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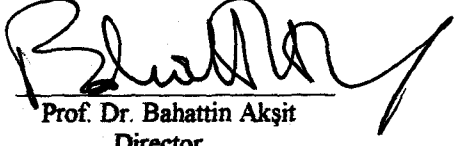
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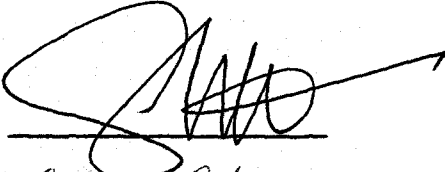

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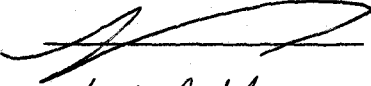
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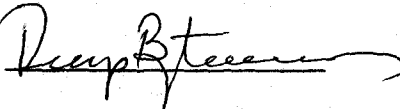
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ABSTRACT

EUGENICS IN TURKEY DURING THE 1930'S

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With the progress of evolution theories, it has been believed that *Homo sapiens* of various originations differed numerously. This idea apparently was a stroke for the assertion defending brotherhood in monotheist societies. Coincidentally the publishing of Darwin's work was a triggering factor of the hypothesis and whether it would have been applicable for human beings for the purpose of creating unadulterated race.

Industrialised capitalist societies were in need of a new ideological justification; scientific knowledge presented it. Natural sciences were used to model the society. Social Darwinists utilised certain tasks to promote the objective, commencing late 19th century. *Eugenics* may be encountered as an example. From these efforts, racism grew.

The thesis herewith analyses the measures that were imposed in early Republic during the 1930's. Though not precise, we observe worth quoting similarities with measures adopted in European societies. Conformations of certain governmental apparatuses were the major issue that was studied in detail. Propositions and legislative paces put forward to ascend, as relevant acts through a young National Assembly comprised our choice of interest. Evidently administration's tendency and efforts to renovate the country as a modern capitalist industrialised society demolished the doctrine of creating socially and physically purified members; since ideologies competed in impromptu. Though that was the case referred as above, it tended to diminish in the short run. Due to immense tiresome alterations to be held, the case had to quit.

Keywords: History, Republic of Turkey, 1930's, Social Darwinism, Eugenics, Sterilisation, Castration, Syphilis, Health, Beauty.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE 1930'LU YILLARDA ÖJENİK

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Evrim teorilerinin gelişmesiyle, değişik yerlerdeki *Homo sapiens*'in "çok çeşitli" olduğuna inanılmaya başlandı. Açıkçası, bu düşünce, tek tanrılı dinlerin hakim olduğu toplumlardaki insanların kardeşliği inancı için yıkıcı oldu. Bu tartışmaların yapıldığı ortamda Darwin'in teorisinin yayınlanması, bahsi geçen hipotez için tetikleyici olurken, bu düşüncelerin insanoğlunun saflaştırılmasında kullanılma olasılıkları üzerinde çalışılmasına yol açtı.

Endüstrileşmiş kapitalist toplumlar yeni bir ideolojik meşrulaştırıcıya ihtiyaç duymaktaydı; bilimsel düşünce bunu sağladı. Tabii bilimler, model olarak, toplumu şekillendirmek için kullanıldı. Sosyal Darwin'ciler 19'uncu yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren, bu amaca ulaşılması için çok çabaladılar. *Öjenik* bunun bir örneğidir. Bu çabalardan ırkçılık doğdu, gelişti.

Bu tez Cumhuriyetimizin ilk yıllarında, 1930'lar süresince, sağlık uygulamalarını araştırmaktadır. Tam aynısı olmamakla birlikte, Avrupa'daki uygulamalarla kayda değer benzerlikleri gözlüyoruz. Bu tezde devlet aygıtının bazılarının bu konulardaki uyumlulukları ayrıntılarıyla incelenmiştir. Önergeler ve giderek artan bir kararlılıkla getirilen yasal uygulamalar, genç Millet Meclisinin yasama erkinin konu ile ilgisi, asıl inceleme alanı olmuştur. Açıktır ki, idarenin eğilimleri ve ülkeyi modern kapitalist endüstrileşmiş bir topluma dönüştürme çabaları, toplumsal ve fiziksel saflaştırmayı amaçlama düşüncesini de gerektiriyordu; bu düşünceler birbirleriyle örtüşmekte idi. Durum yukarıda anlatıldığı gibi olmakla birlikte, kısa süre sonra terk edildi. Yapılması gereken büyük değişikliklerin göze alınamaması konunun kapatılmasına yol açtı.

Anahtar sözcükler: Tarih, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, 1930'lar, Sosyal Darwincilik, Öjenik, Kısırlaştırma, Hadım Etme, Frengi, Sağlık, Güzellik

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The idea and practice of eugenics¹ have created many conflicting views both for the physicians and students of medicine all over the world. It is a known fact that any practice of medicine is bound to face and experience certain steps of improving physiological quality. Without the awareness of the concept or wording during the daily routine, the improvisation is carried on within the context of eugenic measures. Therefore, it can easily be understood why eugenic matters attracted the attention of scholars of social sciences and medicine alike in Turkey. The situation was entirely so for my case, being the major reason for selecting eugenics as the out proving topic of this research. Eugenics in Turkey was chosen with the purpose of surveying the interrelations between the medical sciences and social sciences during the 1930's.

In Turkey, the students of medicine learn the practises of eugenics at the Faculty of Medicine -as most of the physicians in other countries do. It is generally believed that eugenics deals with the matters of public health, hygiene regulations and campaigns against certain diseases such as syphilis,

¹ "Eugenics is the science dealing with the improvement of hereditary qualities in a series of generations of a race or breed especially by social control of human mating and reproduction." *Eugenic*: (in) *Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged*, (Springfield-Massachusetts, Merriam-Webster, 1986), p.783.

malaria and tuberculosis. Nevertheless, members of the medical profession are not generally aware of the vast sphere of eugenics affecting social life.

Interestingly eugenic measures were readily put forward by the start of the young Turkish Republic in conjunction with contemporary developments in western societies. Eugenics has the power to decide for and against certain human characteristics. This power was used in many western societies during the first decades of the twentieth-century. This led me into surveying eugenics in the young Turkish Republic. My original aim was to study eugenics, believing that this was something concerning the history of medicine of Turkey covering 1930's. When my studies continued, I was confronted with the long existence of eugenic ideas and debates together with the interrelations of medical sciences with social matters. This resulted in a study of history of political ideas of Turkish Republic during 1930's.

In a general definition eugenics is the application of natural sciences to social theories, the application of hereditary sciences to legislation and jurisdiction. The broadness of this definition necessitated the restriction of this thesis with only the eugenic propositions, applications and legislation in Turkey during the 1930's, with why, how and to what extent they were exerted and the reasons for their abandonment. The thesis is restricted to 1930's because this was the period of global awareness of eugenics. On the other hand, an inevitable approximate ending date had to be chosen for such a vast subject. My choice was specifically again 1930's when the young republic flourished in every sense and was apt to adopt most recent scientific approaches to enrol while building up an updated nation.

Following detailed definitions of the case, in the first chapter the ideology of eugenics is surveyed. This is outlined with a brief knowledge about ethnocentric way of thinking, hereditary sciences, Darwin's theories and Social Darwinist issues.

The second chapter comprises the surveys on various representative countries where eugenic propositions and applications were practised. Their forgotten history is remembered with special emphasis on the diverse issues in

various societies. The following states passed eugenic legislation -reaching as far as sterilisation, castration and euthanasia- in some or other way, for various periods. Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Lithuania, Estonia, Iceland, Swiss Cantons (some), Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Greece, Spain, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Brazil, 27 of 48 states of the United States and Canada (Alberta and British Columbia).²

Among these, the United States, Denmark, Sweden and Germany are analysed here because these countries comprise the “representative states” which ran after eugenic ideas and applied eugenic legislation to various extents. Although not mentioned above -because no eugenic proposition could reach as far as legislation there- England is analysed along with the others, for, Darwinism, Social Darwinism, eugenics, -all the theories concerning our thesis- were first coined in this country.

While analysing certain approaches in these western societies, one could make classifications in terms of such analytical tools as geography or interrelation of escalations or resemblances in imposed measures. But this, understandably, would be awkward and furthermore could be taken as a sort of biased vision by the reader. A close surveillance of similar eugenic legislation of different societies would prevent the detection of the original. Hence omitting the possibility of such a grouping this study prefers analysing exclusively situations in different countries on their own by emphasizing the existing resemblances in terms of scientific procedures. This would acquaint the reader with the case in the international arena before proceeding to the chapter which investigates eugenics in the early days of the Turkish Republic.

The third chapter of this study is devoted to Turkey. The sole aim of this thesis is to explain how nation-building processes necessitated modern, positive, rational, and Darwinist issues; how these concepts were utilised as legislation to shape the health services in Turkey. From its analysis, the following question arises: *Why did not the Turkish government take racist*

² Roger Pearson, *Heredity and Humanity: Race, Eugenics and Modern Science*, Washington D.C., Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1996, p.31

actions during the 1930's while, following eugenic approaches some European states did?

Although eugenics is closely related with racism, even in Germany the situation was complex, and eugenics did not necessarily point the way to racism. Weindling described the issue as quoted below:

My interpretation stresses that eugenics was authoritarian in that it offered the state and professions unlimited powers to eradicate disease and improve the health of future generations. But it was neither a product of the theory of a superior Aryan race and nor was it inherently Nazi. The synthesis between Nazism and eugenics was a process of adaptation and appropriation on both sides.³

Adherence to eugenics did not result in racism everywhere. The adaptation and appropriation of eugenics with racism occurred in some countries such as Germany and the United States. This depended upon “how” and “why” natural sciences were utilised in these specific countries. In some western countries, hereditary sciences were moulded and shaped to revert to hereditarianism. From –even- the new findings and discoveries concerning the science, the hereditary sciences, analogies were made to racism. Even when hereditary sciences explicitly demonstrated racism was non-scientific and inexplicable with scientific methods -this newly found knowledge of genetics- did neither stop nor slowed down the racists. The American eugenics movement with its close connections with the American racism is a good example.

From the end of the Civil War to the First World War, change, progress and improvement were facts about the American life. The forces of industrialisation shaped the social order. The temper of the times was growth and consolidation. New industries developed. Applied science (technology) in conjunction with vast resources and a tolerant public policy changed American society. But many citizens distrusted the future. They did not have a “feudal past.” They lacked history. Americans sought some means to

³ Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism 1870-1945*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.7

distinguish members in their society. Money was the answer. Wealth and leisure made any man a gentleman. But, why were they rich?

“Good blood and breeding” told the Americans a story. Innate superiority was accepted as a reason for success. The successful, the rich were so because of their biological superiority. “Nature” had justified the ways of the society. Natural sciences –especially the hereditary sciences- were used to re-evaluate the superiority of the rich in a society where ancestral lineage could not be a legitimate excuse to justify their superiority.

As a result of industrialisation the Americans experienced individual mobility, wealth and a tremendous increase in the middle class. The urban middle class was taught about the naturalistic ethics. Their new wealth, this very good life was in danger. The rich were so because of their innate superiorities. There were also innate inadequate among the society. The number of innate inadequate was increasing. A tragedy would soon appear because of the increase in the number of the dependent and delinquent. Their innate inferiority was a threat for the society, the progress and the good living.

The new immigrants also represented a threat because most of the newcomers were from south or east Europe. They were leaving the backward regions of Europe, carrying illiteracy and pauperism with themselves into a community of wealth and progress. The popular consciousness decided that there should be a restriction.⁴ As heredity was decisive and germ-plasma was the determinant, a solution could be found via hereditary sciences. Science

⁴ Immigration restrictions in the United States:

1882 The U.S. Congress passed the Undesirables Act.

1891 The U.S. Congress created the office of Superintendent of Immigration.

1891 Eleven Italian immigrants were lynched.

1892 Ellis Island (NY) opened.

1894 The Immigrant Restriction League was formed.

1897 The U.S. Congress passed literacy requirement for immigrants. President Cleveland vetoed it.

1903 The U.S. Congress barred immigration of epileptics

1907 The U.S. admitted highest amount of immigrants in its history.

1921 The Emergency Quota Act passed to restrict immigration

1924 The U.S. Congress enacted the Johnson Act which restricted immigration by quotas.

1965 The U.S. Congress reversed prohibitive legislation against immigration of feeble-minded, against families with feeble-minded members.

could help. Science of heredity was utilised, adopted and appropriated with ethnocentric beliefs that were present among mankind since the primitives.

Alaaddin Şenel explains this process well. The primitive (man) made use of classifications in comprehending the world as a whole. To do so he used concrete concepts in place of abstract ones –as in symbolising one’s own clan with a plant or animal ancestor while symbolising the enemy-neighbour clan with another plant or animal ancestor; they thus developed a way of thinking composed of antagonist concepts. Consequently, the ongoing derived standards of values would always be “positive” concepts concerning their clan while being always “negative” for the other clan. He related the historical background of primitive societies as to their beliefs, he maintained that clans were independent and in most cases self-sufficient societies, collective ‘production units’. He mentioned that if the production relations were accepted to be equalitarian, in every other living unit before the consciousness of individualism awoke, a separate “we” consciousness would be born. During these times of pre-history -when the production has not started- every society had the inclination to regard other societies as potential enemies and other animals, rivals for the same source of food. Alaeddin Şenel posited that, in the brain of the primitive, the consciousness of “we” and “they” did not stay solely as enemy totems. The real or assumed interrelations were expressed in stories relating symbols; the myths.⁵

Şenel stated that, biases were related to production units (clans), thus being related to the “interests” of the society. Because of the myths, these biases didn’t correlate with the truth and were contrary to logic. They were irrational biases. The primitive man would make assumptions about other societies in regard to their own society with an “ethnocentric” angle of view. According to Alaaddin Şenel, these societies perceived the world in terms of the self. In this model of ‘clan and totem myth,’ almost all the elements of the

⁵ Alaaddin Şenel, *İrk ve Irkçılık Düşüncesi*, (The Idea of Heredity and Racism) Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 2nd edition 1993, pp.43-45

'ethnocentric way of thinking' were present. When the time arrived and capitalism and imperialism sensed the race differences, race concepts nourished from these roots present in manhood.⁶

In hunter and gatherer societies, after beginning of agriculture, that is, after production began, there was nothing other than "blood ties" for nomadic shepherds in sustaining social unity and interrelations with other societies. They started to use the ideas that have been learned while breeding the animals. These ideas were carried to intra and interrelations of the society. Alaaddin Şenel calls this idea as "breeding ideology." He also makes an analogy between the breeding ideology and the racial ideas of the nineteenth century or eugenics. He states that these ideas were "wearing scientific coats" and they were nothing other than "disguises of scientific explanations."⁷

In the first civilised class societies the aristocrats claimed their ancestry with gods. Their claim about ancestry with gods is called "anthropomorphism." Claiming ancestry with gods would result among the ruling, dominant classes of the first civilised societies -according to their proximity of relationships with gods- the emergence of concepts as "pure lineage" and "pure blood." As explained by Alaadin Şenel, these ethnocentric ideas were utilised by ruling classes. The elements of 'breeding ideologies' and 'anthropomorphism' together with concepts of lineage and blood relations, these ethnocentric ideas became the ideologies of ruling classes. These ideas were than appropriated and enforced on lower classes of the societies.⁸

For long, since Aristotle, it was believed that inequality of the mankind was the foundation of natural order. "The great chain of being" held that the existence of social hierarchy allocated every form of life to its appropriate rank in the great chain. From the lowest position to the highest,

⁶ Şenel, p. 46

⁷ ibid, p. 46

⁸ ibid, p. 46

biological variety was present in nature. Nature, in itself was unequal. The chain of course continued beyond humans through various heavenly beings to the Creator.

It was but a small step -a step that seemed only natural to the Europeans as they increasingly came into contact with “coloured” people- to apply the same concept of hierarchical ordering within the ranks of humankind. The hints of relative racial merit with its attachment of personal traits and aesthetic judgments to skin colour soon merged with the assumptions of the great chain.

The task of science was ready for a vertical ordering of races. Science first turned its attention to the concept of hereditary inequalities in 1735, when the great biological taxonomist Carolus Linnaeus grouped human beings into four varieties –red, yellow, white and black. Though skin colour was the primary basis for these categories, Linnaeus also distinguished the races by personal characteristics specific to each. The whites for example, were described as keen minded and innovative, the blacks as lazy and careless. Distinctions were made for “the different” and each new classification led to others. The Linnaean system was revised and extended in 1781 by the physiologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. He is generally considered as the founder of modern anthropology. He added aesthetic judgments to personal traits as possible elements of racial classification. Blumenbach was the first to use the term *Caucasian* because he considered the most beautiful race to have originated on the southern slopes of Mount Caucasus.

The old belief in heredity held that characteristics acquired by the disuse and use of bodily organs could possibly be inherited. The germ plasma, which determined the heredity of the offspring was moulded and changed during the life of the individual. What happened to the individual could affect the traits that he would pass on. Even Darwin’s theory did not deny it.

Charles Darwin first proposed the theory that was to revolutionise biology. In place of a supernatural power responsible for the creation of all life, Darwin offered a simple mechanical explanation for its “evolution.” He

denied the existence of any essential difference between the origin of human life and that of animals. In his pioneering work, *The Origins of Species*, Darwin had posited that, in their “struggle for existence,” those biological variations were to be preserved and transmitted to the offspring.⁹ Darwin was careful to explain this concept of struggle. He explained his “intention” as follows: “in a large and metaphorical sense including dependence of one being on another.”¹⁰

There was also the concept of Pangenesis. Galton believed in “Pangenesis.” Pangenesis held that all parts of the body threw off particles called *pan genes*, which were the hereditary part of eggs and sperm. Modified by environmental conditions that affected the entire body, they were constant. This theory was a backdoor acceptance of inheritance of acquired characteristics.¹¹

In opposition to the theory of acquired characteristics, the advocates of particular inheritance insisted that no characters acquired by body cells during the life experience of an organism could be transmitted to future members of the species. The assumption was that the germ plasma rigidly determined individual and racial features, regardless of environmental influences or activities of individuals and races.

⁹ In 1859 Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species*. It should be noted here that, this work was ready for publication in 1844. In 1858, Alfred Russell Wallace, concluding in a “natural selection” theory, studying without the knowledge and consent of Darwin, prepared to publicise his theory at The Linnaean Society. The story ended up as Wallace and Darwin presented a common paper to the society. Although it is usually referred as “The Origins of Species”, the book carried the main heading, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle of Life*.

¹⁰ Darwin’s “metaphor” was picked by some Social Darwinists -like Herbert Spencer- and “survival of the fittest” was stressed. Darwin’s metaphorical “struggle” was converted into a more sensational, literal version of struggle for survival.

¹¹ *The Law of Ancestral Inheritance*: Galton assumed that two parents contributed one fourth to the nature of the offspring, the four grandparents one eighth, great-grandparents one sixteenth and so on, until the hereditary influence reached zero. The child inherited partly from his parents, partly from his ancestry. Speaking generally, the farther his genealogy went back, the more numerous and varied would his ancestors become, until they ceased to differ from any numerous sample taken at haphazard from the race at large. He called this theory, *The Law of Ancestral Inheritance*.

August Weismann, a German biologist led the first attack on the inheritance of acquired character.¹² Weismann maintained that a basic difference existed between germ cells and body cells. He stressed the direct lineage of germ cells. The development of the germ cells and of the body cells occurred independently. He identified germ plasma with chromosomes¹³ and what he termed “ids.”¹⁴

Weismann’s experiments were quite simple. For more than a year he removed the tails from white mice. He found that five generations of mutated mice failed to show that any future mouse generation inherited their “taillessness.” Mutilation was immediately noticeable in the next generation. He disclosed that, germ cells contained two types of substances. In the embryo they separated to become the germ cells and body cells. The individual developed from them. While the environment might shape individuals, germ cells passed from generation to generation unaltered; and thus acquired characteristics obviously could not be inherited.

Weismann’s findings were important because for the first time there was a ground split between hereditarianism and environmentalists. The disproof of the inheritance of acquired characters was therefore a major episode on the road to the acceptance of eugenics. The theory was advanced at a time when the optimism of many social reformers was based on a faith that betterment of man in one generation might be passed on and results in the betterment of all coming generations.

If acquired characters could be inherited, then there was a chance permanently to improve the race independently of selective methods. It would be possible to see that individuals acquire characteristics that are desirable for

¹² August Weismann, “On Heredity”, *Essays upon Heredity*, second edition, 2 volumes, E.B. Poulton, Sehna Schouland, Arthur E. Shipley, translators, 1883, Volume I, pp. 71-106 (in Donald K. Pickens, *Eugenics and the Progressives*, (Nashville, Tennessee, Vanderbilt University Press, 1968) p. 43.

¹³ *Chromosomes*: The part of the cell which can be stained with dyes containing “chrome” and visualised under the microscope.

¹⁴ *Id*: Now called *Gene*

them to transmit. If acquired characters could not be inherited and transmitted to new generations, social reform could not improve the inherited qualities of man and only a program of breeding could do so.

Weismann's findings were used to construct a stronghold that maintained the necessity of selections among people. The science of heredity (genetics) was very important for hereditarianism. For these who were after some very different concepts, the science of heredity was warped and moulded and carried to abstract ideas. Analogies were made such as the "heredity of nations" or "races." Pickens makes a clear-cut definition of racists, how they apply abstract analogies to scientific findings and how they create abstract concepts from science:

Students of both Weismann and the inheritance of acquired characters were materialists and racists. The individual's health was national health. The sum of individual inheritance was race inheritance –the material basis for future national development.¹⁵

Even Mendel's laws could not stop "hereditarianism." Mendel was a monk in Switzerland. He published his studies in 1865 but met with ignorance. It was only after his death, in 1901, that some other biologists rediscovered and republished his work. He crossbred different types of peas, followed specific traits through several generations and in each generation counted the number of progeny with each trait. The simple ratios that he discovered begin any modern text of genetics. Mendel's Laws are basic to an understanding of all twentieth-century developments in the study of heredity; in plants, animals or man.

