



ATAA

15th Annual Convention

*Atatürk's Legacy:
Kemalism into the
21st Century*

September 8-11, 1994
Sheraton Crystal City Hotel
Arlington, Virginia



ATAA

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



A TAA has just completed 15 years of successful service to Turks, Turkish Americans and American friends of Turkey in this country.

All through these years an army of volunteers and a handful of dedicated professionals at the ATAA Central Office have worked very hard on programs and projects geared towards the enhancement of understanding and friendship between the Turkish and American peoples. At times the mission was accomplished against sizable odds. At other times there was frustration that in this land of enlightened people there could be so much ignorance concerning us and so many blatant attacks on values that we hold dear. With all of these ups and downs, I can say one thing very clearly and with no reservations that ATAA and the Turkish community it represents have done much more than one would expect if judged solely by their size and their resources. What was their secret? How did a national organization of a relatively small ethnic group with a short history in this country become so effective so soon? I think the answer to these questions lie in the feelings of Turkish Americans towards Turkey.

Turks and Turkish Americans are motivated and energized by their respect and affection towards their heritage, their homeland and their culture. Many of the members of this mosaic called the United States have come to this country leaving behind a homeland affected by natural disasters, political oppression, religious persecution or acute economic hardship. Turks of America, on the other hand, mostly arrived on these shores for the challenge in the new World, for education or business. We did not

leave our homeland in anger or fear. We did not flee persecution or oppression. Our hearts are still full of affection for Turkey and our minds full of nostalgia. ATAA volunteers and professionals derive their power and motivation from this strong sense of belonging to our common heritage in modern Turkey.

This year's Convention is especially important for ATAA and our community. The main theme we are concentrating on is "ATATÜRK's Legacy: Kemalism into 21st Century." As the Board of Directors of ATAA, we felt that it was very timely for us to recall and to remind all that the teachings of the great leader are indeed timeless. We are the products of ATATÜRK's Türkiye and we fully realize that whatever success we may have had in this country as a community or as individuals, we owe it to ATATÜRK and his reforms.

By the end of this Annual Convention I will transfer the Presidency of ATAA to Nuri Sabuncu whose able leadership will guide us through the next two years. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all my friends on the ATAA Board and in the Central Office whose dedication and hard work brought our Assembly to its 15th Annual Convention successfully

Bülent Başol, Ph.D.
President

TURKISH PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



As we stand on the threshold of the 21st century, it seems only appropriate for the global community to evaluate where it has been, where it is now, and where it is going. Having just emerged from the bipolar world of the Cold War era, we have come to inherit an unprecedented array of Post-Cold War developments few ever predicted. Though in many cases these developments ushered in historic and euphoric prospects for reunification and reconciliation in the heart of Europe, the Middle East and South Africa, for example; they likewise opened a Pandora's box of grave difficulties, most tragically evident in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It isn't enough to acknowledge such developments with a mixture of hope and concern. A blueprint for action is essential to guide us through these events and into the 21st century.

It is imperative that the principles of democracy, liberty, human rights, territorial integrity, and the rule of law not only be fully respected but defended when violated. Diversity needs to be viewed within the context of tolerance and understanding and be appreciated as a strength rather than a weakness of the global community. By executing international relations according to these tenets, a spirit of cooperation and unity can be actualized among nations so as to create the peaceful, prosperous and just world order we seek for all our citizens. A sense of globalism and neighborliness would come to characterize our family of nations. Each nation has a vital responsibility in fulfilling this objective, which naturally serves our own individual interests as well as those of the whole international community.

In essence, we would come to es-

pouse the very foresight of Atatürk, who remarkably used this same logic to successfully forge the Turkish republic over 70 years ago and to establish the young nation's relations with the world. In a time when such thoughts were not "fashionable," Atatürk courageously recognized their potential and value. Today, Atatürk's legacy retains its wisdom and may very well serve as our blueprint for action into the 21st century.

I applaud ATAA for its recognition of this fact, and I trust that this convention will provide a most constructive opportunity to evaluate the many facets of Kemalism.

With best wishes for a most successful convention,

Süleyman DEMIREL
President of the Republic of Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE



P *peace at home, peace in the world!* With these words Atatürk clearly defined the very purpose of the Republic of Turkey. As a nation we have tried to live up to his goal. Unfortunately, his words do not seem to dominate the conduct of international relations: witness the chaotic situation the world finds itself in. We seem to be going through a transition. Violence, aggression, hunger continue unabated. Many a time, we all seem to be a mere spectator in the face of such crises. However, there are also developments that give hope. I have in mind the Middle East peace process under the able guidance of President Clinton.

Due to her geographic position Turkey finds itself in the epicenter of such developments. Such a position and the sense of responsibility propel us to play an active and constructive role. To play such a role, we must be at peace ourselves. As the only Muslim nation in the region with a Western style and secular democracy, Turkey remains committed to strengthen its democracy, secularism, human rights and modernization. Turkey's stability has a direct impact on the region's prospects for peace and development.

Likewise stability and peace in the region is important for us. That is why Turkey reaches out a hand of partnership and cooperation in various fields to her neighbors. For such a cooperation to be effective, I believe in deepening relations with the United States. It is not only shared values but a deep interest in peace and stability that bring us together. The world faces many challenges. U.S. leadership is vital to meet these challenges and partnership between Tur-

key and the United States is essential.

The ideals which cement our relationship are the ones that Atatürk articulated. Therefore, it is only fitting that ATAA dedicate its 15th annual convention to assessing and studying Atatürk's legacy and what it means to us today as well as tomorrow. I deeply appreciate your work and the vital part each of you play in linking Turkey and the United States.

With best wishes for success,

Tansu Çiller
Prime Minister of the Republic of
Turkey

FOREIGN MINISTER'S MESSAGE



welcome this opportunity to address the Assembly of Turkish-American Associations.

ATAA plays a most valuable role in fostering a closer friendship and understanding between Turkey and the United States.

I believe that selecting the legacy of Atatürk as the theme for the 15th Annual Convention is most propitious at this time of tremendous change and transformation in international relations. The principles of peace, tolerance, modernization and secularism to which Atatürk dedicated his life are the very tenets to which the world needs to cling to today, in order to achieve the necessary goals of transformation, stability, peace and security. Atatürk summed up his ideas in the simple saying:

"Peace at home, Peace in the world".

He possessed a profound understanding of the very essence of democracy, which remains the foundation of successful nation-states. Few individuals throughout the course of history can claim the unique distinction of having the vision and ability to transform a dying Empire, into a dynamic and democratic nation-state. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic was such an exemplary individual.

Each nation has its own unique characteristics, determined by its own history, traditions, culture and economy. But democracy remains the essential ingredient in finding solutions to the challenges of the new world order.

In the face of rapidly evolving International affairs, we all must work to keep Atatürk's memory alive by

promoting the ideals of democracy he cherished. This demands a fundamental respect for our differences - as peoples and nations - and the simultaneous, willingness to cooperate in the pursuit of forging common bonds of friendship and good will.

I am certain that the deliberations of this convention will bring his legacy into a sharper focus, especially in relation to present day circumstances.

I would like to thank ATAA for its initiative. I would like to emphasize again ATAA's role in bringing our two nations closer together. We appreciate your efforts and I express my best wishes for a most successful Convention. Together, I am confident that we possess the resolve to continue implementing Atatürk's legacy so as to safeguard democracy for ourselves and our posterity.

Sincerely,

Mümtaz Soysal
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Republic of Turkey

AMBASSADOR'S MESSAGE



On a daily basis, we are bombarded with messages regarding the difficult world we live in. We see the images of terror and violence gripping Bosnia. We witness the arduous transition to democracy and economic security facing Russia, Central Asia and the Middle East. We stare with horror at the plight of refugees, starving and dying.

