



The Constitution Process of the National Army in the New Turkish Republic (1919-1922)

Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Milli Ordunun Kuruluş Süreci (1919-1922)

ABSTRACT

The transition from irregular units to regular army had been a highly debated issue during the National Struggle period. The presentation of archival documents to the knowledge of history researchers created a positive development. After the World War II, in which the Ottoman Empire was defeated, Turkey was left alone with many problems. In addition to the fact that the elimination of political, economic and social collapse had a political aspect, the necessity of a new structuring had clearly manifested itself from the very beginning. Our subject is to clarify the events that developed during the transition to the regular army among these gigantic problems, the continuation of the war, whether the only way to get out of the war victorious is to switch to the regular army within the framework of historical sources. Archival documents containing this point of view, the historical developments of the period, published sources, works including all the discourses and activities of Atatürk, the parliamentary minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the publications of the TBMM Foundation, the publications of the History of the Turkish Armed Forces, and the publications of the ATESE Presidency were used in this study. The national resistance efforts of the Erkan-ı Harbiye officers in the Ottoman Army in the irregular Kuvayi Milliye organization and the transition to the regular army were discussed in this study.

Keywords: War of Independence, National Army, Atatürk, İnönü, Kazım Karabekir

ÖZET

Milli Mücadele döneminde düzensiz birliklerden düzenli orduya geçiş oldukça tartışılan bir konu olmuştur. Arşiv belgelerinin, tarih araştırmacılarının bilgisine sunulması olumlu bir gelişme yaratmıştır. Türkiye, Osmanlı Devleti'nin yenilgiyle çıktığı Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra birçok sorunla baş başa kalmıştır. Siyasi, ekonomik, sosyal çöküntünün bertaraf edilmesinin siyasi bir yönünün olması yanında, başından beri yeni bir yapılanmanın zorunluluğu kendisini açıkça ortaya koymuştu. Konumuz bu devasa sorunlar içinde düzenli orduya geçiş sürecinde gelişen olaylar ve savaş halinin devam etmesi, savaştan zaferle çıkmanın tek yolunun düzenli orduya geçme zorunluluğu var mıdır, yok mudur tartışmasına tarihi kaynaklar çerçevesinde açıklık getirmek. Bu bakış açısını dönemin tarihi gelişmelerini içeren arşiv belgeleri, kitaplaştırılmış kaynaklar, Atatürk'ün bütün söylem ve etkinliklerini içine alan eserlerden, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi meclis tutanaklarından, TBMM Vakfı yayınlarından, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi yayınlarından, ATESE Başkanlığı yayınlarından faydalanmıştır. Osmanlı Ordusu içindeki Erkan-ı Harbiye subaylarının Gayri nizami harp denilen düzeni Kuvayi Milliye teşkilatını ulusal direniş gayretleri ve düzenli orduya geçirilmesi süreci ele alındı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kurtuluş Savaşı, Milli Ordu, Atatürk, İnönü, Kazım Karabekir

INTRODUCTION

The economic, political and social problems of the Ottoman Empire after the World War period and the conditions of the National Struggle movement in the face of the pressure put forth by the Armistice of Mudros were discussed in this study. When we examined the developments that we consider as resurrecting the Turkish army, we see that success has been achieved thanks to the efforts and efforts of Erkan-ı Harp officers who were trained in the Ottoman army. The relations and thoughts of the Ankara Government and Mustafa Kemal Pasha with the Kuvayi Milliye and the formation of the gangs within the Kuvayi Milliye were also included in our subject. The policies followed in the new army arrangement, the methods of closing the officer deficit, the efforts of the Representative Committee established in Erzurum and continuing in Sivas to keep the army afloat in Anatolia and encouraging the Kuvayi Milliye organization were also discussed.

The regular army is the army that was established in the late 1920s and early 1921 to establish authority in the country and drive the enemy out of the country. Although the Kuvayi Milliye, known as the irregular army, achieved partial success against the Greek advance, it could not reveal sufficient strength against the advance of the invaders. However, Kuvay-yi Seyyare (Circassian men of Ethem), led by Çerkez Ethem (Circassian Ethem), showed the biggest reaction to the decision to switch to the regular army. This resistance even turned into a war. As a result, Çerkez Ethem and Demirci Mehmet Efe could not hold on against the regular army

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units. Çerkez Ethem, who successfully suppressed the uprisings against the National Struggle and had various benefits, had to take refuge in the Greeks. The main purpose of the study is to reveal the process leading to the regular army and to diagnose the difficulties experienced in this process.