Essentially Mendel discovered that the determiners of inherited traits (later called genes) occur in pairs. One gene is received -in each pair deriving- from each parent. If a person receives the same gene from each parent - making him homozygous- than he will develop the trait and will pass on the gene to each of his offspring. But a person may receive a different gene from

¹⁵ Donald K. Pickens, *Eugenics and the Progressives*, Nashville, Tennessee, Vanderbilt University Press, 1968, p. 44

each parent -making him heterozygous. In that case one of the genes may be dominant and the other recessive, that is, one of the traits may appear and the other is submerged.¹⁶

The gene for albinism in man, for instance, is recessive. Hence the gene may pass from generation to generation without the trait appearing until such time as both parents pass the gene on to the same offspring. Whenever two parents are heterozygous carriers, then the chances are one in four that a particular offspring will be albino. A dominant trait, on the other hand, will appear in each offspring that receive the gene and will not skip a generation. If the parent carrying the trait is homozygous, each of his children will be affected; but if he is heterozygous, only one in two will receive the gene.¹⁷

At the beginning of the twentieth-century, it was accepted that not only man but also all living things carried "genes." These genes were paired. They also had characters of dominancy, segregation and recombination. From these facts it was not possible to make a conclusion that the "successful" parents would pass to their offspring the traits for success and the "dependent" parents to pass the traits of dependency to new generations. There always was the possibility of recessive genes that would be obscured for some generations and when a man and a woman carrying them would mate, then this trait would be able to pass to "some" of their offspring. But, even these facts did not stop "hereditarianism."

In the first decade of twentieth-century scientists and the educated public -in general increasingly- accepted Mendel's laws of heredity. Also, the mutation theory of evolution, the inability of selection to build up species from fluctuations and the chromosomal mechanism of sex distribution were scientifically accepted.

¹⁶ Alexander Rosenberg, *Darwinism in Philosophy, Social Science and Policy*, Cambridge University Press, Printed in the USA, 2000. P. 73. "Mendel's law tell us that genes come in pairs and that only one of each pair is transmitted to each offspring..."

¹⁷ *ibid.* pp. 72-75

Eugenicists did not reject but utilised the new theories as an explanation for the existence of criminals, the feeble-minded and the pauper. They stressed the hereditary inevitability in their offspring. Eugenics based on Galtonian hereditary theories declined in importance. American eugenicists used Mendel's concepts to advance Galton's philosophy. The letter of Galtonian thought died but the spirit endured. Mendelian concepts started to be alleged.¹⁸

Middle-class eugenicists did not feel concerned with the new findings in genetics. The extremely wealthy eugenicists saw their superiority forever present in their biological natures. Eugenicists defended the *status quo* by sterilisation, immigrant restriction and birth control for these cultural groups not racially capable of being good Americans. From the hereditary inevitability of certain individuals or families, similar assumptions were made concerning nations, races. If the findings of science did not match, analogies were made to reach the goal. Alaaddin Şenel explains the relation between the industrial revolution and racism related to the progressions of industrial revolution and capitalism, when the need for wide markets and raw material created national units and nationalism that swiped away feudal units, then social, religious, ethnic, metropolitan ideas transformed into 'nationalist' ideologies. When capitalism took the route to imperialism, national ethnocentrism was insufficient and racial ethnocentrism was tried.¹⁹

Both in America and Germany, that is what happened. Interestingly, these ideas flourished in Britain and then reached to wide audiences in America and Germany. A quotation from Karl Pearson -Francis Galton's friend and protégé, they were the ones who founded and organised eugenics in Britain- would make it easier to understand. Social Darwinists extended the concept of the struggle for survival to nations and races and to what extent

¹⁸ Rosenberg, p. 73. "Mendelian segregation is most fully explained by considerations from cellular physiology...the classical theory retains a place in pedagogy for the same reason Newtonian mechanics does."

¹⁹ Şenel, p. 49

these concepts were related with imperialist ideologies. The conflict between larger entities was claimed to be a valuable mechanism for ridding the world of inferior races. According to Karl Pearson, the aim of the constant struggle of the “races” was to have more raw material and food supplies than the “others”:

[There is] one way and one way only, in which a high state of civilisation has been produced. It is namely the struggle of race with race and the survival of the physically and fitter race, chiefly by way of war with inferior races and with equal races by the struggle for trade routes...sources of raw material and of food supply.²⁰

However, in Denmark, Finland and Sweden the situation was somewhat different. The Scandinavians were after their welfare policies. Humanitarian and egalitarian policies provided them with the necessary tools for a reformed life style. The Scandinavian region’s population was relatively homogenous. They were predominantly Lutherans in religion, Nordic in what it took to be its racial identity. In this era, differences of ethnicity or nationality were often classified as racial distinctions.

The Swedish analysts of the era found that the racial purity of their country might eventually be undermined, if only because so much Nordics were emigrating. There were Swedes who lived in Finland. The Swedish speakers in Finland feared the proliferation of Finnish speakers. Swedes held them to be fundamentally as Mongols, members of a “lower” race. Evidently, there were apprehensions of threat to national quality in Scandinavia too. Hilary Putnam reminds us that non-imperialistic, egalitarian societies also reached as far as eugenic practises when they believed in their own racial superiority. Putnam stated that there have been societies which valued autonomy and moral independence while devaluing diversity to the extent of believing in their own “racial superiority” and engaging in widespread sterilisation of those who were seen as ‘unfit.’ Putnam attracted attention to

²⁰ William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, Urbana, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1994, p..29

social-democratic Scandinavian countries which passed sterilisation laws in the 1930's with hardly any secular or religious protest.²¹

In these societies where eugenics movement resulted with racist policies, the social and historical context of racism was ready for it. In some countries colonialist and/or imperialist policies paved the way for eugenics to be transformed to racism. In some others, the internal conflicts among certain elements of the society had the same effect. Hereditary sciences were unscientifically utilised for the ideological justification of such policies.

Neither the Ottoman Empire nor Turkish Republic had colonies or imperial policies. It did not exist. They were not confronted with the dilemma to justify their unequal policies for different "kinds" of people. Colonialism and imperialism needed a belief in the inequality of men -families, groups, nations or races. It was inevitable for them to legitimise their unequal policies in their motherland and abroad. Both the new Turkish Republic and the Ottoman Empire were not after such policies.

In Turkey, it is difficult to talk about the requisition; such unscientific interpretations of hereditary sciences in order to reach racism were not necessary for the ruling classes. On the contrary, the late Ottoman Empire and the new Turkish Republic felt the continuous jeopardy of colonialism and imperialism. There was the assumption that these colonialist, imperialist societies lied in wait for the disintegration and disruption of the new state. If it would come, the threat would arrive from abroad.

Racism left alone, Turkish eugenics was a reality as analysed in chapter three in this study. Authoritarianism conceptualised in eugenic measures together with its conservative and progressive welfare aims, with its basis on science, these were "very" suitable for the new Turkish Republic. Turkish educated classes were overwhelmed with western, modern, positivist,

²¹ Hilary Putnam, "Cloning People", *The Genetic Revolution and Human Rights*, ed.: Justine Burley, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 1-14

Darwinist issues for long years and when the time came for action, eugenic legislation passed through the parliament.

Eugenics is the science of the improvement of the human race by better breeding.²² It is the effort to improve the inborn characteristics of men by the study of human heredity and the application of these studies to human propagation. But, what does calling a policy “eugenic” mean? What are the criticisms for which the word stands in? A first look at characterising a eugenic policy might be that it intends the birth of some kinds of people rather than others. Virtually all-major social policies have a “eugenic” impact. Better housing, better health services, higher wages will make a difference to who is born. These institutions and policies are not criticised as eugenic because the impact is unintentional. The “intention” of the policy is crucial in order to name it as “eugenic.”²³

Eugenicists grasped the fact that a person’s hereditary endowment is a major factor in his success and development. They hoped to breed better people through encouraging propagation by those with desirable traits and through restricting propagation by those with undesirable traits. From this hope flourished the two sides of eugenics: “positive eugenics” and “negative eugenics.” The purpose of negative eugenics was to prevent propagation by the “cacogenic,” those likely to have defective or undesirable offspring. The purpose of positive eugenics was to increase propagation among the “aristogenic,” who carried outstanding qualities in their genes. Hence the overwhelming concern of eugenicists was with the birth rates of various groups, classes and races of the population. There was the conviction that these birth rates determined the hereditary qualities of succeeding generations.

Encouraging or discouraging propagation of man necessitates a decision for each case. On this point, opposition to eugenics came from

²² Mark Haller, *Eugenics, Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought*, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1963, p. 3.

²³ Jonathan Glover, “Eugenics and Human Rights” *The Genetic Revolution and Human Rights*, ed.: Justine Burley, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 101-125

religious cycles. According to the Catholic doctrine, the possibility or even probability that a child would be born hereditarily defective or deformed was no excuse for state to interfere with the right to marry or to bear children. The church looked on a child not as a physical organism but a soul sent from God. Also, the religious view that man's personality could be re-generated by conversion and the course of his life changed through proper training and prayer was in contradiction with the view of some eugenicists that personality and morality were expressions of ancestral genes. Eugenics was nearly irreconcilable with Catholic teaching.

Primarily the eugenic movement was a creation of biological scientists, social scientists and those with a faith that science provided a guide for human progress. Evidently eugenics was the legitimate offspring of Darwinian evolution. Darwin held that members of a species exhibited numerous small variations and that evolution proceeded through the gradual selection of some and the elimination of other variations through a struggle for existence. If this theory was correct, the key to understanding nature lay in the problem: what caused the variations and in what manners were they passed on to succeeding generations? The Darwinists claimed that the biological progress of man resulted from the selection of the "fits" and the elimination of the "misfits." Thus, charity by permitting the survival and propagation of social failures might be a bar to human progress, increasing the ills it sought to cure.

The attempt to solve these problems led to a widespread interest in the heredity of plants, animals and men. Eventually this interest led to the birth of the modern science of genetics.

Eugenics was of course but one of many currents stemming from evolutionary thought. Obviously it belonged to the same climate of opinion that produced the conservative Social Darwinism. Such conservatives as Herbert Spencer (British) and William Graham Sumner (American) found in the dilemma presented by evolutionary thought an excuse for a policy of government *laissez faire*. They argued that, unaided by the government

intervention, the unfit would succumb to poverty, intemperance and disease. The fit would win the economic struggle for survival. Thus the continued evolution of men would be assured.²⁴

This approach transformed cruelty into nature's method. A normative framework for moral decisions was created and this approach was contextualised in evolution. This new morality was to replace traditional moral rules with a new kind of religiosity without religion. The weak could be neglected, the helpless should be exterminated. They were accepted as the "losers." Even more significant, the Social Darwinists extended the concept of the struggle for survival to such larger aggregates as nations and races. The conflict between larger entities was claimed to be a mechanism for ridding the world of "inferior" races. As a consequence, the Social Darwinists opposed all governmental programs for charity, free meals or other benefits for the undeserving inferior. Similar reasoning also justified opposition to the regulation of minimum wage and working hours, free public education and all those other "socialistic" institutions.

In an era of the beginning of imperialist interests, through Social Darwinism, through a model of inevitable competition, victory was promised to those who most resembled capitalists.

During the late nineteenth century the Social Darwinist theory exerted tremendous influence on both academic and popular thought. It was an important contributing factor to the decision to found sociology departments in a number of western universities and motivated many of the people who chose to study that discipline. Spencer's books alone sold over 300.000 volumes in the United States, a phenomenal total.²⁵

Many of those who founded the eugenics movement had only limited sympathy with such an outlook. In a great majority of the western countries,

²⁴ Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp.110, 112-113.

²⁵ William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research*, 1994, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago, p. 27.

the eugenic movement was in large part the creation of superintendents of asylums for the feeble-minded, insane and alcoholic; of prison wardens and prison physicians; of sociologists and social workers. They were in the forefront of the movement for bigger and better institutions for the unfortunate classes of mankind. They believed that society had a responsibility to care for the dependent and delinquent. The society had at the same time a responsibility to see that such persons did not contaminate the generations to come.

Despite the conservative implications of hereditary thought, eugenics at first was closely related to the other reform movements of the "Progressive Era;" drew its early support from many of the same persons. It began as a scientific reform in an age of reform.

On the other hand from an assumption that men are chiefly shaped by heredity, it can be argued that environmental reforms are largely useless. If the class structure of society reflects innate abilities, those at the bottom are there not through deficiencies in the social system but through their own inevitable failures. Undoubtedly from this assumption arises a close connection between an emphasis upon hereditary and conservative social outlook. Similarly, doctrines concerning the innate inequality of races served as pretexts for repression of one group by another.

Although many of the studies of human heredity upon which the eugenicists relied were important scientific advances, others resulted from inaccurate and uncritical scientific methods. Still others were warped and moulded by the social predisposition of men who allowed their science to serve their social philosophies. As a result, many strands of eugenic thought were a scientific disguise for conservative indictments of classes and races. Eugenics became –for a time- predominantly a conservative creed.

Eugenic movement can be divided into three stages. The first, from about 1870 to 1900 was a period of preparation during which hereditary attitudes took root. On both coasts of the Atlantic, many of those concerned with the care and treatment of the dependent and the delinquent came to

believe that, the feeble-minded, criminal, insane, epileptic and pauper were products of their heredity. Hence, it was hoped that a way would be found to restrict their propagation. During this phase, in America, a few Americans feared the impact of immigrants on their society and began to urge restriction on the grounds of race or national origin. During these years, imperialist policy of the British was at its summit while Germans united and they also ran after colonies. The notion of innate inequalities of men, families, nations and races arising from Social Darwinist issues found legitimacy; imperialistic policies and the scientific explanation of the inequalities of groups of men competed in impromptu. By the turn of the century, all the ingredients were present so that a formal eugenic movement might be launched.

From 1900 to 1930, eugenics entered in the second period and had great influence. The problems of heredity and the prevention of hereditary ills dominated the meetings of reform organisations. In most of the western countries campaigns were raised for permanent custodial care of the feeble-minded. Then, sterilisation of many types of defectives was carried on in America. Scandinavians followed them. Turkey, too, decided on legislation for marriage restrictions. The British sat for debates on the same grounds. During the same period, eugenics took on a racist tone in America and Germany. Both American and German people found in eugenics the arguments to buttress their case for "the others" that "polluted" their society. Those polluters were the immigrants in America. In Germany, the Jews were believed to be the cause of all the miseries. During these years, eugenics moved into the universities and there formed the basis for research in a variety of fields. Psychologists tested human intelligence and studied its heredity; sociologists investigated the comparative birth rates of various social classes; and biologists wrote on the applications of the principles of heredity. It was during its period of greatest influence that, eugenics shifted from a movement that was predominantly –although never entirely- linked to the reform currents of the day, to a movement that was predominantly –although never entirely- a repudiation of the reforming tradition.

In the period, after 1930, the course of eugenics was rapidly downhill. New developments in such varied fields as anthropology, genetics, mental testing and psychiatry undercut the scientific basis upon which much of the movement then rested. These studies demonstrated that human heredity was far more complicated than most eugenicists had realised and that environmental and cultural factors played a much greater part in man's make up than earlier eugenicists were willing to admit. At the same time, after the Nazi takeover, Hitler in Germany demonstrated the uses -that might be made of some- of the eugenic doctrines. These new developments stripped the eugenics movement of its trappings of science and disclosed that, it had been based upon careless and inaccurate research. Another disclosure was that eugenics mirrored the conservative and reactionary social philosophers of its adherents.

The period since 1930 has been characterised not by legislation or even by propaganda but by continued and careful research into the heredity of man. Today, when rapid advances are being made in all fields of genetic research, a cautious, sober and scientific eugenics is once more struggling for attention.

Today, the word "eugenics" has a chilling effect. If a policy can be described as eugenic, that is enough for most people to rule it out at once. The reason for the hostility against eugenics is the remembrance of the Nazis because the greatest eugenic program was that of the Nazis. The murder of millions of men and women and children grew directly out of Hitler's program.

German eugenics was unique. It was so terrible. The Nazi eugenics had three features that mark it off sharply from other eugenic policies. The Nazis had a blueprint of the most desirable type of person, they believed in Social Darwinism and they were indifferent to the autonomy or interests of individuals.

Nazi regime had the idea that only the best people should be encouraged to procreate. The criteria for choosing these "best" people were

very crude and mainly physical. On the other hand, some should be discouraged from procreating or even prevented from doing so. They were afraid that the “natural” selective measures that had functioned to ensure the survival of healthy and strong human beings no longer functioned in their modernised society.

Up to this point, in German eugenics movement, there is not much other than what can be found in British, American or Scandinavian eugenic ideas. However, there was a great difference. As Alan Ryan points out, the difference of German eugenics came from their strong belief in Social Darwinism which paved the road to Nazism:

Germans believed in Social Darwinism. This theory held the evolutionary struggle as taking place not just between individuals but also between groups. Nazism emerged against this background of belief. Nazis believed that life was a ruthless ‘group’ struggle for survival.²⁶

The acceptance of the belief of “struggling groups” for evolution led the Nazis to abandon traditional moral restraints. The notion of struggling groups –tribes, nations and races- necessitated a belief in racial purity. There was the idea that genetic mixing with other races lowered the quality of people. They believed that Germans should act with self-defence, a racial self-defence from pollution.

The strong belief in Social Darwinism, the belief in the necessity of racial purity for self-defence and thirdly, Nazi ideology of the unimportance of the individual caused German eugenics to be very different from others. Alan Ryan describes the “unimportance” of the individual of German eugenic thought. According to German eugenicists, in order to reach the biologically desirable human being, reproductive freedom and individual lives were to be sacrificed. Compassion for an individual victim was a weakness to overcome.

²⁶ Alan Ryan. “Eugenics and Genetic Manipulation”, *The Genetic Revolution and Human Rights*, ed.: Justine Burley, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 125-131.

Also, in treating people who were 'racially inferior,' one was like a doctor who was dealing with a diseased organ in an otherwise healthy body.²⁷

These ideas prepared German minds for the terrible atrocities of the German eugenics.

As mentioned, the eugenic movement was a creation of scientists and those with a faith that science provided a guide for human progress. As described by Mark Haller, eugenic ideas were accepted by most of the minds as "a scientific solution" for the unfavourable conditions of the lower classes:

In a generation that eagerly read Darwin and applied evolution to politics, theology, ethics, anthropology and many other fields, in both Europe and America, the very unfavourable conditions of the lower classes became basis to discussions of heredity and environment in the shaping of man.²⁸

But, after the eugenic practises in Germany, after this terrible outcome, as Alan Ryan points out, that "... today when we think of eugenics, we think inevitably of the Nazis. We ought not to do so."²⁹

The sort of understanding of genetics that we have today been absent and it was all too easy for these to think that, social isolation and surroundings that were indisputably bad for both body and mind would lead to the creation of a hereditary under class. Urban life -with masses of unhealthy, uneducated poor people living in the crowded quarters of industrial zones of the cities- offered perverted incentives to these people; casual relationships penalised careful child-rearing, making it irrational to forgo present pleasure for future well-being. It is easy to see the attractions in a program of positive eugenics. Both in Europe and America and in Turkey too, marriages producing healthier and fitter offspring were advocated. Although the starting point of the western eugenicists was the unfavourable conditions of urbanisation, conditions present in the rural areas of Turkey were not better.

²⁷ Ryan, pp. 125-131.

²⁸ Haller, p.22

²⁹ Ryan. pp. 125-131.

We must note that among historians and social scientists it is widely accepted that eugenics and Social Darwinism declined its popularity following second half of twentieth century due to its association with racism and Nazism. But surely it is not out of consideration and yet its post-war declination in significance outraged the necessity to substantiate detailed scientific and updated work.

By the mid 60's the doctrine re-emerged reaching wider audiences. Similar theories have been peddled in more recent times. In 1958, Audrey Shuey, author of the book *Psychology and Life* wrote that IQ test scores "inevitably" pointed to the presence of native [genetic] differences between Negroes and whites. And this proposition has been spread even as recently as 1994 with Murray and Herrnstein's book, *The Bell Curve*, claiming that African Americans do worse than whites in intelligence tests, are "genetically disabled."³⁰

Currently, the eugenicists continue surveying groups of people through intelligence tests. Interestingly, eugenics and IQ testing relationship started in America as Lewis M. Terman, in Stanford in 1921 began surveying some 1500 children when they were 11 year-old. His research continued for nearly 40 years. He published a series of books under the heading *Genetic Studies of Genius*. The fifth volume of the series carried the title *The Gifted Group at Midlife* (1959) because the children under survey had reached their middle ages.³¹

³⁰ Philip Rushton, "Cranial Capacity Related to Sex, Rank and in a Stratified Random Sample of 6325 U.S. Military Personnel", *Intelligence*, 1992, 16:401,413, (in) Roger Pearson, p.94, "He has shown conclusively that among living hominids brain size is correlated with IQ scores by using magnetic resonance imaging techniques to contrast, *in vivo* and that East Asians and Europeans average about 100 cubic c.c. more brain matter...and that this corresponded to the racial ordering in IQ."

³¹ Robert R. Sears, "Foreword", (in) Lewis M. Terman and Melita H. Oden, *The Gifted Group at Midlife*. Stanford, London, Stanford University Press, , 2nd printing 1960, First printed in 1959, p. viii "Terman started his career in Stanford University in 1910. In 1916 he published the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon test. In 1917, he was a prime mover in the construction of the American Army Alpha and Beta intelligence test."