Given these grave challenges, the role of one individual to make a difference seems rather inconsequential. However, the first step in handling any of these developments requires fostering a genuine and compassionate spirit of tolerance, understanding and cooperation between individuals and nations. The role of just one person, in this respect, becomes increasingly vital. We all have the potential and the duty to build bridges of tolerance, understanding and cooperation.

ATAA's role in this regard is evident. It serves as a literal bridge between Turks, Turkish-Americans and friends of Turkey. It acts, as a model of friendship and good will between the United States and Turkey. The positive and constructive contribution which the leadership and membership of ATAA make towards strengthening and furthering Turkish-US relations simply must not be underestimated.

Sadly though, as I am sure each of you knows, certain circles wish to destabilize, damage or altogether poison US - Turkish relations. These groups mock the very ideals of respect, tolerance and understanding which ATAA promotes and which our bilateral relationship is based upon. Together, I am confident of our abilities and commitment to silence such ill-intentions with the truth we speak.

Atatürk, who founded the Republic of Turkey, clearly understood that

tolerance, cooperation, and respect for an ideal—notwithstanding entrepreneurial initiative, self-reliance and dedication to the ideal—are the principle means to bridge nations and unite peoples in the pursuit of common agendas. He proved that one person, with an unwavering belief in his nation's capabilities and through sheer will power, can in fact make a difference. Now, we must each be visionaries like Atatürk.

I deeply appreciate all the diligent efforts and preparations ATAA has put into making this convention the enormous success it is sure to be. It is a privilege for me to work with an organization whose dedication to advancing the cause of US-Turkish cooperation stands as a testament to the vision of Atatürk and the peaceful, tolerant world order we seek to construct.

With warmest personal regards,

Nüzhet Kandemir
Ambassador

Atatürk's Foreign Policy and Humanitarianism

by Prof. Dr. Suna Kili

The imminent threat of national extinction was what the Turks faced in the aftermath of World War I. Casting aside Ottoman imperial ambitions, pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic goals, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made clear the basic premises on which the Turkish nation would take a stand, would resist foreign aggression. Atatürk limited Turkish political aim to the retention of the very Turkish homeland.

The Turkish Revolution comprised the Period of National Struggle, 1919-1922, and the ensuing period of reforms which were aimed at complete transformation of Turkish society. Kemalism represented the ideological basis of this Revolution and was, therefore, intimately related to the reforms of Atatürk.

The anti-imperialist and anti-racist message of Kemalism, as well as the commitment of Kemalism to complete independence and modernization provided amenable guidelines for the developing nations of the world.

Kemalist foreign policy was characterized by its rationalism and humanitarianism. Its humanitarianism could be observed by its insistence on the right to independence, to equal opportunities, and to prosperity of all nations and peoples everywhere in the world. Atatürk's deep-seated hatred of wars of aggression, and his belief in the right to independence of all nations, and his understanding of the interdependence of nations shaped the direction of his foreign policy.

Atatürk and the 1920 revolutionaries were not interested in imperialistic adventures. They did their utmost to inculcate in the minds of the Turkish people a rational as well as an emotional loyalty to the new frontiers of Turkey. This has proven to be one of the noticeable accomplishments of the Kemalist era. Kemalist foreign policy was anti-imperialist and anti-irredentist. The most important watchwords of Kemalist foreign policy were "peace at home and peace abroad." Kemalist foreign policy was dedicated to the idea of peaceful co-existence between all nations. The name of Atatürk has gone down in history as the indefatigable champion of peace and mutual understanding between nations.

In his attempts at modernization Atatürk often used the terms "contemporary civilization," the "common civilization," the "civilized world." Atatürk was essentially a humanitarian statesman. He believed in the right to independence and the dignified existence of all nations and individuals. He believed in the necessity of the abolition of poverty and oppression in all corners of the world. He believed in the necessity of the prevalence of peace and welfare in the world. He was also convinced that a truly "civilized" nation would not pursue a policy of imperialism. He believed in the superiority of "civilization" and not in the superiority of "race."

Anti-imperialism and humanitarianism were and are the essential components of Kemalist policies. And this enduring legacy shall continue to constitute the main tenets of Turkish foreign policy in the 21st century.

THE PRINCIPLES OF KEMALISM

Kemalism is a system of thought that arose from the realities in Turkey. It was formed with the will of the Turkish nation and is the product of an historical development. Kemalism, above all else presents and recognizes rights to the nation; it is an expression of the sovereignty of the nation. Kemalism is a salvation, it reunites the nation with independence.

Kemalism is attaining a level of contemporary civilization, it is a westernization; in another sense it is also a modernization. It represents free thought; it is an understanding of freedom and democracy. Kemalism has the meaning of living a modern societal life. It is the governing of the state with the mentality of positive science, established in a secular order. With these two perceptions, Kemalism means the establishment of social and political institutions that are appropriate for the Turkish society and to be a modern society. The principles of Kemalism can be categorized in two groups: "Basic Principles" and "Complementary Principles". The "Basic Principles" are: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Etatism, Secularism and Reformism. While the "Complementary Principles" are: national sovereignty, national independence, national unity and cooperation, "peace in the nation, peace in the world", contemporaneity, rationalism, love of people and mankind.

THE DEFINITION OF THE PRINCIPLES IN ATATÜRK'S WORDS

1. **Republicanism:**

The administration most compatible with the character and customs of the Turkish nation is a Republic administration. (1924)

The Republic regime means a form of state with a system of democracy. (1933)

A Republic is an administration that is based on high moral values and qualities. A Republic is virtuous... (1925)

Our government of today, our state organization is directly the nation's of its own accord, it is a state and government organization that is made spontaneously and its name is a Republic. From now on the separation in the past between the government and the nation is no longer remaining. The government is the nation and the nation is the government. (1925)

2. **Nationalism:**

The Turkish people who founded the Turkish Republic is called the Turkish Nation. (1930)

We are such nationalists that we respect all the nations cooperating with us. We recognize all the necessities of their nationalities. In any case our patriotism is not a selfish and proud patriotism. (1920)

3. **Populism:**

Our principle of populism in our internal politics, that is the principle that the nation is personally in possession of its own future has been determined in our Constitution. (1921)

Populism is a societal system that requires it to be dependent on law and works for the order of the society. (1921)

The people of the Turkish Republic have not been formed of separate classes, but for personal and social life, our fundamental principle is to see it as a society that has been separated into various professions from the point of view of division of labor. (1923)

4. **Statism:**

In our opinion the meaning of Statism is as follows: To hold as fundamental the private enterprises and individual activities of people; but by taking into consideration the needs of a large nation and a vast country and that many things have not been done; to take the economy of the country into the hands of the state. (1936)

In principle, the state should not take the place of the individual. However, for the development of the individual, general conditions should be taken into consideration. (1930)

Without it being absolutely imperative, interference should not be made in the markets; together with this, no market is free from restraint. (1937)

5. **Secularism:**

Secularism does not only mean the separation of religious and world affairs. It also means the freedom of conscience, worship and religion for all the citizens. (1930)

Just as secularism is by no means atheism, as it opened the door to combating sorcery and feigned religiousness, it has assured the possibility of developing genuine religiousness. (1930)

Religion is an issue of conscience. Everyone is free to conform to the commands of their conscience. We show respect for religion. We are not against a way of thinking or thoughts. We are only trying not to mix religious affairs with the affairs of the nation and the state, we are avoiding reactionary actions that are based on evil intent and deeds. (1926)

6. **Reformism:**

The purpose of the reforms we have made and are making is to attain for the people of the Turkish Republic a completely contemporary and in every sense and appearance the condition of a civilized society. (1925)

We made a great reform. We took the country from one era and brought it to a new era. (1925)

