

according to the value of the goods. The protectionist understanding that also includes the sugar sector is clearly seen.

During the period when this law was accepted, a bill for the establishment of Devlet Sanayi Ofisi (State Industry Office) was brought to the Parliament, and the aims of the bill were announced by Prime Minister İsmet İnönü on May 22, 1932. İnönü stated that in Europe, scientists managed the industrial sector with economics and trade science, and that technical managers managed many factories. He argued that the industrialization system led by Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası left it far from scientific management in this sense, and therefore an industry office should be established, and industrialization should be managed directly.

He also stated that many loan offers had begun to come from Europe for the establishment of sugar and chemical industries in Turkey, and that the cooperation with the Soviets and the loans received were aimed at developing industrialization.²¹³ In order to separate industrial management from banking, it is proposed that Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası to be closed, and an industrial credit bank to be established. As a result, the laws for Devlet Sanayi Ofisi were accepted in the Parliament on July 3, 1932, and Türk Sanayi Kredi Bankası (Turkish Industrial Credit Bank) on July 7. So, Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası was closed, and a new model was adopted in industrialization. Naturally, the Uşak Sugar Factory was also transferred to the management of DSO.

Following these, a Russian delegation visits Eskişehir in August for industrial investments. The conditions for a textile and sugar factory are determined. The Akşam Newspaper reports that Eskişehir is in an advantageous position to establish a factory in terms of its geographical location, population and access to water resources, and that since beet farming has been carried out for four years, the supply of beets will not

²¹³ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, “Kanunu mahsuslarına tevfikân kurulmuş olanlardan maada Devlet sermayesile tesis edilmiş ve edilecek fabrikaların ve Devlet iştiraklerinin ve kurulması müsaadeye tâbi veya mukaveleye bağlı olan fabrikaların sureti idaresi ve Devlet sanayi ofisi teşkili hakkında I 373 numaralı kanun lâyihası ve İktisat ve Bütçe encümenleri mazbataları”, 22.5.1932, 2.

be a problem.²¹⁴ Here, in a system where industrial investments are made with international support, it is not surprising that the Russians supervise the investments, and the newspaper's assessment of the region's geographical conditions and sharing that beet farming is currently being carried out in the region is useful in seeing from the perspective of the press.

In this period, as an interesting development, in September 1932, the normal quota for tea, sugar and coffee imports, which had been put into effect in July, was returned. Consequently, the strict protection on these products was relatively relaxed.²¹⁵ However, it continued to be imported subject to quotas. This is an example of the rapid changes in the economic policies of the period.

As a result, by the end of 1932, both sugar factories in Turkey had been taken over by the state. Furthermore, both the will and financial resources for the establishment of new industrial establishments had been created. In addition, sugar production increased to 27 thousand tons in 1932, while consumption was at 56 thousand tons.²¹⁶ Therefore, imports were still greater than production. Therefore, new sugar factories were needed to meet consumption with domestic production and to reduce imports.

In fact, in the news published in Milliyet Newspaper on November 21, 1932, it was shared that Eskişehir Sugar Factory was in the process of being established.²¹⁷ In Akşam Newspaper on November 29, 1932, it was reported that the official decision to establish Eskişehir Sugar Factory was given by the Ministry of Economy and forwarded to the municipality.²¹⁸ In the last days of the year, Anadolu Şeker Fabrikaları Türk Anonim Şirketi (Anadolu Sugar Factories Turkish Joint Stock Company) was established with a capital of 3 million TL jointly by İş Bankası, Ziraat Bankası and Sanayi Kredi Bankası. 51 percent of the

²¹⁴ Akşam Newspaper, August 24, 1932, 6.

²¹⁵ BCA., Kararname(13341),30-18-1-2, 31 - 63 - 17,12.09.1932.

²¹⁶ Özer, 111.

²¹⁷ Milliyet Newspaper, November 21, 1932, 3.

²¹⁸ Akşam Newspaper, November 29, 1932, 5.

company was shared equally with İş Bankası and the other two banks.²¹⁹ The company was also granted a 25-year privilege.²²⁰ As seen, the company that would establish Eskişehir Sugar Factory was a company formed entirely by state institutions.

It was decided that a German company would supply the machinery for the factory.²²¹ In other words, the machinery would not be purchased from the Czech company that had taken the first initiative, but from a German company. In the news of Vakit Newspaper dated January 2, 1933, it was reported that MP Recep Zühtü Bey, who was responsible for the establishment of the factory, came to Eskişehir with a scientific committee and made examinations.²²² A week later, it was officially notified to the Governor's Office that President Atatürk would visit Eskişehir.²²³ The process of establishing the factory had now begun to mature.

On January 16, 1933, the President visited Eskişehir. It is reported that during this visit, he visited Eskişehir High School and asked the students geography and history questions. Afterwards, he visited the Party, where Recep Zühtü Bey talked about the benefits that the sugar factory would bring to Eskişehir and its surroundings. He gave the positive experience in Alpullu as an example and stated that the factory would start production in the fall of 1933.²²⁴ Indeed, Alpullu Sugar Factory has had a significant positive impact on the socio-economic and socio-cultural development of the region in which it is located.²²⁵ On the other hand, the fact that sugar beet is a valuable product has increased the value of the fields in the region and has led to the lands becoming an investment vehicle.²²⁶

²¹⁹ Özer, 102.

²²⁰ BCA., Kararname (14162),30-18-1-2, 35 - 25 - 5,15.04.1933.

²²¹ Oğur, Necmettin. "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası." Master Thesis , Eskişehir, 2015,30.

²²² Vakit Newspaper, January 2,1933, 7.

²²³ Oğur, Necmettin, Önder Selahattin. "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası." ESOGÜ History Journal, November 2019,34.

²²⁴ Milliyet Newspaper, January 18, 1933, 1.

²²⁵ Ceylan, Okan, 2024, 811.

²²⁶ Ceylan,Okan,2024,803.

When we look at the location selection process, President Atatürk himself had an influence on the selection of the location of the Eskişehir factory. When Celal Bayar said that they planned to establish the factory in one of two locations, Atatürk stated that having the factory next to the railway would increase the morale of the people, so the location that was suitable for him was chosen.²²⁷ One side of the factory's land borders Porsuk Stream, the other side borders the air force and aircraft factory land, the northern side borders the railway and the remaining side borders the city.²²⁸ The factory is connected to the railway with a 10 km long branch line.²²⁹

In addition, on January 31, 1933, the General Staff sent a petition to the Prime Ministry under the signature of Fevzi Çakmak, stating that if the chimneys of the Sugar Factory were too close to the military airport in Eskişehir, there would be a risk of accidents for student pilots during their landings and takeoffs, and therefore, even if the factory had to be built on this land due to geological, hydrogeological and economic factors, it was requested to be built at least 2 km away from the runway.²³⁰ The factory is 2 km away from the runway, as it is today. So, the location of the factory was chosen considering technical risks. This location has both economic benefits such as proximity to transportation infrastructure and water resources, and symbolic and social benefits.

On the other hand, the establishment of the company that will establish and operate the factory is also ongoing. Kazım Taşkent is appointed as the general manager of Anadolu Şeker Anonim Şirketi. Taşkent studied chemical engineering in Germany with a state scholarship, then was appointed as the operations manager at the Alpullu Sugar Factory, where he gained experience in sugar production.²³¹ He took many experts with him in Alpullu to establish a sugar factory in

²²⁷ Oğur; Önder, 2019, 34.

²²⁸ Oğur; Önder, 2019, 37.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ BCA, "Eskişehir'de kurulacak şeker fabrikası hakkında", 30-10-0-0,171 - 187 - 19,31.01.1933.

²³¹ Oğur; Önder, 2019, 36.

Eskişehir. Experts such as Suphi Argon, who also has a book on agricultural activities in hot regions for beet farming, Ekrem Oktar, who has studies on the use of beet pulp, and Fethi Tan, who has worked in the area of beet farming in Alpullu, come to Eskişehir and start working.²³² For the assembly of the factory, mining engineer Nadir Önen, who is experienced in factory establishment, engineer Macit Eken, an expert in operations, and engineer Ahmet Yolaç, who is experienced in factory assembly, come to Eskişehir and start working.²³³

The foundation of the factory was laid on February 1, 1933. The materials for the factory came from Germany and around a hundred Germans came to Eskişehir for the assembly of the factory.²³⁴ The tools to be brought for the assembly of the factory were also exempt from customs duty.²³⁵

A newspaper report dated March 11, 1933 reported that the construction of the factory was progressing rapidly and that 40 thousand acres of land were being prepared for planting beet.²³⁶ Another newspaper report dated the day after reported that planting contracts had already been made with 12 thousand farmers.²³⁷ In other words, the beets needed by the factory had also begun to be planted. In this sense, it can be seen that the process was managed in a holistic manner and that the process was also progressing quite quickly. On April 1, 1933, assembly operations began.²³⁸

Moreover, in the draft bill accepted in the railway budget discussions held in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on April 22, 1933, a budget was also allocated for ramps to be built on the Ankara-Eskişehir line so

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Oğur; Önder, 2019, 37.

²³⁵ BCA., Kararname (14041), 30-18-1-2,34 - 19 - 4,24.03.1933.

²³⁶ Son Posta Newspaper, March 11, 1933,3.

²³⁷ Milliyet Newspaper, March 12, 1933,1.

²³⁸ Oğur; Önder, 2019, 35.

that sugar beet producers could easily transport their products by rail.²³⁹ Therefore, preparations for sugar production were seen not only in the factory and agricultural lands, but also in the field of transportation. In the newspaper article dated April 29, 1933, it was shared that the construction of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory was nearing completion, the construction of the connection line to the railway was completed, and that sugar beets were planted on 60 acres of land.²⁴⁰ On June 11, 1933, it was stated that the factory was expected to start production in September.²⁴¹

In the same month, the Ministry of Finance notified the Prime Ministry that foreign currency should be provided to İş Bankası to cover the construction costs of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, and this foreign currency was provided so that the construction process of the factory would not be interrupted.²⁴² Here, the urgent provision of the necessary reinforcements so that the installation process of the factory would not be interrupted is an important indicator of the importance given to the factory.

During this period, there was an important development in the management of economic investments. Sümerbank was established on July 11, 1933, replacing Devlet Sanayi Ofisi and Türk Sanayi Kredi Bankası, which were established in 1932 with the initiatives of İsmet İnönü. Sümerbank was established under the leadership of the Minister of Economy Celal Bayar, and the aim of Sümerbank was to develop Turkish industry in every way.²⁴³ With the establishment of Sümerbank, all assets of DSO were transferred to Sümerbank. Industrialization would continue to be carried out by the state, and there was no change in this understanding. However, the closure of DSO and the establishment of

²³⁹ T.B.M.M., term 4, vol.14(2) "Devlet demiryolları ve limanları İşletme umumi müdürlüğünün 1933 senesi bütçesi hakkında 1/512 numaralı kanun lâyihası ve Bütçe encümeni mazbatası", 22/04/1933,13.

²⁴⁰ Son Posta Newspaper, April 29,1933,3.

²⁴¹ Akşam Newspaper, June 11, 1933,6.

²⁴² BCA., "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikasının Döviz İhtiyacı Hakkında",30-10-0-0 , 181 - 248 - 6, 19.06.1933.

²⁴³ Sarıgözel,7061.

Sümerbank is a clear indication that Celal Bayar began to dominate the formation and follow-up of economic policies in the power struggle within the CHP.

Indeed, in the justification attempt of this change, it is argued that the steps in 1932 damaged the development of the industry because they removed the exemptions for machinery purchases, and therefore a new structure was needed.²⁴⁴ The change in 1932 was carried out under the leadership of İnönü, and this change is the leaving of this behind. As a result, with the decree dated September 3, 1933, the machinery and equipment to be imported for the sugar factory were exempted from the import quota.²⁴⁵ This is also an indication of the importance given to this investment.

In the Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated July 27, 1933, it was announced that the factory would be hiring workers. It was also stated that sugar farming in the region was yielding good results.²⁴⁶ In the news dated August 8, 1933, it was reported that the German architect Breuhaus De Groot, who designed the plan of the sugar factory, had come to Turkey and would go to Eskişehir to follow the implementation of the plan.²⁴⁷ In this regard, it is also important that the plan of the factory was prepared by an expert in the field.

In August 14, 1933, it was reported that the Sugar Factory had started the beet harvest in Bilecik and Osmaneli, that the beets would be sent to the factory in Uşak for now, that the rainfall was good and that the products were yielding good results.²⁴⁸ On September 22, the Minister of Economy Celal Bayar visited the factory and stated that the factory was one of the most modern factories.²⁴⁹ At the end of September, trial production began and beet farming in the region was organized under

²⁴⁴ Tezel, 1982, 350.

²⁴⁵ BCA., Kararname (14886),30-18-1-2, 39 - 61 - 5, 03.09.1933.

²⁴⁶ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, July 27,1933,6.

²⁴⁷ Milliyet Newspaper, August 8,1933, 1.

²⁴⁸ Son Posta Newspaper, September 14, 1933, 4.

²⁴⁹ Milliyet Newspaper, September 23,1933,2.

the leadership of Suphi Argon.²⁵⁰ Thus, the campaign period was opened in the factory.

In the news dated October 12, 1933, it was announced that the factory construction was completed, the beets were being harvested and that it was planned to be opened at the end of October.²⁵¹ In October 29, 1933, it was reported that the sugar factory had started production and that the people of the city had visited the factory.²⁵² The factory had managed to start production as planned in the 10th year of the Republic. On November 3, the first sugar of the factory was produced and started to be distributed.²⁵³ On November 23, an auction was held, and a sack of sugar was sold for five hundred liras and the first sugar produced was placed in the factory's museum.²⁵⁴

On December 5, 1933, the Eskişehir Sugar Factory opening ceremony was held with the participation of Prime Minister İsmet İnönü. In his congratulatory note, President Atatürk said, "Eskişehir Sugar Factory is a valuable document rising from deep interest in the national ideal." He also congratulated the construction of such a modern factory in 6 months.²⁵⁵ İsmet İnönü also touched on the importance of the industrialization initiative in his opening speech and defended the high sugar prices.²⁵⁶ Although sugar production had decreased by 60 percent due to the effects of the crisis and the quotas imposed, sugar prices had fallen to their lowest level in history after 1929. The US administration tried to reduce sugar production in Cuba in order to increase sugar prices. In addition, it applied subsidies to protect its own sugar producers.²⁵⁷ Therefore, as seen, the CHP government's policy was not unique during this period; similar ones were implemented in different countries.

²⁵⁰ Oğur; Önder, 2019, 37.

²⁵¹ Akşam Newspaper, November 12, 1933, 2.

²⁵² Akşam Newspaper, October 29, 1933, 4.

²⁵³ Vakit Newspaper, November 3, 1933, 7.

²⁵⁴ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, November 24, 1933, 4.

²⁵⁵ Akşam Newspaper, December 5, 1933, 2.

²⁵⁶ Hakimiyet-i Milliye Newspaper, December 6, 1933, 1.

²⁵⁷ Crespo, 161-166.

On the other hand, regarding the efficiency of beet production, İsmet İnönü told reporters that while 3 tons of beet were taken per acre in Czechoslovakia, 5-7 tons of beet could be produced around Eskişehir.²⁵⁸ All the factory employees were Turkish, and it was reported that attention was paid to the technical managers being Turkish as well.²⁵⁹ This would be a direct example of the results of steps taken to develop qualified human resources.

In summary, the factory started production in late 1933, approximately one year after the establishment of the company that would build the Sugar Factory. When the process is examined in detail, it is clearly seen that this was achieved through direct state initiative, by consulting experts at every step, and at the end of a process in which all factors were considered with an understanding that fundamentally focused on scientific studies.

²⁵⁸ Akşam Newspaper, December 6, 1933,1.

²⁵⁹ Vakit Newspaper, December 7,1933,1.



6

Developments in the operation process of Eskişehir Sugar Factory

6.1 Mikush Report, before and after

It is necessary to follow the government's actions during the operation of the factory in order to see its mentality holistically. It will be useful to do this in a chronological manner as much as possible in order to see the period and the conditions of the period more clearly.

Within this framework, first of all, work began to put into effect the First Five-Year Industrial Plan, which was prepared with the inspiration and contribution of the Soviets in early 1934. The plan officially entered into force on April 17, 1934.²⁶⁰ This development was a clear development that showed that İsmet İnönü's power in economic policies continued to be effective. On the other hand, this industrialization plan did not cover the sugar industry. It aimed for planned development in the textile, mining, cellulose, chemical and ceramic industries.²⁶¹ The sugar industry, where four factories were currently operating, was managed

²⁶⁰ Ünlü Soylu, Perihan, and Özlem Yaktı. "Devletçiliğe Yönelmede Bir Köşe Taşı: Birinci Beş Yıllık Sanayi Planı." *History Studies* , 2012,373.

²⁶¹ Özyurt, Hasan. "Atatürk Dönemi, Birinci ve İkinci Beş Yıllık Sanayileşme Planları ve Türk Ekonomisindeki Yapı Değişikliğine Etkileri (1933-1938)." *İstanbul Journal of Sociological Studies* , September 2011, 132.

independently of this plan. Therefore, the main focus of this study was the effect of the balance of power on the economic policies that produced this plan.

On the other hand, when we look at the developments in the sugar sector, Eskişehir Sugar Factory was opened at the end of 1933 and the operation process was fully started. On March 11, 1934, a bill was presented to the Parliament by the Prime Ministry to make regulations in the Internal Consumption Tax in order to increase the tax collected from sugar production in order to increase the income of the Treasury, which was negatively affected by the economic crisis.²⁶²

In response to this draft prepared by Prime Minister İsmet İnönü's team, Gustav Mikush, the head of the International Sugar Statistics Association, was invited to Turkey by the Ministry of Economy headed by Celal Bayar to examine the sugar industry in late March.²⁶³ It was shared that Mikush would evaluate the sugar industry in Turkey from agricultural, industrial and economic perspectives between March 25 and April 17, 1934. It is clear that this visit was one of the clear reflections of this power struggle within the CHP on economic management.

The ministry asked Dr. Mikush 11 questions. These questions generally included questions about the quality and high price of sugar in the country, the status of the sugar industry, its profitability, and tax regulations in beet farming.²⁶⁴ In other words, an evaluation was actually requested in terms of economic management. Dr. Mikush came to Turkey and visited the Alpullu, Eskişehir, Uşak Sugar Factories in 18 days and presented a comprehensive report to the ministry as a result of his examinations.

²⁶² T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 4, vol.21(3). "Dahili istihlâk vergisi hakkındaki kanunun I inci maddesinin değiştirilmesi hakkında I 892 numaralı kanun lâyihası ve İktisat, Maliye ve Bütçe encümenleri mazbataları", T.C. Başvekâlet Kararlar müdürlüğü, No. 6/571, 21.4.1934.

²⁶³ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, March 23, 1934, 2.

²⁶⁴ "Şeker Sanayimiz Hakkında Beynelmilel Şeker İstatistik Birliği Şefi Dr. Gustav Mikusch Tarafından Hazırlanan Rapor", Başvekâlet Matbaası, Ankara 1934, 3-4.; Karayaman, Mehmet. "Atatürk Döneminde Şeker Sanayi ve İzlenen Politikalar." Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi 28, March 2012, 73.

The report states that while one ton of sugar beet is 7.6 lira in Belgium and 9.4 lira in the Netherlands, it is 12.5 lira in Turkey, which is excessively high. It emphasizes that beet farming needs to be developed, and production needs to be increased, and that fertilization methods are inadequate for this. As a result, this situation reduces the productivity of beets and increases their price. The price of coal, which is the energy source for factories, is approximately twice that in Europe. Therefore, the cost of producing sugar in factories is also high. In addition, the beet source of factories is spread over very long distances. It is 300 km, 5 times that in Austria. The pulp produced in factories cannot be used efficiently. Seed supply should be improved. Railways should be used more effectively in the transportation of beets and coal.