They think that high IQ is linked to good societal traits, such as benevolence, honesty and work ethic. After three and a half decades -the selection solely on the ability to score in the top one percent of the school population in an intelligence test- Terman found 86 percent in the two highest occupational categories: (a) the professions and (b) the semi-professions and higher business. Eleven percent was in smaller retail business, clerical and skilled occupations. Farming and related occupations accounted for nearly 2 percent and the remaining 1 percent was in semiskilled work.³²

They also argue that those with higher IQ's tend to have the fewest children, while those with lower IQ's have more. Women who have been through college (avg IQ = 111) have on average 1.6 children while women without a high school diploma (avg IQ = 81) have on average 2.6. This discrepancy is more than accounted for by their respective numbers of unplanned children.³³

Currently, the eugenicists claim that unplanned pregnancies tend to correlate with "bad" qualities such as low intelligence, carelessness, or criminality. They also believe that there has already been a decline in average IQ since the 1800's of about 5 to 8 points and that we are losing 1 point per generation. Eugenicists fear that continuation of this trend could lead to an increased IQ discrepancy between social groups, an overload of unproductive citizens, a shortage of highly able citizens and the eventual end of civilisation. Today, the eugenicists propose many different methods to turn this trend around. Some methods are sterilising deadbeats such as welfare recipients or criminals, financial incentives aimed at poor, payment for sterilisation, taxing children, improved birth control methods (sterilisation,) limiting children based on traits of parent's licenses, family monetary allowances for desirable

³² Terman and Oden p 146

³³ Pearson, pp. 102, 115

parents, universal mandatory reversible sterilisation, poor-gene mothers accepting “superior” sperm.³⁴

Today, the eugenicists argue that a eugenics program would raise the average IQ, and that a higher average IQ would reduce the “misery quotient” by reducing crime and poverty and starvation. It could also reduce competition for low skill jobs and allow for more advancement for these people.

Incidentally the discovery of the DNA in 1953 reasoned a path for advances in molecular biology encouraging deep information in the process of genetic mutation and transmission. Perhaps it is best to include here some words elaborating on cloning of sheep and other mammals; mainly at Manchester, United Kingdom and a specialised doctor in Italy³⁵ concerning with human cloning.³⁶

Ian Wilmut, the scientist who cloned “Dolly” stated that following their announcement of Dolly’s birth at the Roslin Institute, and of her subsequent pregnancy, there has been relatively little attention paid to how revolutionary this step in nuclear transfer technology [cloning] in fact was. Wilmut claimed that Dolly showed that a nucleus from an adult animal cell could be re-programmed to become totipotent, in other words, it could be altered to allow the full range of gene expression that is required to create a total animal. We have thus entered an age of biological control. This is an era in which we will progressively become able to prevent as well as treat human diseases which currently cause terrible suffering, both by better understanding the molecular structure of cell development and by modifying it.³⁷

³⁴ Pearson, pp.76-79

³⁵ Dr. Antinori is a specialist in nuclear transfer technology who claims that human beings can be easily cloned.

³⁶ Cloning has become legal in Holland, the only country to achieve its legality through its parliament, since the year 2000.

³⁷ Ian Wilmut, “Dolly: The Age of Biological Control”, *The Genetic Revolution and Human Rights*, ed. Justine Burley, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 19

As Ian Wilmut explains the significance of biological control, today, understanding eugenics has become more important. The genetic replicas of farm animals will result in a genetically robust stock, yielding a high agricultural output. Production of animals with the required sex -cows rather than bulls when the objective was to produce milk but bulls when beef animals were required- is possible too.

If “eugenics is the science dealing with the improvement of hereditary qualities in a series of generations of a race or breed especially by social control of human mating and reproduction”³⁸ than, today, one parameter of reproduction has changed. Today, the “improvement of hereditary qualities” can be achieved “without human mating.”³⁹

With the work on biological control and the scientific studies on genetic replicas of beings, there is the possibility to bring back the loved ones, whether a deceased child, spouse or a cat that might be. What Ian Wilmut says on this matter is worth quoting to understand the future horizons of eugenics:

A little while ago I received a telephone call from a woman who had lost her two-year-old child to leukemia the previous Sunday. Could I bring her child back? Tragic! I suspect the most of us, if we could do this, would do it.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Eugenic*: (in) *Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged*, Springfield-Massachusetts, Merriam-Webster, 1986.

³⁹ In the State of Israel, it is compulsory for all pregnant women to undergo an amniocentesis. Once a small amount of fluid is obtained from the body by this technique, a genetic screening is done in the laboratories. Also, in 1995, when I was in Israel for a three-month program of Continuing Medical Education, a high ranked official from the Ministry of Health proudly declared in a lecture that, over thirty-five percent of all pregnancies in Israel were achieved through IVF, *in vitro fertilisation*. He again proudly added in his lecture to this aggregate of over thirty medical doctors of various nationalities attending the program that, thus, screening for one hundred and sixty five genes could be undertaken. “With the possibility of an undesired progeny, “the tubes were inverted and all went down the sink.” At the end of his lecture he said all “this knowledge” was unofficial though *Kupat Holim* (Israeli social security organisation) covered the expenses for the IVF’s.

⁴⁰ Wilmut, p. 22

In America, already there are several firms running on the basis of monthly payments from pet-owners who would like to get back their pets, their “cloned” copies, if they died or got lost. In 2002 a cat was cloned with this aim and the kitten named “CC” was born, a copy of her mother that was lost.

Today, as Ian Wilmut states, the people who have approached [him] about cloning have given him “three main reasons for wanting to clone a human: to bring back a lost relative, selective breeding and to treat infertility.”⁴¹ Evidently, eugenic purposes, the intention of having some rather than the others to be born are on the agenda again.

Eugenics is awaiting new surveys. Even the notion of “selective breeding” has been altered with the new knowledge of genetic science. Selections between molecules of the human body may be achieved. The example below might be of help for a better understanding.

Mitochondria are the small bodies in each of our cells, which supply energy. They contain DNA which is subject to error (mutation) leading to diseases in just the same way that chromosomal mutation may cause disease. However, in the case of mitochondria we inherit those only from our mothers. The children will inherit the same condition from a woman suffering from mitochondrial disease. In principle there is no reason why the embryo nucleus could not be removed from the defective egg and be placed in a recipient enucleated egg cell. A woman known not to have similar damage to her mitochondria would provide the recipient egg. The resulting child would be exactly as it would have developed, except that; it would not suffer the disease associated with mitochondria.⁴²

Today, it has been understood that genes are digitally coded text. The Watson/Crick revolution has shown us that DNA is all “words.”⁴³ Analogies cannot be derived from such texts. Modern evolutionary theory tends to see genes as the Darwinian units. Groups, such as nations or races, at best can

⁴¹ Wilmut, p.22

⁴² *ibid*, p. 23

⁴³ Rosenberg. P.77. “Thus emergentists, holists, indeed vitalists could agree that the embryo is computable provided they could pack the function that maps molecules into organisms.”

have a secondary instrumental role on evolution. Modern evolutionists accept that Social Darwinism made a mistake by assuming groups could affect evolution.

Today, there are some eugenic applications, which could not be related with Social Darwinist or Nazi ideology. One easy and understandable example is antenatal screening. Antenatal screening is a barrier, a block against the right to life.⁴⁴ It is a eugenic practice. But it encompasses the compassion for an individual child who may suffer. There is also respect for the autonomy of the potential parents. Respect for people with disabilities is another aspect. The concern to avoid harm to a particular future child is not the same as Nazi euthanasia program for such children. Nazi eugenics was based on decisions by the state in order to improve the gene pool. Parental autonomy is also not hard to discriminate from state eugenics.

The matter is also attributable to human organ, tissue and cell transplantation, on harvesting organ, tissue or cells from individuals who are eligible, that is, willing to donate, who are brain dead and perhaps newborns with no chance of living due to their chromosomal defects.

Hence it is best if social scientists could elaborate on these matters.

⁴⁴ See footnote 39, p.27.

CHAPTER 2

EUGENIC APPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS WESTERN COUNTRIES

2.1. The United States

The eugenics movement was by no means a purely academic exercise. In the United States it exerted considerable influence on popular opinion and was reflected in some state and federal legislation.

In America, scientific research on heredity and eugenic propaganda walked together, hand in hand. In 1904, the Carnegie Institution of Washington established a biological experiment station. Charles Davenport was the director of this centre at Cold Springs Harbor on Long Island. The name of the research centre was the Station for Experimental Evolution. At first, Charles Davenport put his staff to work on a variety of problems in cytology and breeding. He himself undertook breeding experiments with snails, mice, houseflies, moths, sow bugs, trout, cats, canaries, chickens and sheep. Then he became interested in man. He began to publish on the heredity of eye, skin and hair colour in man. In 1906, American Breeders' Association –formed in 1903 by agricultural breeders and university biologists- set up a Committee on Eugenics. At this time, Davenport became secretary of the Committee. Then, he started campaigning to make Cold Springs a centre for the growing interest in eugenics under the Committee of Eugenics. New committees were formed, namely on deaf-mutism, on feeble-mindedness, on

inheritance of mental traits, on criminality, on epilepsy and on immigration. The members of these committees were the past aggregate of the most eminent scholars of the era. The last institution that was founded under the Committee on Eugenics was the Eugenics Record Office. Land was purchased near the Station and the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Springs Harbor on Long Island was established. Davenport was the director while Harry H. Laughlin became superintendent. The Office influenced both research and propaganda nationwide.⁴⁵

Eugenicists launched campaigns for permanent custodial care, sterilisation and marriage restriction to halt the increasing burden of mental disease and delinquency. They also carried on campaigns for immigration restrictions.

Chiefly American eugenics made its mark through the influence of three different but somewhat overlapping groups. First were the psychiatrists, psychologists and social reformers interested primarily in the prevention of crime, mental illness and disease. They provided the principal eugenic impulse. "For many of them, their involvement in eugenics was but one of many activities for civic betterment in which they engaged."⁴⁶

A second group consisted of those alarmed by the new immigration that poured into the United States. Mostly old stock Americans, proud of their heritage and heredity, such racists feared that the new immigrants lacked the biological endowment to adapt to American culture and democracy. As Mark Haller states, "their concern was with America's genetic future."⁴⁷ They found support for their program in the assumptions of the eugenic creed.

⁴⁵ Donald K. Pickens, *Eugenics and the Progressives*, (Nashville, Tennessee, Vanderbilt University Press, 1968) pp 37-55

⁴⁶ Haller, p. 92

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.92

Finally a third group was represented primarily in the universities. "They were principally interested in research into human genetics."⁴⁸

The most energetic of the eugenicists campaigned for the custodial care of the feeble-minded. While in 1904 there were nearly 14,000 resident inmates in 24 institutions, in 1923 the number of the resident inmates in such institutions had risen to 43,000, in 43 institutes. More important than the tripling of the number in institutions was the vast growth in extra-institutional care for the feeble-minded.⁴⁹ In the more progressive states, a comprehensive system of medical inspection, clinics, public school classes, institutional parole systems and community supervision began to develop. Eugenic campaigns for the feeble-minded accomplished a great deal for them.

The eugenicists were also after the legislation for sterilisation. Already, in the mid-1890's Dr. F. Hoyt Pilcher, superintendent of the Kansas State Home for the Feeble-minded had castrated forty-four boys and fourteen girls under his charge. Because his actions were without legal warrant, public opinion soon forced him to stop but not before he had established a reputation as a heroic pathfinder.⁵⁰ A similar action had come from Dr. Barr, in 1905 to rally sentiment for castration. He had reported what he considered to be the fine effects on some eighty-eight youths, ages fourteen to twenty-two:

In every case, there was marked mental and physical improvement, the children growing stout and acquiring large frames. There was no hair on the pubes or face and the cheeks became round and prominent; indeed they resemble large women.⁵¹

At the end of the nineteenth-century, vasectomy, the cutting and tying of the *vas deferens* through a tiny slit in the scrotum, was developed. By

⁴⁸ Haller, p. 92

⁴⁹ *ibid*, p. 139

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 48

⁵¹ *ibid*, p. 48

performing this operation, the seminal fluid of the males could be stopped and his sterility confirmed. The *testes* would remain intact, supply the body with hormones. This operation did not cause changes in sexual characteristics while it happened after castration.

Sterilisation operations for women were more dangerous. For them, salpingectomy, the cutting and tying of the fallopian tubes was developed. This operation involved opening of the abdomen. In 1907, sterilisation first achieved legislature in the United States: The first sterilisation law was in Indiana (1907). Connecticut, Washington and California (1909) soon followed. New Jersey and Iowa in 1911, Nevada and New York in 1912, North Dakota, Michigan, Kansas and Wisconsin in 1913 passed sterilisation laws. Nebraska in 1915 and Oregon, South Dakota and New Hampshire in 1917 had sterilisation laws put into force.⁵²

Harry H. Laughlin was the one to carry the flag for sterilisation legislation. He operated through The Committee to Study and Report on the Best Practical Means of Cutting off the Defective Germ Plasma in the American Population. This committee was organised under The Eugenics Section of the American Breeders' Association. In its 1914 report of the Committee it was stated that, "society must look upon germ plasma as belonging to society and not solely to the individual who carries it."⁵³

By this report, segregation, sterilisation and education in the facts of heredity were advocated to ensure purging the United States of its burden of undesirable germ plasma. Along with the report, a draft of a model sterilisation law was added. Laughlin's model law encompassed the sterilisation of all those who were potential parents of socially inadequate offspring, that is, people supported in institutions or maintained wholly or in part by public expense, feeble-minded, insane, criminalistic, epileptic,

⁵² Haller, p.135

⁵³ *ibid*, p.133

inebriate, diseased, blind, deaf, deformed and dependent, orphans, ne'er-do-wells, tramps, the homeless and paupers.⁵⁴

By the time the Model Law was published in 1914, twelve states had enacted sterilisation laws. Although Davenport and Laughlin lead the creed and were sponsored by such wealthy Americans such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, American eugenics movement was by no means a centrally established or coordinated one.

American sterilisation laws preceded the laws of other countries by twenty years. The early laws assumed that sterilisation was a medical decision. It had to be left to the determination of a board of experts. They did not provide for notice to parents or for defence counsel. "Only in 1911 -by the law of New Jersey- came, the representation of the inmate by counsel."⁵⁵

Two of the laws by Washington and Nevada, although they were named as "sterilisation laws," were not eugenic but punitive:

Whenever any person would be adjudged guilty of carnal abuse of a female person under the age of ten years, or of rape, or would be adjudged a habitual criminal, they permitted a judge, at the time of sentencing, to impose on sterilisation.⁵⁶

This punitive law of Nevada received its first test when a state judge sentenced a young rapist to prison and ordered him sterilised because he was epileptic. The judge reasoned that the young rapist ought not to have children. "A United States District Court in 1918 declared this unconstitutional as cruel and unusual punishment."⁵⁷ In New Jersey and New York similar decisions were taken against sterilisation. In New Jersey the state Supreme Court in 1913 "held the law unconstitutional as discriminatory

⁵⁴ Pickens , p. 65

⁵⁵ Haller, p. 135

⁵⁶ *ibid*, p. 136

⁵⁷ *ibid*, p. 137

class legislation,”⁵⁸ and “in New York, in 1920 Governor Alfred E. Smith signed a repeal measure, which had passed the legislature unanimously.”⁵⁹

In 1924 Virginia passed a Eugenic Sterilisation Act based on Laughlin’s Model Law. It was adopted as part of a cost-saving strategy to relieve the tax burden in a state where public facility for the insane and feeble-minded had experienced rapid growth. The law was also written to protect physicians who performed sterilising operations from malpractice lawsuits. Carrie Buck, a seventeen-year-old girl from Charlottesville, Virginia, was picked as the first person to be sterilised. Carrie had a child, but was not married. Her mother Emma was already a resident at an asylum, the Virginia Colony for the Epileptic and the Feeble-minded.⁶⁰ Officials at the Virginia Colony said that Carrie and her mother shared the hereditary traits of feeble-mindedness and sexually promiscuity. To those who believed that such traits were genetically transmitted, Carrie fit the law’s description as a probable potential parent of socially inadequate offspring. A legal challenge was arranged on Carrie’s behalf to test the constitutional validity of the law.⁶¹

The judge Bell concluded that Carrie should be sterilised to prevent the birth of other defective children. The decision was appealed to United States Supreme Court. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, himself a student of eugenics, wrote the formal opinion for the Court in the case of *Buck v. Bell* (1927).⁶² His opinion repeated the “facts” in Carrie’s case, concluding that a

⁵⁸ Haller, p.137

⁵⁹ *ibid*, p. 137

⁶⁰ *ibid*. p.135

⁶¹ *ibid*, p. 138

⁶² Winfield Scott Pugh, “Foreword”, (in) Herman H. Rubin, *Eugenics and Sex Harmony*, (Pioneer Publications Inc., N.Y., New Edition, 1949, 21st printing, first printed 1933.) p.vi. “In matters pertaining to eugenics and sex, we have been very much the ostrich, but it is well nigh time we pulled our heads out of the sand. Currier Bell once said, ‘such annoyance as Society cannot cure, it usually forbids utterance on pain of its scorn; said scorn being only a tinselled cloak to its deformed weakness.’ Currier Bell was the judge who decided for the sterilisation of Carrie Buck.

deficient mother, daughter, and grand daughter justified the need for sterilisation. The decision included the words:

It is better for the entire world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind... Three generations of imbeciles is enough.⁶³

Borrowing from Laughlin's Model Law, the German Nazi government adopted a law in 1933 that provided the legal basis for sterilising people. Laughlin proudly published a translation of the German Law for the Prevention of Defective Progeny in the *Eugenical News*. In 1936, Laughlin was awarded an honorary degree from the University of Heidelberg, as a tribute for his work in the science of racial cleansing.

In comparison with the total number of insane and feeble-minded in the United States since 1907, relatively few have been sterilised. By the end of 1931, twenty-four years after the first law, somewhat more than 12,145 operations had been performed under the sterilisation laws. 7,548 of these were in California. By the end of 1958, the total sterilisations under the laws had risen to only 60,926. California still led with 20,011.⁶⁴

American eugenicists were also after marriage restrictions. By the mid-1890's, about one half of the states already had laws that declared void the marriage of an insane or feeble-minded person –“not on eugenic grounds but on the grounds that such persons were unable to make a contract.”⁶⁵ In 1896 Connecticut became the first state to regulate marriage for breeding purposes. A law of that year provided that “no man and woman either of whom is epileptic or imbecile or feeble-minded” should marry or have extra-marital relations “when the woman is under forty-five years of age” and set a minimum penalty of three years' imprisonment for violation. Other states

⁶³ Haller, p.139

⁶⁴ *ibid*, p. 141

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p. 47

followed Connecticut. Kansas in 1903, New Jersey and Ohio in 1904 and Michigan and Indiana in 1905 joined the states with eugenic marriage laws.⁶⁶

The leaders of the eugenics movement did little to promote laws to restrict marriage of defectives. Their scepticism relied on their conviction that such a law would not be enforced and could not control reproduction of unmarried feeble-minded girls. They left the promotion to local women's clubs, churches, physicians and charity groups. Often the effort to pass marriage laws worked hand in hand with the campaign to pass laws that made blood tests and doctor's certificates mandatory in order to receive a marriage licence. There was a growing concern over venereal diseases.

Because laws controlling the marriage of those with venereal disease were partly to prevent the birth of diseased infants, they were often called eugenic marriage laws. By the middle 1930's, forty-one states had laws to prohibit marriage of the insane and feeble-minded, seventeen to prohibit marriage of epileptics and four to prohibit marriage of confirmed drunkards.⁶⁷

Some of the laws denied the right of marriage because such persons could not make contracts, others because they would probably make poor parents and still others because their offspring were believed likely to inherit the defect of the parent.

The key triumph of American eugenics movement came in 1924, when a coalition of eugenicists and some big-business interests pushed through the Immigration Act of 1924, also known as the National Origins Act, severely limiting immigration into the United States from Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. Eugenicists claimed that these immigrants were inferior to Anglo-Saxons and were "polluting" the "pure" American bloodstream. By 1925 eugenicists were beginning to be severely

⁶⁶ Haller, p. 47

⁶⁷ *ibid*, p. 142

criticised for what was seen as their overt racial bias, their subjectivity and bias in the use of evidence, and their lack of scientific rigour.⁶⁸

It can be said that, in America, the legislative battle of the eugenics movement consisted of the campaign for custodial care, sterilisation laws, marriage laws and immigration restriction. The custodial care of the feeble-minded demonstrated that the goal lay beyond reach and most of the feeble-minded had to be cared for and supervised outside of institutions. In twenty-seven states sterilisation laws remain in force but they have seldom been enforced. Where they have been enforced, their eugenic significance has been negligible. In the case of the marriage laws, it is a well-known fact that the laws have seldom stood in the way of any that have applied. Immigration restrictions were the major victory of the eugenicists. It took more than forty years for the feeble-minded to be accepted as an immigrant to the United States. In 1965 United States Congress reversed prohibitive legislation against immigration of feeble-minded, against families with feeble-minded members.

2.2. The United Kingdom

Special emphasis has been given to the eugenics movements in this country. Although eugenics in England failed to achieve legislation, the propositions, debates and opposition constituted the “data base” for the topic. All the measures adopted in other western societies happened to be their duplicates. The word eugenics and the movement emerged in England in the twentieth century. The British movement not only served as a catalyst but also as a source of doctrine for worldwide eugenics. Sir Francis Galton held the conviction that moral and intellectual traits followed the same laws as physical traits. This provided the most satisfactory evidence that man’s mind

⁶⁸ Pearson, p.58: “In particular his (Franz Boas) *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928) and *Race, Language and Culture* (1940) were devoted to downplaying the concept of heredity and undermining the eugenics ideal. The egalitarian ideology steadily gained ground as Boas’s disciples and *their* pupils gained increasing influence throughout American academe.”

as well as his body could be improved by better breeding. Galton also made many statements on the goals of eugenics, on its ethical and religious implications and on the need to work through the cultivation of public support. Galton was doctrinal father of eugenic movement.

In 1870 Francis Galton, Darwin's cousin, with the publication of *Hereditary Genius, An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences*,⁶⁹ first contributed to heredity by explaining how superiority existed among only certain families. According to Galton, inheritance was the key to evolution. Galton held there were biological reasons why certain individuals and groups prevailed in the struggle for existence. According to this eugenic creed, an increase in stupidity in human population was dangerous. However, the "gifted," regardless of circumstances would succeed. Eugenics, according to Galton, was the co-operator of nature. What nature did blindly, slowly and ruthlessly, man might do the same providently, quickly and kindly. The object of eugenics, therefore, was for superior people to maintain a statistical advantage over inferior elements of the population. Galton claimed the average citizen was too inferior for the daily common work of modern civilisation. Civilised man had gained great powers in technology and manual efforts but his wits and morals did not follow this progress sufficiently to enable him to conduct himself in accordance with the plan of the cosmos and society. Danger went with progress. Man's technical knowledge exceeded his moral development. Society, therefore, stood on the brink of self-destruction.⁷⁰

The Eugenics Society, founded in 1907, was one of the most articulate and effective promoters of both positive and negative eugenics. From the outset, sterilisation was seen by British eugenicists as a main plank in their negative eugenics program.