The transition to the regular army had basically two processes: Representation of the Delegation and the period of the Parliament. During the Representation of the Delegation, the strength of the enemy was relatively weighed, but the impossibility of countering the enemy with the irregular army emerged. Although partial success was achieved in this process, it was not sufficient. During the parliamentary period, the nature of the problem was grasped and mobilization was declared and the regular army was gradually adopted.

With the transition to the regular army, the Greek army was defeated one after another and the advance of the Greek army was stopped. The enemy was repulsed behind the Eskişehir-Polatlı line. The First and Second İnönü Wars are the beginning of this process. After the Battle of Sakarya, while the enemy took a defensive position, the Turkish army went into the offensive phase.

Internal and External Developments Before and After the National Struggle-General Situation of Anatolia (1918-1922)

Detecting how states begin to collapse after reaching the highest level of civilization has been a matter of debate. (Parkinson, 1984: 14) In this determination of the author, it can be said that in the first place of the rise and fall of civilizations, there are qualified and unqualified statesmen. The existence of unqualified statesmen in the Ottoman state during the period of national struggle is also mentioned by historians. The First World War changed the political and geopolitical structure of the world. In the first place, the political structure and position of Europe had changed. Afterwards, the political regime in Russia changed with a great revolution, and with the collapse of the Ottoman state, the geopolitical position and the political regime changed. The threat that the USA and England declared that they would not sit at the peace table with countries that do not accept the principles of the Republic (Akşin, 1980: 11) accelerated the transition process to the republican system in many European countries. These developments also changed the balance of power. Countries bordering Turkey have also been affected by these developments.

When the National Independence struggle started in 1919, it was seen that the Anatolian people were tired and bored. Economic opportunities were insufficient, industry was not developed. The male population was lost in protracted wars. The lack of manpower to produce was seriously experienced in Anatolia. The journey between Ankara and Eskişehir, the most important railway of the country, took 22 hours. There was no opportunity to produce even nails (Oran, 2004: 101) In the meantime, the national struggle forces had to deal with the internal rebellions. More than four divisions were engaged in these rebellions (Eroğlu, 1991: 316-322). These uprisings had a negative impact on the national struggle. Organizations called "Mari Mira", which were founded in the Greek Patriarchate of Christian minorities, the Greek Red Pilgrimage Organization and the Official Immigrants Commission acted in unanimity of opinion and thought, and carried out activities such as Armenian adoration and Greek adoration. (Köylü, 2015: 253-257) The National War of Independence was a war fought on three fronts. There were fronts against the French in the south, the Armenians in the east, and the Greeks in the west. The first goal of the leaders of the National Struggle was to create a power center in Anatolia. On May 24, 1919, Rauf (Orbay) telegraphed Ali Fuat Pasha that he was about to come from Istanbul to Anatolia. Upon the presence of important personalities in the accompanying delegation, Kazım Karabekir Pasha explained the situation as follows: "I had hoped that many of the friends who were among the attendees would come. However, this situation leads to the establishment of an Anatolian government." (Karabekir, 1969: 29) The British were dismissing and eliminating the commanders and administrators who were against them with the accusation of "Unionists". One of these commanders was Fevzi Çakmak. The arrest of some Military Chief Officers from the beginning of 1919 further increased the unrest. The Armistice of Mudros brought the condition of disarming the Ottoman army and keeping the ammunition depots under control. The national resistance force also gave orders not to surrender the weapons and to seize the weapons and ammunition in the warehouses. On October 31, 1918, the Lightning Armies were taken over from the German commander Limon Von Sanders. Mustafa Kemal had moved the Headquarters of the Group Command to Şakir Pasha's vineyard house. A range command was created in the Muradiye hotel in the city (Bıyıkoğlu, 1959: 65). When Mustafa Kemal became the Thunder Groups Command, he had begun to gather scattered units. In his memoirs he wrote: "I believe that if these two armies are strengthened in the way I want, I can make the Turkish voice heard despite all the disasters. This is exactly my goal. (Hatipoğlu, 2009: 47). Mustafa Kemal said Ali Fuat (Cebesoy), whom he summoned to Adana, the following words: "I will stay at the head of the 20th Corps, so that I can take defensive measures." After a short time, the Thunder Groups and the 7th Army were disbanded, and the 20th Corps was not disbanded. The 20th Corps, which remained under the command of Mustafa Kemal, organized important resistance moves in Adana. Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) described