Finally, Mikush's report argues that if the sugar production tax of 8 piastre is not increased and sugar is imported, sugar will become cheaper.²⁶⁵ On the other hand, it is stated that if a local sugar industry is to be developed, it is necessary to tolerate the high price of sugar.²⁶⁶ If this path is preferred, it is argued that beet remains at a high price, therefore the price of beet should be reduced and a tax should be imposed.²⁶⁷ As can be seen, Dr. Mikush's report provides an opinion on the sugar economy and also lists the technical problems related to beet cultivation and processing.

There was a lot of criticism about this report when it was published. For example, Dr. Sait Tahsin Tekeli, who works at the Ankara Agricultural Institute, published a critical assessment of the report. In this assessment, he argued that the real problem was not in sugar beet farming as Mikush argued, but in the factory, and that waste in the factories needed to be reduced.²⁶⁸ As the factories were largely under the responsibility of İş Bankası, there was a clear polarization in the view of the report.

²⁶⁵ Karayaman, 2012, 79.

²⁶⁶ Karayaman, 2012, 77.

²⁶⁷ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, June 2, 1934.; Özer, 2021, 109.

²⁶⁸ Özer, 2021, 109.

Again, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, who was closer to İnönü's understanding of economics, criticized Mikush's report in an article he published in Kadro Magazine in June 1934, arguing that the report was written without taking into account the high cost of sugar beet farming and that it misplaced the source of the sugar cost.²⁶⁹ As seen, the report was criticized from various perspectives during this period.

On the other hand, on April 21, 1934, the government's proposal to increase the tax on sugar production from 8 piastre to 10-12 piastre per kilo was accepted in the Parliament.²⁷⁰ In other words, İsmet İnönü and his circle prevailed on this issue, at least for now. As seen, no evaluation of these policies can be made by ignoring this power struggle. It is essential to determine which action was taken for which purposes and by which group in order to make a sound evaluation of Kemalism.

In January 1934, Ankara Faculty of Agriculture students visited and inspected the Eskişehir Sugar Factory and Seed Station under the leadership of Technology Professor Gercingrass.²⁷¹ This is also important as an example of the evaluation of the factory as a part of agricultural education. Indeed, in July 1934, graduates of the Ankara Higher Agricultural School, which had been established eight months earlier, were distributed to the centers as interns. One graduate started working as an intern at Eskişehir Tohum Islah İstasyonu (Eskişehir Seed Improvement Station).²⁷² This provides a direct example to see the holistic understanding and functioning in agricultural education.

In addition, sugar beet production began in the Adapazarı region in 1934, and the produced beets were sold to the Eskişehir Sugar Factory.²⁷³ The beet produced in Adapazarı remained at around 35 thousand tons in the 1930s and accounted for an average of 20 percent of the factory's beet supply.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Süreyya, Şevket. "Şeker Mütahassısının Raporu Ne İçin Eksiktir?" Kadro, June 1, 1934, 45.

²⁷⁰ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 4, vol.21, session , 21.4.1934,107.

²⁷¹ Vakıf Newspaper, January 16,1934,6.

²⁷² Son Posta Newspaper, July 20,1934, 4.

²⁷³ Son Posta Newspaper, September 5,1934,4.

²⁷⁴ Akşam Newspaper, July 31,1934,6.

In September, Turhal Sugar Factory starts production.²⁷⁵ The number of sugar factories in Turkey increases to four. On October 31, 1934, Sümerbank is given a 25-year privilege to establish new sugar factories in five provinces.²⁷⁶ However, no other sugar factories are established in Turkey until the 1950s.

6.2 The establishment of Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi (Turkish Sugar Factories Corporation) and the new sugar policy

As it brought about a fundamental change in the sugar sector, the establishment of TŞFAŞ and the period after should also be examined in detail. In this way, the effect of this transformation in the sugar sector in Turkey on the questioned process and the elements evaluated can be seen as an example. This also ensures that a factor that should not be overlooked in the evaluation of the actors based on their actions is not excluded.

In this context, official initiatives began towards the end of 1934 to reorganize the management of existing sugar factories. In December 1934, the Ministry of Economy established Şeker Rasyonalizasyon Komitesi (Sugar Rationalization Committee). The committee had 7 members. Among these members were the deputies, İş Bankası Deputy General Manager Muhammed Eriş, Ziraat Bankası General Manager Kemal Zaim, Sümerbank Manager Esat Sümer, Türk Ofis consultant Rauf Bey and the Chairman of the Industrial Investigation Board İlhami Nafiz Pamir.²⁷⁷ In other words, the committee was established within the framework of economic management and was an economic commission. In this sense, it is noteworthy that the name of the committee was “Sugar

²⁷⁵ Özer, 2021, 103.

²⁷⁶ BCA., 30-18-1-2 ,49 - 74 - 12, 31.10.1934.

²⁷⁷ Merter, Mert. “Kuruluş Yıllarında Şeker Sanayi ve Devletin Amaç Fonksiyonu.” TESAM Akademi Dergisi, July 2018,206.

Rationalization Committee". In order to see the function of the committee, the report published a month later in January 1935 should be examined.

In the report dated January 17, 1935, 3 main decisions were made. These were to establish a new company and merge the sugar factories, to apply the same sugar prices throughout the country, and to rationalize sugar production.²⁷⁸ In other words, clear decisions were made such as merging the sugar factories and equalizing sugar prices. In fact, until 1935, sugar prices varied according to the market in each city. There were differences of more than 30 percent between sugar prices from city to city.²⁷⁹

On the other hand, it is also stated in the report that the definition of rationalization of sugar production means reducing the cost of sugar production and the price of sugar. So far, high beet prices have encouraged beet farming, and the number of beet producers has increased rapidly.²⁸⁰ Now, in order to reduce costs, suggestions such as single-handed management of factories, reduction of interest rates in costs, factories operating at full capacity and mass production are presented. It is argued that providing the pulp to farmers and the army engaged in animal husbandry around the factory will be an effective use and will also contribute to the development of animal husbandry. It is also suggested that the alcohol produced in sugar production will be used by mixing it with gasoline. It is stated that the capital of the factories is insufficient, and that the capital of a single large company can be more sufficient. It is argued that sugar consumption should be increased in order for factories to operate at full capacity. It is emphasized that this can be achieved by preventing smuggling, preventing the use of glucose instead of sugar by increasing the consumption tax, and implementing a single price throughout the country and propaganda.

²⁷⁸ Merter,207.

²⁷⁹ Hatipoğlu, Şevket Raşit. *Türkiyede Zirai Buhran*. Ankara: Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü, 1936, 56.

²⁸⁰ Metinsoy, M. (2021). *The Power of the People: Everyday Resistance and Dissent in the*. Cambridge University Press,30.

In the 1930s, one of the most popular foods in black market trades²⁸¹ smuggled products in Türkiye was sugar mainly because of high prices.²⁸² Particularly, in the southern border of the country sugar smuggling was common.²⁸³ In order to prevent smuggling, it is recommended to import sugar types that can be easily distributed to the country's border areas.²⁸⁴ So, preventing smuggling was one of the main objectives of the committee.

At this point, the determination of the problems related to sugar and the solution suggestions are clearly presented, and the report is a clear example of the management's style of doing business at the time. The fact that this commission, which was established to provide economic suggestions, tried to achieve this goal through rationalization is a clear indication that while looking for solutions, it saw the solution to the problems in a positivist understanding. In addition, the fact that the committee was named the "Sugar Rationalization Committee" shows the value given to such concepts.

The commission presents this report to the İnönü Government.²⁸⁵ The İnönü Government also takes the report into consideration and prepares its own project with various interventions on the subject. According to this draft, the way to reduce costs is to increase production. Therefore, this should be provided. Merging the 4 factories is a sensible suggestion, but the company's capital should remain as low as possible in order to reduce costs. It is stated that this may cause losses for the banks that own the factories, but it is emphasized that everyone must make sacrifices.²⁸⁶ This entire plan is also called the "İnönü Project".

²⁸¹ Metinsoy, 89.

²⁸² Gözcü, Alev and Çakmak, Fevzi. "Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında Türkiye'nin güney sınırında gerçekleştirilen kaçakçılık faaliyetleri". Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 21 (3), 2019, 696.

²⁸³ Metinsoy, 89.

²⁸⁴ Avcı, 1991, appendix 6a. "Şeker Rasyonalizasyon Komitesi'nin 17.1.1935 Tarihli Raporu".

²⁸⁵ Merter, 210.

²⁸⁶ Merter, 212.

As the first step of these sacrifices, with the law amendment accepted in the Parliament on May 2, 1935, the exemption and privilege granted to sugar factories in 1925 from taxes on salaries and income taxes they had paid since their opening date was terminated on the grounds that it was no longer necessary.²⁸⁷ With the law dated June 14, 1935, a discount of up to 30 was made in the price of sugar produced in the factories. It was decided that the taxation on sugar to be imported would be applied in direct proportion to domestic sugar production. In this way, domestic production was protected. As a result, the state sacrificed the tax it received, the factory sacrificed the sugar income, and the farmer sacrificed the beet income. Most of all, the farmers' income decreased, while the factories' losses remained at a minimum level.²⁸⁸ In other words, both İnönü's and the Celal Bayar group's wishes come true.

On July 6, TŞFAŞ was established with a capital of 22 million liras. İş Bankası, Ziraat Bankası and Sümerbank were equal partners in the company. The company was affiliated with the Ministry of Industry and was managed by a 6-person board of directors formed by representatives from the Ministry and the bank.²⁸⁹ The general manager of TŞFAŞ was Kazım Taşkent, who was the general manager of Eskişehir Sugar Factory.²⁹⁰ Thus, the existing four sugar factories began to be managed by a single source. It can be said that in this management change, in addition to the aim of reducing costs, the centralist approach also played a role.

As a result, the İnönü government's plan was implemented with mutual concessions made with the recommendations of the Sugar Rationalization Committee. Since the sugar beet planting remained low in September, the Uşak Sugar Factory was not operated during this production period and the beets were sent to the Eskişehir Sugar

²⁸⁷ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.1. "Şeker fabrikalarına bahşolunan imtiyazat ve muafiyat hakkındaki 601 sayılı kanunun 8'inci maddesinin kaldırılmasına dair kanun lâyihası ve İktisad, Maliye ve Bütçe encümenleri mazbataları" (1/58), T.C. Başvekâlet Kararlar Müdürlüğü, no. 61671. 02.05.1935.

²⁸⁸ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, June 13, 1935.; Karayaman, 2012, 82.

²⁸⁹ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 56-53-6, 08.06.1935.

²⁹⁰ Özer, 2021, 103.

Factory.²⁹¹ This is a clear indication of how far cost reduction measures can go and the determination of the sugar factories to increase their operational efficiency.

TŞFAŞ was also given permission to import 5000 tons of sugar in November.²⁹² It is stated that the previous import in January 1936 was for the Mediterranean region. The company was given permission to import 5000 tons of sugar once again for the needs of the Black Sea region.²⁹³ Thus, the loss in production was compensated and the increase in sugar prices was prevented.

Sugar consumption increased as targeted in 1936, consumption increased by more than 10 thousand tons compared to the previous year, and production, although increasing, remained below consumption.²⁹⁴ As a result, permission was granted to TŞFAŞ to import 10 thousand tons of sugar in April.²⁹⁵ In the budget discussions in the Turkish Grand National Assembly in May 1936, Minister of Economy Celal Bayar stated that one of the functions of sugar imports was to increase the customs tax revenues of the Treasury, which was suffering from income losses.

In the same session, Bayar mentions the positive results of lowering sugar prices, which increased production, and that not operating the Uşak Factory that year was a rational, technical decision. He also states that the policy of lowering sugar prices will continue.²⁹⁶ As an indication that this policy continues, permission is granted to TŞFAŞ in July for the import of 20 thousand tons of sugar.²⁹⁷ In the fall of 1936, it is reported that production will continue in the Uşak Sugar Factory after a one-year break.²⁹⁸ Thus, sugar production continues in 4 factories.

On the other hand, in September, German sugar experts Dr. Springler and Frederick Meyer came to Turkey and inspected the sugar factories.

²⁹¹ Son Posta Newspaper, September 14, 1935, 6.

²⁹² BCA., 30-18-1-2, 59 - 84 - 2, 7.11.1935.

²⁹³ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 61 - 7 - 1, 29.01.1936.

²⁹⁴ Özer, 2021, 111.

²⁹⁵ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 63 - 26 - 9, 06.04.1936.

²⁹⁶ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 1, vol. 11, session 1. 27.05.1936, 266.

²⁹⁷ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 66 - 57 - 8, 03.07.1936.

²⁹⁸ Yeni Asır Newspaper, 24.07.1936, 3.

The delegation also came to Eskişehir and inspected the sugar factory.²⁹⁹ Dr. Springler wrote in the Eskişehir Sugar Factory diary that the sugar factories in Turkey were not inferior to those in Europe, and that they expected the factories to work more efficiently as they gained experience, considering the effort required to process a difficult material such as beet.³⁰⁰ Therefore, the method of benefiting from foreign expertise continued during the operation of the factories. Thus, it can be said that the method of benefiting from scientific expertise to increase operational efficiency was applied in a continuous manner.

In October, Minister of Economy Celal Bayar visited the Eastern Anatolia region. During this visit, it was shared that the first sugar factory in Eastern Anatolia was planned to be established in Erzurum as part of the economic development of the region.³⁰¹ Twenty years after this visit, sugar factories were opened in the region.³⁰² So, this goal was realized during Celal Bayar's presidency. This is an indication that sugar factories were seen as a tool for economic development for many years.

The Second Five-Year Industrial Plan, drafted at an industrial congress held at the beginning of the year in November 1936, was forwarded to the government by the Ministry of Economy and official initiatives were initiated. The main goal of this plan was to develop the production of products with high export value in a planned manner. The sugar industry was also included in the plan.³⁰³ This is a clear example of the adoption of holistic planning as a method and the importance given to the sugar industry in these plans.

With the law amendment accepted in the Parliament in January 1937, the tax on locally produced sugar was reduced from 10-12 piastre to 5 piastre, while the tax on glucose used instead of sugar was increased from 4 piastre to 5 piastre. Thus, sugar production was encouraged and the policy of reducing the price of sugar continued by making

²⁹⁹ Tan Newspaper, 16.09.1936, 10.

³⁰⁰ Oğur, 2015, 63.

³⁰¹ BCA.,30-10-0-0, 71 - 465 - 6, 07.10.1936,2.

³⁰² Avci, 1991, 216.

³⁰³ Tezel, 1982, 280.

concessions on the tax. In addition, the ideal amount of total sugar production was increased to 65 tons, and it was decided that an extra tax would be levied on production above this amount.³⁰⁴

Celal Bayar also stated in the discussions in the Turkish Grand National Assembly that the 65,000-ton production limit was set in order to balance the damage suffered by the tax rates kept low to support sugar production with the income from imports.³⁰⁵ He also emphasized that diseases in sugar beets can increase due to climatic effects, which reduces the sugar in the beet, damages production efficiency and increases costs. In other words, both the formation of surplus production that would reduce the income of the Treasury was prevented and a tax reduction was made to keep the price of sugar low. On the other hand, sugar production and consumption were supported by increasing the tax on glucose.

As a result of the discussion held in the Assembly on February 5, 1937, the principle of “statism” was added to Article 2 of the Constitution. Thus, the statist understanding was accepted as a permanent basis. This is of course a clear indicator for economic policies. In addition, in his speech at the meetings, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Şükrü Kaya, emphasized the need to provide land to landless farmers through land reform as a requirement of statism.³⁰⁶ Therefore, the most important problem in the economic structure was placed at the center of the economic understanding. The reform process regarding the land issue had begun. Immediately during these days, Zirai Kombinalar Kurumu (Agricultural Combines Institution) was established, and attempts were made to

³⁰⁴ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.15(2),48., “Şeker istihlak ve gümrük resimleri hakkındaki 2785 sayılı ve 13-VI- 1935 tarihli kanunun 6’nci maddesinin tefsirine dair Basvekalet tezkeresiyle şeker istihlak ve gümrük resimleri hakkındaki 2785 sayılı kanunun bazı maddelerinin değiştirilmesine ve bu kanuna bazı hükümler ilavesine dair kanun layihası ve Gümrük ve inhisarlar, iktisad, Maliye ve Bütçe encümenleri mazbataları” (3/306. 1/662).

³⁰⁵ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.15, session 2, 15.01.1937, 53.

³⁰⁶ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.16, session 2. 05.02.1937, 71.

develop mechanization in agriculture.³⁰⁷ In other words, initiatives began without delay.

With the decree dated April 30, 1937, all rights and responsibilities arising from the privileges of the four sugar companies were transferred to TŞFAŞ, thus completing the transformation in sugar management. The general management of the company in Eskişehir was also moved to Ankara in May.³⁰⁸ In the same month, the company's farm manager visited the region in Manisa and Alaşehir to grow beet seeds, and the aim of reducing seed imports was emphasized.³⁰⁹

Again, in May, German professors Roehmer and Blohm came to Turkey to examine sugar production. They visited 4 sugar factories and the production areas around them. As a result of their examinations, it was emphasized as an enormous success that beet production had increased 100-fold in ten years. According to the professors, beet farming has also positively affected other agricultural productions. While mechanization and equipment supply in the field of agriculture were in good condition, there was a need for development in terms of irrigation and fertilization. Local seed production would be a positive development. On the other hand, the harshness of climatic conditions could lead to diseases not seen in Europe. It was argued that such factors should not be forgotten.³¹⁰ As seen, the method of benefiting from foreign expertise was also continued in the field of beet farming. It should not be a coincidence that this happened at a time when the land issue was being discussed.

In October 1937, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü resigned from his post as a result of growing disagreements with President Atatürk, mainly on the Hatay issue, relations with Italy and the status of Orman Çiftliği.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ BCA, 30-18-1-2,75-43-20, 24.05.1937. ; Yurtoğlu, Nadir. "Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye'de Şeker Politikası ve Ülke Ekonomisine Etkileri." *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2024 Spring,222.

³⁰⁸ Tan Newspaper, May 25,1937, 3.

³⁰⁹ Akşam Newspaper, May 17,1937,5.

³¹⁰ Ulus Newspaper, May 30,1937,2.

³¹¹ Birlik, Gültekin Kamil. "Celal Bayar'ın Başbakanlığı İsmet İnönü'den Devralması ve Bunun Siyasi Müsteşarlık Üzerine Etkisi." *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 2010 Autumn,289.

Celal Bayar became the Prime Minister by heading the newly established government. Celal Bayar became the dominant side in the power struggle with İsmet İnönü.

On November 1, 1937, as this change was made official, President Atatürk gave a speech in the Parliament for the opening of the new legislative year of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. In this speech, he argued that agriculture was the basis of the national economy and that there should be no farmers left without land in the country. Beyond this, the land of farmer families should not be divided. The size of the land that farm owners can cultivate should be determined according to the population density of the region where the land is located and the degree of fertility of the land. On the other hand, it was emphasized that it was necessary to support the mechanization of agricultural activities of all farmers and to renew the means of production.³¹²

The Bayar government also included these views of Atatürk in its program and announced them in the Parliament.³¹³ On November 10, the Ministry of Agriculture established the Agricultural Reform Commission and began work on land reform. The report prepared in April 1938 was presented to the government. However, within a few months, Atatürk's death and the subsequent World War prevented these steps from being taken in a holistic manner.³¹⁴ Despite this, millions of acres of state and foundation lands were distributed to the villagers from 1924 to 1944.³¹⁵

Another point emphasized in Atatürk's speech in the Parliament regarding the economy is industrialization. In this sense, the President states that the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan is nearing completion, and therefore it is necessary to put a new industrial plan into practice. Indeed, in December, the section of the Second Industrial Plan regarding mining is put into effect.³¹⁶

³¹² T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.20, session 3,01.11.1937,4.

³¹³ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.20, session 3,08.11.1937,21.