Atatürk: The Enduring Triumph

by
Prof. Dr. Talat S. Halman

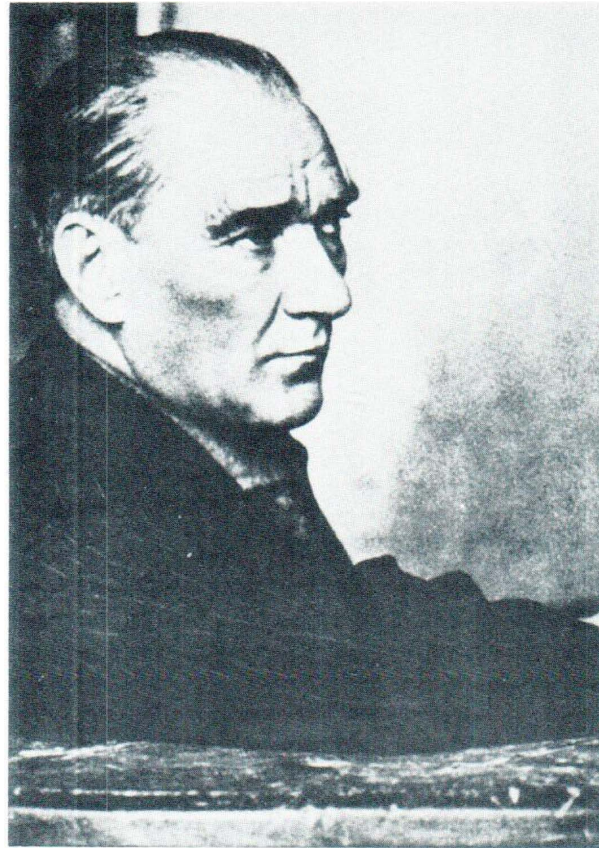
Political ideologies born in the early decades of the 20th Century are already dead. Few of their national leaders command any following or even respect. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the only exception. Many decades after his emergence, he stands as a triumphant and transcendent figure. His ideology - first known as "Kemalism", later as "Atatürkism" - remains the fundamental doctrine of his Turkish Republic.

Destiny has endowed very few individuals with any of Atatürk's achievements. Saviour of his nation's sovereignty. Undefeated commander. Pioneer of anti-colonialism. Staunchest foe of imperialism at home and abroad. Creator of a republic. Transformer of the political, legal and socio-economic system. Cultural modernizer. Inspiration for education and arts. Spell-binding orator. Language reformer. Secularist visionary. Humanist and international peacemaker. Model for the leaders of emancipation and emerging nations. The hero of the 20th Century renaissance.

Still fewer are those, in the East or in the West, in this century or earlier centuries, who gained distinction in many of the same achievements. It is virtually impossible to think of any historical

figure who accomplished it all in so short a period with as much enduring impact.

What are the powers that create and perpetuate a hero of such magnitude? Ancient philosophy, in its



analysis, stressed the divine aspects while acknowledging the extraordinary human qualities which galvanize the heroic personality. Classical mythology gave us gods as men - and legends transformed men into deities.

For modern philosophy, the hero is a creation of a spectrum of forces. Carlyle argued that history is the work of great men. Some thinkers delineated the hero as the

embodiment and expression of Zeitgeist, the spirit of all times. The ephemeristic view stresses the mythic forces and events as the basis of history. The hero, according to the sociological approach, is the product of societal imperatives, shaped by historical determinism. Analyses made in recent times, however, tend to create a synthesis of these divergent interpretations.

Seen from the broadest perspective, the hero is a charismatic figure of action who emerges inexorably in response to the demands of cataclysmic events, dominates the moment by the force of his personality, channels the course of developments through his vision and personal power, and achieves a lasting impact. In this sense, the hero is, at once, mythic and god-like, the chosen instrument of history and the creative power that reshapes it, the symbol of

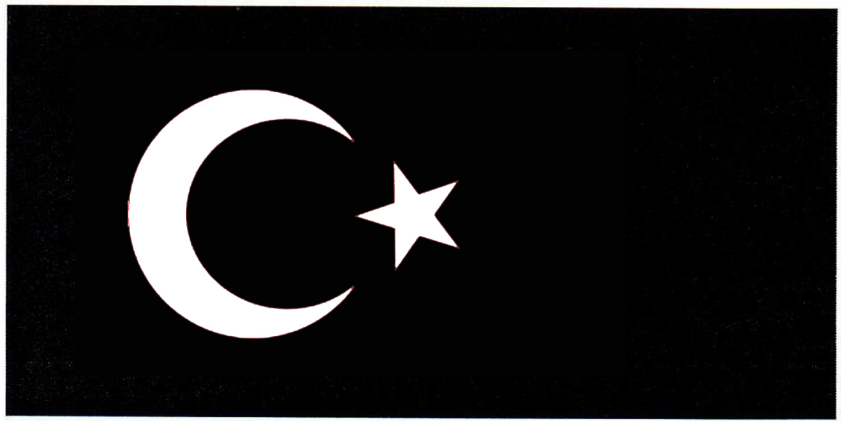
the age and its giant stride into the future.

Atatürk's emergence and sustained impact as a hero can be viewed as an ideal testament to all of these classical and modern concepts. By personality and achievement, he stands as the perfect proof of the seemingly paradoxical but essentially integral theorems that the hero is "transcendent and preternatural" or a "compel-

ling product of his nation and time.” Atatürk was neither a deus ex machina nor a mere reflection of the collective destiny. As he often articulated it, his leadership did represent the will and the aspirations of a great nation which rightfully took pride in its heroes and historical grandeur. But the Turkish nation and the world have known him since the 1910s as an extraordinary epoch-making figure who not only embodied his nation’s greatness but also contributed to his age and the future by his creative vision.

Few leaders have crystallized within their own personalities the imperatives of their national heritage, provided perfect leadership for their times, and given a society the thrust for dramatic transformation as Atatürk was able to.

Historians, poets, social scientists, journalists, and statesmen, Turkish and non-Turkish, continue to sing Atatürk’s praises. Such praise is well deserved, mostly an objective assessment. Two millennia ago, Horace wrote: “The hero who is worthy of her praise the muse will not let die.” This book, devoted to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the creator of the modern Turkish Republic, aims to provide an objective historical analysis of the “hero” who needs no praise to remain immortal.



*The Press is the nation's
shared voice. It is an in-
novator, a school and a
power in itself.*

Kemal Atatürk | 1922

**We are following your
footsteps...**

The Turkish Times

Thanks to all our supporters for their valuable contributions in ATAA 15th Annual Convention Booklet.

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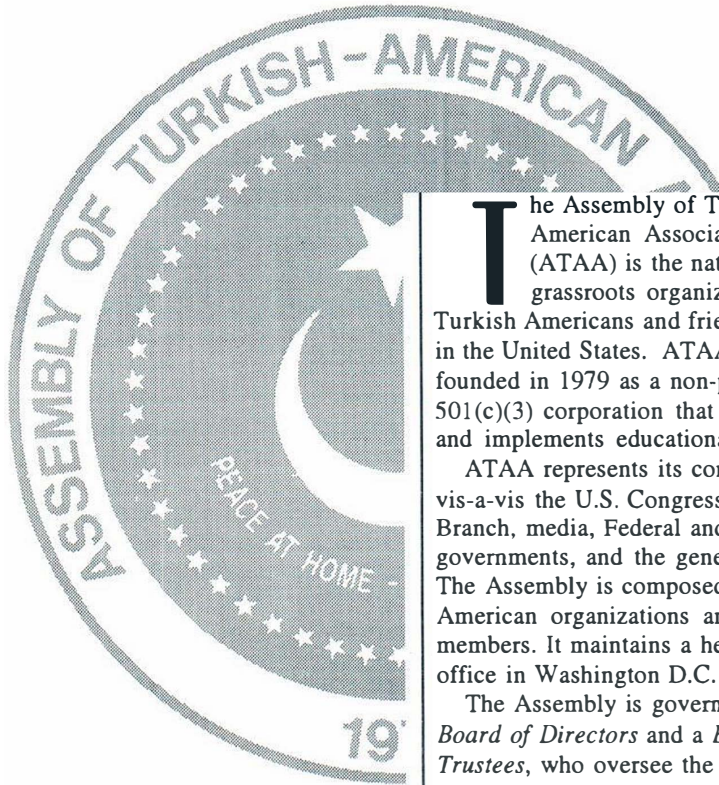
Ergün Kırlikovalı

ATA-DC

T.A.F.S.U.S.