this organization as follows: “As a first task in the Adana region, the officer cadre of the army was shifted to the gendarmerie. Their weapons and equipment were also completed. The reason for this was that, according to the Mudros agreement, the Gendarmerie organization would be able to stay where it was. Parts of the other army were being dismissed and demobilized. In order to prevent the Discharge of the Army, the weapons and equipment in the hands of the Officers and Privates were shifted to the gendarmerie and precautions were taken.!!” (Aydemir, 2009: 306-307) Mustafa Kemal returned to Istanbul after he was removed from the leadership of the Thunder Groups Command and saw that Istanbul was occupied. After many meetings, a meeting was held with a group of friends who were quite disturbed by this grave situation. Kazım Karabekir, Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) Rauf, (Orbay), Mersinli Cemal Pasha, Salih Pasha, Ali Rıza Pasha, Refet Bey, Kazım (Özalp), Miralay İsmet (İnönü) were present at this meeting. From the decision they took among themselves (Karabekir, 2005: 130), it was clear that this was the issue Kazım Karabekir Pasha mentioned in his statement. At the meeting held for the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Pasha to unite the national organizations in the center of Anatolia and to establish a national administration, the efforts of a National Army with the Commanders in Amasya (21 June - 22 June 1919), a consensus was reached to establish a national resistance army. Thereupon, the Istanbul Government ordered the following in the circular issued to the Minister of Internal Affairs: “Those who make the mistake of forming a National Army and preparing the national defense should be warned with advice, otherwise they should be brought to the way by force” (Gökbilgin, 1956: 145) In the 4th Article of the Regulations adopted at the Erzurum Congress, it was foreseen that if the Ottoman Government abandoned and neglected the Eastern provinces as a result of external pressures, a "Temporary Government would be established". (Goloğlu, 1968: 168) As the head of the Representative Committee, Mustafa Kemal sent instructions to the civil administration and the army units. By means of these instructions, he announced that all telegraphic and postal correspondence with Istanbul would be cut off. Such developments brought about the resignation of Damat Ferit Pasha. Thus, the delegation of the Sivas Congress increased its authority in the whole of Anatolia and in the army.

Defense Law societies were attempting to establish a resistance army under the leadership of the national struggle in the eastern provinces. The Great Armenia project, which was intended to be established in the eastern provinces, caused great indignation in the Kurdish society as it was reflected in the reports of the victorious states. They certainly did not want to live in the new Armenian state. The idea of Great Armenia was pushing the Kurds to unite with the Turks. (Öke, 1992: 25-31). With the establishment of the Armenian state and its serious design in the British reports, it caused great anger in the Kurdish society. Admiral Colthorpe, who reported that there was an anti-British organization led by the mufti of Cizre, wrote in his report that The words “Great Armenia” set fire to the National Movement, and the Kurds once again brought the Turks back to back on the same side.” (Öke, 1992: 66) Cemil Pashazade, who was the head of Diyarbakir Defense Law Society and also the chief of the tribe, had full admiration for Mustafa Kemal. He saw Mustafa Kemal as a commander who would save Islam from infidels and foreigners. Mustafa Kemal invited the Kurdish people in the eastern provinces to riots in favor of the National Struggle. Kurdish tribes living in Eastern Anatolia organized uprisings in favor of the National Struggle. In the regions where Turks lived in the West, uprisings were intense. The majority of the uprisings took place in the geography where Turks lived (Erikan, 1971: 64). The fact that the majority of the rebellions during the National Struggle period came from the Western regions where Turks were densely populated and were made against the Ankara government caused the National Struggle leaders to be in trouble. The majority of the rebellions initiated by the Kurdish tribal communities living in the eastern regions, which did not believe in the National Struggle, were of a separatist nature. The provocations of western countries had an effect on these rebellions. Qualitatively, "Islam", "Caliph" and "loyalty motivation" were intense in the content of the revolts. Even though loyalty to Islam was emphasized in the regions where Turks lived in the West, there was a stance against the Ankara government. There was a situation instigated by personal interests and a desire not to share power. England has always been involved in internal revolts. England was among the most powerful imperial states of the time. The leaders of the national struggle knew that it was England that made Greece attack Turkey and created the state of war. Mustafa Kemal stated this in his letter to Talat Pasha in 1920: “We have to take a position and measures especially against the British” (Atatürk’ün Bütün Eserleri, 2010: 410) Although it was known that all these negative developments were caused by England, actions that would provoke England were avoided due to tactics. However, this situation was expressed in the secret sessions of the Parliament (Atatürk’ün Bütün Eserleri, 2010: 82). However, upon the occupation of Istanbul, Mustafa Kemal abandoned this policy and ordered the arrest of all Englishmen in Anatolia. British officers were detained (Jaesche, 1991: 122). There were 40 thousand soldiers and navy in Istanbul, which was occupied by England in 1920 (Atatürk’ün Bütün Eserleri, 2010: 391-393). Turkey had been at war with England for eight years since the First World War. It was England who implemented the Greek plan to invade Turkey (Somyel, 1995: 86). While the share allocated by Greece to national defense with the support of England increased to 53 million,