³¹⁴ Ortak, Şaban. "Türkiye'de Tarım Politikaları ve Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu."

Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, vol.25, 2023,426.

³¹⁵ T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 7, vol.17, 1945,74-79.; Ortak,427.

³¹⁶ Tezel, 1982, 276.

In the same months, the rotation method in beet farming, that is, the practice of planting beets for one year and a different product the next year, began with the agricultural officers raising awareness of farmers.³¹⁷ Local beans and soybeans were among the products planted. These products not only rest the soil as required by beet farming but also enable farmers to earn income during this period. This practice first began in the beet fields around Thrace and Eskişehir.³¹⁸

In the last month of the year, as production could not keep up with sugar consumption, first the tax on sugar imports was reduced, and then tons of sugar imported intermittently.³¹⁹ In this way, the aim was to prevent disruptions in sugar supply. This is a clear example of the instrumental use of tax regulations. On the other hand, a sugar import of Ziraat Bank was investigated by the Ministry of Economy in 1940. As a result of the investigation, it was concluded that the 50 thousand tons of sugar trade was not in accordance with the instructions and procedures of the Ministry, but when a new investigation was carried out by the Ministry of Trade in 1942, no irregularities were detected.³²⁰

In 1938, the production facility established ten years earlier in the Alpullu Sugar Factory to obtain spirit from molasses (sugar syrup) was moved to the Sugar Factory in Eskişehir.³²¹ During this move, German Bruno Teichmann was assigned to assemble the factory.³²² Thus, the country's spirit needs could be met from a more central point in terms of transportation.

When sugar production continued to fall short of consumption in August, permission was granted to TŞFAŞ to import 30 thousand tons of sugar.³²³ The permission document stated that permission was granted

³¹⁷ Ulus Newspaper, October 29,1937,29.

³¹⁸ Son Posta Newspaper, November 22,1937,3.

³¹⁹ Merter,215.

³²⁰ BCA, 30-10-0-0, 215 - 457 - 7, 06.07.1942.

³²¹ Eyüpoğlu,18.

³²² BCA., 30-18-1-2, 85-98-4, 15.11.1938.; Damlıbağ, Fatih. "Sugar Production Investments in Turkey During Post 1929 Economic Crisis Period ." Journal Of Modern Turkish History Studies , 2018 Spring,149.

³²³ BCA.,30-18-1-2, 84 - 72 - 20, 04.08.1938.

for sugar imports on a date deemed appropriate by the company for the 1938 fiscal year.

By September 1938, the goals of the First Five-Year Industrial Plan were largely achieved.³²⁴ Therefore, steps were taken for a new plan. On September 16, 1938, the Executive Board approved the Second Industrial Plan for four years and put it into effect. When we look at the scope of this plan, developing the production of precious metals and coal in the mining sector, providing production in a wide range of areas from metal industry to agricultural equipment, from military equipment to aircraft engines are part of the goals. In the chemical industry, it is aimed to develop production in a range from pharmaceutical raw materials to energy sources, and to provide cement and tile production. In addition, it is planned to develop production from flour to olive oil and canned fish in the food sector, and to increase the number of sugar factories and thus sugar production with 4 new factories.

Increasing electricity production by establishing power plants finds a place in the plan to provide the electricity needed for infrastructure development with domestic production. Finally, the construction of ports to develop maritime transportation, the necessary arrangements in existing ports and increasing the presence of ships complete the goals.³²⁵ As seen, the plan is quite comprehensive. Sugar industry, which was not included in the First Plan because there were currently 4 sugar factories operating, also finds a place in the Second Plan in parallel with the need to develop production.

Such a broad breakthrough plan naturally had a serious cost burden. Tezel states that when the plan was approved, Prime Minister Celal Bayar was quite optimistic that the necessary financial needs could be provided from domestic and foreign sources. Newspaper reports from the period share that Celal Bayar stated that the credit for the goods needed for the implementation of the plan had been guaranteed from foreign sources.³²⁶ Celal Bayar also said that he expected the total cost of the plan to be 80

³²⁴ Tezel, 1982, 274.

³²⁵ Tezel, 1982, 278.

³²⁶ Haber Newspaper, September 19, 1938, 4.

million lira.³²⁷ However, Tezel argues that at least 200 million lira would be needed.³²⁸ It is clear that there is a serious difference.

On November 10, 1938, President Atatürk, the founding leader of the Kemalist understanding and administration, passed away. With İsmet İnönü being elected President the next day, the view of the Industrial Plan began to shift negatively.³²⁹ In January 1939, Celal Bayar resigned from the Prime Ministry. The Refik Saydam government that succeeded him began to examine the cost of the Industrial Plan. As a result of the examination, many investments in the Plan were stopped on March 13, 1939, on the grounds that they would create high costs.³³⁰ Although some of the remaining investments were realized over the years, only a part of the plan was implemented.

An interesting development in these months was that some entrepreneurs in Malatya, İnönü's hometown, applied to the government to establish a sugar factory in the city. The evaluation made as a result of the application indicated that the region would not be able to produce the necessary amount of beet to establish a factory, and therefore the factory was not established during this period.³³¹ The sugar factory in Malatya was established in the 1950s.

On the other hand, steps towards land reform and development of agricultural production accelerate. In the last days of December, Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi (First Village and Agricultural Development Congress) was held in Ankara. When we look at the decisions taken at the congress regarding land organization, the most important ones were the preparation of a law to provide land to landless villagers, the technical and financial arrangements to develop the use of vehicles, machinery and tools in agriculture, the reduction of customs duty on fuels for agricultural vehicles and finally the establishment of centrally managed radio broadcasts to raise awareness of the villagers

³²⁷ Servetifunun (Uyanış) Magazine, September 22, 1938, 17.

³²⁸ BCA., 30-18-1-2, 86 - 29 - 4, 31.03.1939.

³²⁹ Tezel, 1982, 280.

³³⁰ Tezel, 1982, 281.

³³¹ BCA 30-10-0-0, 181-249-3, 21.01.1939.; Damalıbağ, 143.

about agriculture. In addition, it was decided to take steps to develop industrial production related to agriculture.³³² In other words, the need and intention for a legal arrangement for a comprehensive land reform was emphasized once again.

After many workers and civil servants were dismissed from Eskişehir Sugar Factory in June, the Ministry of Economy reinstated them and launched an investigation into the sugar company. The reorganization of the company's management was also brought into question from various perspectives.³³³ There is no information about the investigation progressing during this period.

Indeed, international tensions were increasing in the world during this period. Jews in Germany were one of the most distressed communities in this environment. In parallel with this, in January 1939, German Jews Walter Mandl³³⁴ and in May Helmut Wolf were allowed to work in sugar factories.³³⁵ Thus, this “opportunity” was used to continue the method of benefiting from foreign expertise in the sugar industry.

When the war began in Europe with the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, a new era began for Turkey and its economy.

³³² Akşam Newspaper, December 29, 1938, 7.

³³³ Son Telgraf Newspaper, June 25, 1939, 6.

³³⁴ BCA, 30-18-1-2, 85 - 118 - 3, 28.01.1939.

³³⁵ BCA, 30-18-1-2, 86 - 40 - 1, 11.05.1939.



7

Geographical and climatic analysis of the production area of Eskişehir Sugar Factory

7.1 Structure of sugar production and optimum conditions for it

In order to make an assessment that takes agricultural production as an example, we naturally need to know the natural structure of the plant used as raw material, how it is produced and the conditions required for high productivity. For this, the structure and optimum growing conditions of the beet, which is the raw material of sugar production discussed here, should be revealed. In this context, Naturally, geographical and climatic conditions have a direct effect on the growth of a plant grown in an outdoor environment. Therefore, these conditions should be revealed. In this way, basic information about the structure of the beet and the conditions of its growth can be seen and any evaluation made can be contextualized in this sense.

First of all, sugar beet is one of the subgroups of the *beta vulgaris* species, which is a root plant. The first taxonomy of *beta vulgaris* was made by Carl Linnaeus in 1753.³³⁶ The sugar beet plant is also a subgroup

³³⁶ Bradenburg, William A, Theo SM De Bock, and Wouter Lange. " Taxonomy and Cultonomy of *Beta vulgaris*." botanical Journal of Linnaean Society , January 1999, 84.

of *beta vulgaris altissima*.³³⁷ Although beet is a root plant and its leaves are used in several ways; its root has the main nutritional value.

The production of beets has a history of thousands of years. Examples have been discovered in Egypt and Mesopotamia before CE. It is also known that it was cultivated in the Mediterranean during the Roman period.³³⁸ However, the production of sugar from beets began much more recently. As mentioned in previous chapters, sugar production from beets began in the 18th century and became widespread over time.

When we look at the basics of beet farming, sugar beet seeds are planted relatively densely (5-6 thousand plants per decare) a few centimeters under the soil in early spring, that is, in the temperate climate zone of the northern hemisphere in March-April, depending on the geography.³³⁹ Sugar beet is a biennial plant, and the plant's root development occurs in the first year of planting. In the second year, the plant's leaf part also develops in the summer months. Fertilization and irrigation are also applied when necessary for the development of the plant. In the fall, the beets are ready for harvest. In other words, the main growing period of the beet is basically the 6-month period in the second year. The sugar content of the harvested beet root is around 20 percent.³⁴⁰

Sugar beet is grown in a wide geography in temperate climate zones, but of course optimum growing conditions are not available everywhere or maybe even anywhere. In this sense, the average air temperature in April should be 8C°, in May 13C°, in June 16C°, and in July-August, when sugar beet grows the fastest, the daily average temperature should be

³³⁷ Abu-Ellail, FFB, Salem, KFM, Saleh, MM, Alnaddaf, LM, Al-Khayri, JM " Molecular Breeding Strategies of Beetroot ." In *Advances in Plant Breeding Strategies : Vegetable Crops* , by JM, Jain, SM, Johnson, DV Al-Khayri, 157-212. Springer, 2021.,164.

³³⁸ Goldman, IL, and J Janick. "Evolution of Root Morphology in Table Beet : Historical and Iconographic ." *Front. Plant Sci .*, August 10, 2021,2.

³³⁹ Coons, George H. "The Sugar Beet : Product of Science." *The Scientific Monthly* 68, 1949,151.

³⁴⁰ Paul, Shapan Kumar. " Agronomic Management of Sugar Beet ." In *Sugar Beet Cultivation , Management and Processing* , by V. Misra, S. Srivastava and AK Mall, 257-274. Singapore : Springer, 2022,266.

around 18C°. ³⁴¹ In the autumn period, although the effect of temperature is debatable, an average temperature of 14C° in September is seen as optimum. ³⁴² In relatively cold weather conditions, the flowering of the plant is delayed and the beet is negatively affected, while the amount of sugar in the beet decreases, especially in environments where night temperatures are relatively high. ³⁴³

Optimum rainfall conditions were observed in a comprehensive study as 50 mm in April, 50 mm in May, 60 mm in June, 90 mm in July and August, and 60 mm in September. ³⁴⁴ Drought negatively affects beets in photosynthesis, plant growth and development stages. ³⁴⁵ Excessive rainfall can also negatively affect beet development as it reduces organic matter in the soil and increases soil acidity.

Table 7.1 Optimum average temperature and rainfall conditions for sugar beet cultivation

Months:	April	May	June	July	August	September
Temperature(C°):	8	13	16	18	18	14
Precipitation (mm):	50	50	60	90	90	60

In terms of soil structure, black soil is the optimum environment for beets, while sandy and heavy clay soil types are the farthest from optimum conditions for growing beets. In other soil types, beets can be

³⁴¹ Kenter, Christine, Christa M. Hoffmann, and Bernward Marlander. " Effects of weather variables on sugar beet yield development ." European Journal of Agronomy , May 2, 2006,68.

³⁴² Źarski, Jacek, Renata Kuśmierk-Tomaszewska, and Stanisław Dudek. « Impact of Irrigation and Fertigation on the Yield and Quality of Sugar Beet (*Beta vulgaris* L.) in a Moderate Climate .» Agronomy 10 (2), 2020,5.

³⁴³ Avcı, Sedat. "Türkiye'de Şeker Pancarı Ziraatinin Coğrafi Esasları." Coğrafya Dergisi 4,May 2012,266.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Prysiazniuk, Oleh, et al. "The Study of Drought Stress in Sugar Beet and the Ways of its Minimization ." Ecological Engineering & Environmental Technology 24(1), 2023,262.

grown, although not at optimum levels.³⁴⁶ A pH value of the soil between 6.0-8.0 also provides optimal conditions for growing beets.

In the growing conditions of beet, in addition to natural factors such as agricultural technologies, climate conditions, soil structure, irrigation management also plays a role as a determining factor for the root development and sugar density of beet.³⁴⁷ Therefore, in geographies and periods where rainfall is low, the water needed by the plant should be provided through irrigation methods. In extremely hot or dry conditions, the ratio of potassium, sodium and invert sugar (sugar with a high-water content) in beet increases.³⁴⁸ This is the main effect of conditions that deviate from optimum.

On the other hand, as the pulp of the processed sugar is used in animal husbandry activities and the other contents of the beet are used in bioethanol production, beet also has economic contributions other than sugar.³⁴⁹ These sub-economic sectors should not be forgotten when evaluating sugar production. Considering all these, in order to fully question the production of Eskişehir Sugar Factory and its management, the soil structure, temperature and precipitation parameters of the geography that provides sugar beet to the factory should be evaluated.

7.2 Geographical and climatic structure of the Eskişehir region and the function of the institutions of in this area

As the beet production in the example of the study is mainly realized in Eskişehir and its surroundings, the geographical and climatic conditions of this region should be summarized in general. In this way, the necessary information about these basic factors will be revealed in order to make a healthy assessment. Before that, first we should summarize the

³⁴⁶ NE, Derkach, and Gololobova M A. " Forecasting the yield of sugar beet ." IOPConf . Ser.: Earth Environ . Sci . 2022,2.

³⁴⁷ Paul,258.

³⁴⁸ Hoffmanna, Christa M., Toon Huijbregts, Noud van Swaaij, and Rudolf Jansen. " Impact of different environments in Europe on yield and quality of sugar beet genotypes ." European Journal of Agronomy 30, 2009: 17-26,24.

³⁴⁹ Paul,258.

developments of the era in Turkey in terms of geography and climate studies.

7.3 Development of geography studies in Turkey

Another area related to sugar production is the acquisition of technical knowledge required for the development of sugar agriculture. Geographical studies in Turkey naturally have important contributions to this.

In this context, during the İTC period, in 1915, German geographer Erich Obst was invited to Turkey, and he started working at Istanbul University. In 1918, he was appointed director of the University's Geography Institute and returned to his country shortly afterwards.³⁵⁰ During these years, Obst took initiatives to establish meteorological stations and made important contributions in the technical field.³⁵¹ He published books on the climate of Thrace and Istanbul.³⁵²

In the Republican Period, in 1925, the Frenchman Theodore Lefevbre began working as a lecturer at the Geography Department of Istanbul University. Lefevbre, who worked for 3 years, trained geographers including Besim Darkot in the department.³⁵³ He wrote works on various subjects such as population density in Turkey, the Mosul issue and viticulture.³⁵⁴ After Lefevbre left, the Frenchman Ernest Chaput began teaching at the Geography Department of Istanbul University in 1928 and continued in this position until 1936.³⁵⁵ Chaput published many studies on the geology and geomorphology of Turkey.³⁵⁶ With the establishment of Maden Tetkik Arama Enstitüsü (Mineral Research and Exploration Institute) in 1935, geological studies in Turkey also acquired a functional

³⁵⁰ Ceylan, Mehmet Akif. "Türkiye Coğrafyasına Katkıda Bulunan Yabancı Bilim Adamları: E. Obst, Th. Lefevbre ve E. Chaput." *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 2013, 317.

³⁵¹ Ceylan, 2013, 321.

³⁵² Ceylan, 2013, 324.

³⁵³ Ceylan, 2013, 327.

³⁵⁴ Ceylan, 2013, 329.

³⁵⁵ Ceylan, 2013, 330.

³⁵⁶ Ceylan, 2013, 338.

character. Chaput also contributed to this development by making field trips with MTA officials.³⁵⁷

In 1936, Prof. Herbert Louis, who came from Germany, pioneered the establishment of a geography institute within Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi (Faculty of Language, History and Geography) in Ankara.³⁵⁸

As can be seen, during the period of the İTC government, scientists were brought from Europe to develop the science of geography in Turkey, but these initiatives were short-lived, as was the life of the government. After the Republic, from 1925 onwards, European scientists were invited to Turkey using the same method and were used in the establishment of new institutions and human resources.

7.4 Rasadat-ı Cevviye and a new era in meteorology

Another physical factor related to sugar beet farming is climate. Therefore, the climatic conditions of the period also provide important data that will deepen the evaluation. In order to see the formation processes of these data, the history of climate studies in Turkey should be summarized.

When we look at the conditions of the period in terms of climatic research, the only institution in the country that made meteorological measurements in 1925 was the Kandilli Observatory. Therefore, Hungarian Professor Antal Réthyl was invited to Turkey by the government to establish a large-scale meteorological measurement system and a 2-year contract was signed with him. Following the preparations, a meteorology institute named “Rasadat-ı Cevviye” (Observation of Atmosphere) was established in Ankara on November 12, 1925, under the Ministry of Agriculture.

³⁵⁷ BCA., 30-10-0-0, 202-377-9, 24317, 21.3.1932.; Ceylan,2013, 333.

³⁵⁸ Ceylan, 2013, 314.

Among the main goals of the institution was the spread of meteorological stations throughout Turkey.³⁵⁹ The necessary steps for this were quickly taken, and the measuring instruments were sent to Turkey by the Hungarian government.³⁶⁰ After visiting the Kandilli Observatory in 1926, Réthyl established meteorological measuring stations in Thrace, Istanbul, Eskişehir and many other cities in Anatolia.³⁶¹ As a result of these efforts, a total of 76 measuring stations were established throughout Turkey in two years.³⁶² A serious breakthrough was made in the field of meteorology in a short time. The climatic conditions directly affected the agricultural and related industrial production of the period; these stations provide a direct source for evaluating climatic conditions through data.

First of all, when Eskişehir Sugar Factory was established, it met most of its sugar beet needs from the geography close to Eskişehir.³⁶³ Therefore, this is the geography we will naturally examine. In this sense, Eskişehir is located at the western end of the Central Anatolian plateau, at an altitude of around 800 m. The basin where sugar beet farming is carried out is in the Porsuk Stream and Sakarya River basin. The Sündiken and Köroğlu Mountains located in the north of the region form a natural barrier between the Black Sea and the region.³⁶⁴

The region generally has a semi-arid climate with an average annual rainfall of 400 mm. In the Köppen-Geiger climate classification, it is in the Bsk, semi-arid cold steppe climate class.³⁶⁵ This increases the importance

³⁵⁹ Atabay, Mithat. "Atatürk'ün Ankara'ya Davet Ettiği Macar Profesör Antal Rethly'nin Türkiye'deki Çalışmaları." Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, 2002,4.

³⁶⁰ Atabay,5.

³⁶¹ Atabay,7.

³⁶² Atabay, 9.

³⁶³ Avcı, 1991,229.

³⁶⁴ Kazancı, Nizamettin, and Yaşar Suludere. "The Köroğlu Mountains: The Most Settled Highlands of Anatolia." In *Landscapes and Landforms of Turkey*, by Catherine Kuzucuoğlu, Attila Çiner and Nizamettin Kazancı, 447-457. Springer, 2019,448.

³⁶⁵ Bölük, Erdoğan, Osman Eskioğlu, and Serpil Yağan. *Köppen İklim Sınıflandırmasına Göre Türkiye İklimi*. Ankara: İklim ve Zirai Meteoroloji Dairesi Başkanlığı İklim ve İklim Değişikliği Şube Müdürlüğü, 2023,12.

of Porsuk Stream and Sakarya River in terms of water resources. The climatic structure of the region should be examined in detail to see its effects.