⁶⁹ Pearson, 19: "This seminal text was followed by *Natural Inheritance* (1889) and *Essays in Eugenics* (1909)."

⁷⁰ Pickens 29

The eugenicists inclined to root all social and physical deviance in genetic defect. Sterilisation was promoted as a cheap and easy means of removing from the gene pool the threat of offending groups, ranging from such obvious targets as the insane to any class of defectives or even more widely to what eugenicists called the social problem group.

There were some important differences between the British and American eugenic movements. There was the governmental support for the sterilisation legislation in England while in the United States such a support was lacking for the eugenicists and they had to dig their roads with their nails. In England the Bills were rejected when submitted to vote. British eugenicists could not reach parliamentary support while their American counterparts passed the laws more easily. In England between 1930 and 1936 eugenicists were campaigning more actively while at this time eugenics in America was downhill.

The eugenicists successfully gained support twice from important government reports: the Wood Report on Mental Deficiency of 1929 and the Brock Report on Sterilisation of 1934.⁷¹ The Wood Report described the social problem group as embracing the insane, but also a wide and miscellaneous group comprising "epileptics, paupers, criminals (especially recidivists), unemployable, habitual slum dwellers, prostitutes, inebriates, and other social inefficient." Brock Committee disclosed the candidates for sterilisation as "mentally defectives; or these that suffered from mental disorder; or was likely to transmit both incapacity; and persons who suffered from grave physical disability; or was likely to transmit it."⁷²

In the Wood Report, it was estimated that the social problem group comprised no less than the bottom 10 per cent of the population, which amounted to about 4 million people in England and Wales. The report also estimated that 300,000 people should be formally classified as mental

⁷¹ Newspaper not mentioned, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, p. 346

⁷² *ibid*, p. 346

defectives; of these, 100,000 were severe cases. The Wood Report claimed that the incidence of mental deficiency was increasing rapidly and had doubled since 1908. This finding coincided with eugenicists' claims about the rapid decline in national intelligence.

The Brock Committee embraced the Wood Committee's broad view of the social problem group. It also gave its imprimatur to sterilisation for those who were mentally defective or had suffered from mental disorder, those who were or were believed to be the carriers of grave physical disabilities, or persons likely to transmit mental disorder or defect. The eugenicists were apt to include such handicaps as blindness or deafness among the grave physical disabilities and argued that these individuals were also likely to be candidates for sterilisation on account of associated mental impairment.

On the basis of its success in spreading alarm among the higher social classes, the eugenicists attracted wide support. This support created an opportunity for decisive intervention on the policy front. The period between 1930 and 1936 marked the high point of the sterilisation campaign in Britain. The cause was powerfully supported within the social establishment and Britain seemed to be on the brink of introducing one of the most wide-ranging sterilisation laws.

But the sterilisation movement collapsed at its last hurdle. The eugenicists were over complacent and tempted to cast their net too widely. Their vague proposals raised criticism among unsympathetic scientists and lawyers. Apart from isolated individuals, the Labour movement was never sympathetic. When it came to a decision, it joined the Catholic Church in opposition.

The ideological influence of eugenic measures met with the opposition of Papacy. In 1930, *Castii Connubii*, the papal bull against

eugenics was declared. After this declaration, Catholics everywhere turned strongly against eugenics.⁷³

The Conservatives were also reticent owing to their fear of adverse electoral consequences. Finally, the high profile of sterilisation in Nazi ideology frightened away much liberal opinion.

On July 21, 1931, "Sterilisation Bill" was rejected in England. By 167 votes to 89, the House of Commons rejected the Bill in which it was proposed to authorise the voluntary sterilisation of persons who were mentally defective.⁷⁴

This overturning did not stop the English eugenicists and thus the campaign for the sterilisation of the "mentally unfit" did not come to an end with the rejection of the proposed Bill.

On June 9, 1932 it was announced that a Government Committee (The Brock Committee) was appointed to inquire the sterilisation of the unfit. The duty of the Committee was limited to investigate the facts and to suggest what further inquiries that might beneficially be undertaken.⁷⁵

The members of the Government Committee were the British dignity of these highly qualified past aggregation of their era:

Mr. Brock, (Chairman,) chairman of the "Board of Control" since 1928. Mr. Trotter, F.R.S.: the Honorary Surgeon to His Majesty since 1928. Mr. Fisher, chartered with the "Statistical Department of the Rothamsted Experimental Station". Mr. Tredgold, F.R.S.: the fellow physician in "Psychological Medicine at University College Hospital". Miss Darwin: a

⁷³ Evening Standard, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, p. 1066: "December 27, 1932. Pope condemned sterilisation in his customary Christmas address to the Cardinals. 'Although it is distasteful to us' he said, 'to speak of a practice which has been made compulsory by law in a neighbouring country, yet so many of the faithful are awaiting guidance that we must speak'. The Pontiff contended himself with saying the Catholic doctrine was defined in the encyclical *Casti Connubii* in which sterilisation was condemned."

⁷⁴ Newspaper not mentioned, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, p. 16

⁷⁵ Newspaper not mentioned, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 346

grand daughter of the great naturalist and the daughter of the late Sir Horace Darwin. Mr. Adams, M.D.: a medical officer member of staff of the "Ministry of Health". Mr. Lewis, DSc.: a specialist and a research fellow on social aspects of mental deficiency. Mr. Crowley, MD: senior medical officer of the "Board of Education". Mr. Chanter, member of the "Board of Control", the secretary of the committee.

It took two years for the Brock Committee to decide upon the matter. During these years, some very distinguished members of the medical profession backed the eugenic proposals. Lord Horder was one of them.

On October 18, 1933, Lord Horder advocated sterilisation and birth control, as instruments for creating up a more virile nation in an address when he opened the post-graduate session of lectures at the Hampstead General Hospital. Among the points put forward were; 1) the nation was being recruited from its inefficient; 2) superior types were restricting their families; 3) training in birth control should be given on economic and eugenic grounds. The aim was to control the reproduction of unfit types and encourage fertility among higher grades.⁷⁶

The Brock Committee's report (1934) with the conviction on the necessity for a sterilisation law caused the British eugenics movement to make a second attempt on eugenic grounds.

On July 2, 1934, the London City Council discussed sterilisation. It was based on a report of the General Purposes Committee, which expressed the opinion that "the knowledge and facts in the possession of the Council are not sufficient to warrant it to quote an opinion on the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation." Mr. Eric Hall (M.R.) proposed that the council supported the unanimous recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation. The chief recommendations were; subject to safeguards proposed, voluntary sterilisation should be legalised in the case of any person who; is mentally defective or has suffered from mental disorder or

⁷⁶ Daily Telegraph, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 989

is likely to transmit either incapacity and any person who suffers from grave physical disability or is likely to transmit it. It followed as: "Evidently, compulsory sterilisation cannot be justified, or imposed under present availabilities. Further research on certain indicated aspects of the subject should be carried out. Opposition came from the representatives of the "laymen." An amendment was moved by Mr. L. Silkin (Soc.), and seconded by Sir Oscar Warburg (M.R.) asking the Council to express no opinion on the recommendations of the Departmental Committee. The motion was lost whence voted and the report of the General Purposes Committee to take no action was adopted by 64 to 45.⁷⁷

Although legalisation for sterilisation lost for the second time, propositions in favour of eugenic sterilisation continued. Interestingly it is worth quoting that educated women of the era were on behalf of eugenic act.

On October 4, 1935, The National Council of Women's Annual Conference was held at Edinburgh. At this conference, a resolution passed by Miss Paterson, of the East Dorset branch, was carried by a large majority, urged the Government to introduce a measure to legalise voluntary sterilisation in certain specified cases of mental disorder and grave physical disability.⁷⁸

On October 9, 1935, at the Annual Conference of the Women Public Health Officers' Association, held in Newcastle, the proposal that "sterilisation of the unfit would be an advantage to the community" was accepted by 71 votes to 42. Miss Amy Sayle (London), Chairman of the Association said that the vote did not define the policy of the Association but was only the opinion of the delegates.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Daily Telegraph, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p.1227

⁷⁸ Glasgow Herald, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 1390

⁷⁹ Morning Post, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 1395

Also in 1935, debates on euthanasia started. This was the year when German anti-Semitic and eugenic applications had reached to effect great numbers of people. The President of the Voluntary Euthanasia Legalisation Society, Lord Moynihan presided at the inaugural public meeting of the Society in London on December 11, 1935. The Earl of Listowel, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Canon Harold Anson, the Master of the Temple⁸⁰ and the Rev. F. W. Norwood, Minister of the City Temple, favoured the following resolution:

In the interests of humanity it is desirable that, voluntary euthanasia (easy death for those suffering from incurable and painful diseases) should be legalised subject to adequate safeguards, for persons who are suffering from incurable, fatal and painful disease.⁸¹

Dr. C. Killick Millard, the Hon. Secretary, said that the Society⁸², acting under legal advice had prepared the Voluntary Euthanasia (Legalisation) Bill. The details of by-Laws provided in the Bill were as follows:

The sufferer should sign an official application. Two witnesses who were selected among different disciplines like laws, letters, medicine and theology or pursue responsibility in the society should attest his signature. The patient had to acquire two independent medical certificates stating that he was suffering from a disease with an incurable fatal and painful character. An official, known as the Euthanasia Referee should ascertain himself that the case was not a distorted one for a granted euthanasia. Seven days had to

⁸⁰ Information compiled by Prof. Emine Gürsoy Naskali, on asking her the question; "What does 'the Master of the City Temple' mean?" (1) "The Temple refers to the area in London (I think at the boundary of 'City') where all the Courts are and the Temple is the church. Auriol's father (Canon R. T. Milford) used to be the Master of the Temple and they lived in the house provided by the church till he moved on or maybe retired." (2) "The Master of the Temple is like the Warden, and the Minister is the priest in charge. The Temple Church is in the City of London and linked to the Inns of Court and the legal scene (I think). I am told that the legal people cause quite a lot of difficulty for the Minister and the church by trying to control things. I knew the priest there who was the Church of England's expert on music and the liturgy (he died last year) –he also acted as a sort of No 2 to the Minister."

⁸¹ English Unitarian Church favoured euthanasia. See Appendix C

⁸² *VELS: Voluntary Euthanasia Legalisation Society*. See Appendix C

elapse before the permit might be validified. If friends pursued as the "nearest relative," they had the right of appealing to a court of summary jurisdiction. A large majority carried the resolution on a show of hands.⁸³

In 1936, Lord Ponsonby proposed "Voluntary Euthanasia Bill." On November 6, 1936, the text of the Bill was disclosed. It proposed to legalise under certain conditions the administration of euthanasia to persons desiring who apparently were suffering from an illness of a fatal and incurable character involving severe pain. The Bill provided for the administration of euthanasia by a medical man if permission was to be granted. The conditions for the granting of such permission in addition to the character of the illness were; the patient should not be less than twenty-one years of age, had to be of sound mind. The patient was obliged to make out an application in writing in the presence of two witnesses. The application then would be forwarded to a euthanasia referee appointed under the measure, together with two medical certificates, one signed by the patient's practitioner and the other by a medical practitioner having special qualifications. The euthanasia referee or referees were to be appointed by the Minister of Health. A referee, before granting permission to receive euthanasia, had to satisfy himself by means of a personal interview with the patient and/or otherwise that the prescribed conditions had been fulfilled, and that the patient fully understood the nature and purpose of the application. The measure was not to apply to Scotland or Northern Ireland.⁸⁴

On December 1, 1936, Lord Ponsonby's Bill to permit voluntary euthanasia was refused on a second reading in the House of Lords by 35 votes to 14. Participating in the debate were two famous medical men, Lord Dawson of Penn and Lord Horder. Lord Dawson of Penn thought the Bill, far from promoting the gentle growth of euthanasia, would have an opposite effect. Doctors would hesitate before they introduced the atmosphere of

⁸³ Morning Post, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 1902

⁸⁴ Morning Post, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 2324

officialdom into a sick-chamber. The measure would deter all those now engaged on a mission of mercy. Lord Horder regretted that medical men had associated themselves with propaganda for euthanasia before the Bill had come to the House. A doctor's duty, he thought, was to prolong life as far as it might be possible.⁸⁵ Three years previously, the same Lord Horder was in favour of a sterilisation law.

In England, although eugenic sterilisation seemingly turned out to be little more than a side show with no practical impact, the timing of the proposals, the personalities of the advocates for the legalisation of sterilisation and euthanasia is worth quoting. British eugenicists were composed of the dignitaries. While the British eugenicists debated on the matter, Nazi sterilisations and "mercy killings" were taking place. It is possible to believe that British eugenicists were quite "cold blooded" in comparison with Americans.

In England, the groups vulnerable to such interventions as sterilisation seemed sufficiently protected by the law. Any doctor performing sterilisation was taking a substantial risk. However, reflecting the passion with which eugenic sterilisation was supported, it is evident that some medical practitioners were willing to defy the law and carry out sterilisation in the interests of what they perceived as the public good. This practice was obviously undertaken with discretion, but there are sufficient traces of its existence to suggest that eugenic sterilisation was current in England before World War II. The full evidence of the extent of this practice remains to be uncovered.⁸⁶

The best evidence comes from Leicester, the only major city for which there has been a thorough study of public health activity. The work of John

⁸⁵ Daily Telegraph, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 2354

⁸⁶ Charles Webster, *Health Matters*, issue 31, Winter 97/98, National Health Service, (<http://www.healthmatters.org.uk/stories/webster31.html>). Charles Webster is the editor of *Cambridge History of Medicine* publications and Reader in the History of Medicine of the University of Oxford.

Welshman has demonstrated the extent to which the public health hierarchy in Leicester was motivated by eugenic considerations. In the course of this work he has drawn attention to support for sterilisation, among public health doctors. Furthermore, at a conference sponsored by the "Committee for Legalising Eugenic Sterilisation", in May 1932, C J Bond, a senior surgeon at Leicester Royal Infirmary, described eugenic activities in Leicester. It was reported that, "Illustrative cases were recorded by Mr Bond, in which blind persons and individuals suffering from other forms of transmissible defect had undergone voluntary sterilisation with satisfactory results." Also, it was stated that, "Further cases were mentioned in which experience has shown that there is ground for hope that increasing numbers of carriers will avail themselves of sterilisation."⁸⁷

At the same conference an Alderman Black, representing the Leicester Mental Hospital and Health Committee, paid tribute to the courage and determination of Dr Bond with respect to his "pioneer work;" Alderman Black called for those attending the conference to embark on a sustained newspaper campaign to promote sterilisation. Writing some years later C P Blacker, who was one of the best-known medical academics, associated with the sterilisation movement, admitted, "Sterilisation on eugenic grounds has occasionally been performed in this country and without mishap." For reasons of prudence Blacker was naturally reserved about this admission. In the light of this general comment, and specific evidence relating to Leicester and other localities, it may well have been the case that, eugenic sterilisation was taking place in Britain to a much greater extent than is yet realised.⁸⁸ On account of the evangelical mission of the British eugenicists to promote sterilisation, the fact is that it was taking place in Britain without legal sanction. The advocacy of eugenics even among the more liberal welfare theorists, it is too soon to conclude that England can be exonerated over this practice. The sterilisation

⁸⁷ Webster

⁸⁸ Webster

incident also raises the question of the infiltration of eugenic considerations into regimes of care under the National Health Service.⁸⁹

2.3. Germany

The mass extermination, unfortunately, has occurred more than once in human history. What made the Nazi program different was the sophistication of both its performers and their methods. The Holocaust did not take place in a backward nation. Germany was one of the most civilised countries in the world, modern and technological. The most highly class-conscious working class and the largest socialist party in the advanced industrialised nations were in Germany. Moreover, in the early twentieth-century Germany enjoyed an unsurpassed scientific tradition especially in medicine and bacteriology. Rudolph Virchow, Robert Koch, Emil von Behring and Paul Ehrlich were world famous for their accomplishments.⁹⁰

Most significant, during the nineteenth-century, there had been no prejudice against Jews in Germany. Anti-Semitism had been the ideology in tsarist Russia, Poland or even France. Germany had long been a haven for Jews seeking relief from the pogroms farther east and German Jews were living in integration with their neighbours and they were the most assimilated in the world. But there was a Jewish Question. National Socialism converted the "Jewish question" from a religious to a genetic issue. The biological outlook made Jews a threat to the state by birth, not by belief. Anti-Semitism

⁸⁹ Webster

⁹⁰ W. A. Newman Dorland, *The American Illustrated Medical Dictionary*, W.B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia and London, 1936, *Virchow's angle, disease, line*: "Rudolph Virchow, German pathologist, 1821-1902," p.1502, (see also: Preface, p.v), *Koch's bacillus, law, lymph, phenomenon*: "Robert Koch, German bacteriologist, 1843-1910, the discoverer of the tubercle bacillus", p.713, *Behring's law, method, serum*: "Emil A. Von Behring, German bacteriologist, 1854-1917, p.197, *Ehrlich's reaction*: "Paul Ehrlich, German scientist at Frankfort-on-the-Main, p.440.

was transformed from an irrational, emotional basis to a more intellectually respectable, scientific basis.

“Treatment” of the sick and the weak was similarly grounded in biological morality. Thousands of persons participated in the medical extermination of the handicapped, feeble-minded and mentally ill. They believed that scientific authority had decreed the requisite for a future – uncontaminated by the retarded, diseased, crippled and immoral- society. One mental institution actually held a special ceremony on the cremation of the ten-thousandth patient. While the head of this institution that personally opened the gas containers, the entire staff member from doctors to secretaries celebrated the occasion with beer.⁹¹

It would be foolishly simplistic, of course, to blame what happened in Germany all on science. Germany experienced a series of humiliations in the fifteen years prior to the Nazi regime. The terms at Versailles, French seizure of the Ruhr industrial area, the hyper-inflation, the world economic slump of the early 1930’s, the unemployment rates greater than twenty five percent, all these made the country fertile ground for a strong leader who would reassert national pride and unity. Also, “scientific” explanations of *Rassenhygiene* (racial hygiene) had been a long debated subject in Germany and the scientific circles as well as the educated public were familiar with such issues.⁹²

Already in 1904, Ernst Haeckel, an influential biologist and pioneer of eugenic thought in Germany had maintained that, the destruction of the abnormal newborn should be considered not murder but a beneficial practice for both the child and the community.⁹³ The founder of eugenics in Germany, however was Alfred Ploetz. He coined the term *Rassenhygiene*. He advocated a medical policy based on eugenic principles, concerned with the health of the race as well as that of the individual. In 1904 Ploetz established the *Archiv für*

⁹¹ Tucker, p. 133

⁹² See Appendix H

⁹³ Weindling, pp 41.45

Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie (Journal of Racial and Social Biology) which over the next two decades developed an international scientific reputation. The following year he founded the Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene (Society for Racial Hygiene) whose membership included some of Germany's most distinguished scientists and physicians.⁹⁴

The Imperial regime of Germany had rejected the value of Racial Hygiene. At the end of the World War I, the newly established Weimar government turned to science for a systematic evaluation of the war's "racial hygienic" legacy. Weimar administration provided considerable support for eugenics. Research institutes on *Rassenhygiene* were established. Official state councils on public health started to have members of eugenicists, predominantly researchers in genetics and anthropology.

Genetics came to be viewed in Germany as an applied rather than a basic science. Eugenics was indistinguishable from genetics. This fusion was clearly reflected in the title of the most important textbook on genetics at the time. *Menschliche Erblchkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene* (Human Heredity and Racial Hygiene) was a massive two-volume work by the internationally recognised scientists Erwin Baur, Eugen Fischer and Fritz Lenz.⁹⁵

While Hitler was still imprisoned and just beginning *Mein Kampf*, renowned university scholars like Lenz and Fischer and cruder race theorists like Günther (Fischer's student) had already provided the intellectual and scientific foundation for the Nazi program.

All these scientists agreed that Germany's problems were primarily biological and needed biological solutions at both the individual and racial levels. It was accepted that the result of medical advances and welfare institutions had impeded the normal operation of the laws of natural selection. In particular they agreed that racial purity was important for national progress and that the Jews were the major threat to that purity. The German geneticists

⁹⁴ Weindling, pp 64-90

⁹⁵ *ibid*, pp 143-154

concluded that their nation's decline was primarily due to biological degeneration.⁹⁶

During the 1920's, as Germany experienced financial crises with much of the working class impoverished by mass unemployment and inflation, there was greater resentment at the state's expenditures on the biologically unfit. Public opinion was in favour of eugenicists. Nazis contributed. In 1931 a conference of the National Socialist Pharmacists and Physicians declared racial purification of Germany one of the prime Nazi objectives. To accomplish this task, the conference proposed that the German population be divided into three groups. The highest, the Nordic was to be nurtured. The middle group would be tolerated and the lowest group was to be eliminated through compulsory sterilisation. To implement this policy, the conference called for the establishment of special race bureaus that would keep track of every citizen and prevent marriages that would not promote Nordic predominance.⁹⁷

In 1932, 50 years had lapsed since Charles Darwin's death (1882). The German newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* was informing its readers on April 21, 1932 about the famous scientist's fiftieth anniversary as quoted below:

Charles Darwin, the founder of the theory of evolution, the theory that one species owes its origin to another, died in 1882, at the age of 72 years. For the attainment of this evolution Darwin ascribed primary importance to the struggle for life, by which the weaker had to give way to the stronger. He also saw in this struggle for life a natural selection for the purpose of maintaining, and if possible improving, the race. He further assumed the existence of sexual selection. Darwin's theories are no longer accepted in their entirety. He must be credited, however, with having caused a revolution in the world of thought, for men was no longer considered as the centre of creation, just as, since Kepler, Galileo and Newton, the earth is no longer looked upon as the centre of the universe.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Weindling, pp 143-154

⁹⁷ Tucker, p 117

⁹⁸ Keesing's Contemporary Archives (introduction chapter, Vol.1)

Almost a decade ago Fritz Lenz had offered a Darwinian explanation for Jew's parasitical nature. Nazi policies uprooted from Darwin's theories too. *Algemeen Handelsblad* was a liberal newspaper. After the Nazi regime seized full power, it was banned. In April 1932, one year before the Nazi takeover, the editor of the newspaper found no harm in printing a sentence as explaining Darwin's theories with the attainment to "*natural selection for the purpose of maintaining, and if possible improving, the race.*" Educated Germans were too much immersed in hereditary explanations of science.