the share allocated by Turkey was about 28 million (Selek, 2004: 365-367). In the National Struggle plan made by the Representative Committee at the head of the Anatolian government, the Greek Armies were considered as a "Pioneer Force" (Erdil, 1986: 303). In the face of these reasons, the Ankara Government wanted to complete its preparations and to create the armed force of the National Independence War in line with the strategy of transforming the irregular, regional national forces into a regular army commanded from a single center. The Anatolian people were not ready for a general war and general mobilization. The protracted wars caused boredom among the people. Aware of this boredom, the leaders of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey refrained from declaring mobilization immediately. The Kuvayi Milliye power was managed more effectively (Müderrisoğlu, 1990: 172-173). Kuvayi Milliye and a significant part of the regular army units were assigned to suppress the internal uprisings. In the face of a sudden attack by Greece, the inability of the Kuvayi Milliye forces to show a serious presence and to withdraw had brought many criticisms. The thought of switching to the regular army accelerated after these developments. Anatolia had rapidly passed into a war economy. The war economy meant the transfer of all the resources of the country to the war, and Turkey did not have a war economy. In this period when there was a shortage of weapons, auxiliary units (musaharet) were formed by making use of the weapons in the hands of the people without using the budget (Müderrisoğlu, 1990: 286-287) When attempts were made to increase the army's assets, measures were taken to increase production with the Decree No. 410 dated 11 December 1921 in order to close the future deficit. It was decided to distribute the seed products from the Aşar warehouse to the farmers who were damaged in natural disasters in return for promissory notes. A loan was given to those who wanted to buy a double animal in exchange for a guarantor through Ziraat Bank. (Müderrisoğlu, 1990: 290). Equipping the clothes of those who were recruited was also an important problem. In order to increase the weaponry of the army, "Workshops that make war equipment" were determined in Ankara. With the craftsmen assigned in accordance with the order of "Number Nine Tekalifi Milliye" in Ankara, the "Blacksmithing School" in Konya met the needs of the cavalry units from October 10, 1921 to August 1922 (Aralov, 1997: 129-131). While the efforts to meet the needs of the existing troops gained weight, the idea of using resources efficiently by not recruiting new soldiers came to the fore.

Developments, Problems and Financial Resources Experienced in the Kuvayi Milliye, the National Army (1919-1922)

The Kuvayi Milliye organization was a voluntary organization. It appeared for the first time in the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war. Kuvayi Milliye served as a guerilla in the Ottoman-Greek War of 1897 and then in the Balkan Wars. It was established in the Western Anatolian region during the National Struggle and spread to wider regions. Units were established against the French in the southeast, and the first Kuvayi Milliye organization served in Adana Dörtüyl. The Kuvayi Milliye organization units were also established in the Thrace region against the Greeks (Köylü, 2015: 253-257). Colonel Bekir Sami Günsav, Colonel Şefik Aker, Colonel Kazım Özalp and Captain Tahir Bey made great efforts in the establishment and development of the Kuvayi Milliye. In addition to the bandits, zeybeks, deserters and criminals roaming the mountains within the body of the Kuvayi Milliye, there were also those who were keen on profiteering and adventure in this organization. Of these, Demirci Mehmet Efe, Yörüklü Ali Efe, Parti Pehlivan and Kuşçubaşı were the commanders and civilian commanders, while Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Mahmut Esat Bey, and Alaşehirli Mustafa Bey and some officers were the commanders of the Kuvayi Milliye. (Köylü, 2015: 253-257) Mustafa Kemal described the Kuvayi Milliye as follows: 'It was directly left to the people to fulfill the basic duty of defending and protecting the homeland. This is what we call Kuvayi Milliye.' (TBMM Gizli Celse Zabıtları, 1920: 6)." The needs of the Kuvayi Milliye were met by donations of money and goods from the people. Due to the lack of continuity in the income of the Kuvayi Milliye, a special commission was formed, and financial order was tried to be ensured by the regulations. It was difficult to meet the war expenses of the National Struggle, so it was tried to put it in order in different ways. Examples of these were the regulation of new taxes and the seizure of the interest payment of the Duyunu Umumiye (public debts). Aid from Russia and various trust funds were allocated to close the budget deficit. Ferit Bey, the Minister of Finance, made a comparison of income and expenditure with Greece, which we are at war with. According to this comparison, Greece's income was 115 million, its expenditure was 142 million, its budget deficit was 27 million, and its share of national defense was 53 million. Turkey's income was 46 million, its expenditure was 60 million, its budget deficit was 14 million, and its budget for national defense was 28 million. (Selek, 2004: 565-567). There was also a serious difficulty in ammunition and weapons in the national army. The Allied Powers sent a Colonel named Rawlinson to Erzurum on an official mission and was tasked with seizing the arsenals of weapons and warehouses in the army. The weapons and arsenal, which were intended to be sent to the British divisions in the Caucasus by train wagons, were captured by the Kuvayi Milliye forces in the raid on the trains and shifted to Anatolia. Kazım Karabekir Pasha was the organizer of this (Kinross, 2004: 214). Kazım Karabekir began to