On the other hand, the Eskişehir plain collapsed during the Neogene period, and a Neogene lake was formed in this basin. Over time, this lake filled up and turned into land, and the streams that formed in the region carried alluvium over time, transforming the plain into its current state. Today's agricultural lands are also soils formed by these young alluviums.³⁶⁶ The presence of structures such as clay, limestone and basalt is also noticeable in the rock structure of the region.³⁶⁷ In a measurement made in 2003-2004, the clay ratio in the Eskişehir plain was measured as 54 percent, the pH ratio of the soil as 7.9, and the organic matter ratio as 2 percent.³⁶⁸ Therefore, the clay ratio of the soil in the region is high for beet cultivation, and the pH level is in the optimal range. The pH level of the soil may have changed over the years. In this sense, fertilizers applied to the soil, fluctuations in rainfall and humidity regimes are effective factors. Therefore, we should look at the situation of the rainfall regime in the 1930s in detail so that we can see a possible change.

In summary, it is seen that the geographical and climatic characteristics of the Eskişehir region do not pose a serious obstacle to sugar beet farming in general. It will be useful to compare the optimum conditions with the climatic conditions of the first years of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory to see the suitability of sugar beet production in the region. For this, the climate data of the period, temperature and precipitation should be evaluated in detail by comparing them with the optimum values mentioned above.

On the other hand, the development of geography and climate studies in Turkey in these years was conveyed in previous sections. At this point, the meteorological data of the Rasâdât-ı Cevviye Institution, established

³⁶⁶ Güven, Sinan. Coğrafya İle İletişim İlişkilerine Eskişehir Örneği. Master thesis, Afyon: Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2006,4.

³⁶⁷ Güven,8.

³⁶⁸ Hoffmann,18.

in the 1920s, provides very valuable data for the evaluation of sugar beet cultivation in the vicinity of the sugar factory. In 1937, this institution was transformed into Devlet Meteoroloji İşleri Umum Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of State Meteorology Works). In the booklet published by the institution in 1938, the history of meteorological research in Turkey, the steps taken with the Republic and the existing meteorological stations were shared and the functioning of the institution was conveyed.³⁶⁹ This booklet also states that the meteorological institution prepared reports for other state institutions when necessary. In this sense, in addition to areas such as military, public health and urban planning, a report on sugar beet cultivation is also mentioned. A report was prepared on the suitability of sugar beet cultivation in Sivas.

Finally, it is also noteworthy that Rethly, who played a role in the establishment of Rasâdâtı Cevviye, stated in the booklet that the precipitation in Central Anatolia was higher than his own estimates with the new data. After all, we have the meteorological data of the 1930s thanks to the measurements of these institutions.

On the other hand, the regulations on modern water management in Turkey started in 1914 with the Directorate of Public Works, and in 1925 it became the Directorate of Water Sciences, and in 1929 it became the General Directorate of Water.³⁷⁰ As a result, the irrigation organization in the country was not yet at the desired efficiency until the institution was transformed into the Presidency of Water Works in 1939 at the end of the radical reconstruction period that started in the water administration in the 1930s.³⁷¹ Therefore, irrigation activities were carried out irregularly in the 1930s, proximity to the water source became seriously important in agricultural production, and precipitation was a basic natural factor.

As mentioned, the production area of Eskişehir Sugar Factory was a region centered around Eskişehir during this period. Therefore, the temperature and precipitation data of Eskişehir meteorological

³⁶⁹ "Başvekalet Devlet Meteoroloji İşleri Umum Müdürlüğü-Cumhuriyetin 15 Yıl İçindeki Eserlerinden Biri." Ankara, 1938.

³⁷⁰ Yıldız, Dursun. "60. Yılında Su Filomuzun Amiral Gemisi: DSİ." 2014,1.

³⁷¹ Yıldız,6.

observation station in 1932, when the factory was decided to be established, would be useful to see the climatic conditions before production.

7.5 Climatic data and production efficiencies of the Eskişehir region between 1932-1939

After the optimum conditions and the geographical and climatic structure of the region are shared in general, the appearance of these factors in the period under review should be examined. Thus, the effects of these basic physical factors on the process can be seen. This adds depth to the evaluation and contributes to a more comprehensive evaluation. During this period, the climatic data required to see the climatic conditions in Eskişehir are obtained from the records of the measurement station located in the central region of Eskişehir.

Table 7.2 In this sense, the monthly average air temperature and total precipitation values observed at the Eskişehir Meteorology Station in 1932.³⁷²

Year: 1932	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	10.7	15.7	19.7	22.2	20.7	18.4
Total Rainfall (mm):	29.4	15.7	14.2	2.5	0.6	0.2

When we look at the data, average temperatures from April to September are 2-4 degrees above optimum conditions, while total monthly precipitation is well below optimum precipitation except for April, and there is a serious drought especially from July to September. Therefore, in 1932, when it was decided to establish Eskişehir Sugar Factory, the climatic conditions in the region, especially the precipitation, were far from optimal conditions for growing sugar beets. However, when looking at the data from other years, it is seen that the precipitation in the summer of this year was below the regional

³⁷² Historical climate data in this chapter were obtained from MGM's online archive. Tables for shared data are located at the end of the chapter .

average. In addition, the fact that the region is located in a river basin is a point that should not be overlooked in terms of access to water resources.

Indeed, the Russian delegation that visited the city in August 1932 for industrialization steps also emphasized the importance of these water resources. Therefore, Porsuk and Sakarya streams were one of the main reasons for choosing the location for the factory to be established in Eskişehir, both in terms of beet production and the water needs of the factory. In other words, it can be said that thanks to the streams, the negative effects of climatic factors on sugar production in the region could be reduced. On the other hand, factors such as transportation and labor resources were also key factors in the establishment of the factory in Eskişehir.

Table 7.3 Values obtained when we examine the climatic data of 1933, when the beet planting was carried out while the factory was still being built.

Year:1933	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	7.2	14.0	17.7	19.5	20.5	15.1
Total Rainfall(mm):	18.6	100.4	62.2	19.6	18.3	17.5

When we examine the data, we see that the optimum temperature values are around 1-2 degrees C. This year, the rainfall in May was twice the optimum amount, and excessive rainfall will sweep away the organic matter in the soil and negatively affect beet production.

On the other hand, in the summer months of 1933, precipitation remained at one-third of the optimum level. The factory started sugar production in the last months of the year, and the campaign period lasted 75 days, and 83,157 tons of beets obtained from 4,818 hectares were processed, meaning 17.25 tons of beets per hectare were obtained. As a result, a total of 12,124 tons of sugar were produced in the factory in 1933.³⁷³ In other words, 1 ton of sugar was produced from 6.85 tons of beets in the factory.

³⁷³ Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Faaliyet Raporları. Şeker Sanayii İstatistikleri, Veldet, 1958.; Avcı,1991,229. All production data of Eskişehir Sugar Factory shared in this chapter are taken from these sources.

Table 7.4 Climatic data for 1934, the first full production year of the factory

Year: 1934	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	12.7	16.1	19.2	22.3	22.1	17.5
Total Rainfall (mm):	22.2	72.2	40.6	3.4	3.2	26.6

In 1934, temperatures were 3-4C above optimum temperatures during the 6 months when beets were grown. Rainfall was low in April, close to optimum values in May and June, and very low in July and August. Half of the optimum value is rainfall in September.

As a result, 161,378 tons of beet obtained from 11,399 hectares in the region were processed in the factory in 127 days and 26,528 tons of sugar were produced. The productivity of beet per hectare was 14.15 tons. The decrease in the productivity of beet production compared to 1933 may also be due to the temperature and rainfall moving away from optimum values. On the other hand, 1 ton of sugar was obtained from 6.08 tons of beet in the factory.

Table 7.5 Temperature and precipitation data in Eskişehir region in 1935

Year: 1935	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	10.5	16.9	20.6	21.2	22.4	18.1
Total Rainfall(mm):	38.6	20.4	10.7	0.3	2.4	20.3

When we look at the data, it is seen that temperatures remained 2-4 C° above optimum values for 6 months. In terms of precipitation, a serious drought is observed from May onwards. Precipitation was low in the May-June period, and almost non-existent in the summer. September values are also one third of the optimum point.

As a result, 117,613 tons of beet was obtained from 7,208 hectares of beet planted in the region. The beet was processed in 63 days and a total of 18,750

tons of sugar was produced. 16.31 tons of beet was obtained per hectare. The fact that the yield was higher than in 1934 is due to the significant decrease in the area where the planting took place. The production efficiency of the factory was 6.27 tons of beet to 1 ton of sugar, and the drought may have had an effect on the decrease in the sugar content in the beet.

Table 7.6 Temperature-precipitation data for Eskişehir region in 1936

Year: 1936	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	11.8	13.8	17.3	22.1	22.3	15.6
Total Rainfall(mm):	29.9	103.2	58.3	44.9	0.6	9.6

According to the data, the temperature is high in April and close to optimum values in May-June. July-August was again hot for beet; September was close to the optimum value of 14C°. Rainfall was high in spring, and much more rainfall was seen in July than in previous years, whereas rainfall was low in August and September.

As a result, 158,524 tons of beet was obtained from 8,968 hectares of land planted with beet. In other words, 17.67 tons of beet per hectare. The high rainfall in spring may have increased the productivity of beet per hectare. The factory also produced 24,776 tons of sugar. In other words, 1 ton of sugar was obtained from 6.39 tons of beet. The processing efficiency of beet decreased slightly. The increase in processed beet was not reflected in sugar production at the same rate.

Table 7.7 Temperature-precipitation data for Eskişehir region in 1937

Year: 1937	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	11.8	15.1	19.3	23.9	21.9	20.7
Total Rainfall(mm):	30.4	36.3	0.3	13.2	1.7	0.2

When the data is examined, temperatures were 2-7 C° above optimum values throughout the period. While precipitation was close to optimum in spring, precipitation remained very low from June to September. As

seen, the summer of 1937 was seriously hot and dry in the Eskişehir region. 131,286 tons of beet were obtained from 10,260 hectares where beet was planted. In other words, beet productivity per hectare was 12.79. There was a serious decrease in beet productivity, and this decrease may have been due to the drought. A total of 20,361 tons of sugar was produced in the factory. Sugar production efficiency was at the level of 1 ton of sugar from 6.44 tons of beet.

Table 7.8 Temperature-precipitation data for Eskişehir region in 1938

Year: 1938	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	9.4	15.4	19.2	23.2	23.3	16.7
Total Rainfall(mm):	79.2	28.3	0.5	39.8	10.8	53.4

According to the data, the temperatures were high in July-August, and the other months were relatively close to optimum values. While precipitation was close to optimum values except for June and August, it was far from optimum conditions in these months. 96,657 tons of beet were obtained from 6,584 hectares where beet was planted. Therefore, 14.68 tons of beet was produced per hectare. The decrease in the area planted with beet compared to 1937 was also effective in this increase in productivity. In the factory, 13,008 tons of sugar was produced in the 43-day campaign this year. The factory's production is at the level of 1 ton of sugar for 7.43 tons of beet.

Table 7.9 Climatic data for 1939

Year:1939	April	May	June	July	August	September
Average Temperature(C°):	11.2	16.8	18.4	22.0	21.0	17.1
Total Rainfall(mm):	6.9	29.3	96.6	11.3	8.1	65.9

When we examine the data, temperatures were 2-4 C° above optimum conditions. Rainfall was low except for June and September, and rainfall was above optimum levels in these months. 182,512 tons of beet were

produced from 8,710 hectares of beet planted. Beet productivity is equal to 20.95 per hectare. There is a significant increase in beet productivity. The amount of sugar produced in the factory in 93 days is 26,237 tons. This is equal to 6.95 tons of beet and 1 ton of sugar.

It would be useful to combine all this data into a single table to see it more clearly.

Table 7.10 General summary of climatic data

Year	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
(NE) Optimum monthly average temperature average deviation from the value (C°):	0.85	3.65	3.45	2.65	3.95	3.06	2.95
(NE) Optimum monthly total rainfall average deviation from precipitation (mm):	- 27.2 3	- 36.2 3	- 46.2 1	- 25.6 8	- 52.9 8	- 31.3 3	- 30.9 8
Sugar beet productivity (tons of beets per hectare):	17.2 5	14.1 5	16.3 1	17.6 7	12.7 9	14.6 8	20.9 5
ESF sugar production yield (ton)(beet/sugar):	6.85	6.08	6.27	6.39	6.44	7.43	6.95

When the data is examined in this way, it is seen that the extreme heat and drought in 1937 significantly reduced the productivity in sugar beet production. Apart from this year, according to the precipitation data, it is seen that the beet productivity is roughly positively correlated with the amount of precipitation in 1933, 1934, 1936 and 1938. For example, when it is considered that the severe drought and erosion (Dust Bowl) experienced in the USA in the 1930s seriously affected agricultural

production,³⁷⁴ the relationship between precipitation and agricultural production in Anatolia during this period is an issue worth examining in more detail.

On the other hand, except for 1937, there is no correlation between temperature data and beet yield. Therefore, it can be said that fluctuations in precipitation regimes have a greater effect on beet cultivation than fluctuations in temperature. Fluctuations in precipitation regimes may have affected the pH level of the soil but considering that today's precipitation regime is not much different from that of the 1930s, the pH level of the soil should not be much different from the measured pH of 7.9.

Thus, the role played by geographical and climatic factors in sugar beet production in these years can be roughly seen. In this sense, there is no clear relationship between climatic factors and the processing efficiency of these beets in the factory. Therefore, in order to better evaluate the efficiency of sugar production, it is necessary to examine the developments in the business process, sugar policies, important developments in the sugar sector and their results. When considering the effects of climatic factors on sugar production through beet farming, it is an element that should not be overlooked in order to evaluate the actions of the Kemalist government and therefore its mentality.

³⁷⁴ Baumhardt, Louis R. "Dust Bowl Era." *Encyclopedia of Water Science*, 2003, 187.

Table 7.11 1930-1939 Eskişehir region April-September Monthly Average Temperature Data



T.C.
ÇEVRE,ŞEHİRCİLİK VE İKLİM DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ BAKANLIĞI
Meteoroloji Genel Müdürlüğü

İstasyon Adı/No: ESKİŞEHİR BÖLGE/17126

Aylık Ortalama Sıcaklık (°C)

Yıl/Ay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1930				11.6	14.7	17.5	22.4	21.9	17.9			
1931				8.4	15.0	18.9	23.0	22.0	18.0			
1932				10.7	15.7	19.7	22.2	20.7	18.4			
1933				7.2	14.0	17.7	19.6	20.5	15.1			
1934				12.7	16.1	19.2	22.3	22.1	17.5			
1935				10.5	16.9	20.6	21.2	22.4	18.1			
1936				11.8	13.8	17.3	22.1	22.3	15.6			
1937				11.8	15.1	19.3	23.9	21.9	20.7			
1938				9.4	15.4	19.2	23.2	23.3	16.7			
1939				11.2	16.8	18.4	22.0	21.0	17.1			

Table 7.12 1930-1939 Eskişehir Region April-September Monthly Total Rainfall Data



T.C.
ÇEVRE, ŞEHİRCİLİK VE İKLİM DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ BAKANLIĞI
Meteoroloji Genel Müdürlüğü

İstasyon Adı/No: ESKİŞEHİR BÖLGE/17126

Aylık Toplam Yağış (mm=kg+m³) MANUEL

Yıl/Ay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1930				16.4	44.6	21.2	36.5		5.1			
1931				48.4	43.7	55.8	12.3	1.1	10.2			
1932				29.4	15.7	14.2	2.5	0.6	0.2			
1933				18.6	100.4	62.2	19.6	18.3	17.5			
1934				22.2	72.2	40.6	3.4	3.2	26.6			
1935				38.6	20.4	10.7	0.3	2.4	20.3			
1936				29.9	103.2	58.3	44.9	0.6	9.6			
1937				30.4	36.3	0.3	13.2	1.7	0.2			
1938				79.2	28.3	0.5	39.8	10.8	53.4			
1939				6.9	29.3	96.6	11.3	8.1	65.9			

Achievements in the Early Republic Period

In order to make a holistic and comprehensive assessment of the 10-year period since 1929, the point reached in terms of sugar production, economic structure, demographic structure and human resources in 1939 should be determined. In this way, the state of the sugar sector and the place of the ESF in this, the development of the Turkish economy and the demographic change and intellectual development related to this are clearly detected. In this way, the mentality of the Kemalist regime in this period and the measurable effect of the policies it adopted can be seen through numerical data.

8.1 Turkish sugar industry in the 1930s

First of all, the situation of the sugar sector in Turkey in the 1930s should be revealed by starting from the main example of the study. Thus, the development in the sector and the place of the ESF in it can be seen clearly. This provides valuable data for the main evaluation.

In this sense, when we look at the development of the sugar sector in Turkey, the sugar production that started in 1926 spent its first years as the establishment period. In 1929, sugar production carried out with two factories was at the level of 7900 tons, but it was enough to meet a small

part of the 70 thousand tons of consumption.³⁷⁵ The difference was naturally met by imports to meet the sugar need. In 1930, sugar production increased to 13 thousand tons, while consumption was the same as the previous year. Therefore, imports decreased compared to previous years, but production still met a small part of the consumption.

In 1931, sugar production increased to approximately 23 thousand tons. One third of the 66 thousand tons of consumption began to be met by domestic production. Sugar consumption decreased by 4 thousand tons due to the economic crisis and was at the level of 66 thousand tons. Sugar imports decreased by 25 percent.

Sugar production continued to increase in 1932 and reached 27 thousand tons. Consumption decreased to 56 thousand tons and production began to meet half of consumption. Sugar imports decreased to 29 thousand tons. The negative impact of the Great Depression was present in the decrease in consumption. The decrease in imports also showed that the main goal of the sugar sector began to be realized within a few years.

In 1933, there was a more than 2-fold increase in sugar production, reaching 65 thousand tons. There was also a 10% decrease in consumption, at 52 thousand tons. In other words, domestic sugar production was greater than consumption this year. In contrast, 17 thousand tons were imported. The sugar production of Eskişehir Sugar Factory (ESF), which started production in 1933, was 12 thousand tons.³⁷⁶ In other words, although the factory had just been opened, it began to make a significant contribution to the increase in sugar production.

In 1934, with the Turhal Sugar Factory also starting production, sugar production continued in 4 factories. This year's sugar production was 59 thousand tons and consumption was 53 thousand tons. In other words,

³⁷⁵ Özer,111. The total sugar production, consumption, import and price data in this section were taken from this source.

³⁷⁶ Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Faaliyet Raporları. Şeker Sanayii İstatistikleri, Veldet, 1958.; Avcı,1991,229. The data in this section regarding Eskişehir Sugar Factory were taken from these sources.

production continued to meet consumption. On the other hand, sugar consumption was found to be low by the government and attempts were made to increase it. In these years, the price of sugar, which was around 35-40 piastre per kg, was reduced to facilitate consumer access to sugar. 26,500 tons of total production was made in ESF. So, in the year when four factories were in production, ESF alone met almost half of this year's sugar production. As a result of these factors, only 3,700 tons of sugar was imported this year.

In the middle of 1935, an average 32 percent reduction was made in sugar prices, and the price of sugar per kg fell to 25 piastre. As a result, sugar consumption increased by 17 percent compared to the previous year, reaching 62 thousand tons. In contrast, Uşak Sugar Factory did not produce in 1935 due to a lack of beets. Total sugar production also fell to 54 thousand tons. Despite this, only 2 thousand tons of sugar was imported, melting the stocks on hand, and thus meeting the sugar need. In this year, when ESF produced 3 factories, it produced 19 thousand tons of sugar, which, although its production decreased compared to the previous year, still met more than a third of the total production.

In 1936, production continued with 4 factories. Total sugar production this year reached a record level of 66 thousand tons in the 1930s. Consumption increased to 72 thousand tons. In order to meet the sugar demand and for the financial reasons mentioned in the previous chapters, 21 thousand tons of sugar was imported. ESF also produced 25 thousand tons this year, again meeting more than one third of the production.