Vortex

WHAT IS ATAA?



The Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA) is the national grassroots organization of Turkish Americans and friends of Turks in the United States. ATAA was founded in 1979 as a non-profit, 501(c)(3) corporation that develops and implements educational programs.

ATAA represents its constituents vis-a-vis the U.S. Congress, Executive Branch, media, Federal and State governments, and the general public. The Assembly is composed of Turkish American organizations and individual members. It maintains a headquarters office in Washington D.C.

The Assembly is governed by a *Board of Directors* and a *Board of Trustees*, who oversee the financial management of the organization. Its Assembly of Delegates, members and friends convene once a year at the annual convention.

ATAA is actively promoting packets of information on Turkey to be included in school curricula. Through the local organizations teachers of social studies are receiving workshops on how to teach about Turkish culture. Through its *Cultural* and *Turks Around the World Committees*, ATAA has also begun to reach out to our cousins in the Eurasian Turkish Nations/ Republics. *International Conference* series on *Turks Around the World* organized and co-sponsored by ATAA has given these nations/republics the opportunity to share their views with the Turkish American community and friends of Turks.

ATAA's major publication is the bi-weekly *The Turkish Times*, in print since January 1989, which brings the American public up-to-date on news relating to Turkey and the Turkish World, the activities of the Assembly, the associations and presents items of historical, cultural and social interest.

At various times ATAA also publishes special books and articles on issues that are confronting Turkish Americans in their daily activities.

ATAA Bookstore makes available six times a year, through its Catalog published in *The Turkish Times*, hard-to-find books on Turkish history and culture.

The national *Media Watch and Media Response Committee* monitors the top 50 markets for accuracy in their coverage of Turkish and Turkish-American issues, and responds when necessary via grassroots.

In 1989, ATAA, through its *Business Network Council*, has begun serving the individuals both in Turkey and the United States by acting as a liaison and center for businessmen to develop contacts and obtain information.

The President-elect and Board of Directors are elected for two-year terms while members of the Board of Trustees are elected for four-year terms. In its central office, ATAA has a full-time staff and it also utilizes the services of capable volunteers throughout the United States and Canada.

ATAA has proven its worth since 1979 by courageously standing up to the well-financed anti-Turkish agendas and has done so by relying exclusively on the generous tax-deductible donations of its members.

ATAA STAFF

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S T R E N G T H

O F

A T A A

...comes from the
Strength of Individuals
and
Component Associations

In its Annual Convention,
ATAA honors those individuals
who have made extraordinary
contribution to the work of
the Assembly,
the Turkish-American
community and
the Turkish cause in general.

**We Salute all
the ATAA Award Recipients!**

1994 ATAA AWARDS

ATAA's Distinguished Service Award

This award of high honor is bestowed on person or persons who have distinguished themselves in giving extraordinary service to ATAA and the Turkish-American community.

ALI FERDA SEVIN

ATAA's Arts and Sciences Outstanding Achievement Award

This award is given to the person of Turkish descent who has reached the pinnacle of his or her career in the arts and sciences and, also, has been a model for the Turkish-American community in making outstanding contributions to the success of ATAA.

PROF. TÜRKER ÖZDOĞAN

ATAA's Meritorious Service Award

This award is presented to the people who have made significant contributions to the work of the Assembly.

**DR. UĞUR AKINCI
AHMET SANDIKCIOĞLU**

ATAA'S Component Association of the Year Award

Each year ATAA acknowledges the component association that has excelled in its missions consistent with the goals and objectives of ATAA.

T.A.F.S.U.S. - Turkish American Friendship Society of U.S.

TACA - Southern New England Turkish American Cultural Association

President's Special Award

From time to time an individual or an organization performs such an outstanding service to the Turkish-American community that a special recognition is called for beyond the scope of the established categories of ATAA awards. President's Special Award is presented to such individuals and organizations.

**ERGUN KIRLIKOVALI
DAVID ERBAŞ-WHITE**



PROGRAM

Sheraton Crystal City Hotel
1800 Jefferson Davis Highway,
Arlington, VA 22202
September 8-11, 1994

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

9:30 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.

**ATAA NATIONAL LEADER-
SHIP SEMINAR** (by invitation
only), Crystal 5

Moderator: Dr. Tamer Açıkalın

6:30 p.m. -

RECEPTION

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

REGISTRATION

9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

**TURKISH ARTS & CRAFTS
EXHIBIT AND SALE**, Room
Crystal3

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

PANEL DISCUSSION, Ballroom
A

Topic: **TURKISH DEMOCRACY:
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS**

Moderator: Prof. Sabri Sayarı
Executive Director, Institute of
Turkish Studies

- Recent Developments in Religion
and Politics in Turkey
Assoc. Prof. Sencer Ayata, Middle
East Technical University, Political
Science Department

- Terrorism and The New World
Order
Assoc. Prof. Kemal Kirişçi,
Boğaziçi University, Faculty of
Economics and Administrative Sci-
ences

- Turkish Economy
Prof. Erdoğan Alkin, Istanbul
University, Faculty of Economics,
Head of the Department of Eco-
nomics

12:15 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.

CONVENTION LUNCHEON,
Ballroom B, (ticket required)

Keynote Speaker: H. E. Amb.
Nüzhet Kandemir, Ambassador of
Republic of Turkey

2:15 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

SYMPOSIUM, Ballroom A

TOPIC: **TURKEY AS A REGIONAL POWER**
Moderator: Prof. Justin McCarthy,
University of Louisville, Kentucky

- Turkey's Relations with EU
Assoc. Prof. Birol Yeşilada, Uni-
versity of Missouri, Department
Chair, Political Science Department
- Turkey and Regional Cooperation
Efforts

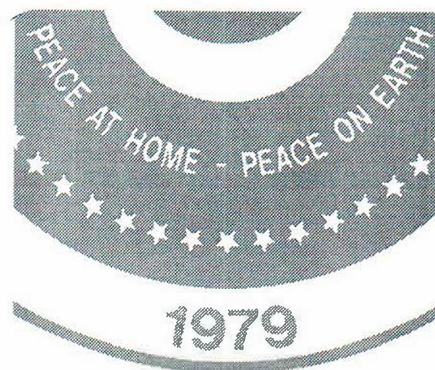
Speaker to be announced.

- U.S-Turkish Relations
Sermet Atacanlı, Counselor, Turk-
ish Embassy
Marshall Adair, U.S. State Depart-
ment, Director for the Office of
Southern European Affairs

6:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.

**RECEPTION AT THE TURKISH
EMBASSY**

By invitation only. For guests reg-
istered for the Annual Banquet and
for at least one luncheon.



**Atatürk's
Lasting
Legacy:
Kemalism
into the 21st
Century**

PROGRAM

Sheraton Crystal City Hotel
1800 Jefferson Davis Highway,
Arlington, VA 22202
September 8-11, 1994

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

REGISTRATION

8:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

TURKISH ARTS & CRAFTS EXHIBIT AND SALE, Room Crystal 3

8:45 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

ITU ALUMNI MEETING, Room Crystal 2

8:45 a.m. - 9:45 a.m.

PRESENTATION, Ballroom A,
DOING BUSINESS WITH ONE OF THE
TOP TEN EMERGING COUNTRIES: EXPORTING,
IMPORTING, CONSULTING OPPORTUNITIES
WITH TURKEY
Moderator Ömer Esener, Chairperson,
ATAA Business Network Council

- Exporting
Ömer Esener, President, ACR International, Inc.
- Importing
Ahmet Erbençi
- Freight Forwarding and Customs Brokerage
Nihat Arkan, Director, Panalpina, Inc.