establish his authority throughout Anatolia with the support of the Representative Committee of the National Forces. In the first years of the national resistance, weapons and ammunition smuggled from the warehouses in Istanbul were transported at night with small boats and emptied into Karamürsel. From there, it was transported to the railway passing near Bilecik via Bursa. (Müderrisoğlu, 2018: 432). It was the officers who founded the first resistance organization in Istanbul. Felah Group, one of these organizations, was founded by Major Ekrem (Baydar) Bey with the support of Mustafa Kemal. The Felah Group had a significant contribution to the smuggling of cannons weighing 1.5 tons to Anatolia and to transporting the cannon wedges to Anatolia after being dismantled from the British Arsenal (Mütercimler, 2007: 309). After the Erzurum Congress, the government in Anatolia ignored Istanbul. This situation made the officers in the provinces disobeying orders. The following words of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Ali Kemal, had caused a separate anger: "No matter how great the sadness felt from the occupation, the unity that emerged under the name of Kuvayi Milliye will drag the country into disaster." (Karay, 1992: 156-159). In fact, the Istanbul government did not oppose the Greek occupation of Izmir by the Greeks and, did not even show a reaction that could be considered a cause of war. Among the duties of the Military Council, which was approved by Vahdettin with the proposal of Damat Ferit Pasha in August 1919, they had the right to declare mobilization. This institution was abolished when Süleyman Şefik Pasha became the Minister of War. Süleyman Şefik Pasha was against the national struggle as a result of the British pressure on the Minister of War. Later, the Military Council was reactivated. This time, Cevat Pasha became the head of the Military Council. (Mersinli) Cemal Pasha became the Minister of War. The pro-National Struggle movement also strengthened. Nazilli ordered the Kuvayi national forces to be given clothes and shoes in the instruction he wrote to the Aydın governors (BOA, 1919: 78) In his "Top Secret" written letter he sent to the Corps and Union commanders in Konya and Western Anatolia on 4 December 1919, he ordered the support of the Kuvayi Militia, which was trying to protect the country from enemy invasion (BOA.BEO, Harbiyeye gelen nr.345518,lef:I) It was an order that included the issues of providing all kinds of food and supplies of the Kuvayi Milliye, top secretly, by the regular army. At that time, there was an increase in the smuggling of weapons and materials from Ottoman warehouses to Anatolia. Weapons and ammunition were smuggled to Anatolia by the Kuvayi Milliye in the Akbaş warehouse on the Gallipoli Peninsula (İlgürel, 1980: 271-282). Cemal Pasha would have to resign as a result of his help in carrying out such covert operations. (January 1920) The aid and support of the Military Council to the National Struggle movement continued. In the decision dated February 16, 1920, it was stipulated that a certificate should be obtained from the Dispatch Directorate in order to supply the army's need for weapons and ammunition and to avoid any problems during the transport to Anatolia. Attention was paid to the fact that this secret activity was carried out without the knowledge of the Allied Powers (Atase Arşivi:1-9,Kls:221,Ds:22 F:9) During the Ali Rıza Pasha Government, successful works were carried out by the Military Council. On April 18, 1920, the Military Council was dissolved. The developments resulted in the gathering of the Ottoman army units under the command of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. A group called İmalat-ı Harbiye was put into operation in Istanbul. It was a private organization established to provide the weapons and similar military materials needed by Anatolia. This group was founded by the Artillery district governor (lieutenant colonel) Eyyüb Bey. Its members were selected from Tophane, Zeytinburnu weapons factories, Makri Village Gunpowder Factory and Tapa factory employees. One of the issues that the National Struggle period dealt with was the uprisings. Although the similarity of the events in the eastern regions were the same, there were also regions that differed in terms of quality and where most of them were Turks. The Anzavur Ahmet uprising, which coincided with the period when the Kuvayi Milliye organization was newly organized, was one of them. This person was a long-time governor and even once a member of the Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa. It exacerbated the Circassian-Albanian conflict. Although it was fed by ethnic-based problems, it also had the purpose of controlling each other's living spaces and establishing authority. But Anzavur Ahmet also had political rhetoric. It was seen that he based his discourses on "the Sultan", "Caliphate" and "devotion to Islam" (Özer, 1964: 53). Anzavur Ahmet was given 600 rifles, 30 thousand cartridges and 80 thousand machine gun bullets from the Maçka Armory in Southern Marmara with the support of the British (ATESE Arşivi: 1-785, Kls,963 Ds:4 F.50 50-z; Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi, 1974: 26-45) Arms and financial aid support was coming from Russia to Ankara. Russian aid reached Anatolia towards the end of 1920. The Green Army was the name of an organization founded by Muslim Communists; however, this organization made no effort to become official. (Tuncay, 1967: 85) The Green Army remained a Leftist organization. They were thinking of creating an ideology of Islamic Socialism. At the same time, the Green Army community emerged in 1920, with the Unionists, Bolsheviks, and leftists seeking to form an alliance with Mustafa Kemal (Akal, 2014: 62). On September 6, 1920, the newspaper "Sayyare Yeni Dünya" was published. The name of this newspaper, which was to spread Islamic Bolshevik ideas, The word "Seyyare (Pilgrimage)" came from "Kuvayi Seyyare", the troops of Circassian Ethem. (Tuncay, 1967: 85). The Green Army opposed the regular army and believed in the idea that irregular units would be more effective in the war. Russia also supported the Green Army. For