In 1937, sugar production fell to 52 thousand tons, while consumption increased to 90 thousand tons. 14 thousand tons of sugar was imported, and the sugar demand was thus met with stocks. ESF's production this year was also 20 thousand tons.

In 1938, sugar production was 43 thousand tons and consumption was 97 thousand tons. The decrease in production and increase in consumption continued. 59 thousand tons of sugar was imported to meet the need. ESF's production remained at 13 thousand tons this year, and its share in total production decreased. In 1939, the last year when sugar

prices remained at 25 piastre per kg, sugar production was 95 thousand tons and consumption was 101 thousand tons. 24 thousand tons of sugar were imported. ESF's production this year was 26 thousand tons. In other words, it is approximately one-fourth of total production.

It would be useful to collect this data in a single table to get a clear view.

Table 8.1 Statistics about Turkish sugar sector and ESF in the 1930s

Year	Total sugar production (tons)	Sugar consumption (tons)	Imports (tons)	Price per kg (piastre)	The ratio of ESF's production to total production (%)
1929	7,946	70,604	68,588	35	-
1930	13,074	70,672	63,291	37	-
1931	22,649	66,149	44,343	39	-
1932	27,307	56,504	29,336	40	-
1933	65,086	51,712	17,756	36.75	18.6
1934	58,663	52,566	3,719	36.75	45.2
1935	53,827	61,550	2,170	36.75/25	34.8
1936	65,886	72,215	20,933	25	37.6
1937	51,575	90,312	13,967	25	39.4
1938	42,526	97,465	59,208	25	30.5
1939	94,508	100,621	23,528	25	27.7

As seen in the table, sugar production, which started in 1926 in Turkey, was still far from meeting consumption in 1929. Production could not meet consumption until 1933. Moreover, due to the effects of the economic crisis that started in 1929 and the high sugar prices, sugar consumption remained low until 1936, and imports decreased from year to year. In this year, consumption increased rapidly as prices were reduced by government policy. As a result, sugar production, although increasing, began to fall short of consumption. Therefore, sugar imports increased from 1936 onwards. The years 1933, 1934 and 1935 were the transition years of this big transformation that occurred under the influence of price policy and the development process of sugar production. Thus, both sugar production was high, and consumption remained relatively low in these years. Imports were low due to these

effects. In other words, the fact that sugar production was just developing, and the government's sugar price policy were the main factors in the formation of this picture in this period.

The financial reasons for sugar imports, as also stated by the Minister of Economy at the time, Celal Bayar, should not be forgotten. In this sense, the land planted with sugar beets was reduced in 1935 with the "İnönü Project". The damage caused by the concessions given on the interest of the loans given to the factories with the production quotas introduced (first 55 thousand tons, then 65 thousand tons) was tried to be compensated with high taxes on imports.³⁷⁷ As a result, the average cost of sugar per kg was calculated as 19 piastre, therefore, it was aimed for TŞFAŞ to make a profit with a sales price of 25 piastre and this pricing policy was followed.³⁷⁸ Thus, a serious financial "rationalization" was seen in the sugar sector and sugar production became much more sustainable.

When we look at the contribution of Eskişehir Sugar Factory to the total sugar production, it is striking that in the first full year of operation of the factory, it met 45% of the total production of the 3 factories. In the following years, with the opening of Turhal Sugar Factory, this rate remained close to 40%, and by the end of the decade it had dropped to around 30%. In 1937 and 1938, when the ESF experienced a decrease in production and efficiency due to the probable effect of climatic conditions, a decrease was also seen in total sugar production. On the other hand, the total production of sugar factories increased significantly from 1939 onwards. It is clear that the fact that sugar production was kept under quota in these years for financial reasons had an effect on this.

As a result, while total sugar consumption increased by 42% from 1929 to 1939, sugar production increased by 1089%. In other words, the increase in production was 26 times that of consumption. Thus, thanks to the investments made in sugar factories, both societies had easier access to sugar and a sizable portion of the sugar needed was provided from domestic sources, providing economic benefits. Eskişehir Sugar

³⁷⁷ Avcı, 1991, 139.

³⁷⁸ Avcı, 1991, appendix 6b."İnönü project".

Factory also had a significant share in this, as it met an average of 33.4% of total sugar production in the seven years it was in production during this period.

8.2 An overview of the Turkish economy in the 1930s

We should also evaluate the economic structure that the sugar sector has been a part of in this decade to see the general view. In continuation of this, locating the place of the sugar sector within this economic structure will also be useful in determining the economic importance of the sector.

In this sense, first of all, the total size of the Turkish economy was calculated as 22 million 850 thousand dollars in 1929, but it exceeded 40 million US dollars in 1939. So, the total economy of the country grew by approximately 82% in ten years. While the economic size per capita was calculated as 1554 USD in 1929, it rose to 2324 US dollars in 1939. Per capita income also increased by approximately 50% in ten years. At this point, the negative effects of the 1929 economic crisis should not be forgotten. In fact, per capita income in 1932 was calculated as 1543 dollars. In other words, economic growth did not exceed population growth in the three years of the crisis. The 50% income increase occurred between 1932 and 1939.³⁷⁹ 1932 was the lowest point of the economic crisis.

In 1932, a new era began in the industrial sector when planned industrialization began to be directly managed by the state. Following Prime Minister İnönü's visit to the Soviet Union, the industrialization policy under the leadership of the state moved to the center of the economy. However, in late 1932, the economic administration under İsmet İnönü's control became the arena of power struggle with the appointment of Celal Bayar to the Ministry of Economy. In this sense, while İnönü adopted a much more "statist" attitude compared to the Business Group led by Bayar, this change saw power sharing in economic administration. Planned industrialization, which began in 1934, became

³⁷⁹ Bolt, Jutta, and Jan L. van Zanden. "Data Page : GDP per capita." Our World in Data. September 9, 2024. <https://dataverse.nl/api/access/datafile/421302>.

the main locomotive of the development strategy of these years. As a result, the value added per employee in the industrial sector almost doubled between 1926 and 1938, and employment in the sector increased by an average of 3% annually.³⁸⁰

When we look at foreign trade data, the export/import ratio, which was 67 in 1929, rose to 113 in 1932 and became 108 in 1939. The export/import ratio reached 127 in 1936, the highest ratio in the 1930s. In this decade, exports exceeded imports every year except 1938, thus a steady trade surplus was achieved.³⁸¹ The main reason for this was the reduction of imports, since the share of exports in the economy fell from 11% in 1929 to 7% in 1939, while imports fell from 15% to 7% in these years.³⁸²

On the other hand, the agricultural sector, which shrank by 8% due to the crisis, grew by approximately 10% annually between 1933 and 1939 with the start of state support for basic agricultural products in 1932, exhibiting a performance close to the growth in industry.³⁸³ Thus, the agricultural sector, which was most affected by the crisis and provided for the majority of the economy, was supported, and the recovery in agriculture also positively affected the economy.

³⁸⁰ TÜİK, İstatistik Göstergeler, 1923-2009, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Ankara, 2010.; Özdemirci, 91.

³⁸¹ Tezel, 2015, 140.

³⁸² Pamuk, 194.

³⁸³ TÜİK, İstatistik Göstergeler, 1923-2009, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Ankara, 2010.; Özdemirci, 91.

Table 8.2 Summary of main data on the Turkish economy in the 1930s

Year	Export/import	Share of public expenditures in the economy (%)	Growth rate of the industrial sector (%)	Growth rate of agricultural sector(%)	GDP per capita (USD)
1929	67	14	7.5	13	1554
1932	113	?	14.9	-7.9	1543
1939	108	18	10	9.7	2324

In summary, a protectionist approach was adopted with the increase in customs duties in 1929. With the contribution of this, a serious decrease was achieved in imports and a transition from trade deficit to trade surplus was achieved. With the contribution of the industrial sector, which was developed in a planned manner from 1932 onwards, and the support of agricultural production, which was negatively affected by the crisis, per capita income increased by fifty percent after the global economic crisis in the 1930s.

Although agricultural employment still has a great dominance in the economic structure, employment in the industrial sector also shows a significant increase. Sugar production, which grew 10-fold during this period, has a share in both increasing industrial employment, increasing general income and closing the foreign trade deficit as an example of import substitution.

8.3 Demographic situation

It would be useful to examine the demographic change in this period through data to see the development in this sense. So, as demographic data is directly related to economic life, it should not be excluded from this evaluation.

In this context, we can evaluate the demographic change of the 1930s primarily from data on human population. In this sense, the population of Turkey, which was 13.5 million in 1927, increased by 4 million 173

thousand from that year to 1940, also with the effect of pronatalist policies, approaching 18 million. 208 thousand of which is the population contribution of Hatay, which was newly annexed to the country. When this situation is excluded, the annual population increase, which was 2.2% between 1927-1935, drops to 1.8% between 1935-1940.

When we look at the gender structure of the population, the male population has recovered by increasing faster than the female population. While 48 percent of the population was made up of men in 1927, there was almost a balance in that sense in 1940. Therefore, in the economic structure where agriculture was dominant, human resources expanded in order to meet the need for physical labor.³⁸⁴ The male population rate in the cities reached 53.7%.³⁸⁵ The effect of industrialization can also be seen in this.

As a result of pronatalist policies, the birth rate, which was 36 per thousand in 1927, increased to 46 per thousand in the 1935-1940 period. In addition, as a result of the holistic improvements in the field of health under the leadership of the 1930 Public Health Law, the death rate decreased from 36 per thousand to 31 per thousand.³⁸⁶ The law mainly contains articles aimed at combating epidemic diseases, reducing child mortality, and strengthening public health in public environments and workplaces.³⁸⁷ Thus, population growth is supported by reducing child mortality. Birth is already high, and child mortality decreases by approximately 15% between 1930-1940.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1940). Official Report, Ankara : T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, 1940,3.

³⁸⁵ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1940),24.

³⁸⁶ DPT. (1994). Nüfus ve Nüfusun Yapısı. Yedinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu. Ankara.; Aksoy, Erdal. "1919-1955 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'nin Nüfus Yapısı ve Uygulanan Nüfus Politikaları." Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi (Spring), 2016,34.

³⁸⁷ T.C. Resmi Gazete, Official Gazete,vol.1489, "Umumî Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu". Ankara, May 6, 1930.

³⁸⁸ Bakar, Özer. "1920-2020 Yılları Arası Bebek Ölüm Olasılıkları Kullanarak Türkiye İçin Bir Dinamik Hayat Tablosu Oluşturma Örneği." Nüfusbilim Dergisi 42, 2020,52.

In these years, the real population growth was seen in the villages. It should also not be overlooked that a total of 1,100,000 people migrated to Turkey between 1927 and 1947.³⁸⁹ This wave of migration also had a significant share in the population growth.

When we look at the data in terms of urbanization, the urban population remained relatively high due to the decrease in the rural population in 1927. Approximately 24% of the population lives in urban areas. With the rapid population growth in the villages after 1927, the population living in the city decreased to 23.5% in 1935³⁹⁰ and increased to 24.5% in 1940.³⁹¹

When we look at demographic overview in Eskişehir, in 1927, 21% of the population lived in the city center (excluding rural district centers),³⁹² while in 1935, 25.5%³⁹³ and in 1940, 29.4% lived in the city center.³⁹⁴ In other words, even the rate of people living in the city center alone in Eskişehir is higher than the average urban population percentage in Turkey and the rate of increase is higher than the average rate of increase in the country. It can be said that the industrialization initiative that increased urbanization had a significant share in this.

In this sense, while roughly 81% of the workers in the country were in agriculture, 9% in industry and 10% in the service sector in 1927, the share of the agricultural sector in employment fell to 76% in 1935, while the share of the industry and service sector increased to 12%.³⁹⁵ Considering that the industry and service sectors, unlike agriculture, are

³⁸⁹ Aksoy, 2016, 42.

³⁹⁰ Genel Nüfus Sayımı. Official Report, Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Direktörlüğü, 1935, 22.

³⁹¹ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1940),24.

³⁹² Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1927). Official Report, Ankara: Republic of Turkey. Prime Ministry, General Directorate of Statistics, 1927, vol.2,4.

³⁹³ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1935),13.

³⁹⁴ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1940),253.

³⁹⁵ DİE, 'Türkiye' de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişmenin 50 Yılı.; T.C Maliye Bakanlığı, Yıllık Ekonomik Raporlar; DPT (1993) Ekonomik ve sosyal göstergeler; TÜİK, İstatistik Göstergeler 1923-2013.; Tezel, 2015, 133.

sectors that have a large presence in cities, this change is an indication that the demographic transformation is towards urbanization.

Table 8.3 Sectoral distribution of employees in Turkey (%)

	1927	1935
Agriculture	80.9	76.4
Industry	8.9	11.7
Service	10.2	11.9

8.4 The structure and economic conditions of Eskişehir Sugar Factory employees

When it is considered that the number of employees working in the four sugar factories in the 1930s was around 6000, including temporary workers,³⁹⁶ it can be estimated that the ESF, as the factory with the highest production capacity among them, had probably around 2000 employees. When it is considered that the population of Eskişehir in those years was around 60 thousand, it is clear that the factory also had an important share in the city's demographics.

In addition, the workers in the factory are provided with housing and other facilities and the wage level is relatively high. Food and milk produced in the factory are also distributed directly to the workers for their physical fitness.³⁹⁷ Civil servants working in the sugar factories also had higher income with all social aids than their counterparts.³⁹⁸ In fact, the average income of a worker who works in a state industrial establishment in Turkey in 1938 was 326 TL (255 USD with 1938 exchange rate), and that of the officers was 1150 TL (898 USD with the 1938 rate).³⁹⁹ These benefits show the economic power of state-owned

³⁹⁶ Avcı,1991,168. The rough average of the data in the table shared in this source is 6000.

³⁹⁷ Dilek, A. (2019). Bir Yaygın Eğitim Kurumu Olarak Şeker Fabrikaları. Aydın Menderes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.,118.

³⁹⁸ Dilek,117.

³⁹⁹ Eldem, V. (1952). Devlet Hizmetinde Çalışanların Refah Seviyesinde Husule Gelen Değişiklikler.

enterprises include sugar factories as well as the living conditions of the workers.

8.5 Educated human resources

As human resources are also one of the most fundamental factors in this entire process, it is another element that should not be overlooked in the evaluation. In order to see the change in human resources, it is useful to examine the change in the education level of the population.

In this sense, reform ideas in the field of education began before the War of Independence was completed, and with the Republic, many educational institutions began to train teachers.⁴⁰⁰ According to the 1927 census, the literacy rate was only 9%.⁴⁰¹ In order to increase this, primary education was made free and compulsory during this period.⁴⁰² On the other hand, 500 students were sent abroad to receive education between 1927 and 1930.⁴⁰³

In addition, foreign experts were invited to Turkey in the Republican Period starting in 1924.⁴⁰⁴ A total of 55 foreign experts were brought to Turkey between 1930 and 1940.⁴⁰⁵ Moreover, preparations to send students abroad to receive education began in 1923, before the Treaty of Lausanne was put into effect, and the first students were sent abroad in

İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, vol. 13, October 1951-July 1952, No 1-4,236.

⁴⁰⁰ Bozdemir, Süleyman. "Atatürk ve Eğitim Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitimdeki Gelişmeler." Erdem, vol 11,no.32, 1998,446.

⁴⁰¹ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1927), 46.

⁴⁰² Batır, Betül, and Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti. "Atatürk Dönemi Eğitim Politikaları (1919-1938)." Türkoloji Kültürü, vol 2,no.4, Summer 2009,124.

⁴⁰³ Erdem, Ali Rıza. "Atatürk'ün Liderliğinde Üniversite Reformu: Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Tarihimizde Dönüm Noktası ." Belgi, no.2, Summer 2012, 377.

⁴⁰⁴ Akdağ, Ömer. "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Eğitim Alanında Yabancı Uzman İstihdamı (1923-40)." Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 1/1, 2008,55.

⁴⁰⁵ Akdağ,67.

1925.⁴⁰⁶ In total, more than 2,300 students were sent to Europe and the USA.⁴⁰⁷

With the contribution of all these steps, the literacy rate increased to 15.3% according to the official census in 1935. In cities with a population of more than 10 thousand, 39.5% of the population was literate.⁴⁰⁸ In 1940, the literacy rate was over 24%.⁴⁰⁹ As seen, the literacy rate, which was 9% in 1927, increased more than two and a half times in 13 years. This corresponds to an annual average increase of 13% in the literate population. As mentioned in previous sections, examples of the participation of educated and trained individuals in economic and intellectual life are also direct indicators of the contributions of the method adopted and the system established for the training of human resources in this period.

Table 8.4 The table that emerges when we collect the data for this area in a single table

Year/term	Crude birth rate (per thousand)	Crude death rate (per thousand)	Annual average population growth rate (percent)	Urbanization rate (percent)	Literacy rate (percentage)
1927	36	36	-	24.2	9
1935	-	-	2.2	23.5	15.3
1940	46	31	1.8	24.5	24.5

Thus, in the 1930s, the birth rate increased due to pronatalist policies and the recovery in the male population, and the death rate decreased

⁴⁰⁶ Aslan, Cengiz. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Eğitim Bilimleri Alanında Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderilmesi Olgusu (1923-1940). PhD Thesis, Ankara: Ankara University Institute of Educational Sciences, 2014,73.

⁴⁰⁷ Aslan, Cengiz, 107.

⁴⁰⁸ Genel Nüfus Sayımı (1935),201.

⁴⁰⁹ TÜİK, İstatistik Göstergeler 1923-2009. Ankara: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Matbaası, 2010,21.

due to improvements in health. These two factors provided the increase in the population. On the other hand, this increase was first seen in rural areas, and as a result, the population in the city decreased proportionally, and then began an increase that would last for many years. Industrialization certainly had an effect on the increase in the city population.

In addition, steps were taken to improve the population not only in quantity but also in quality, and in this sense, social rather than individual goals were emphasized. As a result of the steps in the field of education, the literacy rate increased by 2.5 times in 13 years. Therefore, the 1930s were a decade in which significant positive progress was experienced in all these areas.

Therefore, when comparing all these areas from the point of inheritance, it is seen that many steps have been taken in Turkey in terms of demographics, economy and education. In these steps, the main development method has been adopted as the invitation of foreign experts to the country and their examination, then the establishment of the necessary institutions and sending students abroad, and the development and maintenance of these institutions by these students as trained human resources after their education. When it is needed, it is received help from foreign experts again. In this process, no fixed ideas were maintained, and when necessary, rearrangements were made, and an attempt was made to find a development method suitable for the conditions of the period. It is seen that adaptations of this main method have been made in almost all of these areas.

As a result, undeniable demographic, economic and academic developments have been achieved in this decade. Eskişehir Sugar Factory, as an industrial production area dependent on agriculture, has been naturally connected to these areas of life at varying rates and has been directly and indirectly related to development throughout this process. Thus, it has become an institution that contributes to these areas, primarily economic. So, it presents many indicators as a case study of an evaluation that spreads over many areas in the evaluation of the Kemalist mentality and administration. These indicators should also be

evaluated within this entire structure without forgetting the conditions of the period so that this evaluation can be fair.





9

Historical Development of Positivism and its Reflections in Pre-Republican Turkey

9.1 The birth and evolution of positive thinking

In order to evaluate the place of positivism in the Kemalist mentality, it is necessary to see the world view of positivist thought, its emergence, evolution and its effects in Turkey in a holistic way. In this way, the original perspective of positivist thought will be understood, its evolution in the historical process will be determined and will be clearly seen what this stance mean.

First of all, it would be useful to explain what is meant by the term positivism in order to avoid possible confusion. In this sense, as it is in this study, positivism expresses the understanding that rejects all kinds of theological and metaphysical "inspiration" in reaching knowledge and adopts the evaluation of what is obtained through observation with the scientific method as the only method. In other words, the adoption of the scientific method as the only guide.