10:00 a.m. - 12:10

FORUM, Ball Room A

TOPIC: ATATÜRK'S LASTING LEGACY:
KEMALISM INTO THE 21ST CENTURY
Moderator: Prof. Heath Lowry,
Atatürk Professor of Ottoman and
Modern Turkish Studies, Princeton

University

- What is Kemalism: A Historical Perspective

Prof. Dankwrat Rustow, Distinguished Prof. of Political Sciences and Social Studies, City University of New York

- Kemalism into the 21st Century
Prof. Suna Kili, Boğaziçi University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

- Kemalism and Contemporary Turkish Politics
Prof. Sabri Sayarı, Executive Director, Institute of Turkish Studies

12:15 noon. - 1:45 p.m.

LUNCHEON, Ballroom B, (ticket required)

Guest Speaker to be announced

2:00 p.m. - 3:45 p.m.

PRESENTATION

TITLE: ATATÜRK IN HIS OWN WORDS,
Ballroom A
Prof. Talat Halman, New York University

4:15 p.m. - 5:15 p.m.

FORUM, Ballroom A

TOPIC: TURKISH EXPERIENCE IN THE U.S.

Moderator: Prof. Justin McCarthy,
University of Louisville, Kentucky
• Experiences of Turkish Americans

Joseph Youssouf, Ali Ferda Sevin,
Günay Evinç

- Prejudice, Religion and How

Americans Perceive Turks?

Prof. Justin McCarthy, University of Louisville, Kentucky

7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

ALUMNI REUNIONS

Robert College, Boğaziçi University, Middle Eastern Technical University, ITU

8:00 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.

ATAA COCKTAIL RECEPTION, Atrium

8:30 p.m. - 1:00 a.m.

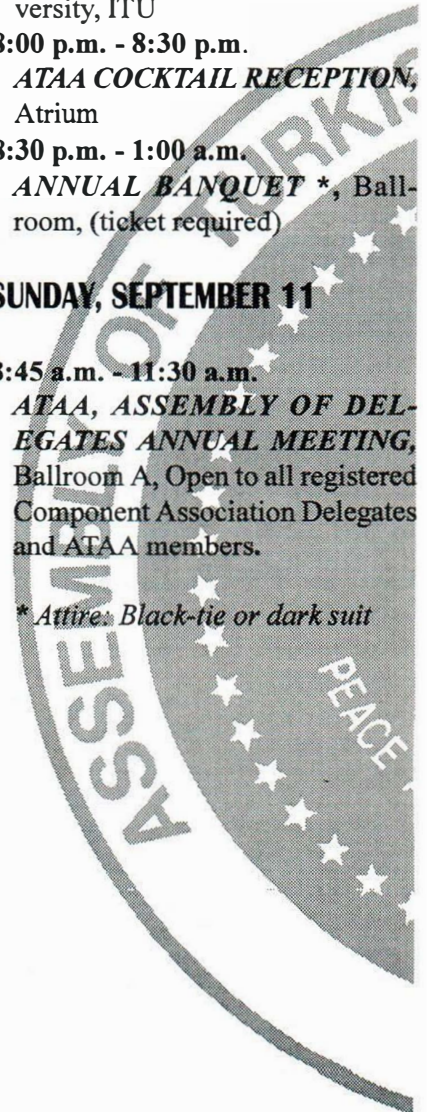
ANNUAL BANQUET *, Ballroom, (ticket required)

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

8:45 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

ATAA, ASSEMBLY OF DELEGATES ANNUAL MEETING, Ballroom A, Open to all registered Component Association Delegates and ATAA members.

* Attire: Black-tie or dark suit



ATAA IS 15

By Ali Ferda Sevin

For individuals, 15 is a difficult age. Three years into the teens, it is an age that eschews the immaturity of pre-teens yet is painfully aware that maturity will not come for another four years when the teenager will be on the way to becoming twentysomething.

For an organization such as ATAA, too, 15 is a difficult age but for different reasons. While an individual at 15 is just approaching the thresholds of maturity, an organization is expected to be beyond maturity in 15 years. Organizations are created to achieve certain objectives unrelated to just growing up. For an individual, just growing up brings with it proof of permanent membership in adulthood. With an organization, it is different. If the organization is successful in achieving its objective—the reason for its existence—it may quickly become irrelevant and unnecessary; that is, provided of course, it fails to change with the times.

So, how is it with ATAA at this critical juncture? Have we achieved the objectives we set for ourselves 15 years ago?

Yes and no.

Yes, because we have made ourselves visible to the extent that the U.S. media and the public now realize that Turks too are part of the American scene - not strangers belonging to a distant and alien culture. They no longer take it for granted that any anti-Turkish babble is the gospel truth just because it is anti-Turkish. The unquestioned acceptance of the "Terrible Turk" sobriquet is gone forever from the U.S. media.

No, because there are those in both the executive and the legislative

branches of government who have been exposed to the "Infidel Turk" of history books all their lives and who still give the benefit of any doubt to the opponents of Turks. Thus, an incident of Turkish police brutality is readily assumed to be government-sponsored torture. Thus, the Moslems of Bosnia are automatically assumed to have been forcefully converted to Islam under the "Ruthless rule of Ottoman Turks that lasted 500 years." Historians know better but not enough of them speak out. They know the genius of Ottoman rule was in its hands-off attitude on religion which permitted Christian, Jew and Moslem subjects alike reach the highest ranks based solely on merit. When Turks attempt to put an end to the terrorism of the Marxist Kurdistan Workers Party, they are accused of violating the civil rights of Kurdish Turks. While they keep the peace in Cyprus, so that the two sides can settle their differences at the conference table, the Turks are accused of invading the island. The term "Turkish Prison" has become part of the vernacular to express the ultimate in human deprivation since maestro revisionist Oliver Stone's *Midnight Express* became an Oscar-winning hit. It looks like we still have some distance to go although we have come long way in the last 15 years. In other words, we have not yet worked ourselves out of a job, having accomplished all we set out to do in the beginning.

Where do we go from here?

We have been an organization controlled by individual members for the last two years since the change in our by-laws. Although we maintain the Assembly structure with component associations as corporate members, the voting power has been shifted to individual members in a system of universal popular voting by mail. Individuals are encouraged to also become members of component associations in their areas but they don't have to for eligibility to participate in the popular vote. The role of component associations has been shifted to that of oversight. The Assembly of Delegates from component associa-

tions are responsible for setting the objectives and the policies of ATAA during the annual conventions. This is similar to the role of political parties which set their policies and platforms during their conventions every four years and leave the voting to individual members.

The role of the component associations is the crucial one even when the control of ATAA is given to the popular vote of individual members. This is because they decide where we go from here. They alone can choose to make ATAA a thriving institution for Turkish-Americans of generations to come or make it irrelevant and unnecessary in a changing environment.

In formulating the future programs of ATAA, we must be especially cautious, particularly during these early years of the popular vote, to carefully differentiate between the roles of component associations and that of ATAA. It must be made clear that ATAA is not a super association of nationwide membership to do at the national level what each association does locally. The generic difference is not unlike the difference between the states and the federal government. While they may do some similar things, disparate only in geographic scope, the services of the federal and state governments to the people are complimentary - not duplicative. So it is with ATAA and the component associations. ATAA may sponsor some cultural events of nationwide scope but such activities are the major responsibility of most associations at the local level. A component association may host a member of the U.S. congress at home, but communication with the legislative branch in the nation's capital is a major responsibility of ATAA. As the component associations, free from the time-consuming electoral process, are able to take a more global view of the ATAA objectives, plans, and programs during the conventions to come, they will continue to guide ATAA on the difficult path ahead as they have done in the past 15 years.