this reason, the unit consisting of 300 soldiers from the Circassian Ethem's troops and 5 soldiers was called the "Bolshevik Battalion" (Şener, 1990: 107). Starting from 1920, Anzavur and Circassian Ethem began to be liquidated. The forces under the command of Refet Pasha defeated the Demirci Mehmet Efe and the Circassian Ethem groups, who opposed the attempts to include the Kuvayi Milliye Units in the Regular Army. Demirci Mehmet Efe was defeated and then surrendered. Circassian Ethem, who was in a difficult situation, took refuge with the Greeks. Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü had decided to turn the Circassian Ethem and other irregular groups into a regular army. İsmet Bey had informed Ethem's brother Tevfik Bey that Ethem's soldiers would be made into a division. Tevfik Bey objected: "You can neither put an officer nor a fiduciary at the head of these vagrants." Mustafa Kemal invited Ethem's other brother, Reşit, to a meeting of representatives. He once again told that a regular army is needed to defend the country. Reşit Bey expressed his distrust of the regular army soldiers who "run away like a rabbit as soon as they hear a gunshot" and said, "What is the homeland? I can live comfortably wherever I want, even with Venizelos". (Kinross, 2004: 228-229).

Transition of the National Army to the Regular Army (1919-1922)

On November 8, 1920, Mustafa Kemal gave the order for the irregular units to be quickly transferred to the regular army (Türk Parlamento Tarihi, 1994: 566). During the transition to the regular army, the Turkish army showed its first success in the east. Desiring to take advantage of the civil war and the Greek occupation, Armenia launched a large-scale attack on the border areas on September 24, 1920. The 15th Corps was under the command of Kazım Karabekir Pasha. Kazım Karabekir Pasha and his soldiers not only stopped the Armenian forces, but also liberated the areas under Armenian occupation. Armenians had to ask for peace. With the Gyumri treaty signed on 3 December 1920, Oltu, Sarıkamış and Kars were re-joined in Turkey. Armenia had to admit that it did not recognize Sevres (Akşin, 2008: 95-96). The process of building national states definitely starts with resistance. Having the power of the government means that it has the support of an armed force. The power of government and the cooperation of armed forces are complementary to each other. Every order must be followed in the military class. The basis of the army and the first condition of every success is restraint. It is to make the military, that is, the subordinates, to serve according to the desire of the order. The situation that sometimes seems despotic and seen as absolute obedience is the real center and basis of success for a pure order in the military (Conker, 2015: 58). Creating a new regular army required a lot of hard work. At the same time, the Ankara government had the remnants of the Ottoman army, whose chain of command had been broken. When examined, many of the officers and leaders were Ottoman Pasha. The establishment phase of the regular army should be examined in two periods: The first is the Representation of the Delegation period, and the second is the TGNA period. Representative Committee was established in Erzurum and Sivas Congresses, and they formed the core of the government of the National Struggle period. The important commanders of our army, who seemed to be affiliated with the Istanbul government, were in the Representative Committee (Türk Parlamento Tarihi, 1994: 566). The armed forces of the Delegation of Representatives period were Kuvayi Milliye (Turkish revolutionaries). It was also called the "irregular army" period. However, the new army to be established needed manpower and financial resources. Previously, this difficulty was overcome with the money and ammunition taken from the people. Most of the financial burden had to be put on the shoulders of the people. The name of the one gathered from the public was donation. But it was a donation that everyone had to give. 56 of the 109 laws enacted since