The issue here is the source from which information is sought and the method adopted to access information. In this sense, when we look at the historical process, it is known that the first beliefs emerged in the form of Shamanist activities in the search for esoteric knowledge in the Upper

Paleolithic period, which started at least 50 thousand years ago.⁴¹⁰ After the Neolithic Revolution, relatively more systematic beliefs emerged with the formation of agricultural societies. Beliefs of various characters that evolved over time dominated the existence and outlook of mankind on life for thousands of years.

On the other hand, although the concept of positivism took its modern form with the concept of "positive philosophy" by Auguste Comte in the 19th century, the history of the concept and the understanding can be traced back much further.

First of all, in the 4th century BC, Aristotle, who adopted the method of reaching knowledge through reason, theory and observation,⁴¹¹ published works in many fields such as natural sciences, logic, physics, metaphysics, politics and economics. For this reason, he is considered one of the pioneers of the scientific method.

In the 13th century, the Englishman Roger Bacon, inspired by Ibn Haytam, tested Aristotle's theses using the empirical method.⁴¹² Thus, he provided a breakthrough in the philosophy of science in Europe.

Moreover, with the Renaissance in Europe, interest in the ancient world and philosophical ideas increased. In the 16th century, a scientific revolution began, the first steps of which were taken by Copernicus. These two transformations led to an acceleration of technological development and naturally had serious effects on the world of ideas.

Until the mid-1800s, the metaphysical and religious methods adopted for centuries in the search for knowledge were criticized by various thinkers from different cultures, and there were method searches outside of these. There were also disagreements on these methods from many perspectives. However, it should not be forgotten that until the 17th century, the Age of Enlightenment, those who adopted methods that were on the "positive side" were in the minority in social terms. So much so

⁴¹⁰ Chung, Ding-Yu. "Human Religious Evolution." *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 4 2016,76.

⁴¹¹ Lutz, Peter, L. *The Rise of Experimental Biology* . Humana Totowa, 2002,27.

⁴¹² Truitt, E.R. "Knowledge and Power: Courtly Science and Political Utility in the Work of Roger Bacon." *Revista Spanish Philosophy Medieval* , 2021,107.

that, from the Ancient Age onwards, those who doubted metaphysical and religious methods were seen as skeptics, not the other way around. With the Enlightenment, as the real contributions of scientific methods to human life were clearly seen, this marked the beginning of a new era in this field.

Auguste Comte published his thoughts on positivism from 1830 onwards and used the concept of “positivism” for the first time in his book “A General View of Positivism” published in 1848. Within this framework, he defined the 3 stages of social evolution as theological, metaphysical and positive.⁴¹³ Accordingly, society was shaped by divine-sacred (fictional) power before the Enlightenment, passed to the metaphysical stage (abstract) during the Enlightenment, and the position of man increased relatively. The last stage is the scientific (positive) stage. Society progresses by completing these stages in order and at the last point, it accepts that there is no power superior to itself.

In this sense, Comte emphasized the scientific contribution of mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology, and saw chemistry and biology as branches that gave birth to sociology. He attached importance to historical research in order to better understand this gradual process. Comte later exaggerated the normative side of his ideas and tried to establish a “religion of humanity”. While it is not surprising that he tried to religionize the positivist view in order to ensure social transformation, considering the place of religious beliefs in human life, on the other hand, as positivist thought emerged against religious and metaphysical thinking methods, this is naturally a contradictory and problematic idea and initiative.

Here, as the main issue is the reference point and method adopted in reaching knowledge, the understanding that seeks knowledge in sacred and metaphysical sources, have been in natural opposition for centuries with the positivist understanding that adopts the search for knowledge in the universe itself by focusing on reason and observation. Positivist thought remained a minority on a social basis until the Enlightenment Period, due to the influence of man's tendency to seek refuge in God(s)

⁴¹³ Giddens, Anthony. *Positivism and Sociology*. London : Heinemann, 1974,1.

representing the superior power against all the "obscurity" of the world. So, it began to become a social phenomenon with this transformation. This inevitable reciprocity continues, as religious and spiritualism also continues to exist.

In fact, positivist thought gained strength, especially in France, during the 19th century. Due to that, the main development in this area during this period was the formalization of positivism and its beginning to have social effects. In particular, Comte's theory of order and progress inspired many political-intellectual formations and caused social transformations. So much so that, under the influence of Émile Littré, the Second Republic order, which adopted the positivist approach, was established after the 1848 Revolution in France, but it lasted only four years. In fact, with the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870, the positivist approach became one of the foundations of the French Republic.⁴¹⁴

The positivist seizure of power in Brazil in 1889 and the adoption of "order and progress" as the official motto⁴¹⁵ is also an example of a clear effect in this sense. Therefore, determining the effects of the positivist understanding in Turkey is essential for a holistic assessment of the character of Kemalism.

9.2 Positivist thought in pre-Republican Turkey

After the origin and history of positivism are roughly presented, it is necessary to examine the reflections of this thought in Turkey in order to see its place in the intellectual environment. Thus, the first reflections of positivist thought in Turkey in the modern sense will be seen, and the extent of the influence it has can be determined. This provides a necessary and useful background for the main evaluation of this thesis.

In this context, as the 18th century ended, the Ottoman Empire began to accept that it was lagging behind the level achieved by European

⁴¹⁴ Heilbron, Johan. "Sociology and Positivism in 19th-century France: the vicissitudes of the Société de Sociologie (1872–4)." *History of the Human Sciences*, October 2009, 31.

⁴¹⁵ Nachman, Robert G. "Positivism, Modernization, and the Middle Class in Brazil." *Hispanic American History Review* 57(1), February 1977, 11.

countries in economic and military fields, and new searches began. This search environment continued to expand in the 19th century, and naturally, novel ideas began to appear in the intellectual environment.

The first of these was the New Ottomans, while the most influential formation, the Young Turks, was formed in the 1880s as a kind of continuation of this movement. While the purpose of keeping the state alive is what brings these groups together, they do not have a consensus other than that. There are members who adopt the positivist approach, as well as those who adopt the religious approach. In other words, both political and academic formations have thinkers who adopt the positivist view. The point to focus on here is the place of Positivism in the intellectual environment in Turkey.

First of all, Auguste Comte wrote a letter to Mustafa Reşid Pasha, who was the Grand Vizier intermittently during his term, inviting him to Positivism in 1853.⁴¹⁶ This call was the Ottoman's first encounter with Positivism. The fundamental spread of positivist thought in Turkey began 30 years later.

In this sense, names such as Beşir Fuat, Ahmed Rıza, Abdullah Cevdet, Tevfik Fikret, Ahmet Şuayb, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın were the advocates of positivist thought in Turkey in the pre-Republican period.

When the pioneering works of Şinasi and Münif Paşa, who constituted the first generation of positivism in Turkey, are put aside, in the 1880s Turkish thinkers began to translate the writings of European thinkers, publish various journals, and publish articles that related their ideas about positivism to various disciplines. In this sense, it can be said that the second generation of thought in Turkey was formed by Beşir Fuad, Ahmed Rıza, Tevfik Fikret, and Abdullah Cevdet. In the formation of thought, it is seen that Auguste Comte, as well as German and English positivist-materialists, were the main inspirations.

On the other hand, it is seen that the writers other than Beşir Fuad and Ahmet Şuayb, Turkish positivists, discussed the positivist ideas of Auguste Comte indirectly, rather than directly discussing them by

⁴¹⁶ Yıldırım, Zeynep. "Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Pozitivizmin Türk Siyasal Hayatına Girişi ." Master Thesis, Bursa, 2016,52.

quoting them. In addition, among the third-generation positivists, Hüseyin Cahit and Celal Nuri can be counted, along with Şuayb.

On the other hand, while 19th century positivism aimed at social change, many positivist thinkers combined their desire for political change with their positivist ideas. These thinkers, especially under the influence of Le Bon's ideas, saw society as a structure that needed to be directed. Political formations and intellectual publications progressed in parallel. Although Ahmed Rıza gained power for a brief period with the 1908 Revolution, within a few years he lost his power and influence within İTC, and Positivism was pushed to the background. In addition, positivist thought continued to be carried to new generations via intellectual publications.

Kemalist Positivism

In order to better understand the relationship between Kemalism and positivist thought, the environment in which Atatürk, the founding father of the movement, was raised and the process of the formation of his ideas should first be evaluated. Then, in the economic environment of the period taken as an example in this study, it should be determined where the methods adopted in the steps taken during the establishment and operation of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory stood within the actions of the Kemalist administration. Apart from this, the place of physical conditions in this process should not be overlooked. While doing this, firstly the contribution of this study will be revealed when the scope and theses of the main studies conducted in this field to date are evaluated.

10.1 Major studies written in this field and the authenticity of this thesis

The character of Kemalism has been evaluated by many studies to date. There are also countless articles, theses and books written on the positivist character of the Kemalist mentality. Examining the scope and method of these studies and the theses of current major studies on the subject will be useful in revealing the originality of this thesis in terms of method and content.

First of all, almost all of the studies conducted on this subject center on the positivist character of Kemalism, Atatürk's discourses and sources of inspiration in terms of thought and use practical examples as an aid to support their theses. Their theses are diverse. In this sense, two studies that are both relatively current and comprehensive in terms of content and have different views can be considered as examples of studies in this field.

In this sense, Zafer Toprak's book "Atatürk, Kurucu Felsefenin Evrimi" published in 2020 and Şükrü Hanioglu's book "Atatürk-Entelektüel Biyografi" published in 2023 will be useful examples as they evaluate Atatürk's intellectual development and the mainstays of Kemalism from two different "fronts".

When we look at Zafer Toprak's book published in 2020, Toprak divides Atatürk's intellectual development into three stages.⁴¹⁷ The first of these is the period in which he received military training. The second is the period of the War of Independence and the foundation of the Republic. The last stage is the 1930s. This is a period in which the aim of creating the "new people" comes to the fore.

Toprak states that he used Atatürk's writings, speeches and memories conveyed about him while authoring the book. The main actions that are reflections of these (for example, the Alphabet and Language Revolution) are also part of the evaluation as a complementary element. Toprak also argues that only a very small part of the biographical studies on Atatürk cover the period after 1928. In his book, he also evaluates the reflections of Atatürk's intellectual development in this last phase.

He does this in a comprehensive and detailed manner in the fields of law, sociology, economics, politics, science and culture. As a result, he states that the main source of inspiration for Atatürk and his generation was the French Revolution and the Third French Republic. As a result, while religion was left to individual conscience in the secular order, the aim was for state administration to be carried out according to the needs of life, according to reason and science. He also argues that nationalism

⁴¹⁷ Toprak, Zafer. Atatürk Kurucu Felsefenin Evrimi. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2020,5.

adopted within this framework is functional in many ways. As a result, Toprak argues that positivist philosophy and solidarist thought have significant contributions to the “establishment of a national, republican, secular state.”

On the other hand, Şükrü Hanioglu’s book published in 2023 is actually an expanded version of the English version published in 2011. However, the Turkish version is much more comprehensive than the previous version and, beyond that, there are significant changes in Hanioglu’s theses on Atatürk and Kemalism. Therefore, it would be appropriate to evaluate the more up-to-date version published in 2023 here.

First of all, when we look at the method adopted by Hanioglu in his book, we see that he evaluates the formation of Atatürk’s mindset through the chronological examination of his life, his education, the events that affected him, his writings and his discourses. He shares the actions of Atatürk, that is, the Kemalist administration, as a complementary element. Therefore, like Toprak and many other writers, Hanioglu places the discourses at the center and positions the main actions as an auxiliary element in the evaluation of the Kemalist mentality.

When we look at Hanioglu’s theses, the author states that Atatürk was indirectly or directly related to the popular positivist ideas of his time. Atatürk shared the positivist utopian dream of the second-generation Young Turks and saw action beyond ideas. Hanioglu, like Toprak, emphasizes the influence of the French Revolution and its thinkers on Atatürk’s ideas. He also argues that Kemalism began to directly voice and implement its “Westernist and scientific” view in the 1930s. As a result, Hanioglu defines the Kemalist movement as “not a simple modernization project, but an attempt at a change in civilization and cultural field in which internalized orientalism, singular civilization transfer and Westernization are intertwined, and in which it is tried to reconcile with strong scientific, nationalist, secularist and social Darwinist approaches.”⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ Hanioglu, Şükrü. Atatürk: Entelektüel Biyografi. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2023,650.

He also argues that the evaluation of Kemalism should be evaluated with the “situationism” approach, in order to see Atatürk not as a thinker but as a political leader, without ignoring his personal character and without forgetting the conditions of the period. So that the evaluation of Kemalism can be made comprehensively without being reduced to pragmatism. As seen, Hanioglu’s evaluation of Kemalism was from a much more critical perspective than Toprak’s. Also, it should not be overlooked that the term “scientific” is used pejoratively here. On the other hand, the basic methods adopted by both in these evaluations are almost the same.

As seen from the two leading up-to-date sources in this field, although Atatürk, the founding leader of Kemalism, is rightly defined as a political leader rather than a thinker, the evaluation of the mentality he adopted was made by focusing on his readings and discourses and seeing actions as complementary elements. However, this is quite insufficient and even problematic for the evaluation of an understanding that has come to power and reached the position of realizing its own goals. On the other hand, if actions are focused on and discourses are positioned as complementary elements, the realized character traits of the mentality are evaluated through findings based on actions.

In order for this evaluation to be efficient, it would be appropriate for the selected sample to be an action that affected more than one area among the actions that the Kemalist administration cared about the most during the period when it could act most freely. In this sense, the sample of this thesis study is the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, one of the most important investments made by the CHP administration in the 1930s, when it could act most freely, and the evaluation is made from many perspectives, namely economic, technical, and political. The possible effects of geographical and climatic conditions also add depth to the evaluation. Thus, action is placed at the center in the research method and discourses are included as complementary elements. This also ensures that this thesis is an original study, at least in terms of method, among Kemalism evaluations.

10.2 Atatürk's intellectual development

The environment in which a person grows up undoubtedly plays a fundamental role in its mental development. The norms in the mind are largely shaped during the upbringing period. Therefore, when assessing the intellectual structure, the environment in which the person in question was raised should be taken into consideration first. In this sense, it can be said that the environment in which Atatürk grew up also had a significant share in his intellectual development. Beyond this, the education he received and the ideas he read and thought about should also be examined in order to see Atatürk's intellectual structure. In addition to these, his statements after he achieved leadership should not be excluded in such an assessment.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born in Thessaloniki, a port city on the western edge of the Empire, in the late 19th century, and spent his childhood there. In the 1880s, Thessaloniki had a population structure consisting of Turks, Greeks and Jews.⁴¹⁹ It was a port city on the eastern edge of Europe, as well as a cosmopolitan city with close relations to Europe, where there was cultural diversity. Atatürk also received a short-term religious education during his childhood and then continued his primary education in a secular school. New educational methods were followed in this school, and positive sciences such as Mathematics and Geography were taught.⁴²⁰ In other words, Atatürk was introduced to modern educational methods and content from his childhood, with the advantage of growing up in a city like Thessaloniki.

After his education at this school, he enrolled in the military secondary school in Thessaloniki, where he continued his education in branches such as Logic, Mathematics and Geography. He started learning French. On the other hand, he also started receiving military education.⁴²¹ When

⁴¹⁹ Hamaloğlu, İbrahim. "XIX. Yüzyılda Batılı Seyyahlara Göre Selanik Şehrine Dair İzlenimler ." Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi, Summer 2021,262.

⁴²⁰ Güler, Ali. Atatürk Ansiklopedisi-Atatürk'ün Eğitim ve Öğretim Gördüğü Kurumlar. December 31, 2020. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/ataturkun-egitim-ve-ogretim-gordugu-kurumlar/> (accessed Jan 12, 2025).

⁴²¹ Ibid.

he was fifteen, he continued his education at the Monastir (today's Bitola) Military High School. In high school, he was introduced to branches such as World History and Cosmography, thus expanding his academic horizon. In addition, he started reading Namık Kemal's writings during these years.⁴²² He was seriously influenced by his views on modernization. After completing his education there, he continued his higher education at the Harp Okulu (Military Academy) in Istanbul.

In addition to his previous education at Harp Okulu, he received training in Chemistry, Military Geography, German and Russian languages. He entered Harp Akademisi (Army War Institute) in 1902. He also stated that his interest in the country's politics increased during this period and that he began to feel uncomfortable with the negative course of events.⁴²³ As seen, Atatürk was raised in a modern education system from his childhood and became familiar with this "side". Although there is no clear record, he must have had access to positivist publications during his years in Istanbul. It is known that he read the writings of Tevfik Fikret alongside Namık Kemal during his student years.

In parallel with this, he was exiled to Damascus in 1905 after it was revealed that he was holding political meetings with his officer friends.⁴²⁴ In other words, Atatürk's search for change started from this period.

In fact, he continued to organize with his close circle in Damascus and became one of the founders of Vatan ve Hürriyet Cemiyeti (Fatherland and Freedom Society).⁴²⁵ During this period, his knowledge of the French Revolution increased. In fact, Atatürk was one of the officers who defended the necessity of revolution during this period. His nationalist character became dominant during this period, also under the influence of Mehmet Emin Yurdakul's writings. In October 1907, he took another

⁴²² Güler, Ali. Atatürk Ansiklopedisi-Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar. April 13, 2021.

<https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/ataturkun-okudugu-kitaplar/> (accessed Jan 12, 2025).

⁴²³ Güler, "Atatürk'ün eğitim gördüğü kurumlar".

⁴²⁴ Aslan, Taner. "Mustafa Kemal'de İnkılâp Düşüncesinin Oluşumu ve Gelişimi." Erdem(53), 2009,14.

⁴²⁵ Turan, Şerafettin. Atatürk'ün Düşünce Yapısını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler, Kitaplar. Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1982,16.

step towards receiving the reward of his quest for revolution by becoming a member of İTC.⁴²⁶

After the 1908 Revolution, Atatürk continued his career in the military, as he defended that politics, and the military should be separate. He even contributed to the protection of the Revolution by personally taking part in the suppression of the March 31st uprising. The fact that he wrote in his notebook during this period, "The protection of religion is not through turbaned clergy, but through the protection of the Constitution."⁴²⁷ clearly shows his stance during this period.

On the other hand, it is seen that he adopted the secular order in these years, as he defended the separation of religion and state affairs at the İTC congress in September 1909.⁴²⁸ Later, he directly witnessed the loss of power of the Empire, first in Libya and then in the Balkan Wars.

Indeed, Mustafa Kemal, who was dissatisfied with İTC's seizure of power in 1913, gradually distanced himself from the party,⁴²⁹ but of course the desire for change did not end. Shortly after this change of power, the World War was followed by a path of no return. As is known, Atatürk played very important roles in the war and continued to read during this period. In this sense, although clear records of the earlier period of his life are limited, there is information about the books he read during this period.

Accordingly, among the books he read during his duty in late 1916 were Georges Fonsegrive's "Mebadi-i Felsefe" on epistemological philosophy and Ahmet Hilmi's anti-materialist "Allahı inkar mümkün müdür?" (Is it possible to deny Allah?).⁴³⁰ Therefore, while on the Eastern Front, he read works on the philosophy of knowledge and belief, as well as novels and poetry books. In addition, he said that among the many discussions and searches made by thinkers with different views on the

⁴²⁶ Tevetoğlu, Fethi. "Atatürk - İttihat Ve Terakki." Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi 5, July 1989, 616.

⁴²⁷ İnan, Ali Mithat. Atatürk'ün Not Defterleri. Gündoğan Yayınları, 1996.

⁴²⁸ Aktepe, Münir. "Atatürk'ün Sofya Ataseliğine Kadar İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ile Olan Münasebetleri ve Bu Hususla Alâkalı Bir Belge." Belleten 38 (150), 1974, 270.

⁴²⁹ Aktepe, 279.