Three months before, the German National Socialists had decided in using the *Schutzstaffel* for the purification of the German race. Their first step was to apply the selective procedures for the S.S. cadres. After January 12, 1932, a special marriage licence required for National Socialist S.S.-man:

The S.S. is a picked body of German men of the genuine type, selected according to special principles. In Art.2 it is stated that Herr Hitler, in accordance with the National Socialist point of view and realising that the future of the German people depends on the preservation of the genuine race and good hereditary blood, has introduced a special marriage licence for the members of the S.S. Every S.S.-man, who wishes to marry, must apply for such a licence at the "Rassenamt." If an S.S.-man should marry, in spite of a marriage licence being refused to him, he will be expelled from the "Shutzstaffel" organisation.⁹⁹

When Hitler seized power early in 1933, National Socialism proclaimed its policies nothing more than "applied biology," an assertion that already bore the imprimatur of some leading scientists. Many eugenicists were given positions in the new administration. All Nazi officials were expected to understand basic genetic principles.

In June 8, 1933, Dr. L. Vallguth published an article in the "Aertzlichen Mitteilungen", issued by the Association of German Physicians, the so-called Hartmann Association on May 20. For the promotion of new race hygiene, the writer demanded the enacting of a law to yield the

⁹⁹ Keesing's Contemporary Archives (introduction chapter, Vol.1)

sterilisation of human beings under certain conditions. This sterilisation however, would only be permissible in certain cases. The author wrote:

To this end, an attempt will be made in the following lines to unite large groups of inferior subjects under certain, easily recognisable characteristics. The classification, which has been very useful to me in the registration of the inferior subjects in my own district, will be most useful. It contains the following seven groups. These comprise; 1) The mentally deficient, 2) The insane, 3) Epileptics, 4) Unsocial "criminal" elements, 5) The deaf and dumb, 6) Physically weak "consumptives", 7) Persons belonging to a foreign race.

In the further course of the article he explained his meaning with regard to each of the groups mentioned. Specifically in connection with the number 7 he wrote:

We want to prevent as much as mixing of blood of a foreign race in the organism of our nation. So Jews, Negroes, Mongolians and suchlike people can be sterilised with impunity and with their own consent, whether they are ill or healthy. However, as this sterilisation cannot take place compulsorily, but only with the consent of the persons affiliated, efforts must be made." Furthermore he proceeded as follows: "and hence make it agreeable to these persons in some way or other."¹⁰⁰

A few days later, on June 28, 1933, a law applying the Nazi doctrine of eugenics and race purity was announced by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick¹⁰¹ at the first assembly of the Sachverständigenbeirat für Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik (Expert Advisory Council for Population and Race Politics.) It was stated that,

The chief concern of the State must be for the not yet born. The soundest constitutions must be encouraged to have large families. The soul of woman must find its way back to her child. Man must be trained to the duty of founding a family. The blossoming of the family must become a higher possession than wealth and comfort.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Aertzlichen Mitteilungen, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 833

¹⁰¹ Frick was tried at Nuremberg and sentenced to death by hanging.

¹⁰² Daily Telegraph, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 858

One month later, on July 27, 1933, the "Völkischer Beobachter" published a statement on the aim of the sterilisation law by Dr. Achim von Arnim, Professor of Military Organisation and head of the "Storm Detachments" of the Hitler Army. He stated that, "The really valuable strata of the population must not be overgrown by inferior products." He continued to his statement:

Military science demands the rearing of a race of soldiers capable, physically and psychologically, of withstanding the terrible experience of modern warfare. We need strong soldierly power. We need a people willing to collaborate in the moulding of the world's destiny. For this purpose it is not only a sound and healthy body that is indispensable, but men who are also psychologically pure and noble. The promulgation of the sterilisation laws is the first step towards the attainment of this high National Socialist aim.¹⁰³

On November 24, 1933 the famous law of "the sterilisation of criminals", *Gesetz zur Verhütung Erbkranken Nachwuchses* was issued. Its meaning was, the Law Concerning the Prevention of Hereditarily Afflicted Progeny.¹⁰⁴

It was founded on coercion, which was exerted by a quasi-legal apparatus of local courts, made up of experts in human genetics and legal advisers. People could be sterilised against their will, if the decision from the *Erbeberichtshof* (Hereditary Court) and the succeeding appeal to the *Erbeobergerichtshof* (Hereditary Upper Court) went against them. The law of 1933 made sterilisation compulsory for certain categories of people, deemed to be suffering from hereditary illnesses, including alcoholism. However, additional criteria -e.g. "anti-social behaviour", which included homosexuality, and "moral weakness", which encompassed unmarried mothers- were often employed by medical officials.

Towards the end of the year 1933, on October 5, euthanasia was proposed by the Prussian minister of justice, in a memorandum prepared in

¹⁰³ Völkischer Beobachter, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 892

¹⁰⁴ Völkischer Beobachter, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 887

connection with the revision of the German legal code. It was stipulated that euthanasia would only be allowed on certification by a private doctor and two official doctors that the patient is incurable and that it is his request. Only a registered and certified doctor would carry out the act.¹⁰⁵

Facilitating death for the unhealthy, more rapidly with minor bureaucracy was naturally far from the famous oath of medicine declaring to help to keep the patient alive till to the very end, by utilising every medical tool and possibility regardless of his or her consent. Disregarding the sick through euthanasia was one of the vague and literally undisclosed measures for installing racism on healthy members.

At the end of 1933, on December 12, legal sterilisation was introduced in the territory of the Free City of Danzig by a decree of the Senate. The law came into force on January 1, 1934, and was applied after a legal decision, following an assembly of the Court in camera. Unlike the German legislation on this subject, the law did not provide an application of sterilisation to the sexually abnormal.¹⁰⁶

One year later, on November 12, 1934, it was officially announced in Berlin that the law for the sterilisation of criminals, which came into operation on November 24, 1933 has been put into force in 111 cases of sexual offences.¹⁰⁷

On May 24, 1935, it was announced that, in 1934, the first year since the imposition of the new "law to prevent the transmission of hereditary diseases", 56.244 persons have been sterilised. According to official figures, 82.525 applications were made for sterilisation out of which 42.903 were

¹⁰⁵ New York Herald, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 971

¹⁰⁶ Press Bureau Vaz Dias, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p 1051

¹⁰⁷ Berliner Tageblatt, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p 1438

men. A total of 3.692 cases were rejected, but many still remained under consideration.¹⁰⁸

Positive eugenic measures were also adopted in Germany. These consisted of precautions towards marriage, women and citizenship.

On December 3, 1934 at the conference of 500 Nazi medical men held at Furth (Bavaria) a resolution was unanimously adopted and submitted to Dr. Frick, Minister of the Interior, asking the government to make the below given amendment in the penal code:

Union between a German woman and a man of Jewish blood is a crime against the German race and therefore an act of treason against the State. Any German woman who is guilty of such a crime should be punished by compulsory sterilisation and imprisonment in a concentration camp.¹⁰⁹

On April 28, 1935, an interview with Dr. Frick, the Minister of Interior, was published in the Berlin paper, the *Nachtausgabe*. He stated that, "legislation was in preparation by which German citizenship would be no longer acquirable by birth or petition, but only by proof of loyalty to the party State by a person of Aryan ancestry."¹¹⁰

The German Cabinet on October 18, 1935 issued a law, which gave power to the State to forbid marriages, which were regarded as undesirable on grounds of health. The impediments were as follows:

- 1- Contagious disease likely to spread to the partner following matrimony with grave risk to his or her health,
- 2- Permanent or temporary deprivation of either partner of the right to manage his or her own affairs (the usual grounds for this were mental aberration or an incorrigible tendency to run into debt),
- 3- Insanity, whether hereditary or not, or a hereditary disease defined in the laws on sterilisation.

¹⁰⁸ *Völkischer Beobachter*, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p 1663

¹⁰⁹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 1463

¹¹⁰ *Nachtausgabe*, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 1631

All persons who wished to marry had to obtain a certificate of fitness. Marriages contracted in contravention of this law would be null and void.¹¹¹

Exaggerated measures imposed during pre-War era were naturally far from doctrinal support. Every one of these concentrated for creating a pure and healthy youth in the society regardless of any moral cast and/or spiritual depreciation.

Issued in 1938 by the German Central Institute of Education, the official guidelines for the teaching of history in secondary schools stated following views:

[The teaching of history] is based on the natural bond of the child with his nation. By interpreting history as a fateful struggle for existence between the nations, [it] has the particular task of educating young people to respect the great German past and to have faith in the mission and future of their own nation and to respect the right of existence of other nations.

It continued as below:

Insight into the permanence of the hereditary characteristics and the merely contingent significance of environment facilitates a new and deep understanding of historical personalities and contexts...¹¹²

By 1945, 360.000 men and women had been sterilised under the program, to which must be added an unknown number of foreign workers and members of ethnic minorities.¹¹³

The euthanasia program, applied to mentally handicapped persons from 1939 to 1945 was more brutal than the sterilisation program. The “mercy-killing” of handicapped children in 1939, a process often involved the gradual starvation of the victims. This was accompanied by the gassing of mentally handicapped adults from 1939 to 1941.¹¹⁴ Hitler officially gave a

¹¹¹ Berliner Tageblatt, Keesing's Contemporary Archives p. 1834

¹¹² Hawkins, p 278

¹¹³ *ibid*, p 279

¹¹⁴ *ibid*, p. 279

halt to this in August 1941 as a result of opposition to the program. By then, over 70.000 people had been “disinfected.” This figure was augmented by unofficial euthanasia practises conducted in the concentration camps after 1941, often including people who were not sick but considered undesirable and to be ousted on racial grounds.

These policies received their legitimation from the Social Darwinist world view which saw in such categories of people a threat to the survival capabilities of the nation in the struggle for existence due to their possession of traits deemed to be genetically determined. This also applied to criminals and political subversives. Goebbels put it as below in his *Diaries*:

The antisocial elements must not be preserved for a later revolution. They will always be a threat to the state, particularly in the large cities. Therefore: liquidate them and create a healthy social life for the *Volk*. Authority is, of course, nothing but a fiction. If the antisocial elements succeeded in devaluating it – or even denting it – then the door is open to chaos and anarchy.¹¹⁵

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had proclaimed: “All who are not of good race in this world are chaff.” From their assumption of power in 1933, the policies of the National Socialists were dedicated to separating the chaff from the wheat. This culminated in the mass murder of millions of Jews, but also at least half a million Sinti and Roma (gipsies), and millions of Russians and Poles.

2.4. Denmark

The fact that a country considered itself a great power or a power sliding from first to second rank was in itself a factor that affected the development of eugenics. The defeat of Germany in World War I strongly affected the German attitude toward eugenic measures; another example was the striving for “national efficiency” in Great Britain in the years before the

¹¹⁵ Hawkins, p. 280

World War II. In contrast, Denmark was not and did not aspire to be a great power. One cannot speak about "multi-ethnicity" of Denmark either. However, eugenic measures were put into application there also.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Denmark was a country with a small homogenous population, without the antagonism between different ethnic groups that influenced the eugenics movement in other countries.

Although Denmark had been the only Scandinavian country with colonies, her West Indies colonies were transferred to the United States during the World War. Her remaining colony, Greenland was so remote, so sparsely populated and of such little economic importance that its effect on Danish attitudes toward other races and peoples was negligible.

During the First World War Denmark remained neutral. After the war Social Democrats started to gain power without political confrontations. Labour relations were peaceful too. During the 1920's and 1930's, a large number of reform laws could be carried out. In 1924, when the first Social Democratic government took office, the Secretary of Justice, K. K. Steincke was the one who succeeded in establishing a commission for eugenic principles. The commission was to consider sterilisation of the mentally retarded as well as the castration of certain groups of sexual offenders.¹¹⁶

In 1926, the report from the commission was completed and published. It was titled: *Betaekning Angaende Sociale Foranstalninger Overfor Degenerativt Bestemte Personer* (Social Measures toward Degenerately Predisposed Individuals).¹¹⁷

The Social Democrats stepped down in 1926 and were followed by a government of the Agrarian Party, *Venstre*. This was the last government in Denmark to represent the landed interests and it has generally been reckoned

¹¹⁶ Bent Sigurd Hansen, "Something Rotten in the State of Denmark: Eugenics and the Ascent of the Welfare State", *Eugenics and the Welfare State*, (eds.) Gunnar Broberg, Nils Roll-Hansen, (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1996), p.36: "The other half of the law covered castration. It was suggested that sexual offenders could be castrated."

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, pp. 9-77

to be the most reactionary government in the twentieth century. But when first the new government had been established the progress in of the sterilisation and castration law was not impeded, demonstrating the bipartisan character of the issue. As far as the record shows, the only really convinced eugenicists in the Danish Parliament were K. K. Steincke and Vilhelm Rasmussen, who now were in opposition.¹¹⁸

In 1929, the text appeared before the parliament. The word "eugenic" did not appear in the text of the law. The fact that people could be sterilised for eugenic reasons was not directly stated in the law. Instead, the following wording was utilised: "... where suppression of reproduction must be regarded as being of great importance to society." Both chambers of the Danish Parliament accepted the law with only minor and unimportant modifications.

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In 1934, a more complicated and detailed law dealing with all aspects of the mentally retarded and their sterilisation was put forward by K. K. Steincke, who once again became a minister, Minister of Health and Welfare. So far, the confinement of the mentally retarded had been voluntary. It was the family or the guardian that decided whether the mentally retarded should be committed. But the new law listed a number of indications for commitment, and it now grew to be a legal imposition that all the mentally retarded covered by the quoted content should be committed. Furthermore, it became the duty of teachers, medical officers, and other social authorities to report suspected cases of mental disability.

Two conditions for sterilisation were included in the new law. The mentally retarded could be sterilised if they were judged unable to raise and support children, or if the sterilisation could facilitate their release from confinement or their transfer to a more relaxed kind of supervision.

¹¹⁸ Sigurd Hansen, pp. 9-77

¹¹⁹ *ibid*, pp. 9-77

This law differed from the law of 1929 on a number of points: Minors could be sterilised according to the new law; sterilisation of the mentally retarded was no longer restricted to people confined to institutions, and hence consent of the mentally retarded was not needed. The decision to apply for sterilisation was made by the doctor in charge and, approved by an appointed guardian. It was put forward via the department for the mentally retarded and, if approved, put before a specially appointed board of three including one medical expert—a psychiatrist or a physician associated with institutions for the mentally retarded.

One of the criteria for “force major” type maintaining confinement was, “if there [was] a clear danger that they (the mentally retarded) might have children.”¹²⁰ This was covering, in theory, all the mentally retarded in their fertile age. Taken together with the indications for sterilisation, it meant that all the mentally retarded could be forcibly confined from the onset of puberty and then sterilised because it might facilitate their release – and the sterilisation could be performed without their consent.

There was some negligible opposition to the passing of the law. In the lower chamber, there was a “single” vote, and in the more conservative upper chamber there were three opposing votes against the law.

Until 1945, about 78 percent of those sterilised were the mentally retarded, and of these there were twice as many women as men. During the five years (1929-1934), 108 persons had been sterilised (eighty-eight women and twenty men.) Of these 108, 102 were mentally retarded patients residing in institutions. Then, the “group,” which would be taken under care and shelter by the “special law for the mentally retarded” passed in 1934. The rest, all six of them, represented the group which in the future would be covered by the revised sterilisation law of 1935.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Sigurd Hansen, p.42.

¹²¹ *ibid*, pp. 9-77

In 1935 the revision of the sterilisation law occurred as it has been scheduled before. The new law made compulsory castration possible in certain cases. The mentally retarded were now covered by the Mentally Handicapped Act of 1934. More than 90 percent of the people sterilised from 1929 to 1934 belonged to this category.¹²²

In the later updated 1935 law, the indications for sterilisation were described with same vague phrases as in the former law. Sterilisation could be undertaken "with regard to the interests of society," but a distinction was made between the "normal" and the "abnormal" applicant. The mentally "normal" applicant could be sterilised if special reasons favoured the operation, particularly if a danger existed that progeny could be genetically afflicted. For the mentally "abnormal" the criteria were even vaguer, but the operation could be undertaken only if it would benefit the applicant. This meant that the operation could not be undertaken with sole regard to the interests of society and against the interests of the individual.

The final decision concerning each application was still left in the hands of the Minister of Justice, but now he could act on advice from only one side, the medico-legal council. The applicant had to be advised of the consequences of the operation and urge to give consent. In cases where persons were unable to cooperate and comprehend the effects of sterilisation, a guardian could be appointed to act on their behalf.

This law had accepted the purely eugenic criterion. People who were judged mentally "normal" could be sterilised. Actually, the majority of the people to be sterilised were not members of this group, but they could be sterilised anyway, in accordance with the more ambiguous criteria applied to the mentally "abnormal," and eugenic benefits could be achieved without use of the eugenic criterion. In fact, all applications for sterilisation had to be accompanied by –among other relevant information– an estimate of the hereditary disposition. The provocative concept of eugenics was not used

¹²² Sigurd Hansen, p.60

more than necessary in the text of the law and, at the same time, the difficult question of the hereditary character of the different mental afflictions was circumvented. The law did not provide detailed guidelines for what it constituted. An existing danger, or kinds of hereditary afflictions or general interests of society and the benefits to the individual, were not explicitly defined and described in relevant by laws.¹²³

2.5. Sweden

The (British) Brock Report of 1934 listed 10 Western Nations which had either introduced or were in process of introducing sterilisation laws. Germany was by no means ahead of the field; its 1934 sterilisation law was more draconian than elsewhere but it represented the general direction favoured by experts and in most other countries sterilisation laws were subsequently extended to be more in accord with German practice.

The Swedish commitment to eugenic sterilisation was especially emphasised in the widely known writings of Alva and Gunnar Myrdal; their book on the *Kris I befolkningsfragan*, Crisis of the Population Question of 1934 achieved best-seller status and was translated into English in 1940.¹²⁴ The sequel, Alva Myrdal's *Nation and Family* appeared in English in 1941.¹²⁵ Both books forcefully argued the case for sterilisation on eugenic grounds and the second described the work of the Swedish Royal Commission on Population, which produced a report on sterilisation in 1936. This led to strengthening of the sterilisation law, as a consequence of which the number of sterilisations increased and peaked shortly after World War II.

¹²³ Sigurd Hansen, pp. 9-77

¹²⁴ Gunnar Broberg and Mattias Tyden, "Eugenics in Sweden: Efficient Care", *Eugenics and the Welfare State*, (eds.) Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1996), p.97

¹²⁵ *ibid*, p.97

The eugenics movement made rapid headway in Sweden at the beginning of the twentieth century. Eugenics became institutionalised at an early date and racial hygiene was put into practice in the Sterilisation Acts of 1934 and 1941. As far as eugenic sterilisation was concerned, Germany excluded, Sweden actually held a leading position, a fact somewhat unflattering for Swedish Twentieth Century history.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, it may be appropriate to speak of a form of “welfare state eugenics” in Sweden which, because of its progressive character and freedom from race mysticism, differs in part from that in other countries.

Physicians, mental-health professionals and scientists, notably biologists who were pursuing the new discipline of genetics, articulated eugenics doctrines. They were widely popularised in books, lectures and articles to the educated public of the day and were bolstered by the research that poured out of institutes for the study of eugenics or “race biology.” These institutes were established in The United States, Denmark and Sweden.¹²⁷

The experts raised the spectre of “social degeneration” insisting that feeble-minded people were responsible for a wide range of social problems. They were proliferating at a rate that threatened social sources and stability. It was held that feeble-minded women were driven by a heedless sexuality, the product of biologically grounded tendencies in their moral character. That led them to prostitution and illegitimacy. Such biological analysis of social behaviour found a receptive audience among the middle class. Many of the middle class women and men were sexually prudish and apprehensive about the discordance of the new urban, industrial society where there were growing demands for women’s rights and sexual tolerance.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Broberg and Tyden, pp 77-151

¹²⁷ *The U.S.*: see p.32; *Denmark*: Sigurd Hansen, pp.26-27; *Sweden*: Broberg and Tyden: pp.85-91.

¹²⁸ Hilary Putnam, “Cloning People”, *The Genetic Revolution and Human Rights*, ed.: Justine Burley, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 1-14

A central feature in the policies developed in the 1930's by the Social Democrats was the combination of social welfare and efficiency. The idea was that preventive social measures, such as equal education and health care, would be made for rational use of "human sources." The systematic sterilisation of the mentally retarded would reduce the cost of institutional care, special schools, and poor relief. Indeed, in the Swedish Parliament, the Social Democrats were among those who advocated sterilisation the most vigorously.¹²⁹

Interestingly, Swedish people "forgot" their eugenic applications. It was only towards the end of the twentieth century that it was recalled. During the summer of 1997, the name of Maria Nordin, a dignified 72-year-old former hospital worker from North Norrland in Sweden, shot to media prominence throughout northern Europe. Maria Nordin came from a poor family. She was shortsighted and slow at school, taken into an institution in a distant town and eventually released in her teens, but only after being sterilised. It was called voluntary sterilisation, but in effect it was compulsory.

Investigators quickly discovered that Maria Nordin's case was by no means unique. She was one of some 60,000 people subjected to sterilisation in Sweden between 1935 and 1976. Most were women, and the majority were labelled as mentally defective, although most probably had only minor physical or social disabilities. The government apologised, accepted that this "treatment" constituted abuse, and it was likely that substantial compensation would be paid to survivors. The existence of eugenic sterilisation has severely shaken Swedish public opinion and it blemished the reputation of the internationally renowned Swedish welfare state.