“Kemal was a nationalist, but there was nothing parochial in his nationalism. He saw the day of empires was done and that the day of nations had arrived,” writes Lord Kinross in his biography of Mustafa Kemal, simply titled “Atatürk.”

Others have embraced nationalism to shake the yoke of imperialists. Geography is strewn with nations built by nationalists who rebelled against imperialism but sunk into the savagery of tribalism witnessed in places like Bosnia and Rwanda.

Atatürk’s nationalism built a nation from the crumbled remains of a once-great-empire. But it is his unique brand of non-parochial nationalism that permeates the foreign policy of modern Turkey and sustains the nation he created into the 21st century.

“We must think of the whole mankind as being a single body and each nation as constituting a part of that body... We must not say, ‘If there is sickness in a certain place in the world, what does that matter to me?’... If there is such sickness, we must be just as much concerned with it as though it happened right in our mist.”

Sounds as if Atatürk himself forged the foreign policy of the United States into the 21st century. That is why the American-Turkish alliance is here to stay.

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Ali Ferda Sevin</i> | <i>Oya Bain</i> |
| <i>Ömer Esener</i> | <i>Orhan Suleiman</i> |
| <i>Mirat Gürol</i> | <i>Ayten Sandıkciöđlu</i> |
| <i>Kaya Büyükataman</i> | <i>Hüseyin Özdeđer</i> |
| <i>Ali Erkan Engin</i> | <i>Bonnie Joy Kaslan</i> |
| <i>Ahmet Turgut</i> | |

Members of the ATAA Board of Directors

The Turkish Republic's Founder: ATATÜRK

Atatürk was born in Salonika in 1881. His father was Ali Rıza Efendi and his mother Zübeyde Hanım. His original name was Mustafa. He started primary school in Salonika at the newly opened “Şemsi Efendi School.” He completed the Salonika Military Middle School and later the Monastir (Bitolj) Military High School. In 1899, he went to Istanbul and entered the “War College.” In 1905 he graduated from the War Academy and was sent to the 5th Army in Damascus. There he founded an association called “Country and Freedom”, that had strong and progressive aims. In 1907 he was assigned to the 3rd Army in Monastir. There he combined the “Country and Freedom” association with the already established “Union and Progress” association. On 13 April 1909, after the “31 March Incidents” in Istanbul he went to Istanbul with these forces as the Chief of Staff of the “Operations Army” which he had named. The proclamation made by the Army Command to the people of Istanbul was written by Mustafa Kemal.

In 1911 after the Italians undertook military landings in Tripoli, he went there to make guerrilla warfare. In 1912 when the Balkan War started, he came to Istanbul via Rumania. He engaged in important services in the recapture of Dimetoka (Dhidhimotikhon) and Edirne. World War I broke out while he was Military Attaché in Sofia. In 1915, he gained great successes at Çanakkale and at the Anafarta's. Towards the end of 1917, he accompanied Crown Prince Vahdettin Efendi on a trip to Germany. On October 31, 1918 he was assigned as the Commander of the Lightning Army Group. He saw the enemy fleet enter Istanbul. After making preparations and without telling anyone other than some friends his objective, with the assignment as military inspector, he went to Samsun on May 19, 1919. He sent a protest telegraph to the Grand Vizier Damat Ferit Pasha because he relinquished Turkey's freedom. On June 22, 1919 in his proclamation to the entire nation, he stated that to gain freedom and independence it was necessary for the entire nation to cooperate to fight the enemy.

Before the Erzurum Congress (July 23 - August 7, 1919) he renounced all his official titles and ranks. At the Sivas Congress on September 4, he was elected chairman of the “Representative Assembly.” On April 23, 1920 the Grand National Assembly convened in Ankara. He was elected to the chairmanship of the “Executive Members Council” that was entrusted with duties by the Assembly. He announced to the entire world that Turkey did not recognize the “Sevrés Agreement.” He started the War of Independence. At the First and Second İnönü Battles the Greeks were forced to retreat. Commander-in-Chief Mustafa Kemal Pasha caused the enemy to have heavy losses on the banks of the Sakarya. The Turkish Grand National Assembly bestowed Mustafa Kemal with the rank of “Marshal” and the name of “Gazi” (war hero). At the “Commander-in-Chief Battle” that started on August 26, 1922, the enemy was completely



crushed and started to flee. At the conclusion of the pursuit, that lasted until September 9, Turkish army forced the enemy into the sea at Izmir where they had started. On October 11, 1922, the Mudanya Armistice Agreement was signed. On November 1, 1922, the "Sultanate", in other words the sovereignty of the sultans was abolished. On July 24, 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. Thus, the Turkish Nation succeeded in attaining freedom and independence. On October 29, 1923 the "Republic" was announced and Mustafa Kemal was elected as the first president.

The Caliphate was abolished on March 3, 1924. Religion and state affairs were separated from each other. On February 17, 1926, the Code of Civil Law was accepted. Atatürk wore a hat in Kastamonu on August 24, 1925. On November 25 the Hat Law was passed. International time, calendar and measures were accepted. In 1924 the theological schools and the local schools were abolished by the Education Union Law. In 1928 the Arabic alphabet was abolished and in its place the Latin alphabet was accepted. To undertake studies in the fields of language and history, in 1931 the Turkish History Association and in 1932 the Turkish Language Association were founded. After acceptance of laws giving rights to women, on June 21, 1934, the "Surname Law" was passed. The tax called "tithe or tax on crops" was abolished from the shoulders of the villagers. Money, seeds and agricultural equipment were given to the villagers; "Agricultural Credit Cooperatives" were established. The industrial revolution started with the "Industrial Incentive Law". Practical arts schools became widespread. To exploit our underground resources Etibank was formed and for textiles, shoes, etc. Sümerbank was formed as well as many other state organizations. The Turkish Grand National Assembly accepted a special law that gave the surname of "ATATÜRK (Father of the Turks) to President Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha (November 24, 1934).

Atatürk was not only a successful soldier. As a statesman he was a farsighted, great genius. He saw all the needs of the Turkish nation; in this period of his brief life, he constantly charged ahead to innovations and progress incessantly and without respite and he taught his nation to work, to be self-confident and to be proud of themselves. Atatürk was our greatest teacher. He did not find the political and military victories in the life of the nation to be sufficient. He stated that the primary condition for independence is economic independence and he said, "Without economic independence there is no national independence."

Atatürk came out victorious from every struggle he made for the sake of his country. However, his body became fatigued. Even though he was ill, he continued to deal with the affairs of the country. The great savior entered his eternal sleep at 9:05 a.m. on November 10, 1938. On November 19, his coffin was taken from Saraybunu (Seraglio Point) on the "Yavuz" battleship to Izmit and from there was brought by train to Ankara. His remains were placed in a marble sarcophagus at the Ethnographic Museum. Later, Atatürk's coffin was taken from there on November 10, 1953 and with a touching ceremony he was transferred to Anıtkabir (mausoleum) and was consigned to his eternal place of rest.



ATATÜRK IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD

THE GREATEST STATESMAN

Franklin D. Roosevelt (President of the United States of America)

I obtained information concerning Mustafa Kemal from someone who knows him very well. When talking with Foreign Minister Litvinov of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, he said that in his opinion, the most valuable and interesting statesman in all of Europe does not live in Europe today, but beyond the Bosphorus, he lives in Ankara, and that this was the President of the Turkish Republic, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

(Three Men. Kemal Atatürk-Roosevelt-Mussolini, 1937)

THE GENIUS OF OUR CENTURY

David Lloyd George (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom)

The centuries rarely produce a genius. Look at this bad luck of ours, that great genius of our era was granted to the Turkish nation.