⁴³⁰ Turan, 7.

soul about this book by Ahmet Hilmi, those based on science and technology should be taken into consideration and argued that religious thinkers made an effort to reconcile scientific knowledge with their religious beliefs by using symbolic expressions.⁴³¹

During this period, he also read Comte's writings on Positivism.⁴³² Here, it is a point that should not be overlooked that Atatürk read and evaluated different views and did not limit himself to a one-sided view.

In 1917, again at the same front, Louise Buchner's book "Madde ve Kuvvet" (Matter and Force) and Gustave Le Bon's book "Déséquilibre du Monde" (Disruption of World Balance) were among the texts he read.⁴³³ These thinkers were names that had a serious impact on Turkish thinkers with their positivist-materialist ideas, and they also contributed to the spread of positivism in Turkey during these years. The fact that Atatürk had expanded his knowledge in this field by reading these books while at the front provides clear data about the structure of the world of ideas. In this sense, it is also important that he had direct access to the ideas of these thinkers.

It is also interesting that among the books he read in Europe, where he went for treatment in the same year, was a French critique of Karl Marx's Capital.⁴³⁴ On the other hand, in the social sphere, in a note he took in 1918, Atatürk wrote that educated people should not descend to the level of the common people but should elevate them.⁴³⁵ This also coincides with Le Bon's views. Atatürk also stated that he was influenced by the positivist texts of Ahmed Rıza, Comte and Lafitte.⁴³⁶

On the other hand, during the War of Independence period, Atatürk frequently voiced Islamic ideas in the order governed by the first parliament. After the Republic, he quickly distanced himself from these discourses. In this sense, when we look at Taha Akyol's work, while

⁴³¹ Atatürk'ün Hatıra Defteri, 83.; Turan,12.

⁴³² Kongar, Emre. Auguste Comte ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Türk Dili, vol.353 (May 1981),744-752.; Turan 12.

⁴³³ Güler, "Atatürk'ün okuduğu kitaplar".

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Hanioğlu,96.

⁴³⁶ Hanioğlu,178.

Atatürk used a total of 792 expressions related to the religion of Islam in his speeches and writings from 1920 to 1923, he used the same type of expressions only thirty-one times from September 1924 to the end of 1929.⁴³⁷ While he used “leftist” terms 151 times in the first of the same periods, he used them only three times in the following period.⁴³⁸ It is clear that Islamic discourses were used for pragmatic purposes in such a period when there was a need for social unity and a strong motivation to ignite the struggle. Just like Atatürk used discourses that would be compatible with socialism in order to gain the support of the Soviets. This shows that determining which discourse and action were pragmatic and which were done for organic reasons is a fundamental requirement in evaluating the mentality.

In this context, elections were held in April 1923 and the opposition (İkinci Grup), which included the monarchists, Islamists and Bolshevik supporters, was completely liquidated in the Parliament. From now on, the Kemalist movement, which largely achieved its goals during its founding period, set out to realize its organic goals.

During this period, when we look at Atatürk’s stance on religion and positivist views in terms of discourse, he clearly summarized his positivist understanding with the words he said in 1924, “Hayattaki en hakiki mürşit ilimdir.” (“The truest guide in life is science.”)⁴³⁹ Indeed, in March of the same year, the Caliphate and Sharia Courts were abolished, and a big step was taken towards a secular order. Thus, the order that accepted religion as the leader in life was ended, and secular methods were adopted as the leader in the political and legal fields. In other words, a consistent step was taken in discourse and action.

At the beginning of 1925, the Ministry of Education began to translate a series of books into Turkish. Among these were books by positivist thinkers Auguste Comte, Stuart Mill, and Hippolyte Taine.⁴⁴⁰ During the same period, Atatürk read Herbert George Wells’s “The Outline of

⁴³⁷ Akyol, Taha. *Ama Hangi Atatürk?* İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2008, 548-549.

⁴³⁸ Akyol, 543.

⁴³⁹ Karal, Enver Ziya. *Atatürk'ten Düşünceler*. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1991, 119.

⁴⁴⁰ Toprak, 327.

History" upon Celal Nuri İleri's recommendation and had the book translated into Turkish, which was used in the official history book.⁴⁴¹

When we talk about the influence of H.G. Wells we should touch upon the social Darwinism's effect on Kemalism. In that regards, in terms of the relationship of Atatürk and Kemalism with social Darwinism, there are solid theses that the Kemalism of the 1930s is closer to the understanding of eugenics than to social Darwinism. At the end of the day, the relationship between social engineering and Darwinism is also open to debate. In addition, the emphasis on accepting life as a "struggle" in the early republican period was also part of a discourse which has defensive purposes.⁴⁴² Therefore, it may be misleading to say that Kemalism was social Darwinist in character.

Atatürk also read Leo Caetani's "History of Islam" and had it added to his second history book. These books emphasized the relationship between Islam and Arab culture and influenced the view of Islam in Turkey during this period. Moreover, with the adaptation of the Swiss Civil Code to Turkish law in 1926, the place of Islamic law in Turkey was completely terminated. The inspiration from the ideas of positivist jurist Leon Duguit played a significant role in the regulations in the field of law.⁴⁴³ In 1928, the expression defining Islam as the religion of the state was removed from the constitution. Thus, instead of religion, secular reference points and positivist methods adopted in reaching these references completely took over the dominance in the law and administration.

After this, Atatürk continued to read and evaluated the books of many positivist thinkers. These include Jean Meslier, Gustave Le Bon (Yesterday and Tomorrow), Büchner (Matter and Force), and John Stuart Mill.

On the other hand, Atatürk states that he "worshipped" Auguste Comte "as a god" in his youth but distanced himself from him after learning that

⁴⁴¹ Hanioğlu,482.

⁴⁴² Karaömerlioğlu, A., & Yolun, M. (2020), 40(3). Turkish nationalism and the evolutionary idea (1923-1938). Nations and Nationalism,10.

⁴⁴³ Toprak,280.

Comte's positivism was anti-revolutionary.⁴⁴⁴ In contrast, what is meant by positivism in this study is not Comte's "cult", but the adoption of positive methods in reaching knowledge. Therefore, positivist thought is more than Comte's ideas, and it is not necessary to be a disciple of Comte to be a positivist. In this sense, it is clear that Atatürk internalized positivist thought beyond the one of Comte.

At the end of the day, Atatürk is not a thinker, but a leader who initiated one of the most influential political movements of his time.



⁴⁴⁴ Hanioglu,151.



11

Eventual Evaluation

After all these findings are presented, with a final assessment and a comprehensive questioning it is reached a “judgment”. In this sense, while making a final assessment about the positivist character of Kemalism, this entire process should be evaluated within the conditions of the time and by revealing the basic influential factors. So that a healthy and holistic assessment can be made. The basic assessment here will be to question how organic Kemalism’s relationship with positivist thought is, and what role pragmatic goals play in this relationship. Thus, the place of positivism in the character of Kemalism, as a movement that has succeeded in coming to power, will be assessed with a much more “realistic” test criterion compared to a test conducted mainly according to intellectual depth.

First of all, the 19th century was a century in which positivism was formalized and spread rapidly among highly educated classes. The effects of this were also seen in the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, Atatürk, as a member of the same generation as the third generation of Turkish positivists, as an officer who grew up in the western end of the Empire, actualized his intellectual development in close proximity to positivist ideas. The French intellectual environment also had a high influence on this generation.

Moreover, positivist groups began to gain power during Atatürk's youth. For example, before the İTC's 1908 revolution, positivists came to power in Brazil in 1889. In this sense, the fact that Getúlio Vargas, a military positivist leader from the same generation as Atatürk, pursued a policy of development and economic nationalization with a strong administrative approach in the 1930s, just like Atatürk,⁴⁴⁵ is a clear example of the global impact of this phenomenon in those years.

Additionally, the founders of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, Kazım Taşkent and his expert colleagues, were also born in the Balkans in the late 19th century and educated in Europe. This indicates that a similar influence was seen in the management cadre of the factory.

On the other hand, positivist thought cannot be reduced to 19th century positivism. Therefore, the rise of positivist governments during this period, especially in the 1930s, and the superiority of reason and science should not be reduced to the zeitgeist. Positivist thought, as summarized in the previous chapters, is a universal understanding that has been influential for centuries. Therefore, this generation can be seen as a generation that did not create the thought from scratch but made it the dominant one. In other words, the fact that the positivist understanding came to power and became the dominant understanding was a generational phenomenon in this period, but positivism is not a periodic phenomenon.

In this sense, the environment in which Atatürk was grew up was certainly influential in the development of his ideas. However, his positivist character cannot be confined to a single period. Indeed, immediately after taking the lead and completing the War of Independence, he initiated change with the understanding of scientific methods as leaders in order to develop the inadequate heritage he received from the Empire. In this sense, starting in 1924, foreign experts were invited to Turkey and successful students selected through

⁴⁴⁵Williams, Daryle, and Barbara Weinstein. "Vargas Morto: The Death and Life of a Brazilian Statesman ." In *Death, Dismemberment , and Memory: Politics of the Body in Latin America* , by Lyman Johnson, 1-52. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.,237-238.

examinations were sent to Europe and the USA. From the first year of the Republic onwards, a method was adopted in which foreign experts were brought in, and new institutions were established, successful students were sent abroad, those who studied abroad returned to Turkey and kept the institutions alive, and foreign experts were used again when improvements were needed. It is also seen that this was implemented in a very realistic, systematic and disciplined manner.

The fact that this method was not implemented, for instance, after the crisis of 1929, when it was necessary to resort to new searches, but was initiated without delay (for example, plans to send students abroad were initiated in 1923, before the Treaty of Lausanne came into force) is a clear indication that Kemalism had organic ties with the positivist understanding that embraced the superiority of science.

Moreover, sugar was one of the few foods that Anatolian villagers could buy and consume in the 1930s.⁴⁴⁶ So, as a very valuable step forward, after numerous attempts for approximately 90 years, the fact that the production of an important basic consumer product such as sugar did not only begin with the Republic but also progressed by learning from the experiences of the Uşak Sugar Factory, which was established with private initiative, is a direct example of the progressive character of the Kemalist administration. Indeed, the transfer of experience played a significant role in the establishment of the ESF.

On the other hand, in the environment of quest created by the economic crisis of 1929, the CHP administration's searches progressed again with the adoption of scientific methods. In addition, in the power struggle that took place especially on economics and politics within the Kemalist administration in the 1930s, the fact that both sides defended their theses using scientific methods is another important indicator in this sense.

The impact of geographical and climatic factors was not excluded in this period; on the contrary, scientific methods were also applied in these

⁴⁴⁶ Tökin, İ. H. ((1934) 1990). Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 24.

areas and the possible effects of physical factors on the investments made were taken into consideration.

In addition, it should not be forgotten that climatic conditions periodically appeared negative for sugar production in the ESF example when evaluating the process. In that sense, the fact that modernization steps in the field of agricultural production began in these years and many institutions were established should not be overlooked. All these institutions also worked in cooperation with other institutions on technical issues; they were developed with reforms within the understanding of continuous development. Thus, these scientific institutions ensured that scientific methods could be followed in a stable and sustainable manner for generations in Turkey. These also show the functional importance of institutional development for the Kemalist administration.

In this sense, of course, the government's actions had pragmatic aims such as developing the country in every field. This should be seen as a natural element in the evaluation of a mentality that has succeeded in coming to power. Indeed, it cannot be said that the power struggles within and between the parties that emerged on the path of development (even though they affected specific actions, especially in the economic framework) were detrimental in terms of the adoption of scientific methods.

In addition, the evaluations made regarding the actions of the CHP government in these years can be deepened by comparing them with similar investments made in later periods. For example, a sugar factory requested to be established in Malatya, the hometown of President İnönü, in 1939 was not established due to the report prepared by the government on the grounds that it would not have sufficient access to raw materials. In contrast, a sugar factory was established in Malatya by the Democrat Party government in 1956. The production area of this factory was the region with the highest irrigation need among the sugar beet production regions in Turkey.⁴⁴⁷ In addition, it had problems in terms of production stability due to problems related to the production

⁴⁴⁷ Avcı, 1991, 131.

area and low productivity⁴⁴⁸ for many years.⁴⁴⁹ So, populist decisions and actions can also be examples of deviation from scientific methods and rational decisions. Therefore, this example that shows this contrast provides a very valuable indicator.

Therefore, the fact that the Kemalist administration adopted scientific methods and its impact, considering the positive results it brought, should not be underestimated and should not be seen as without alternatives. More in-depth comparative studies to be conducted within this framework will improve the evaluation of the Kemalist administration.

On the other hand, when we look at the discourses used in the Early Republican Period, apart from the discourses used for pragmatic purposes under the conditions of the day during the War of Independence, Atatürk always had clear statements that considered reason and science as “leaders”. In that sense, in his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on November 1, 1937, President Atatürk stated that the transformation he aimed for was not only at the level of institutions but also at the level of mentality. He also emphasized the necessity of an idea-action integrity in line with rational understanding.⁴⁵⁰ The fact that he states that the CHP administration, namely the Kemalist mentality, emphasized that it acted with a positivist understanding, not with a dogmatic one and not inspired by what comes from the unseen, but by life itself,⁴⁵¹ is also an indicator of the integrity of discourse from 1924 to 1937. In this sense, the consistency of action and discourse is also one of the findings that can be derived from this study.

In fact, the intellectual depth of the Kemalist regime is questioned by many. There are those who argue that the connection established with the idea is pragmatic rather than organic. However, in order to establish an organic connection with an idea or belief, it is not necessary to have

⁴⁴⁸ Avci, 1991, 276-278.

⁴⁴⁹ Avci, 1991, 208.

⁴⁵⁰ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.20, session 3,01.11.1937,7.

⁴⁵¹ T. B. M. M. Zabıt Ceridesi, season 5, vol.20, session 3,01.11.1937,9.

deep knowledge about them. Today, many people and groups in the world are tightly attached to ideologies and beliefs about which they have limited knowledge.

On the other hand, actions could be taken for pragmatic purposes only. So, an examination on a mentality should be comprehensive and precise.

In that sense, this kind of assessment needs other test points. Here, it would be useful to follow the actions of the actors from the very beginning and to advance their actions during the period when they can act most freely. In addition, what kind of methods are followed to gain benefit in possible power struggles can provide a more valid test reference. Therefore, it also represents a verification of the positivist understanding that finds a place in the discourses.

Thus, when we consider the consistency of action and discourse, the fact that the CHP administration implemented the development strategy with scientific methods immediately after seizing power, the fact that it never deviated from these methods during its most powerful period, and the fact that it never strayed from this approach during the power struggles of the examined period, it is shown that Atatürk and therefore Kemalism are organically connected to positivist thought. As seen in this study, Atatürk made positivist thought a fundamental part of the Kemalist mentality with the natural effect of the environment in which he was raised and the education he received.

In addition, as seen in roughly all steps in the development strategy and process, pragmatic goals and requirements, mainly the economic ones, also reinforce this bond. Thus, both the organic bond and a pragmatic bond strengthened as the pursuit of scientific methods directly contributed to progress in many aspects.

For this to be the case, actions do not have to be impeccable, and adopting positivist methods does not mean being excellent. Of course, not all actions of the Kemalist administration are flawless, they have their mistakes. On the other hand, when comparing the inheritance from the Ottoman Empire with the data from 1939, it is clearly seen that positive results were obtained in many areas of life with the holistic application of the adopted methods.

In conclusion, the positivist understanding is certainly not the only characteristic feature of Kemalism, but perhaps it is the most fundamental basis of the mentality. Positivist thought is the source point that determines Kemalism's view of life and the world. In this sense, when we look at the changes in the power struggles mentioned in this study, the Kemalist understanding may change, for example, its economic-political understanding in different "universes", but it accepts the scientific method as the leader in all universes and under all conditions.

In addition, all these policies and applications are also an example of using governmental power to create a new system, order and identity for the governed by creating a mentality change. Actually, realizing a mentality change to equalize that of a society to the mentality of the powerholders is the utmost level of governing. This is a subject of many studies, and it should be further ones.

Ultimately, Atatürk's greatest goal, as he himself said, was a revolution in mentality. In other words, the society's acceptance of the superiority of reason and science. As it would not have been possible to achieve such a great goal in a few years, and the struggle for it still continues today. Thus, Kemalism is both the source point of this struggle and a foothold for the broad masses.



Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis is to examine the structure of the relationship between Kemalism, the founding movement of the Republic of Türkiye, and the positivist idea that finds a wide place in its discourse, through actions.

The example chosen in this context is the Eskişehir Sugar Factory and the developments around it, which was a state initiative that touched many areas of life during the period when the Kemalist government was able to act most freely.

In order for all this questioning to be holistic and satisfactory, importance was given to background information in the study. In this sense, the importance of sugar was summarized first, and then the attempts to establish sugar factories in Turkey before the Republic were examined. This helps to determine the expectations in accordance with the conditions of the period.

Afterwards, the conditions inherited by the young Republic in fundamental areas were summarized. On the other hand, the establishment phase of the Turkish sugar industry was examined in detail. The whole mechanism in this process provided a comparison of the business styles, especially between private investment and state investment.

Important turning points were also not overlooked in the thesis, and in this sense, the changes in 1929 were examined. Thus, the place of the effects of this year of change in the main evaluation of the thesis was comprehensively revealed.

After this, the situation of the Turkish sugar sector in this crisis environment before the establishment of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory was examined. In this sense, the method of defending the theses of the Kemalist government in the discussion environment that emerged regarding the administrative and economic policy adopted in the management of the sugar sector with the establishment of SCF in 1930 was examined.

Finally, the establishment process of the ESF is examined in detail. In this process, the government's way of doing business was evaluated in terms of a positivist understanding. The steps taken to develop sugar production during this period were one of the main examples of this evaluation. In this sense, the main effects of the power struggles during this period were not ignored.

Then, the geographic and climatic factors that have fundamental effects on this entire process have been examined in detail through the data. On the other hand, the value given to these factors by the government during this period was also one of the points examined.

Afterwards, in order to see the effects of this whole process, the sugar sector in the 1930s, the state of the Turkish economy, the place of the sector and the ESF in it were examined through numerical data. In addition, the improvements in demographic and intellectual areas were also summarized through data. Thus, the results of the government's actions in the basic areas of life in this period were seen.

Following these, the origins and historical development of positivism are summarized. Thus, it is clearly seen what positivist thought means and its evolution over time is revealed. In addition, the effects of the thought in Turkey are summarized through its representatives in the country. Thus, the "progress" in this sense in the pre-Republican period is seen.

Subsequently, the environment in which Atatürk grew up, the education he received, and the writing he read were examined to see his relationship with positivist thought.

Moreover, the main studies in this field have been summarized, thus revealing the originality of this thesis.

At the end of all this, a final evaluation was made, and a "judgment" was reached on the structure of the positivist character of Kemalism.

On the other hand, evaluations in this area can be deepened, especially in terms of the impact of climatic factors and comparative evaluation.