The reverberations of the Nordin affair were by no means over. The curtain has been reluctantly drawn back to reveal an episode that most European states would rather forget and which aligns them more closely with

¹²⁹ Broberg and Tyden, pp. 77-151

Nazi Germany than they like to recognise. Sterilisation laws were introduced throughout Scandinavia, as well as in the majority of states in the USA.

The collective Swedish amnesia about sterilisation was difficult to explain. From the outset it was viewed as an integral and widely proclaimed part of the Swedish welfare program. Since Swedish welfare reform was actively publicised as a model for the rest of Europe, eugenic sterilisation could not have escaped notice elsewhere. But it did.



CHAPTER 3

EUGENICS IN TURKEY

3.1. Introduction

It was indicated in the previous chapters that in some of the European countries sterilisation was utilised during the 1930's. The Nazi Germany had the legislation for the sterilisation and castration of the "misfits". These "misfits" included the insane, feeble-minded, rapists, inebriate, homosexuals, gipsies and Jews. Sterilisation and castration was declared and applied on a judicial basis. Eugenics even climbed to racism and genocide in the Nazi Germany.

Excluding Germany, the European states which applied sterilisation declared their purposes as medical sanctions. The most energetic eugenic applications throughout Europe during the 1930's were in Scandinavian countries. The researchers of Scandinavian eugenic movement agree on the issue that although racial discriminative inclinations were present among the middle classes then, no racist wording could be heard throughout the legislative process at the parliaments and during the applications undertaken thereafter. No punitive aim was present on the decisions for those who were sterilised.

On the other hand, in the United States, eugenics was always hand in hand with racism. Sterilisations occurred. The "misfits" that would be sterilised were chosen amongst the insane, feeble-minded and inebriate, but

nearly all of them were from the lower classes and they represented the "others." They were assumed to be unable to cope with the progress of American life. American eugenic movement was always in close connection with the advocates of immigration restrictions. The new immigrants too were accepted as the "others." Also, the leaders of eugenic campaigners were closely linked with big business circles.

In England, eugenic propositions were a major issue of state authorities although not reaching legislation.

Evidently eugenic ideas appeared in Turkey long before the 1930's. By the time post-enlightenment ideas of the West penetrated into the Ottoman intellectual circles, imperialism and racism had constituted the hegemonic ideas of the West. When the intervention of western capitalism initiated Turkish westernisation and modernisation process, inevitably western capitalism affected the Ottoman intellectuals in every aspect.

The introduction of westernisation and modernisation processes also defined the authoritative positions of the Ottoman intellectuals. Rationalism, scientism, positivism, objectivism and biologic materialism were the prime tools for the Ottoman intellectuals in their struggle against the backwardness of the country. These were transferred in order to overcome the backwardness and corruption of the Empire.

In Turkey, at the start of the twentieth century, natural sciences were tightly linked to the ideas and practises of westernisation. Modernisation, centralisation and secularisation soon followed. It was accepted that these constituted the ideologies through which the crisis of the Empire would be overcome. This hegemonic ideology of the state diffused into all possible areas. However the passage from Islamic thought to the Western scientific thought was not so easy. The hegemonic struggle between Islamic thought and scientific thought continued.

Scientific thought was finding legitimacy from the crisis of the Empire. The components of western scientific thought began to occupy spheres of knowledge in full. This struggle created a space where existence of

life sciences ideology could flourish. In turn, modern sciences served as the legitimising basis against religious ideology.

As scientific thought tended to be victorious in its hegemonic struggle with religion, it was also articulated with a “new regime of truth.” This would come to operate at various levels. The governmental structure and the politics of state, the practices and knowledge to control and regulate the population and the very constitution of scientific knowledge and practices, all were defined by the new regime of truth. The ideology of state and life sciences were linked to each other by this regime of truth. True and false were defined and discerned.

The distinction between the true and false also entailed a hierarchical ranking of different forms of knowledge. Rational, scientific knowledge was appreciated and promoted. The operations of institutions such as the universities, schools, army, media, etc. helped this process. Through the practises and discourses, which stemmed from these institutions, the effects of power started to be articulated with this dominant regime of truth.

The prime concern of the Turkish intellectuals has always been the surveillance of the country by restoring it through scientific and rational methods. During the first years of the Republic, the integrity of the state and nation through the same instruments, that is, science and rational thought became another facet. The hegemonic struggle between Islam and modern scientific thought had come to an end. The latter was victorious

As argued in the previous chapters, racism is a political ideology arising from the roots of modern, scientific knowledge. Similarly, Social Darwinist, eugenicist ideas are also based on pure scientific knowledge. Is it not logical to assume the Turkish Republican state to undertake similar initiatives that would reach eugenics and racism? If western and modern discourses have been penetrating into the Ottoman and Turkish society, and, if westernisation and modernisation was the hegemonic ideology of the Turkish Republic, one should expect the same outcome, racism to occur in Turkey. Adhering to this theory, some social scientists in Turkey are in the habit of

searching certain “catchwords” and concluding their survey with a synthesis, declaring that the Turkish Republic was racist. Texts or groups of words are being searched for terms that were used by racists in the West.¹³⁰ Although most of the racists use some words in common, it is not conceivable to accept every idea that uses the terminology as “racist.” Utilisation of catchwords in a survey concerning the above concepts can easily mislead the researcher and a reply to the above question, accepting that, “the Turkish Republic, especially during the 1930’s, –under the auspices of Nazi Germany- was after racist discourses” might easily arise.

On the other hand, it is impossible to believe in that racist ideas of the West could not or did not find any proponents in Turkey. Any politician who

¹³⁰ Adile Avar, *A Sociological Analysis of the Discursive Formation of Life Sciences and the Nation Building Project in Turkey*, an unpublished PhD Thesis, submitted to the Department of Sociology, METU, (Supervisor: Prof. Melda Yeğenoğlu Mutman) 2000: p.240: Avar used catchwords. Her interpretation was as follows; “whenever racial classifications appear, it is considered within two context: one of them is created by the comparisons between ‘races’ according to their ‘level’ of progress, civilisation, development and mental abilities; the other by statements such as ‘struggle for survival,’ ‘survival of the race,’ ‘strength of the nation,’ ‘purity of the blood of the race,’ ‘health of the race’ and so on. Considering such classifications that frequently appear in the Ottoman/Turkish texts, I think that their primary concerns have never been the differences between peoples living all over the world, rather, their concern has always been the differences in the Ottoman/Turkish territory....Having been defined as ‘other,’ non Turkish people and those who were sic, weak, ‘immoral’ and ‘mentally poor’ were to be calculated, excluded and repressed.” It is obvious that, Avar made assumptions depending on “catchwords.” In this thesis, surveying legislation, applications and propositions of eugenics in Turkey was chosen, instead of “surveying catchwords.” Adherence to “catchwords” causes misinterpretations as in the case of Avar’s thesis. On page 235, Avar interprets Mazhar Osman Usman as an advocate of “castration” in Turkey. Avar believed that; “[in] ‘Sterilisation and Castration’ (Kısır, İğdiş Etme) Türk Fiziki ve Tabii İlimler Sosyetesı Yıllık Bildiriler, 1934-1935, he praises Nazi politics by emphasizing the reasons which were ‘scientifically’ proved. According to him, castration is not so cruel since...” However the truth is somewhat different from this. Mazhar Osman Usman, although he believed in eugenics, was totally against “castration” and he criticised castration applications in Germany (see pages 114-119.) It is most probable that, Adile Avar was not aware of Mazhar Osman Usman’s book on the matter, *Eugenic: İdiş ve Kısır etme: Siniri Sağlam Çocuk Yetiştirme* (Eugenics: Castration and Sterilisation: Raising Children with Sound Nerves), Kader Matbaası, İstanbul, 1935. As quoted above, by positing as “I think that their primary concerns have never been the differences between peoples living all over the world,” Avar is in accordance with this thesis. Her assumptions as “Having been defined as ‘other,’ non Turkish people and those who were sic, weak, ‘immoral’ and ‘mentally poor’ were to be calculated, excluded and repressed” is something else and needs scientific proof.

aims to reach power may use the necessary terminology, the catchwords. Whether this man and his brethren would reach political power is some other issue and depends on various parameters. It is better to seek answers to the question "What happened?" instead of "What was said?" Therefore, in this thesis, great attention has been paid to avoid deductions bounded by "catchwords" and to definitions such as "dictatorship," "racist," "antidemocratic," that is often utilised in the historiography concerning the 1930's.

This thesis studies Turkish eugenics. Eugenics is the touchstone of racism. During the study of this thesis concepts are analysed instead of words and the question "*Why did not the government take racist actions during the 1930's while many European states did?*" has always been kept in mind.

3.2. Eugenic Legislation

Although debated, sterilisation or castration of the misfits was not legalised in Turkey. The only eugenic imposition in Turkey has been marriage restrictions.

In addition to marriage restrictions, eugenic impositions to restrict - and even, ban on- alcohol consumption were also legalised in Turkey. The Penal Code carries Articles severely punishing the consumers of alcohol. The ban on alcohol consumption did not remain in effect for long and the legislation for the punishment of alcohol consumers through the Penal Code hasn't been strictly applied. On the other hand, the acceptance of anti-alcohol impositions as eugenic legislation has always been controversial and while some researchers accept it as a eugenic matter, most of them don't. To define an Article in the Penal Code that punishes a drunken -who cause distress in the neighbourhood- as a "eugenic imposition," in reality, was not easy. But, excluding anti-alcohol campaigns, those campaigners, their close relations with other eugenic ideas would result in an incompleteness of the thesis. So,

together with marriage restrictions, legislation aiming restriction of alcohol consuming was surveyed under the same heading in this study.

3.2.1. Marriage Restrictions

Marriage restrictions are eugenic impositions. Eugenics is the science dealing with the improvement of hereditary qualities in a series of generations of a race or breed especially by social control of human mating and reproduction. Evidently, a stately attitude to decrease the number of marriages of people with contagious and mental diseases aims to reduce the “unhealthy” and increase the “healthy” in number. Marriage restrictions for the insane and those with contagious diseases carry the same motive. Impositions started to restrict their procreation in Turkey in 1917 and are current today.

3.2.1.1. Current Marriage Restriction

Today there is a practice that enforces those applying for marriage to obtain a medical report. The so called “Turkish Civil Code” -put into force in 2001 that abrogated the Civil Code of 1926- harbours a communiqué for the purpose of eradicating the span of certain undesired diseases. Candidates are liable to sit usual medical investigations via valid establishments that are recognised by the Ministry of Health. According to Art.136 of Act.4721, The Turkish Civil Code¹³¹; both partners of the male and female; have to present a medical report confirming that they do not have any disease which would be an impediment for marriage.

¹³¹ The Turkish Civil Code, (*TürkMedeni Kanunu*)(4721/22.11.2001)(R.G.: 08.12.2001/24607)

This is a marriage restriction, a eugenic imposition. "Some" who are immune from the diseases may procreate rather than the "others" who may have diseases. But, -interestingly- in this law, there is not any definition of the diseases that would impede a marriage. The proposition of this law, including the justifications that were presented to the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1999 also did not define the diseases that would impede a marriage in Turkey.¹³²

This kind of a non-clarified marriage restriction happens to be enforced for the second time in Turkish history.

3.2.1.2. First Marriage Restriction

The first marriage restriction started with "The Decree for Family Law" (*Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi*).¹³³ The concept of "The Medical Examination of Marriage" (*Tıbbi Teehhül Muayenesi*) was first announced in 1917 by this decree which was put into force that year. According to the decree, prospected couples had to pass through a medical examination. The decree lacked details about what was to be expected from the medical examination and what sort of disabilities should be accepted as an impediment for a marriage. More precise and definitive knowledge for both the prospected couples and the physicians came the following year. By 1918 the rights of the Ottoman women to apply for a divorce were defined through the firman "About the Right of the Wife to Apply for a Divorce in the State of the Husband's Disability of Insanity or Leprosy" (*Zevcin Cünun ve Cüzamla*

¹³² Bilge Öztan, *Türk Medeni Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code), Turhan Kitabevi Yayınları, 2nd printing, Ankara, 2002; General Justifications (*Genel Gerekçeler*): pp. 3-54; Justifications of the Articles (*Madde Gerekçeleri*): Art. 136/p.136.

¹³³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, no: 3046/UG-1/1917, The Turkish Grand National Assembly Library, microfilm archive.

Maluliyeti Halinde Zevcenin Feshi Nikaha Talebe Salahiyeti Hakkında.)¹³⁴

This firman was a *quod errate faciendum* for the Ottoman physicians to decide for marriage restrictions as “insanity” and “leprosy.” They started to inspect for insanity and leprosy. When these disabilities were present, that would cause an impediment for a marriage.

3.2.1.3. Further Marriage Restrictions

Marriage restrictions in Turkey continued with the Act.90, “The Law about the Circumscription of Infection and Prevention of Syphilis” (*Frenginin Men ve Tahdid-i Sirayeti Hakkında Kanun*)¹³⁵ in 1921. An additional marriage restriction for the citizens of the Turkish Republic was defined by the Act.743 “The Civil Code” (*Kanun-u Medeni*)¹³⁶ in 1926. In 1930 the Act.1593, “The General Hygiene Law” (*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*)¹³⁷ was an all inclusive for marriage restrictions that were imposed from 1917 onwards.

In 1926 “The Regulations for Marriage” (*Evlendirme Yönetmeliği*)¹³⁸ and in 1931, “The Regulations about Medical Examination of Marriage” (*Evlendirme Muayenesi Hakkında Nizamname*)¹³⁹ was put into force and the diseases that would impede a marriage (syphilis, gonorrhoea, leprosy and

¹³⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, no: 3045/UG-1/1918 The Turkish Grand National Assembly Library, microfilm archive..

¹³⁵ The Law about the Circumscription of Infection and Prevention of Syphilis (*Frenginin Men ve Tahdid-i Sirayeti Hakkında Kanun*)(90/05.02.1921)(C.R.: 07.03.1921/5)

¹³⁶ The Civil Code (*Kanun-u Medeni*)(743/17.02.1926)(C.R.: 04.04.1926/339)

¹³⁷ The General Hygiene Law (*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*)(1593/24.04.1930)(R.G.: 06.05.1930/1489)

¹³⁸ The Regulations for Marriage (*Evlendirme Talimatnamesi-Evlendirme Yönetmeliği*) (01.09.1926) with its basis on Act.743 Civil Code (*Kanun-u Medeni*)

¹³⁹ The Regulations about Medical Examination of Marriage (*Evlendirme Muayenesi Hakkında Nizamname*) (11682/17.08.1931)(R.G.: 21.09.1931/1904) with its basis on Act.1593 The General Hygiene Law (*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*)

mental illness) were described. The procedures for inspecting and documenting these diseases were defined too.

3.2.1.4. Marriage Restriction Annulled

After long years, in 1984, a decree¹⁴⁰ that was put into force by the Özal Cabinet annulled marriage restrictions by altering the wording in "The Regulations for Marriage" from "must" to "may" of the article which imposed the necessity of a medical examination. Art.20 of "The Regulations for Marriage" about "The Necessary Documents for the Application" was altered as "[by] the application of the married to be; it is to be established whether the woman and man has a disease that impedes their marriage." The prospected couple had to apply and sign their request for a medical report and after this volition was secured; the application for a marriage would start. Beforehand, on application for a marriage, it was compulsory to include a medical report that declared the immunity from these diseases. Interestingly, Art.15 of this regulation was still holding that those with syphilis, gonorrhoea, leprosy and mental illness could not marry. This was put into force in 1926. From 1984 to 2001, those who applied for a marriage -they themselves- decided upon the necessity of a medical examination and laboratory tests.

3.2.1.5. Marriage Restriction Set Again

In 2001, the Act.4721, "The Turkish Civil Code" (*Türk Medeni Kanunu*) was put into force that again established the necessity of a medical examination to enact a marriage.¹⁴¹ As mentioned before, this very re-establishment of marriage restriction is lacking clarity. Art.136 of Act.4721,

¹⁴⁰ The Decree of the Council of Ministers (239/05.07.1984) (R.G.: 18921)

¹⁴¹ See p.73

The Turkish Civil Code, does not define the diseases. Instead of definitions, the existence of an attribution to the concept of “the diseases that would be an impediment for marriage” constitutes an interesting imposition.

Obviously, the necessity for a medical report of immunity from contagious disease is told to yield certain amount of satisfaction. But, they should be revealed through easily accessed statistics, as in most democratic societies where individual preferences and priorities should overbid such compulsory legal notifications.

3.2.1.6. Regulations for Family Law

The above mentioned history of marriage restriction in Turkey was documented in order to make it understandable that the approval of a marriage by legal authorities necessitates a physician’s report in Turkey since 1917. As mentioned above, the first imposition of a medical examination for marriage came with this decree. The method of the examination was not clear. In addition to the non-clarifications, for the enactment of a marriage it held the imposition of the action of the civil authorities instead of the clergy. This was a newcomer and caused unhappiness among the orthodoxy of religiosity.

Regulations for Family Law (*Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi*) did not remain in effect for long. Greek community leaders applied to the High Commandment of the Allied Forces in İstanbul against this decree¹⁴² and in 1920 a new decree, “The Decree about the Promulgation of the Decree of Family Law” (*Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesinin İlgası Hakkında Kararname*)¹⁴³ was put into force.

¹⁴² Stanford Shaw, in 1998 during his conference at the METU about “*Kurtuluş Savaşı*” stated that the Greek Orthodox clergy were unhappy with the *Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi* because they believed that marriage was a holy concept and could not be held with such “laws of the atheist Unionists” (*dinsiz İttihatçuların kanunu*) and they applied to the High Commandment in İstanbul, demanding its promulgation.

¹⁴³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, no. 3853/UG-1/1920

The only unhappy about the *Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi* were not the Christian citizens of the Ottoman State but the Moslems stood against it too. The enforcement of a Moslem woman for a medical examination was causing chills among some of them. When the time would come for the discussions of a similar imposition that was presented by the so called "Syphilis Law," in 1920, at the Grand National Assembly, the Member of Parliament Nafiz Bey (Canik) addressed the Assembly on the matter. He stated that, this very medical examination for marriage had been once enforced by the promulgated Decree for Family Law and it was witnessed that it was not possible and it did not work out.¹⁴⁴ Obviously, the medical examination for marriage constituted a rational, scientific, positive, objective and biologic imposition. Opposition was to its modern, central and secular implication.

3.2.1.7. The Syphilis Law

In 1920, shortly after The Turkish National Assembly was opened in Ankara, Bursa deputy Fuad Bey introduced "The Bill about the Circumscription of Infection and Prevention of Syphilis" (*Frenginin Men ve Tahdit-i Sirayeti Hakkında Kanun.*) This proposition passed the Parliament and was put into force as the Act.90, on 7th of March 1921.¹⁴⁵ The main motive of the Bill that was issued to the Assembly constitutes the first and foremost eugenic proposition in the Turkish Republic. It held that, for the perfection of the race and in order to have a great population, "strict measures" were necessary against the syphilitics. This was defined as:

This inauspicious disease, its infection with overgrowing waves is due to individualistic carelessness, negligence and ignorance. In order to reach the goal of the growth of our country's population and perfection of our race's structure, we need the enforcement of strict

¹⁴⁴ *Zabıt Cerideleri* (Publication of Proceedings), 1st period, Vol.7, pp. 35-56

¹⁴⁵ The Law about the Circumscription of Infection and Prevention of Syphilis (*Frenginin Men ve Tahdit-i Sirayeti Hakkında Kanun*)(90/05.02.1921)(C.R.: 07.03.1921/5)

measures to save our people from this disease. From now on, the conduction of the disease from one syphilitic to any other person will be regarded a crime.¹⁴⁶

Long years of war, emigration and immigration, poverty, a lack of medical professionals,¹⁴⁷ all the ingredients was present for an epidemic of venereal disease. Syphilis was overwhelmingly diffuse in some regions. In a letter to Kazım (Karabekir) Paşa on September 10th, 1920, the Minister of Health, Dr. Adnan (Adivar) Bey wrote that a misfortune the Russian invasion left behind in Erzurum was the calamity of syphilis. For the preservation of race (*ırkın muhafazası için*) and in order to repair the population losses, he called attention to the necessity of increasing the local medical staff.¹⁴⁸

It should be noted here that Adnan (Adivar) Bey used the term “the preservation of race.” As argued before, adherence to “catchwords” may cause misinterpretations. Adnan (Adivar) Bey’s letter was after a defensive medical measure. The wording in his letter, such as, “the preservation of race” should not cause a social scientist to make assumptions. The utilisation of such a method of searching “catchwords” might easily lead the researcher to make an unscientific conclusion and declare that Adnan (Adivar) Bey was a racist. Instead of surveying “What did Adnan (Adivar) Bey say?” it would be better to survey “What did Adnan (Adivar) Bey do?” Although his letter to Kazım (Karabekir) Paşa was after a defensive medical measure, defensive medical measures against the disease were not accepted to be sufficient. It was assumed that supplementary measures were necessary. As syphilis is a disease with hereditary acquisition besides its microbial cause, the first eugenic application in Turkey was directed towards syphilitics. Together with strict measures against the infecting, their marriages were restricted and

¹⁴⁶ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1st period, Vol.7, pp. 35-56.

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix B

¹⁴⁸ Kazım Karabekir, *İstiklal Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihad Terakki Erkânı*, (İstanbul, Tekin Yayınları), p.33

Adnan (Adivar) Bey was The Minister of Health and his ministry was on behalf of the Bill.