(Kemal Atatürk and the History of the National Struggle, 1958, p.508)

ATA'S DEATH IS A GREAT LOSS

Winston Churchill (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom)

Atatürk's death is not only a loss for the country, but for Europe is the greatest loss, he who saved Turkey in the war and who revived anew the Turkish nation after the war. The sincere tears shed after him by all classes of people is nothing other than an appropriate manifestation to this great hero and modern Turkey's Ata.

(Tan Newspaper, December 18, 1938)

A LEADER WITH GREAT UNDERSTANDING

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (Leader of the Russian Revolution)

Mustafa Kemal was not a socialist. But it can be perceived that he is a good organizer, with great understanding, progressive, with good thoughts and an intelligent leader. I am believing that he will break the pride of the imperialists and that he will beat the Sultan together with his friends. (1921)

(Tek Adam, 1964, p.378)

ATATÜRK'S GREATNESS

Joseph Luns (Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands)

In our times, it is Atatürk who brought Turkey to its current status as a modern republic with his farsighted and courageous political, social and economic reforms. At the same time, it was also he that prepared the foundation of the modern economy that will ensure today Turkey's attaining the strength to be able to enter the European Economic Community.

(Newspapers, November 11, 1963)

I AM PROUD OF ATATÜRK

General Douglas MacArthur (Commander-in-Chief of the Far East Forces, U.S.A.)

He was a military-statesman, one of the greatest leaders of our era. He ensured that Turkey got its rightful place among the most advanced nations. Also, he gave the feeling of support and self-confidence to the Turks, that forms the foundation stone of a nation's greatness. I take great pride in being one of Atatürk's loyal friends.

(November 10, 1963)

THE GREATEST STATESMAN

W. Somerset Maugham (English Novelist and Author)

The most precise measure of a person's worth is to be able to make their friends and enemies accept their superiority in their own field. Thus, Atatürk is one of the geniuses who attained this eminence. As a revolutionary he was triumphant in his cause and created modern Turkey and joined together among the great statesman of our century.

(Cumhuriyet Newspaper, November 11, 1953)

LIVING TURKEY

Claude Farrere (French)

I thought Turkey had died after Sevres. But Turkey is living; besides ever since Mustafa Kemal became the chief, it is living so very actively that all of Lloyd George's efforts, all of his possibilities, when confronted with this strong will to live that defies common sense, there is nothing he can do other than vanish gradually... (1930)

(Türk Dili, 1964, Vol.XIV, p.158)

HE WOULD SEE THE FUTURE

Lord Kinross (English Statesman)

Atatürk was one of the greatest statesman of everyone who has lived and died throughout history. At no time did he dwell on the period in which he lived, he would see the future and accordingly would carry out a task. Thus, this quality of Atatürk's is the point that separates him from administrators such as Hitler and Mussolini. They were acting in everything that they did by thinking of themselves. Atatürk would act beyond himself by seeing 20-30 years into the future.

(Ulus Newspaper, November 10, 1960)

TO LIVE WITH ATATÜRK

Shnork Kalutsian

(Patriarch of the Turkish Armenians)

In history very few people have been as beneficial as Atatürk for their country and their people. Hand in hand, from heart to heart, let us live in Atatürk's objectives without deviating to right or left in our beautiful homeland in freedom from anxiety, peace and understanding.

(Newspapers, 13 January 1981)

GENIUSES LIKE THESE DON'T DIE

Geniuses like these only appear to die, because in reality, they always live in the intellects of their countries with their works that leave deep and unerasable marks. These people, just as they are not born for one generation, are also not born for a specific period. People like these, by giving the nations the opportunity to benefit continuously from these sources of Godsend blessings, are people who will be sovereign in their nation's histories for hundreds of years.

(Teheran, November 21, 1938)

THE GREATEST ATATÜRK

L'Illustration Newspaper (France)

History has seen many great people. It has seen Alexander the Great's, Napoleon's, Washington's. However, in the twentieth century the record for greatness was broken by Atatürk, this Turkish son of a Turk.

(Cumhuriyet Newspaper, November 23, 1938.)

TURKEY'S FOUNDING

Social Demokraten Newspaper (Sweden)

The world, by no means and at no time, has witnessed such an exciting event as the re-founding of Turkey with a Western point of view and belief.

(Ulus Newspaper, November 14, 1938)

AN UNIQUE EVENT IN HISTORY

Daily Telegraph Newspaper (England)

In no other country have women advanced this rapidly. It is truly an unique event in history for a nation to change to this degree.

(Ulus Newspaper, November 16, 1938)

HOW CAN I NOT ADMIRE HIM?

Edouard Herriot (Former Prime Minister of France)

Pasha, how can I not admire you? I established a secular government in France. This government was overthrown by the priests with the help of the Pope's representatives in Paris. While you got rid of the Caliphate and established a secular state in the true sense of the word. Within this fanaticism, how did you make this society accept secularity? The great work of your genius was to create a secular Turkey. (1933)

(Yazılmayan Yönleri ile Atatürk, 1963, p.62)

TURKEY CAN BE PROUD OF ITSELF

Eleutherios Venizelos (Prime Minister of Greece)

In the life of a nation it is very seldom that changes to such a radical degree were carried out in such a short period of time... Without a doubt, those who have done these extraordinary activities have earned the attributes of a great man in the complete sense of the word. And because of this, Turkey can be proud of itself.

(Cumhuriyet Newspaper, October 29, 1969.)

A Look into Atatürk's Life

Pictorial





Atatürk's mother Zübeyde Hanım



Atatürk's father Ali Rıza Efendi



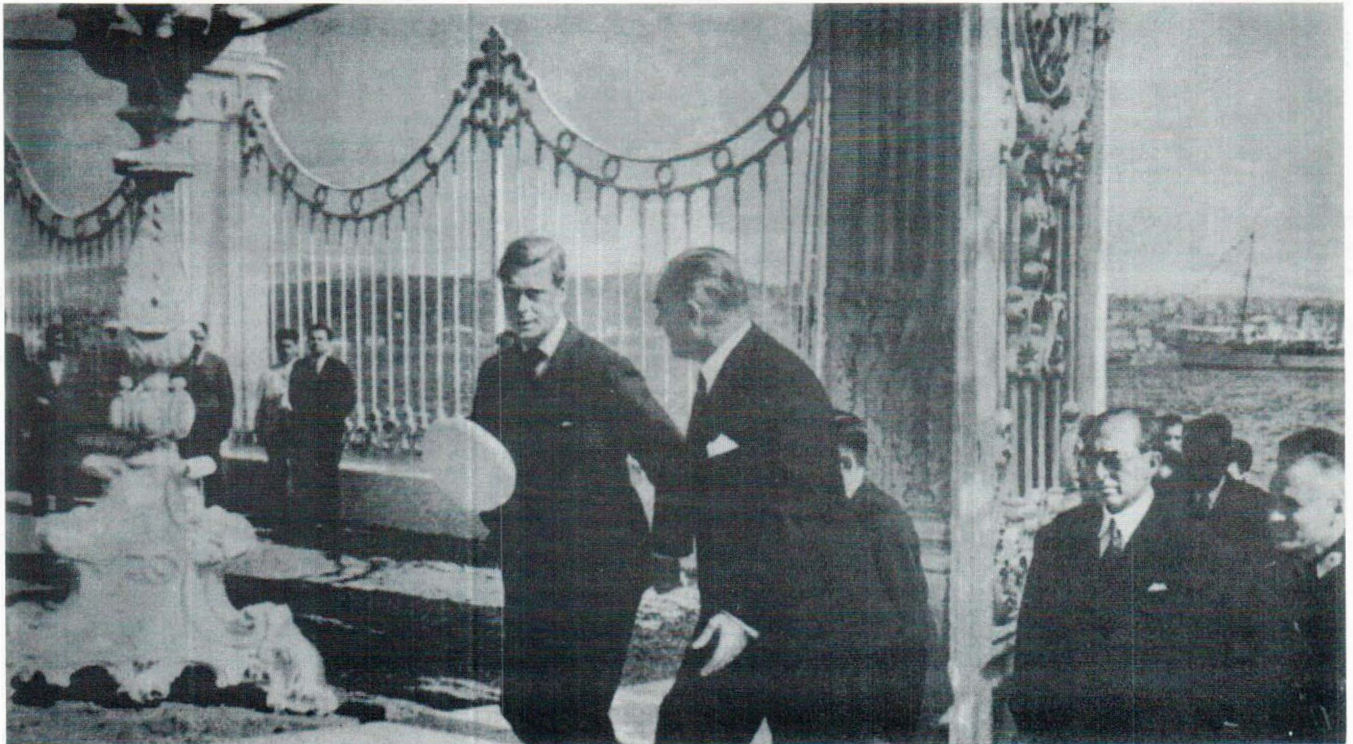
Anafarta Group Commander Staff Colonel Mustafa Kemal (1915)