the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly were related to the tax issue. The Turkish Grand National Assembly first enacted the "Cattle Tax" law on April 24, 1920 (Müderrisoğlu, 1990: 38-40) 1920 53% of its budget was devoted to military spending and defense. In order to provide resources for the army, all expenditures were restricted. National obligations boards were established by Mustafa Kemal's 1st order (Tekalif-i Milliye Commissions). The Council of Ministers, dated 2 June 1921 and numbered 928, explained for what purpose the Decision was put into effect as follows: 'The war obligation law (Tekalif-i Harbiye Law) will be put into effect in meeting the needs of the army. The prices determined in good faith from the owners of this decision without leaving any doubt, will be paid to the extent the financial situation allows, or purchases will be made to be paid later. This decision will be implemented through the method of obtaining consent with a fair value.' (Müderrisoğlu, 2018: 432). Ali Fuat Pasha and Mustafa Kemal Pasha took the decision to stop the demobilization they determined, to put young officers in charge, to keep the civil servants who supported the National Struggle, and to keep the morale of the people high, away from all kinds of partisanship (Cebesoy, 1953: 37). The decisive determinations taken in this direction are the formation of a consensus on the establishment of a regular army. The issue of including the Kuvayi Milliye in the new regular army was discussed, and Kazım Karabekir Pasha took a very harsh stance on this issue. According to him, taking control of the army would not have been possible with the rapid expansion of the Kuvayi Milliye and their subsistence would not have been provided. (HT.VD,Sy,20, Vesika nr:513). Karabekir Pasha was afraid that the politicization in the Ottoman army would spread to the army that carried out the National Struggle.

The regions where the Ottoman Army was located on October 30, 1918 were as follows: The Commander-in-Chief and the 1st Army were in Istanbul, the 2nd Army was in Adana, and the 3rd Army was in Istanbul. Since the 4th Army was disbanded, its troops were split between the 2nd and 7th Armies. The 5th Army was in Gallipoli, the 6th Army was in Mosul, the 7th Army was in İslahiye, the 8th Army was in İzmir and the 9th Army was in Kars. The Thunder Group Command, consisting of the 2nd and 7th Armies, was in Adana, and the Caucasian Islamic Army was in Baku. (Genel Kurmay Yayınları Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi, 1971: 229-230) In Erzurum, the 15th Corps remained from the armies that were disbanded after the Armistice. The forces gathered in Anatolia consisted of nine Corps and 20 divisions attached to them (ATESE arşivi: I-I Kls.:28 Ds:109 (101),F.1-2). Upon the occupation of Istanbul on March 16, 1920, Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Representative Committee had to undertake the administration as a matter of country. The corps commanders contacted the governorships and conveyed their views on the meeting of the constituent assembly in Ankara and the principles to be applied in the election of the members. Kazım Karabekir Pasha was stating in his telegram to the Representative Committee that the founding assembly would convene in the face of the clear provisions of the Constitution and the election law, and that it would be appropriate to convene the National Assembly (Karabekir, 1969: 515). Mustafa Kemal tried to keep the army in Anatolia under control with the establishment of the Representative Committee. Considering the organization of the national forces at the commanders' meeting held in Sivas in November 1919, Kazım Karabekir Pasha would be present in the East and Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) Pasha would be present in the West. Thus, with the support of the army, Mustafa Kemal was under the control of the representative committee until the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and the Army in Anatolia came under the control of the newly established assembly.