Bibliography

- Abbott, Elizabeth. *Sugar: a Bittersweet History*. New York: Duckworth , 2010.
- Abu-Ellail, F.F.B., Salem, K.F.M., Saleh, M.M., Alnaddaf, L.M., Al-Khayri, J.M. "Molecular Breeding Strategies of Beetroot." In *Advances in Plant Breeding Strategies: Vegetable Crops*, by J.M., Jain, S.M., Johnson, D.V. Al-Khayri, 157-212. Springer, 2021.
- Adalı, Tuğba, Sinan A. Türkyılmaz, and Murat M. Yüceşahin. "Population Policies in Turkey and Demographic Changes on a Map." *Border Crossing*, October 2016: 240-266.
- Akdağ, Ömer. "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Eğitim Alanında Yabancı Uzman İstihdamı (1923-40)." *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1/1, 2008: 45-77.
- Akın, Fehmi, and Serkan Bayraktar. "Erken Cumhuriyetin İktisadi Kurumlarından Biri: Âli İktisat Meclisi." *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 29, April 2011: 115-122.
- Aksoy, Erdal. "1919-1955 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'nin Nüfus Yapısı ve Uygulanan Nüfus Politikaları." *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Spring), 2016: 27-44.
- Aksöz, Fatmanur, and Berkan Güngör. "1929 Dünya İktisadi Krizi,Otoriterleşen Devletler ve Türkiye'ye Yansımaları." *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, January 26, 2021: 33-52.
- Aktepe, Münir. "Atatürk'ün Sofya Ataşeliğine Kadar İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ile Olan Münasebetleri ve Bu Hususla Alâkalı Bir Belge." *Belleten* 38 (150), 1974: 150-263.
- Akyol, Taha. *Ama Hangi Atatürk?* İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2008.
- Alexander, Catherine. *Personal States: Making Connections Between People and Bureaucracy in Turkey*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

Anıl Sakarya

- Aslan, Cengiz. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Eğitim Bilimleri Alanında Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderilmesi Olgusu (1923-1940) . PhD Thesis, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2014.
- Aslan, Taner. "Mustafa Kemal'de İnkılâp Düşüncesinin Oluşumu ve Gelişimi." Erdem(53), 2009: 1-22.
- Atabay, Mithat. "Atatürk'ün Ankara'ya Davet Ettiği Macar Profesör Antal Rethly'nin Türkiye'deki Çalışmaları." Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, 2002: 1-14.
- Avcı, Sedat. "Türkiye'de Şeker Pancarı Ziraatinin Coğrafi Esasları." Coğrafya Dergisi 4, May 2012: 265-289.
- Avcı, Sedat. Türkiye'de Şeker Sanayii. PhD Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1991.
- Avenas, Pierre. "Etymology of Main Polysaccharide Names." In The European Polysaccharide Network of Excellence (EPNOE), by Patrick Navard, 13-23. Vienna: Springer, 2012.
- Bakar, Özer. "1920-2020 Yılları Arası Bebek Ölüm Olasılıkları Kullanarak Türkiye İçin Bir Dinamik Hayat Tablosu Oluşturma Örneği." Nüfusbilim Dergisi 42, 2020: 45-63.
- Bakırtaş, İbrahim, and Ali Tekinşen. "Dünya Savaşları ve Büyük Buhran Arasındaki Etkileşimin Ekonomi Politikası." Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 2004: 83-100.
- Balyemez, Mehmet. Millî Ekonomiye Geçiş Sürecinde Kamu Bankacılığı Örneklerinden Biri: Türkiye Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası. Ankara, 2023.
- Batır, Betül, and Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti. "Atatürk Dönemi Eğitim Politikaları (1919-1938)." Türkoloji Kültürü, vol 2, no.4, Summer 2009: 123-138.

- Baumhardt, Louis R. "Dust Bowl Era." *Encyclopedia of Water Science*, 2003: 187-191.
- Birlik, Gültekin Kamil. "Celal Bayar'ın Başbakanlığı İsmet İnönü'den Devralması ve Bunun Siyasi Müsteşarlık Üzerine Etkisi." *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 2010 Autumn: 255-293.
- Bolt, Jutta, and Jan L. van Zanden. "Data Page: GDP per capita." *Our World in Data*. September 9, 2024. <https://dataverse.nl/api/access/datafile/421302>.
- Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985*. İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998.
- Bozdemir, Süleyman. "Atatürk ve Eğitim Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitimdeki Gelişmeler." *Erdem*, vol 11, no.32, 1998: 439-458.
- Bozkurt, Birgül. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Demiryollarının Millileştirilmesi: Anadolu Demiryolları ve Mersin-Tarsus Hattının Satın Alınması." *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 2021: 679-702.
- Bölük, Erdoğan, Osman Eskioğlu, and Serpil Yağan. *Köppen İklim Sınıflandırmasına Göre Türkiye İklimi*. Ankara: İklim ve Zirai Meteoroloji Dairesi Başkanlığı İklim ve İklim Değişikliği Şube Müdürlüğü, 2023.
- Bradenburg, William A, Theo S. M. De Bock, and Wouter Lange. "Taxonomy and Cul-tonomy of Beta vulgaris." *Botanical Journal of Linnean Society*, January 1999: 81-96.
- Bronstein, Judith, Edna J. Stern, and Elisabeth Yehuda. "Franks, Locals and Sugar Cane: a Case Study of Cultural Interaction in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem." *Journal of Medieval History*, May 2, 2019: 316-330.

- Carioca, J.O.B., Leal, and M.R.L.V. "Ethanol Production from Sugar-Based Feedstocks." In *Comprehensive Biotechnology* 2nd Edition, by Murray Moo-Young, 24-34. Elsevier, 2011.
- Ceylan, Mehmet Akif. "Türkiye Coğrafyasına Katkıda Bulunan Yabancı Bilim Adamları: E. Obst, Th. Lefebvre ve E. Chaput." *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 2013: 311-351.
- Ceylan, Okan. "Bir Mahsul, Bir Coğrafya, Bir Endüstri: Şekerpancarının Alpullu Ve Civarının Sosyo-Ekonomik Dönüşümündeki Rolü (1925-1950)." XIX. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 2024.
- Chung, Ding-Yu. "Human Religious Evolution." *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 4 2016: 75-90.
- Cooke, D.A, and R.K. Scott. *The Sugar Beet Crop: Science into Practice*. Chapman&Hall, 1993.
- Coons, George H. "The Sugar Beet: Product of Science." *The Scientific Monthly* 68, 1949: 149-164.
- Coşar, Nevin, and Sevtap Demirci. "Incorporation into the World Economy: From Railways to Highways (1850–1950)." *Middle Eastern Studies* vol.45,no.1, January 2009: 19-31.
- Crespo, Horacio. "6 Trade Regimes and the International Sugar Market, 1850–1980: Protectionism, Subsidies, and Regulation." In *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000*, by Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, Zephyr Frank, Gilbert M. Joseph and Emily S. Rosenberg, 146-173. New York: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Crittenden, Alyssa N. "The Importance of Honey Consumption in Human Evolution." *Food and Foodways*, December 8, 2011: 257-273.
- Çamur, Gazi. *Türk-Sovyet Münasebetlerinin İktisadi Boyutları (1923-1938)*. Master Thesis, İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2018.

- Damlıbağ, Fatih. "Sugar Production Investments in Turkey During Post 1929 Economic Crisis Period." *Journal Of Modern Turkish History Studies*, 2018 Spring: 139-162.
- Delice, Güven. "Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası: 85 Yıllık Bir Geçmişin İzlerinden Tarihe Kayıt Düşmek." *JEBPIR* 1(2), 2015: 21-55.
- Dilek, A. (2019). Bir Yaygın Eğitim Kurumu Olarak Şeker Fabrikaları. Aydın Menderes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- DPT. (1994). Nüfus ve Nüfusun Yapısı. Yedinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu. Ankara.
- Drewnowski, Adam. "Nutrient density: addressing the challenge of obesity." *British Journal of Nutrition*, October 30, 2018: 8-14.
- Eichengreen, Barry. "Keynes and Protection." *The Journal of Economic History*, June 1984: 363-373.
- Eker, Abdullah, Murat Pıçak, and Duygu Süloğlu. "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Türkiye İş Bankası'nın Kuruluşu ve Ekonomiye Etkisi." In *Dünden Bugüne Ekonomi Yazıları*, by Kerem Çolak, Sema Yılmaz Genç and Selçuk Koç, 151-170. Kocaeli: Umuttupe Yayınları, 2017.
- Eldem, V. (1952). Devlet Hizmetinde Çalışanların Refah Seviyesinde Husule Gelen Değişiklikler. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. 13, October 1951- July 1952, No 1-4, 229- 238.
- Erdem, Ali Rıza. "Atatürk'ün Liderliğinde Üniversite Reformu: Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Tarihimizde Dönüm Noktası ." *Belgi*, no.2, Summer 2012: 376-388.
- Eyüpoğlu, A.Ceyhan. "Şeker Fabrikasyonunun Tarihçesi ve Türkiye'den Şeker Sanayi." *Kimya Mühendisliği Dergisi* vol 3, no. 23, 1967: 14-25.

- Fischler, Claude. "Attitudes Towards Sugar and Sweetness in Historical and Social Perspective." In *Sweetness*, by J. Dobbing, 83-98. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1987.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Positivism and Sociology*. London: Heinemann, 1974.
- Goldman, IL, and J Janick. "Evolution of Root Morphology in Table Beet: Historical and Iconographic." *Front. Plant Sci.*, August 10, 2021: 1-13.
- Gopal, Lallanji. "Sugar-Making in Ancient India." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, April 1964: 57-72.
- Gözcü, Alev and Çakmak, Fevzi. "Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında Türkiye'nin güney sınırında gerçekleştirilen kaçakçılık faaliyetleri." *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 21(3), 2019, 683-714.
- Güler, Ali. *Atatürk Ansiklopedisi-Atatürk'ün Eğitim ve Öğretim Gördüğü Kurumlar*. December 31, 2020. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/ataturkun-egitim-ve-ogretim-gordugu-kurumlar/> (accessed Jan 12, 2025).
- . *Atatürk Ansiklopedisi-Atatürk'ün Okuduğu Kitaplar*. April 13, 2021. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/ataturkun-okudugu-kitaplar/> (accessed Jan 12, 2025).
- Güvemli, Oktay, and Mehmet Karayaman. "Uşak Şeker Fabrikasının Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi." *Accounting and Financial History Research Journal*, July 2017: 6-50.
- Güven, Sinan. *Coğrafya İle İletişim İlişkilerine Eskişehir Örneği*. Master thesis, Afyon: Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2006.
- Habil Akıltepe, Sabri Malkoç, İhsan Molbay, *Türkiye Şeker Sanayi ve Şekerpancarı Ziraatı*, Mars Matbaası, Ankara, 1964

- Hamaloğlu, İbrahim. "XIX. Yüzyılda Batılı Seyyahlara Göre Selanik Şehrine Dair İzlenimler ." Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Dergisi , Summer 2021: 255-276.
- Hanioğlu, Şükrü. Atatürk:Entelektüel Biyografi. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2023.
- Hatıpoğlu, Şevket Raşit. Türkiyede Zirai Buhran. Ankara: Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü, 1936.
- Hayford, Marc, and Carl A. Pasurka Jr. "The Political Economy of the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley Tariff Acts." Explorations in Economic History 29, 1992: 30-50.
- Heilbron, Johan. "Sociology and Positivism in 19th-century France: the vicissitudes of the Société de Sociologie (1872-4)." History of the Human Sciences , October 2009: 30-62.
- Hirschon, Renée. Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003.
- Hoffmanna, Christa M., Toon Huijbregts, Noud van Swaaij, and Rudolf Jansen. "Impact of different environments in Europe on yield and quality of sugar beet genotypes." European Journal of Agronomy 30, 2009: 17-26.
- İnan, Ali Mithat. Atatürk'ün Not Defterleri. Gündoğan Yayınları, 1996.
- Kadıoğlu, Sevtap. "Osmanlı Döneminde Türkiye'de Ziraat Okulları Üzerine Notlar ve "Tedrisat-ı Ziraiye Nizamnamesi"." Kutadgubilig: Felsefe Bilim Araştırmaları, 2005: 239-257.
- Karademir, Zafer. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Şeker Üretim ve Tüketimi." Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi, Spring 2015: 181-218.
- Karal, Enver Ziya. Atatürk'ten Düşünceler. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1991.

- Karaömerlioğlu, A., & Yolun, M. (2020, 40(3)). Turkish nationalism and the evolutionary idea (1923-1938). *Nations and Nationalism*, 743-758.
- Karayaman, Mehmet. "Atatürk Döneminde Şeker Sanayi ve İzlenen Politikalar." *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 28, March 2012: 53-96.
- . "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Şeker Fabrikası Kurma Teşebbüsleri." *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* Vol.25,no.1, July 2010: 297-318.
- Kayıran, Mehmet, and Mustafa Yahya Metintaş. "1929 Dünya Ekonomik Krizinin Türk Tarımına Etkileri ve 1931 Birinci Ziraat Kongresi." *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 2016: 33-82.
- Kazancı, Nizamettin, and Yaşar Suludere. "The Köroğlu Mountains: The Most Settled Highlands of Anatolia." In *Landscapes and Landforms of Turkey*, by Catherine Kuzucuoğlu, Attila Çiner and Nizamettin Kazancı, 447-457. Springer, 2019.
- Kenter, Christine, Christa M. Hoffmann, and Bernward Marlander. "Effects of weather variables on sugar beet yield development." *European Journal of Agronomy*, May 2, 2006: 62-69.
- Kırkpınar, Nurullah. "Atatürk Dönemi'nde Tarım Politikalarının Belirlenmesinde Yabancı Etkisi: Oldenburg Raporu'nun Rolü ." *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2023: 733-789.
- Knight, Franklin W. "The Haitian Revolution." *The American Historical Review*, Volume 105,issue1, February 2000: 103-115.
- Koç, Ceyhan İ. "İzmir İktisat Kongresi'nin Türk Ekonomisinin Oluşumuna Etkileri." *Atatürk Dergisi* 3, February 2010: 145-167.
- Kurmuş, Orhan. "1916 ve 1929 Gümrük Tarifeleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler." *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, 1978: 182-209.
- Lutz, Peter,L. *The Rise of Experimental Biology*. Humana Totowa, 2002.

- Madsen, Jakob B. "Trade Barriers and the Collapse of World Trade during the Great Depression." *Southern Economic Journal*, April 2001: 848-868.
- Mcgregor, Duncan. "Contemporary Caribbean Ecologies:The Weight of History." In *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, by Stephan Palmié, A. Scarano and Francisco, 39-52. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Meissner, Cristopher M. *One from the Many*. Oxford University Press, 2024.
- Merter, Mert. "Kuruluş Yıllarında Şeker Sanayi ve Devletin Amaç Fonksiyonu." *TESAM Akademi Dergisi*, July 2018: 183-247.
- Metinsoy, M. (2021). *The Power of the People: Everyday Resistance and Dissent in the*. Cambridge University Press.
- Müezzinoğlu, Ersin. "İsmet Paşa'nın 1932 Sovyet Rusya Ziyareti." *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, vol 20,no. 2, September 2018: 249-260.
- N E, Derkach, and Gololobova M A. "Forecasting the yield of sugar beet." *IOP Conf. Ser.: Earth Environ. Sci.* 2022.
- Nachman, Robert G. "Positivism, Modernization, and the Middle Class in Brazil." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57(1), February 1977: 1-23.
- Oğur, Necmettin. "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası." Master Thesis, Eskişehir, 2015.
- Oğur, Necmettin, Önder Selahattin. "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası." *ESOGÜ Tarih Dergisi*, November 2019: 25-54.
- Okçuoğlu, Gülsevin, and İzzettin Önder. "Aşarın Kaldırılması." *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 1987: 261-276.

- Ortak, Şaban. "Türkiye’de Tarım Politikaları ve Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu." Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, vol.25, 2023: 418-446.
- Özdemirci, Ata. "Kurumsal Değişimde Aktörün Rolü:Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Kuruluş Dönemi Sanayileşme Politikaları ve Uygulamaları." Marmara Business Review, December 2016: 73-95.
- Özer, Sevilay. "Türkiye’de Şeker Sanayisi (1925-1950)." Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi no 33, Spring 2021: 95-124.
- Özyurt, Hasan. "Atatürk Dönemi, Birinci Ve İkinci Beş Yıllık Sanayileşme Planları Ve Türk Ekonomisindeki Yapı Değişikliğine Etkileri (1933-1938)." Istanbul Journal of Sociological Studies, September 2011: 119-148.
- Pamuk, Şevket. Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013.
- Parker, Randall. An Overview of the Great Depression. March 16, 2008.
- Paul, Shapan Kumar. "Agronomic Management of Sugar Beet." In Sugar Beet Cultivation, Management and Processing, by V. Misra, S. Srivastava and A.K. Mall, 257-274. Singapore: Springer, 2022.
- Polatoğlu, Mehmed Gökhan. Atatürk Ansiklopedisi. October 17, 2022. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/seker-fabrikalari/> (accessed August 30, 2024).
- Prysiashniuk, Oleh, et al. "The Study of Drought Stress in Sugar Beet and the Ways of its Minimization." Ecological Engineering & Environmental Technology 24(1), 2023: 256-263.
- Sarıgüzel, Nedim. "Türkiye'nin 1929 Dünya Ekonomik Krizine Karşı Aldığı Mali ve Ticari Tedbirler." Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi, November 2021: 7055-7081.

- Shaw, Stanford. "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, October 1978: 325-338.
- Smith, Andrew F. *Sugar A Global History*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2015.
- Süreyya, Şevket. "Şeker Mütahassısının Raporu Ne İçin Eksiktir?" *Kadro*, June 1, 1934: 41-48.
- Şahinkaya, Serdar. "Cumhuriyetimizin İlk Sanayi Sayımı 1927: "Bir Hesaplaşma Hazırlığı"." *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 2019: 179-208.
- Tekeli, İlhan. "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Boyunca Kırsalın Geçirdiği Dönüşüm Ve Kırdan Kopuş", *Efil Journal*, vol.2, no.6, 8-49.
- Tekeşin, Hüsnü. *Alpullu Şeker Fabrikası Tarihi*. Master Thesis, Uşak: Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2012.
- Tevetoğlu, Fethi. "Atatürk - İttihat Ve Terakki." *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 5, July 1989: 613-24.
- Tezel, Yahya Sezai. *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950)*. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları , 1982.
- . *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950)*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Bankası, 2015.
- Toprak, Zafer. *Atatürk Kurucu Felsefenin Evrimi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları , 2020.
- Tökin, İ. H. ((1934) 1990). *Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Truitt, E.R. "Knowledge and Power: Courtly Science and Political Utility in the Work of Roger Bacon." *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 2021: 99-123.
- Tunçay, Mete. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması*. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981.

Anıl Sakarya

- Turan, Şerafettin. Atatürk'ün Düşünce Yapısını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünürler, Kitaplar. Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1982.
- TÜİK İstatistik Göstergeler 1923-2009, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Ankara, 2010.
- Türkeş, Mustafa. "Kadro Dergisi." In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce-Kemalizm, by Ahmet İnsel, 464-476. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009.
- Türkyılmaz, Ubeydullah. Birinci İzmir İktisat Kongresi ve Hukuki Etkileri. Master Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013.
- Ünlü Soylu, Perihan, and Özlem Yaktı. "Devletçiliğe Yönelmede Bir Köşe Taşı: Birinci Beş Yıllık Sanayi Planı." History Studies, 2012: 365-379.
- Williams, Daryle, and Barbara Weinstein. "Vargas Morto:The Death and Life of a Brazilian Statesman." In Death,Dismemberment, and Memory: Politics of the Body in Latin America, by Lyman Johnson, 1-52. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.
- Yiğit, Ali Ata. "Türkiye'nin Tarıma Dayalı Sanayi Politikası (1923-1938) ." Doğuş Üniversitesi Dergisi, 2012: 315-326.
- Yıldırım, Zeynep. "Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Pozitivizmin Türk Siyasal Hayatına Girişi ." Master Thesis, Bursa, 2016.
- Yıldız, Dursun. "60. Yılında Su Filomuzun Amiral Gemisi:DSİ." 2014.
- Yılmaz, F., Tsamados, M.& Osborn, D. "Digitizing Ottoman daily weather observations of Halkali Agricultural School in Istanbul, Türkiye (1896–1917)." Geoscience Data Journal,11, 2024: 160-175.
- Yılmaz, Hasan. "Türkiye'de Yatırım Teşvik Sisteminin Tarihçesi." Akademik Araştırmalar ve Çalışmalar Dergisi , 2020: 431-441.

Yurtoğlu, Nadir. "Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye'de Şeker Politikası ve Ülke Ekonomisine Etkileri." *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2024 Spring: 205-246.

Żarski, Jacek, Renata Kuśmierk-Tomaszewska, and Stanisław Dudek. "Impact of Irrigation and Fertigation on the Yield and Quality of Sugar Beet (*Beta vulgaris* L.) in a Moderate Climate." *Agronomy* 10 (2), 2020: 166.