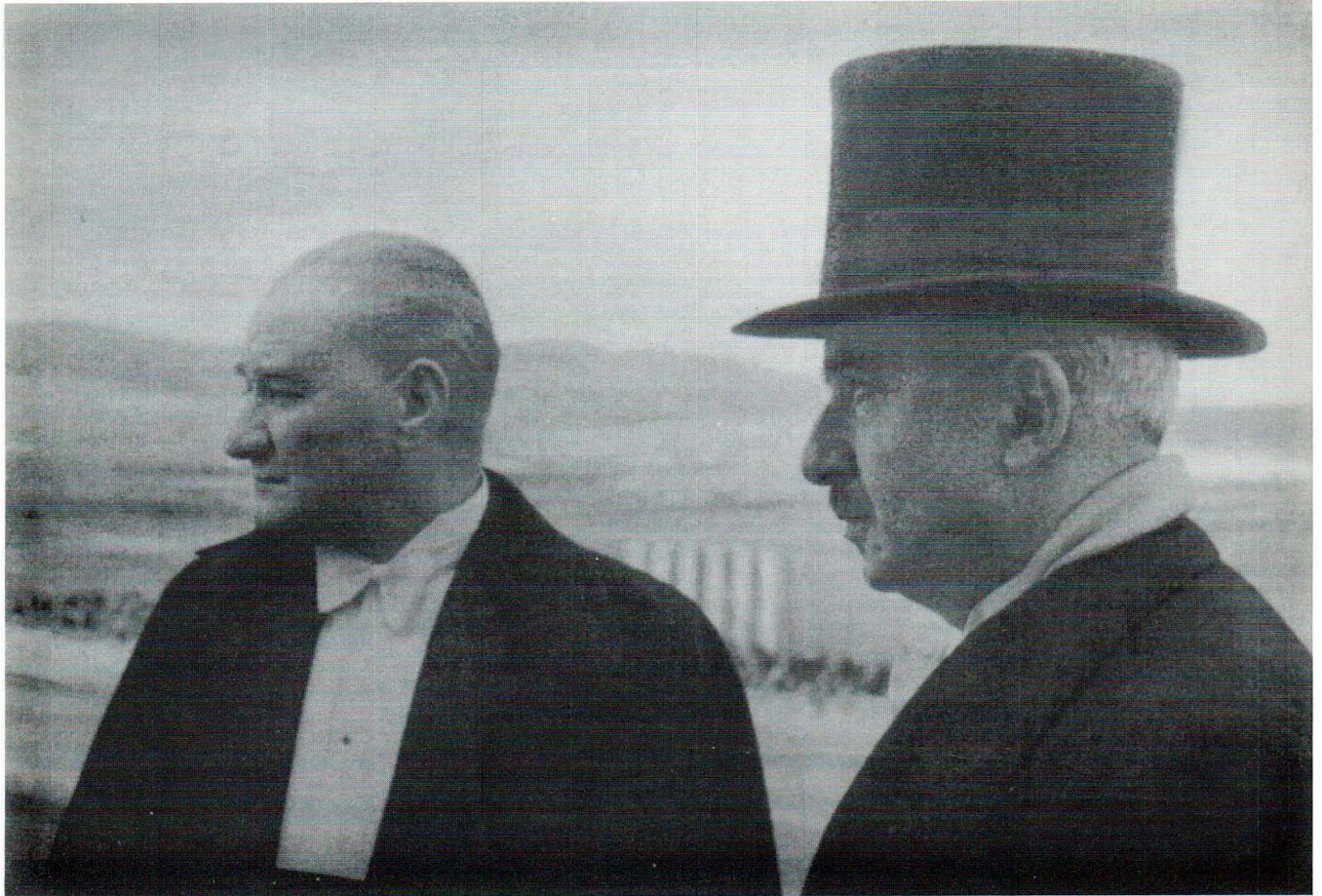
Giving the opening speech in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (November 1, 1930).



When giving the Republic's Tenth Year Speech (October 29, 1933)



Welcoming King Edward VIII of the United Kingdom at Dolmabahçe Palace (September 4, 1936)



At a ceremony at the Ankara Hippodrome with Prime Minister İnönü



With Prime Minister Venizelos of Greece and Prime Minister Bethlen of Hungary (October 29, 1930)



In Kayseri teaching the citizens the new alphabet (September 20, 1928)



Reading a book at his desk.



Atatürk's Marshal Uniform



During a walk in the country
(November 17, 1937)

FIFTEEN CENTS

TIME

The Weekly News-Magazine



VOL. I, NO. 4

MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA
"Where is a Turk his own master?"—See page 8

MARCH 24, 1923

"WITHOUT DOUBT MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA IS ONE OF THE GREAT FIGURES IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. 'HE PROVED BY A PERSONAL DEMONSTRATION THAT A TURK CAN BE HIS OWN MASTER IN ANATOLIA, ... AND UNDER HIS INSPIRATION THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT SPRANG TO LIFE'."

- Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, as quoted in *TIME Magazine*, March 24, 1923

Thanks
to
All
Our
Generous
Supporters!

"There are two Mustafa Kemals. One is the flesh and blood Mustafa Kemal who now stands before you and who will pass away. The other is you, all of you here who will go to the far corners of our land to spread the ideals which must be defended with your lives if necessary. I stand for the nation's dreams, and my life's work is to make them come true."

*Dear Atatürk, we are following your
footsteps!*

T.A.F.S.U.S.

*Turkish American Friendship Society of the United States,
Philadelphia, Pa.*

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Kemal Atatürk

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MUSTAFA KEMAL

Our Best Wishes To The Assembly

- ATATÜRK - The founder of our country
- ATATÜRK - May we never forget
- ATATÜRK - His vision guides us
- ATATÜRK - Now more than ever
- ATA - DC - Ready to serve into the future

A T A - D C

American Turkish Association of Washington DC
P.O. Box 3524 Merrifield, VA 22116

*Atatürk's broad vision
for world peace, his
ageless ideas and prin-
ciples shall continue to
be the greatest inspira-
tion for all of us.*

*Dr. Ülkü Ülgür
Chairman, ATAA Board of
Trustees*

ATATÜRK nesli olarak
Amerika'daki tüm başarılarımızı
ATATÜRK'ün Türkiye'sine
borçluyuz.

ATA'M İZİNDEYİZ

We owe our success in this New
World to your everlasting legacy of
peace and progress great
ATATÜRK. We are following your
footsteps.

*Ergün, Juliana, Kent-Ozan Kırlikovalı
Rancho Santa Margarita, California*

Let us teach our children well
and make sure that Atatürk's
vision continue to be a guid-
ing light to the Turkish Nation
for many generations to come.

***Dr. Bülent Başol, Sema Başol, Erol Başol
and Ediz Başol.***

*ATAA Wishes to Express Its
Great Appreciation to*

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“To see me does not mean absolutely to see my face. If you understand and perceive my thoughts and my feelings, then this is sufficient!

My strength is my love for you and your love for me.”

H. Oetarius

1929