The debates concerning the proposed legislation reflect other aspects of eugenic ideology that was present among the members of parliament in 1920. There were no objections to the main motive of the proposed law. On the contrary, some members of the parliament were after more strict measures. Amasya deputy Ömer Lütfi Bey proposed “segregation” and “working camps” for the syphilitics. He suggested that at certain localities big syphilis hospital centres could be established and that the patients could live and they work there. Thus, they would work and earn the money to be expended for them. He commented that, during the war over 900 syphilitics were contended in Merzifon, doing agriculture there. He stated that, the total of their production was more than they ate.¹⁴⁹

Some members of the parliament defended the proposed law in terms of eugenic ideas. Dr. Suat Bey (Kastamonu) advocated that every syphilitic should be obliged to look after his own therapy and carry a licence of this therapy. His speech pointed out to the relation of the “misfits” and the “society.” According to him, society could enforce its members if that member was unaware of his “ill” condition. He said that if one was a syphilitic he should be under therapy. If one didn’t accept therapy, the society would be affected and then the government physician would enforce him for treatment.¹⁵⁰

In addition to the concept of “compulsory treatment” of the syphilitic, this law first coined another concept, the severe punishment of “sexual intercourse” of the syphilitic. In 1920 there was not any legislation that could restrict a marriage. The promulgation of *Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi* in 1920 ended legislation on restriction of marriage. Art.8 of the proposed “Syphilis Law” covered this purpose and provided restriction. Syphilitics who infected

¹⁴⁹ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1^a period, Vol. 8, pp. 99-106.

¹⁵⁰ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1^a period, Vol. 8, pp. 99-106.

others were to be confined to imprisonment. Art.8 was as below:

Art.8: If a syphilitic infects any person, he will be adjudged to imprisonment from 6 months to 2 years. If any of the spouses infects the other, the punishment will not be less than the maximum.

As eugenics is the science dealing with the improvement of hereditary qualities in a series of generations of a race or breed especially by social control of human mating and reproduction, Art.8 of Act.90 can be accepted as the first "eugenic" imposition of the Turkish Republic. By this act, procreation of the syphilitic was placed under social control.

Art.5 of the proposed Syphilis Law contended the necessity of medical examination for marriage. *Tibbi Teehhül Muayenesi* had been established by the Decree of Family Law but its annulment ended the pre-marital control of couples. "The Syphilis Law" culminated objections about the examination of female candidates. Erzurum deputy Salih Efendi expressed the below concerns about the method of medical examination:

In Bursa, a friend of ours, whose name I will not pronounce, used to make this examination of women dishonestly. There were gossips concerning this procedure. It is best to inspect the parents of the young girl who is going to marry. If her parents are not ill and if she has not been inoculated in another way, than, the girl doesn't have any disease. But, it is not suitable to present a young girl to a doctor and let her to be examined¹⁵¹

Salih Efendi's objection and proposition constitute the typical conservative approach. He objected the medical examination. He expressed that such an examination would not suit the morals. On the other hand, his proposition contended rationalism, positivism and scientific knowledge. The knowledge about the infection of syphilis was the result of science. He based his proposition on scientific knowledge. He did not deny a medical examination for marriage but he opposed its method.

Siirt deputy Sabri Bey commented on the matter similarly and said that virgins should be exempt from medical examination for marriage. Yozgat

¹⁵¹ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1^a period, Vol. 8, pp. 99-106.

deputy Süleyman Sırrı Bey proposed that girls should be inspected by female doctors if available. If this was not possible any female member of the medical professions or the women workers that were present in a medical establishment could perform the examination and that should be sufficient. Süleyman Sırrı Bey's proposition constitutes a typical non-scientific approach. He denied the necessary scientific eligibility of a physician on behalf of his belief of morals. Canik deputy Nafiz Bey, Yozgat deputy Hulusi Efendi took turns on the debates. They all were against the medical examination of girls who were to be married. Bursa deputy Surgeon Emin Bey was the last Member of Parliament who made a speech concerning the medical examination for marriage. His speech declared and constituted the method of medical examination for marriage that would be carried on accordingly thereafter, for nearly sixty years, until the pre-marital examination for marriage was annulled in 1984. Bursa deputy Surgeon Emin Bey said that the amount of the body that would be inspected was minimal and strict orders were distributed on this matter. The neck would be inspected, the lymph nodes in the neck. Apart from this, the doctor would ask the girl to open her mouth and look at the mouth. Another examination would be to have a look at the elbows. That would be all. So, there was not any reason to make all the fuss.¹⁵²

It should be noted here that, Act.90, the so-called "Syphilis Law" was the first eugenic imposition of Turkey. Medical examination for marriage was legally established through this law. This was the backdoor acceptance of marriage restriction. Most of the members of parliament accepted the main motives of the law and accepted severe punishments for the syphilitic in case of their contaminating other citizens. A lot of them objected to the methods of medical examination. Upon reassurance about the minimalist approach concerning females, they abandoned their objections and voted affirmatively for the proposition. Although not stated in the law, medical examinations for marriage was undertaken as Surgeon Emin Bey has explained, by only

¹⁵² *Zabit Cerideleri*, 1st period, Vol. 8, pp. 99-106.

inspecting the mouth, neck and elbows. Many married Turkish women, when asked, remember that they have been inspected accordingly.

Until 1931, there were no regulations about the medical examination of marriage. The method of the examination was carried on as Surgeon Emin Bey had explained. In 1931 "The Regulations about Medical Examination of Marriage" (*Evlendirme Muayenesi Hakkında Nizamname*) was put into force defining in details about what should be expected from an examination for marriage and which diseases should be searched. It was based on Act.1593, "The General Hygiene Law" (*Umumi Hifzısıhha Kanunu.*) Among the details, as quoted below, Art.5 described the manners for the examination of females should be as it was debated at the Assembly in 1921, stating that the examination of the mouth of the females would be the same as it was carried on for males. In case of virginity, it would be sufficient to inspect the elbows and the mouth.¹⁵³

3.2.1.8. The Civil Code (1926)

The second impediment on marriage in Turkey was legalised by the Act.743 "The Civil Code" (*Kanunu Medeni – Medeni Kanun.*) In Art.89 of The Civil Code it was declared that the marriage of the mentally ill was not permissible and those marriages enacted unaware of this principle of the law were null and void.

Art.89: Only those able to make sound judgements are eligible for marriage. Anyone with one of the diseases of insanity can never (*asla evlenemez*) get married.¹⁵⁴

Until the promulgation of *Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi*, the impediment for marriage was "insanity" and "leprosy." After the promulgation of this

¹⁵³ Regulations about Medical Examination of Marriage (*Evlendirme Muayenesi Hakkında Nizamname*) (11682/17.08.1931)(R.G.: 21.09.1931/1904

¹⁵⁴ The Civil Code (*Kanunu Medeni*) (743/17.02.1926) (Ceridei.Resmiye.: 04.04.1926/339)

decree a period of “no restriction” passed until the enforcement of “The Syphilis Law.” Then, the marriages of the syphilitics were restricted in some sense because the possibility of contaminating the spouse with syphilis would result in an imprisonment not less than 2 years.. This was a serious punishment and the cost of sexual intercourse was high for a syphilitic.

The proposition of the Civil Code was presented to the Assembly at the end of 1925. The discussions on the Bill lasted 6 days (11-17 February 1926) and a total of 685 Articles passed the parliament. Haste was evident. Various Articles of the Civil Code, (Art.89,¹⁵⁵ Art.112¹⁵⁶ and Art. 133¹⁵⁷) accommodated direct eugenic principles. Articles of Civil Code concerning the capacity and impediments to marry maintained that only the sane “with sufficient mental capacity to make fair judgements” would be regarded as eligible for marriage. Mental illness was, therefore, a bar to marriage.¹⁵⁸

3.2.1.9. The General Hygiene Law

The General Hygiene Law (*Umumi Hifzisihha Kanunu*) of Turkey - that was put into force in 1930- had an additional impediment on marriage. Tuberculosis patients, along with the syphilitic, leprosy and insane, could not marry. Art.124 stated that, tuberculosis patients who have applied for a marriage would be warned about their disease and their marriage would be postponed for six months. If the couple insisted on marrying even after the second postponement, they would be warned about the possible outcomes of the disease but they would receive their marriage licences. The government

¹⁵⁵ “The insane can never get married.”

¹⁵⁶ “Those insane who were married, their marriage are null and void.”

¹⁵⁷ “The other partner may apply for divorce in the presence of insanity.”

¹⁵⁸ Tuğrul Ansay “Family Law”. , *Introduction to Turkish Law*, ed. Tuğrul Ansay, Don Wallace, 1996, Kluwer Law International, The Hague, London, Boston, p.112.

physician could postpone the enactment of marriage of the tuberculosis patients up to one and a half-year.

In Art.122 of this law, it was stated that “men and women had to sit for a medical examination before marriage” and the Ministry of Health would regulate the methods of this examination. Aftermath, in 1931, “The Regulation for the Medical Examination of Marriage” was announced defining in details of the selection of the “misfits” whose procreation would be restricted.

On the other hand, The General Hygiene Law had 309 Articles covering all aspects of daily life. Interestingly, the discussions on the law were not much and the Bill passed the Parliament as it was presented.

The General Hygiene Law ended the long path of the construction of the marriage restrictions that started in 1917. Insanity, syphilis, leprosy, gonorrhoea and tuberculosis were defined as impediments for marriage. Many of the deputies were reluctant to comment on the subject, so it was not possible to detect any of their ideas. However, Art.1 of the Act.1593, describing the main motive of The General Hygiene Law stated that the law was put into force “in order to secure the health of the future generations.” It was also stated in Art.1 that, this and the duties of the state were supplying medical and social welfare. It is not possible to assume that there were not any Members of Parliament who believed in eugenics. But surveying the publications of the proceedings of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (*Zabit Cerideleri*) one can view that such matters -as marriage restrictions- were not discussed. They were accepted *ad hoc*. *Zabit Cerideleri* shows us that eugenic impositions of the law, Art.122, 123 and 124 were not discussed too. Albeit the silence, it is not possible to think that there were no eugenicists in Turkey. We have enough evidence to believe that every idea was not expressed and debated during this era.

As mentioned before, marriage restrictions were practised not only in Turkey. In the United States, they started to be imposed as early as 1890¹⁵⁹ as a supplementary of the eugenic sterilisations. Immigration restrictions accompanied them with their racist bias.

In Germany the situation was somewhat different. Marriage restrictions started to be voiced with the start of the third decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁰ Racism was an inclusive part of marriage restrictions in Nazi Germany. Little time was presented for the debates and the society was faced with the impositions.¹⁶¹

In England, the situation was somewhat similar to Germany in the sense that, eugenic propositions for sterilisation –with the supplementary of marriage restriction propositions- started to be voiced at the same time.¹⁶² As mentioned before, eugenic propositions in England were overturned.

When the above given examples are compared with Turkey, it is obvious that the only eugenic impositions were marriage restrictions. Unlike the United States or Germany; it was not accompanied by racist impositions. Also, immigration restrictions did not exist. While Germany quickly and hastily adopted eugenic impositions and started sterilisation, castration and euthanasia programs, the only eugenic imposition in Turkey was marriage restrictions and the issue was debated for nearly fifteen years (1917-1931) before fully accomplished.

¹⁵⁹ See pp. 36-37

¹⁶⁰ See pp. 57-58

¹⁶¹ See p. 58

¹⁶² Daily Express, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, p.569: "On November 30, 1932, Mr. Hilford Knight introduced a Bill in the House of Commons. It proposed to add to the statutory grounds for divorce on the basis that, if the respondent was incurably insane, and had been continuously a certified lunatic for a period of not less than five years immediately preceding the presentation of the petition."

3.2.2. Other Eugenic Legislation

Other eugenic legislation has been in force in Turkey. Alcohol Law is an example. Some Articles of the Penal Code constitute the other example.

The Islamic worship is against alcohol consumption. In Turkey, anti alcohol discussions, propositions and legislation, at the first hearing is understood as an Islamic outcry. The situation was somewhat different and those who proposed legislation against alcohol consumption were the distinguished personalities of the rational, positive and scientific minds. Similarly, not only the eugenicists but also a great majority of the rational, positive and scientific minds of the West claimed that alcoholism was an ill deed. Worldwide campaigns against alcohol were in action. There were eugenicists among them too. Eugenicists claimed that the abused usage of alcohol depended on heredity. American and German sterilisation legislation –as well as the British propositions- accepted the inebriate among those to be sterilised.

3.2.2.1. The Alcohol Law

In 1920, another eugenic proposition was presented before the Turkish National Assembly. This was “The Bill for Ban on Alcoholic Beverages”¹⁶³ (*Men'i Müskirat Kanunu*) proposed by Trabzon deputy Ali Şükrü Bey. The Bill passed the parliament as Act.22 and was put into force.¹⁶⁴ The main motive of the Bill contained eugenic ideas which concentrated on the future generations (*nesl-i atimizi*) and public health (*sıhhat-i umumiyemiz*) and was explained by Ali Şükrü Bey who stated that the United States, Russia and

¹⁶³ The date of proposition: 25.04.1920

¹⁶⁴ The Law for Ban on Alcoholic Beverages (*Men'i Müskirat Kanunu*)(22/14.08.1920)(C.R.: 28.02.1921/4)

recently Australia had already applied these measures.¹⁶⁵

The Health Commission of the Turkish National Assembly was on similar grounds with Ali Şükrü Bey and presented its decision to the Assembly on behalf of the Bill on 29th of April 1920 as quoted below:

Our social and moral condition has been deteriorating because of the expansion and propagation of alcohol consumption habit. The ignorance of our peasants, which constitutes the eighty- percent of our nation, is acting as an elevator towards alcohol consumption. The increasing rates of homicide are because of this habit too and social ills are diffusing everywhere...alcohol consumption habit is a threat for our social health and it will cause the extinction of our future generations.¹⁶⁶

The president of the Health Commission was Dr. Asım Bey and the Minister of Health was Dr. Adnan (Adıvar) Bey at this date. Canonical (*Şeriyeye*) Commission was also on behalf of the proposed law but a different motive was present in the decision of the commission which claimed that the ban on alcohol production and consumption would be on behalf of the morals and the health of all and also it was the right decision for the Moslems.¹⁶⁷ Obviously, in taking this decision, both religion and ethics were considered.

The Bill was drawn back by the Cabinet during a session while Mustafa Kemal Paşa was presiding on the 17th of May 1920 but in a few weeks time it was again presented to the Assembly on July 12, this time as a cabinet proposition. The two Ministers that caused the Bill to be introduced as a cabinet proposition were Celaleddin Arif Bey and Hakkı Behiç Bey.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1st period, Vol. 1, pp.381-387

¹⁶⁶ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1st period, Vol. 1, pp.381-387

¹⁶⁷ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1st period, Vol. 1, pp.381-387

¹⁶⁸ Emel Akal, *Mustafa Kemal, İttihat Terakki ve Bolşevizm*, (Mustafa Kemal, Union and Progress and Bolshevism,) TÜSTAV Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp.301-313. In the so called book that is the publication of her PhD thesis submitted to Ankara University, the Faculty of Political Sciences, (Supervisor: Prof. Sina Akşin) Akal maintained that, in 1920, the Unionists constituted two fractions, "Talat" fraction and "Enver" fraction. They were "separate" but "allied." Hakkı Behiç Bey was one of the key personalities who corresponded with both of the leaders abroad, Talat Bey and Enver Paşa. After the assassination of Talat Bey, the "Talat" fraction was dissolved. Until the death of Talat Bey, neither the "Talat" fraction nor the "Enver" fraction had any inclination to let Mustafa Kemal Paşa reach full

Many members of the parliament spoke on behalf of the proposition but a great majority emphasised the immoral character of alcohol consumption and voiced the amendments of Koran against it. Some cases, such as the remarks of Kastamonu deputy Dr. Suat Bey's, constituted the example of eugenic views that were present among the Members of Parliament. Dr. Suat Bey maintained that alcoholism was the major cause of insanity. Alcoholics were hereditarily degenerated, thus they generated other degenerates. He mentioned that experiments on insanity had proven that one of the two major reasons for it was alcoholism and the other syphilis. Therefore a ban on alcohol should be a main motive. He explained that alcoholics procreated and their hereditary degeneration resulted in the birth of deformed children. In order to stop the vicious circle which created hereditarily degenerated offspring, it was a must to ban alcohol.¹⁶⁹

This explanation constitutes the basic explanation of eugenic ideas. The same logic came up during the 1930's in Prof. Mazhar Osman's lectures delivered at the School of Medicine as well as in the textbooks for Teacher's Colleges.

The Law for Ban on Alcoholic Beverages did not remain in effect for long and during the second period of the Turkish National Assembly it was annulled. Ali Şükrü Bey who proposed the law was an opponent of Mustafa Kemal Paşa. Art.4 of Act.22 held that public officials "who consumed alcohol" should not keep their posts in the governmental apparatus. Moreover, Ali Şükrü Bey's proposition guided some conservative members of the parliament to words of Ali Şükrü Bey's proposition because it held a ban on alcohol similar to the Koran's amendment on the issue, while most of Mustafa

power. They believed that "they" would be in full power soon. After Talat Bey's death, the constituents of the alliance together with it constitution changed. This explanation seems sensible and the findings reached during this thesis of eugenics in Turkey are in accordance with Akal. Although after Enver Paşa's death, Adnan (Adıvar) Bey, Ali Şükrü Bey, Hakkı Behiç (Bayiç) Bey became the opposition, in 1920, they believed that they were in full power and acted accordingly, assuming that they would be the ones to build the new nation state. In order to achieve this goal, they proposed eugenic legislation.

¹⁶⁹ *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 1st period, Vol. 4, p. 117.

Kemal Paşa's proponents turned against this law. Suppositions can be made that the main motive of Ali Şükrü Bey was not what was written in his proposition, but something else, some other political trick to cause a parliamentary grouping and increasing the number of his proponents. But such suppositions cannot change the facts that the main motive of the written proposition, the justifications, reports of some commissions and the speeches held on behalf of the proposition contained eugenic ideas and propositions that reached as far as legislation in Turkey.

3.2.2.2. The Penal Code

As mentioned above, in 1921, the Turkish National Assembly in Ankara passed the law restricting the consumption of alcoholic beverages. This was an advanced step in the context of eugenic activities and applications in Turkey. Although this law was annulled in 1923, another legitimate imposition was applied against alcoholics in 1926 by the recently accepted penal law, Act.795, "The Penal Code" (*Kanunu Cezai*, later called *Ceza Kanunu*).¹⁷⁰ Art.571, Art.572 and Art.573 of this law concerned the abusers of alcoholic beverages. Art.571 stated that, a person caught drunken, was to be imprisoned for 15 days. Art.572 stated that inebriates causing public distress would be imprisoned for not less than 2 months.¹⁷¹ Art.573 of The Penal Code stressed that the habitual drunken were to be held in arrest until the medical consent was obtained verifying that they were free of their habits.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰Turkish Penal Code (*Türk Ceza Kanunu*): (765/01.03.1926)(C.R.: 13.03.1926/320)

¹⁷¹ In 1941, the imprisonment was raised to six months.

¹⁷² The Penal Code was altered several times in connection with the consuming of alcoholic beverages. Art.573 was altered in 2/6/1941 by the Act.4055, Art. 1 as: "The inebriates that are at the degree of dependence are to be kept in treatment in a hospital until their improvements are medically confirmed. In cases hospitals are not available at the point of custody, the subject will be transferred to a sufficiently equipped zone." The Art.571 was altered in 9/7/1953 by the Act.6123, Art.1 as: "Any person, if caught drunken in a common place or a

After 1930, the necessary ideological, legislative and judicial infrastructure for more eugenics had developed in Turkey. Rationalism, positivism, scientific ideologies became the hegemonic discourses of the State. A single party system in the Assembly relieved the governmental apparatus from the challenge of any opposition. The legislation enjoyed the facilities of execution free from any opposition. The judicial system was altered in accordance with the above mentioned hegemonic discourses. Secular and positivist education system was fully practised. Penal Code, Civil Code and The General Hygiene Law with eugenic principles were in force.

3.3. The State and the Medical Profession

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed great worldwide victories of biologic sciences. Every discovery in the field was easily adapted to the medical profession. The constructors of the positivist and rational new regime had to include the medical professionals into the power bloc. The medical professionals were their product.¹⁷³ As a matter of fact, the Turkish State used the medical profession during the early days of the Republic as one of the tools for the formation of the nation-state. The term “government physician” was introduced to the Turkish society. It was obvious that, medical profession was very important. An article written for the commemoration of Dr. Hacı Kemal Bey in the July 1931 issue of *Tedavi Notları*, a Turkish medical bulletin, displayed thoroughly this importance of physicians. This article related that undoubtedly, the discovery of microbes was the miracle of

place open to public, causing distress to the people or causing disgrace, are to be slightly imprisoned not less than a fortnight or they are to be fined not less than 50 T.L.” The Art.572 was altered in 9/7/1953 by the Act .6123, Art.1 as: “As mentioned in the above Article, if the inebriates become aggressive and impair the repose of the community, they are to be slightly imprisoned not less than two months. Those who are habitually drunk are to be not less than six months imprisoned. Those who have been fined twice, if they repeat the same actions are to be accepted as habitual actors.”

¹⁷³ See pp. 72-73

the era. Pasteur's name echoed in all ears. By the discoveries of rabies vaccine, diphtheria serum, cholera and tuberculosis bacteria, medicine enjoyed its most important and popular days. Those issues were universally argued and the position of the medical profession and the physicians were elevated. Those were the brilliant days of medicine. The article disclosed the below statement:

Medical professionals are being accepted by the society as persons with sacred power.¹⁷⁴

Several years before the above mentioned development, in 1920, "The Law of Forensic Medicine" (*Tababeti Adliye Kanunu*), the Act.38 had become one of the first legislations of the Great National Assembly.¹⁷⁵ "The Bill of Forensic Medicine" (*Tababet-i Adliye Kanunu*) was introduced to the Assembly by Bursa deputy Surgeon Emin Bey.¹⁷⁶ The main motive of the proposition was to enforce all physicians, including those who practised privately to partake in the judicial proceedings of *flagrante delicto*. This partaking was obligatory and those physicians who declined for this procedure were to be tried according to Art.99 of the Penal Code. Obviously, any physician who declined the new impositions would be penalised and confronted with imprisonment.