The EHUV organization, which is the mobilization institution, was established with the Law No. 20 of the Turkish National Assembly. İsmet Bey was appointed as the head of the organization, which included the General Staff of the EHUV, consisting of eleven deputies as the executive organ. Among the duties of the EHUV were the administration of the army, mobilization, arranging other organizations and cadres (TBMM Dönemi HEYETİ, 1984: 198-199). On May 2, 1920, Fevzi (Çakmak) Pasha was appointed to the Ministry of National Defense Strength (M.M.V). His duties were the administration of the army, subsistence, weapons and ammunition, and equipment supply. (ATESE arşivi: 1774, Kls.776, Ds.12, F.10) The Kuvayi Milliye movement required the transition to the regular army with the works that would enable the military forces to act together. First, it was decided to establish the National Army on the Southern front, and immediately after the implementation of this decision, similar organizations were made on other fronts (ATESE Arşivi; 1-1, Kls.427,Ds. (3-3) 5 F.89-90) The organization of the Kuvayi Milliye was mostly made up of military rankers. In the coded telegram sent by Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the corps on January 9, 1920, he reminded them that they should be attached to them as the Anatolian General Commander. By issuing a Decision on May 16, 1920 and connecting the Kuvayi Milliye to the Ministry of National Defense, it was also decided that the food and supply would be covered by the government (Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi, 1965: 137-141). With this decision, which was determined as the most important initiative of the transition to the regular army, those born in 1894-1899 were recruited. Later, Ali Fuat Pasha ordered the conscription of those born in 1882-1893 and included the officers in this call (HTVD Sy:50 Vesika nr.1150). The aim was to close the personnel gap and to complete the organization of the new army order to be established. İsmet (İnönü) had informed the EHUR front commanders in his telegram dated 21 August that the National Force Organization had been abolished and that these organizations had joined the ranks of the regular army. (HTVD Sy.52 (1965) Vesika nr:1150). Such efforts, aimed at completely eliminating the opposition to the regular army, would enable the transition to the regular army and the completion of the missing officer cadres in the army. Thus, the transition to the regular army, which started from the Delegation of Representatives and accelerated with the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, was institutionalized and completed.

CONCLUSION

Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his friends started as a Representative Committee in Erzurum and Sivas Congresses, and they tried to impose their authority on Anatolia with the support of the Kuvayi Milliye. The efforts of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his friends to establish a regular army experienced a faster process with the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. It was known that the Kuvayi Milliye movement, which was organized on the basis of volunteerism, could not hold on against the regular enemy armies. The success of the Turkish army against the Armenian armies in the east on 3 December 1920 and the victory brought by the First İnönü war in the preparations for the transition to the regular army were the successes that accelerated the transition to the regular army in 1921. The idea of removing the weight of the grave conditions revealed by the Armistice of Mudros enabled the National Struggle commanders to organize more freely, away from the invasion pressure, with their passage to Anatolia. In Anatolia, the revenues of the Public Debts were confiscated with the condition of repayment as per the Agreement, and these revenues were used as the

expenses of the National Struggle forces. The National Army had a serious resource transfer problem. While the number of army units was increased, clothing was also a big problem. While the Kuvayi Milliye was effectively fighting against the enemy armies, an important contribution was to save time in the transition to the regular army. Another issue was the suppression of internal revolts. In addition, the people who were not ready for the general mobilization suffered loss of life in the long wars and the production was affected. As a result, poverty reached its peak. Parliament was also reluctant to declare an immediate mobilization on this issue. The Parliament had chosen to use the Kuvayi Milliye organization more effectively. The first opposition to the Greek occupation that started in Western Anatolia was made on May 16 in Urla by the Regimental Commander Colonel Kazım Bey with the participation of the people. The new practices of the Istanbul Government, such as the establishment of a Military Council, were rendered inactive for political reasons. The leaders of the National Struggle had important successes in this process. The reorganized Military Council secretly provided weapons, ammunition, food, and clothing to the National Forces Organization during the reign of Ali Rıza Bey. This period includes especially Cemal Pasha and Cevat Pasha from Mersin. The establishment of the regular army was completed with the opening of the parliament.

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