This Law was the first example of the budding new regime paving its route for a medical profession that would be exerted on behalf of the society and for the sake of the society and controlled by the State. It was the first example of the decreased responsibility between the patient and the physician and the increased responsibility of the physician and the State. This was a new constraint to the physicians for they had to be professionals of the State rather

¹⁷⁴ *Tedavi Notları*, July 1931, p. 501

¹⁷⁵ The Law of Forensic Medicine (*Tababeti Adliye Kanunu*)(38/11.09.1920) (C.R.: 12.03.1921/6)

¹⁷⁶ *Zabıt Cerideleri*: 1st period, Vol. 4, p. 259.

than practise their own rules and ethics.¹⁷⁷

During the debates, İzmit deputy Hamdi Namik Bey's speech on the matter is a good example demonstrating that administration of the new regime wanted the physicians to act as government agents instead of being the practitioners of a profession. In his speech, he gave the example of his practice in Ayancık, when he had an argument with a syphilis doctor there who refused to go to the very act:

I told him that I would use force. He said that he would not go. I told him that I would expel him from the country. He said that he would not go. I wrote the matter to the Directorate of Health. They answered me saying that he was a doctor for syphilis and he would not go. So, it should be included here that all doctors retired or practising at the hospitals, they must go (very appropriate shouts – *çok muvafik sedaları.*)¹⁷⁸

The above quoted speech represents the mentality of the state official concerning the medical profession. It should be recalled that, Bursa deputy Surgeon Emin Bey was that Member of Parliament who took part during the discussions about the "Syphilis Law" and who "gave his word" that females would not be examined other than their mouths and their arms. He had added that "strict orders" had been issued concerning this matter. The upheaval of the Members of the Parliament against the method of examination and –thus, against- the law had subsided. It should be kept in mind that a Bill concerning hundreds of thousands of the citizens reached legislation by the gesture of one Member of Parliament, Surgeon Emin Bey. This time the same person was acting again, on a matter as important as the previous one. The "Law of Forensic Medicine," as a step of state incursion into the profession of medicine, constitutes a "state imposition" and as already mentioned a step in nation building.

¹⁷⁷ Paul Weindling expresses the similar attitude that was voiced in Germany as: "Eugenicist of Germany supported the idea that, medical profession was on behalf of the society, for the society and especially the new generations. The responsibility of the physician for his patient lessened due time." German eugenicists proposed such ideas, at the last decade of the Nineteenth Century.

¹⁷⁸ *Zabıt Cerideleri*: 1st period, Vol. 4, pp. 438-445

While evaluating this Bill, it must be remembered that Surgeon Emin Bey had proposed another Bill, "The Bill about the Freedom of Duelling."¹⁷⁹ Such a proposition constitutes an extremely western approach. Emin Bey had been on behalf of "The Law for Ban on Alcoholic Beverages" too.¹⁸⁰ It is not possible to assume that Emin Bey was against the consumption of alcohol on the grounds of the amendments of the holy Koran.

When "The Bill of Forensic Medicine" was accepted for discussions in the Assembly, the Minister of Health was Dr. Adnan (Adıvar) Bey and the president of the Health Commission was Dr. Asım Bey. Another doctor, Surgeon Emin Bey proposed a Bill that would influence the daily routine of his colleagues negatively while influencing the daily routine of the state positively. Obviously they were all taking actions on behalf of the state instead of their profession.

There is enough evidence to assume that, Ali Şükrü Bey, Emin Bey and Adnan Bey acted in accord during the first year of the Grand National Assembly holding eugenic ideas. Additionally, their positioning towards the Bills concerning health matters was in unison. They were after legislation with nation building. They believed that "they" would be the ruling actors of the new Turkish Republic.

But the formation of the new nation-state started and continued during the realm of the bloodshed of the war. Actors changed during the war depending on various consequences. Ali Şükrü Bey, Emin Bey and Adnan Bey all took their places in the opposition.

The re-positioning of the actors of the new nation-state necessitated recalculations concerning the ruling cadres and naturally what was said in the past became important. It is possible to assume that even the wording of eugenics was meticulously inspected and suspected by the new cadres. Therefore, while surveying the 1930's, the ongoing struggle among the actors

¹⁷⁹ This Bill was sent to the Commission of Bills and aftermath was not heard of.

¹⁸⁰ See p 87

of political power since the first years of the new nation-state has to be taken into account. The same comparative consideration applies for the study of eugenics in Turkey during 1930's. Although Adnan (Adivar) Bey and his friends were suppressed during the 1930's, obviously it is not possible to consider that all members of this –once massive and powerful cadre– diminished.

State control of medical profession continued in 1923 by the Act 369. "The Bill of Compulsory Service of Two Years for Physicians" passed the Great National Assembly just a few months after the Lausanne Treaty. This time, Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) Bey was the deputy who proposed the Bill. He was after a compulsory service for the members of a profession. This constitutes the utmost step of state control over that profession. The state, during the first days of the new Turkish Republic continued to impose full control on the medical professionals. The below table (on the next page) of chronology will provide a better understanding of the step-by-step incursion of state into the medical profession. The timing of these incursions can be easily observed in the table. It should be noted here that concerning health measures, there is continuity in the nation building process. On the other hand, there is a discontinuity concerning the actors. Adnan Bey, Ali Şükrü Bey, Hakkı Behiç Bey, Suat Bey, Emin Bey were not on the scene in 1923 due to various reasons. This time, Hamdullah Suphi Bey proposed the Bill of Compulsory Service of Two Years for Physicians, which was on the same grounds, the control of medical profession by the state.

Table 1. The Major Reforms and Health Measures

YEAR	MAJOR REFORMS
1920	<u>Alcohol Law (Prohibition for the sake of healthy new generations)</u>
1920	<u>Syphilis Law (Compulsory examination and archive for the sake of healthy new generations). Forensic Medicine Law (All physicians taking part in judicial matters)</u>
1922	Sultanate abolished
1923	Treaty of Lausanne secured Republic of Turkey with capital at Ankara proclaimed
1923	<u>The Law of Compulsory Service for Physicians (Medical professionals become professionals for the state)</u>
1924	Caliphate abolished. Traditional religious schools discontinued. New Constitution adopted
1925	Dervish brotherhoods abolished. Fez outlawed by the Hat Law. Veiling of women discouraged. Western clothing for men and women encouraged. Western (Gregorian) calendar adopted.
1926	New civil, commercial and penal codes based on European models adopted. New civil code ended Islamic polygamy and divorce by renunciation and entered civil marriage. <u>New civil code adopted the principle that mentally diseased could not marry.</u> Millet system ended.
1927	First systematic census
1928	<u>The law of medical and related professions put into force (All medical professionals controlled by the state)</u>
1928	New Turkish alphabet (modified Latin form) adopted. Constitutional provision establishing Islam as official religion deleted
1930	<u>The General Hygiene Law adopted (All aspects of life of the individuals controlled by the state)</u>
1933	Islamic call to worship and public readings of the Koran required to be in Turkish rather than Arabic
1934	Women given the right to vote and to hold office. Law of Surnames adopted
1935	Sunday adopted as legal weekly holiday. State role in managing economy written into the constitution

When the year 1928 arrived, Act.1219, “The Law Concerning the Medical and Related Professions” (*Tababet ve Şuabatının Tarz-ı İcrasına Dair Kanun*)¹⁸¹ passed the Turkish Great National Assembly. This law, with slight alterations is current today. Apart from defining how the medical profession is to be enacted, Art.1 of the Act enforces professionals to be Turkish citizens who have graduated from a Turkish Medical School.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ The Law Concerning the Medical and Related Professions (*Tababet ve Şuabatının Tarz-ı İcrasına Dair Kanun*)(1219/11.04.1928)(R.G.: 14.04.1928/863)

¹⁸² *Zabıt Cerideleri*, 3rd period, Vol.3, p.563. The discussions of the articles started on the 15th of March 1928. The proceedings concerning Art.4 that imposed a ratification of their diplomas in medicine for Turkish physicians who were graduated from a medical school

Turkish citizens who are graduates of foreign Medical Schools have to be approved by a special committee to be able to start practising medical profession in Turkey. This Act enforces the medical and related professionals in two strict aspects. Any professional of health in Turkey has to obtain ratification from the Ministry of Health in addition to his/her diploma and has to be a member of "The Medical Chamber" of doctors, dentists or pharmacists (*Etibba Odası*.)

By the enforcement of Act.1219, the full control of the state over the medical professionals was exerted. Aftermath, any proposition or application concerning medical apprenticeship would necessitate state information and authorisation. Obviously, eugenics, because of its close relations with medical and surgical applications would be under state control too. As mentioned before, there have been "isolated" and "pioneering" sterilisations in England.¹⁸³ This would be impossible in Turkey because every "incision" and every "stitch" was under state control.

3.4. Developments of Eugenic Ideas

In Turkey, the first conference on eugenics was held in 1925. Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) Bey had extended the institution. Dr. Tevfik Remzi (Kazancıgil) Bey gave a conference in order to provide basic information. No eugenic proposition or call was voiced during the conference.¹⁸⁴ Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) Bey was acting as The Inspector of Education in Berlin before the First World War and Dr. Tevfik Remzi (Kazancıgil) Bey was student there when they met. The mentioned conference

abroad was as follows: (Question) Mazhar Müfit (Kansu) Bey: "Is there an exam?" (Answer) Refik (Saydam) Bey: "No there is not." (Question) Yusuf (Akçura) Bey: "The word here, the Turk, is that a constitutional Turk?" (Answer) Refik Saydam Bey: "The word here, the Turk is a constitutional Turk", (President) İsmet Bey: "The case is disclosed, here is the voting."

¹⁸³ See pp. 47-48

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Prof. Dr. Aykut Kazancıgil, Tevfik Remzi (Kazancıgil) Bey's son:

was a product of this acquaintance as well as Dr. Tevfik Remzi Bey's knowledge about eugenics from Berlin.¹⁸⁵

Other than the mentioned conference, worth quoting discussions were displayed at various occasions. Many of them are included in this thesis since these comprise the eugenic ideas in Turkey. When we take a closer look at them we can see that the ideas of eugenics in Turkey can be classified in two groups. The first group can be classified as indirect or positive eugenic ideas aiming to fight against illnesses that effect heredity and the second group as direct or negative eugenic ideas and activities.

3.4.1. Institutional Structures of Eugenics

Taking a closer look at these groups, it can be asserted that general hygiene knowledge and regulations originated from eugenic (*ilm-i hıfzısıhha* or *ırk hıfzısıhhası*) principles. Under this heading, we can group the eugenic ideas, organisations and legislation. In this thesis organisations and legislation fighting against unfavourable social conditions, as well as the contagious illnesses that can affect the biologic matter of heredity are included as eugenic organisations or legislation. The below organisations can be listed as “eugenic organisations”, within the context of “organisations fighting against unfavourable social conditions, as well as the contagious illnesses that can affect the biologic matter of heredity.” These are the Red Crescent (*Kızılay*), Association to Protect Turkish Women (*Türk Kadınlarını Esirgeme Cemiyeti*), Association of Benevolence (*Yardımsevenler Cemiyeti*), Association to Content Tuberculosis (*Veremle Mücadele Cemiyeti*) and Universities.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Perihan Çambel, *Ögenik Hakkında Düşünceler* (Ideas about Eugenics) the publisher is not available, 1946.: Çambel stated that the first eugenic publication was Prof. Dr. Tevfik Remzi Kazancıgil's conference.

¹⁸⁶ *Üniversiteler*. Perihan Çambel noted the information that, in 1941 Cevat Kerim İncedayı (Diyarbakır), in 1942 Sedat Tavat (Elazığ), in 1943 Tevfik Sağlam (Samsun) gave conferences. The topics of these conferences were “eugenics.”

The reason for such organisations we can call as eugenic organisations is that, they aimed to fight against the unfavourable conditions that were present among the peasants. Elevating social conditions naturally invites the hereditary biologic betterment. Better housing, health services and higher wages also make a difference towards the future of the newborn. These institutions and policies are not criticised as eugenic because the impact is unintentional.¹⁸⁷ Intention is crucial in order to name it as “eugenic.” Associations aiming better social conditions can be called as associations with welfare policies. However, especially during the first decades of the Turkish Republic, aim for better social conditions was regarded as a synonym for surveillance. Although such welfare organisations did not voice the terminology of eugenics, their intention was to make use of medical science in social matters and to increase the amount of “fits” among the society. This is called as “positive” eugenics.

During the first years of the young republic social conditions were very unfavourable. Syphilis, malaria and tuberculosis were endemic. Infant mortality was high. Population was not dense. State precautions to be enacted against the referred catastrophes were accepted positively. Neither the intelligentsia, nor the masses objected to the measures. The word hygiene brought *health* in the minds of the individuals. Hygienic measures were used as a synonym for public health. The below quotation from Prof. Akile Gürsoy describes well about what implicated health during the 1930’s in Turkey:

In the first years of the republic, the concept of health implicated to economic welfare and political freedom. The concept of disease implicated all kinds of weakness, non-logicality, and dependence on superstitions. The concept of being healthy implicated to all of the below: strength, reliability, contemporary civilisation, merit, happiness. Health meant life, resistance, and the power to struggle. Disease meant a dishonourable way of living, the road to extinction.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ See p. 16

¹⁸⁸ Akile Gürsoy, “Sağlık, Gençlik, Güzellik” *Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet*, (“Health, Youth and Beauty”; Three Generations of the Republic), Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998.

As can be understood from the above view, economic and social welfare policies were always mixed with positive eugenic ideas. The administration's full concern was on the surveillance of the republic. In order to reach this goal, the young republic was after a strong, healthy, reliable population that could take part in a struggle, which would be necessary.

It should be noted here that the elite group of notables¹⁸⁹ who participated in the foundation of the new Turkish Republic almost totally were born during the last decades of the nineteenth century, they were educated with positive sciences, and were mostly well acquainted with French and/or German languages.¹⁹⁰ Their attitudes towards a healthy society constituted rational, positive and scientific ideas. Physicians were accepted as a precious element of the state's health politics in contribution with the hegemonic ideology. Their job was defined in conjunction with state goals such as enlightenment, rationalism, modernism. One of Prof. Dr. Fahrettin Kerim Gökay's essays well explains the enlightenment, rationalism and modernism expected from medical students. The essay published in 1936, in an edition of a magazine, edited and published by the medical students annually on the 14th of March, as a commemoration of the beginning of Turkish Medical Education,¹⁹¹ Fahrettin Kerim (Gökay) wrote as quoted below:

We shall introduce the enlightenment of our revolution to our folks. Then, they will see and believe that the people's government (*halkın hükümeti*) and peoples' physician (*halk hekimi*) is a reality. You and your will power alone are going to create this reality, with brilliance. Don't forget that only with perseverance and persistence one may

¹⁸⁹ Paul Weindling *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism 1870-1945*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1993, p.7: Weindling uses the term "*honoratioren*" to describe the similar social strata in Germany. Korkut Boratav uses the term "*muhterem ve seçkin zevat*" for Turkey in the similar sense.

¹⁹⁰ Tevfik Sağlam, *Nasıl Okudum*, 1951, the place of publication and the publisher is not available, p. 16. Tevfik Sağlam explained the matter well: "It was obvious that without a good knowledge of French, it was impossible to become a doctor."

¹⁹¹ Commemoration day for the beginning of medical education was 12th of May until 1933. The foundation of the first hospital by Sultan Orhan Gazi was accepted for the date. In 1934, after long debates over the issue, it was decided upon that, Turkish medical education started by the foundation of the first Medical School on 14th of March, 1827.

achieve his goals.¹⁹²

Accordingly, although acting under the full control of the state, young physicians of the young republic were recognised as eager to accomplish tasks they were expected to fulfil.

To present a better idea of this rapid accomplishment, we can refer to some figures in the beginning of the Turkish Republic: There were 554 physicians in Turkey in 1923 while in 1948, 4630 physicians were practicing throughout the country.¹⁹³ A massive campaign against syphilis was in full action. The results were exceedingly successful.¹⁹⁴ Respecting positivism, rationalism and scientism was guiding the young republic towards a great success, a victory in health matters. It must be borne in mind that self esteem, when it reaches success, is the biggest motive for individuals and societies. Such was the atmosphere among the physicians during the 1930's.

For the nation state, an increase in the population was an incentive. To influence society, Prof. Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın) Paşa wrote books and gave conferences anticipating population expansion.¹⁹⁵ But that was not all. His intention was to have healthier and stronger offspring. His proposition was to rear healthy, sound offspring in order to obtain military and national power. Although he did not use *eugenics*, his intention was to make use of medical science in a social matter and to increase the amount of "fits" within the society. This is another example of "positive" eugenics. In his book *Türk Çocukları Yaşamalıdır* (Turkish Children Must Live) Besim Ömer (Akalın) Paşa

¹⁹² Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, "*Tıp Yolunda Yılbaşı*", Published by the Students' Association, no place of publication available 1936, p. 3.

¹⁹³ See appendix B

¹⁹⁴ See appendix H

¹⁹⁵ *Besim Ömer Paşa* wrote books and published pamphlets about women, children and midwifery. He was aware of the new way of living and tried to help especially young women. In his book *Kızlarımız İçin* (For Our Girls), 1935, Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, p. 10, he stated as: "I am being confronted with venereal diseases among some of the women and girls who are earning money, getting used to work together with men, in the factories that are becoming greater in number every day."

wrote that if it could be managed to keep every Turkish child that was born alive and reared properly, that is, healthy and sound, Turkish population would increase in quite a short time. He stressed his conviction as quoted below:

The old saying about our race (*ırkımız*) “strong as a Turk” will be rejuvenated... I can say that, if we can keep alive the children that die every year, this would yield our country -divisions and divisions of- strong soldiers annually. ¹⁹⁶

Such positive eugenic propositions are often confused with “nationalist” or “welfare” tendencies. Many tend to think that eugenics deals public health, hygiene regulations and campaigns against certain diseases such as syphilis, malaria and tuberculosis. ¹⁹⁷ As argued in this thesis, in order to distinguish a eugenic idea from a national or welfare policy, the “intention” of the policy constitutes the distinction between the two. If the intention is to reach a goal by affecting heredity, that is eugenics. ¹⁹⁸ As a matter of fact some studies tried to clarify this in order to explain the close relation of positive eugenics with welfare and national policies. For example Prof. Dr. Perihan Çambel in her book about eugenics in Turkey made classifications as “direct eugenic measures” and “indirect eugenic measures fighting against unfavourable social conditions.” ¹⁹⁹ This approach helps to understand the different aspects of eugenics. Prof. Çambel maintained those welfare organisations against syphilis, tuberculosis and alcohol were “eugenic organisations,” within the context of “organisations fighting against unfavourable social conditions, as well as the contagious illnesses that can

¹⁹⁶ Besim Ömer Akalın, *Türk Çocuğu Yaşamalıdır, Küçük Çocuklara Bakım ve Sosyal Yardım*, (İstanbul, Ahmed İhsan Basımevi, 1936), p.5.

¹⁹⁷ See p 1

¹⁹⁸ See p 16

¹⁹⁹ Knowledge about eugenics in Turkey can be obtained from Perihan Çambel’s well-organised book, *Ögenik Hakkında Düşünceler* (Ideas about Eugenics), 1946. The publisher and the place of publication are not available. It is interesting though that; Çambel does not mention Mazhar Osman Usman’s and Server Kamil Tokgöz’s books about eugenics, in her book.

affect the biologic matter of heredity.”²⁰⁰ Prof. Çambel made classifications as “direct eugenics” implicating “negative eugenics” and “indirect eugenics” in the meaning, “positive eugenics.” Her classification can be understood in the context of “the intention.” She clarified *Kızılay* or *Veremle Mücadele Cemiyeti* as organisations fighting against unfavourable social conditions, as well as the contagious illnesses that can affect the biologic matter of heredity, so they were “eugenic organisations.” Prof. Çambel classified “The Green Crescent Association” (*Hilali Ahtar Cemiyeti/Yeşilay Cemiyeti*) under “direct eugenic” organisations in Turkey. The below paragraph is a quotation from Prof. Çambel’s book and is a good example to explain the matter while the word “indirect” should be read as “positive” and “direct” as “negative” for the sake of conformity of concepts hereby worded:

The Articles of The General Hygiene Law (*Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu*), Act 1593, concerning struggles against tuberculosis and syphilis can be grouped among the indirect eugenic legislation aiming to fight against hereditary diseases. This law was altered connectively in 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1941.* On the other hand, the same law included Articles about bars for marriage, thus being an example for direct eugenic measures.²⁰¹

During the early stages of this thesis, it was difficult to understand Prof. Çambel’s classification. Nevertheless, I believe that her classifications and her understanding concerning the matter were excellent. Prof. Çambel held that in addition to marriage restrictions, “anti-alcohol” campaigns were “indirect” (negative) eugenics too. Prof. Çambel held classifications arising from heredity, with the intention of the policy in terms of “affecting heredity.” Prof. Çambel preferred surveying concepts instead of catchwords. This sets this thesis on a totally agreeable path with her. On the other hand, Prof.

²⁰⁰ Perihan Çambel, p.11. Çambel maintained that, unfavourable social conditions “and” some contagious disease, they “both” affected the biologic matter of heredity unfavourably. Organisations fighting against them could be -and in a sense, “should” be- classified as eugenic organisations.

* Çambel, p.36. Çambel defined these alterations as: “The improvements of the law.”

²⁰¹ *ibid*, p.12

Çambel classified the articles of the General Hygiene Law about restrictions for marriage as “positive” measures. Such an approach may be seen as contradictory to this thesis. But, it does not. The above quotation maintained that restrictions for marriage were “negative” eugenics. Probably Prof. Çambel intended to demonstrate that such an imposition might implicate both positive and negative eugenics at the same time.

Meanwhile, campaigns were held and organisations acted against alcoholism in Turkey. Alcohol consumption, especially if it has become a habit, it is a threat to the health of the individual and the society. Campaigns against the abused usage of alcohol cannot be accepted as eugenic. It is an outcry for a healthy individual and society. But the acceptance of the members of the society who take alcohol as “consumptives” and “misfits” is something else. Campaigners against alcohol in Turkey in general tried to construct their concepts on the belief that alcoholism was hereditarily endowed and the major reason and result of criminality. That is what happened in Turkey.

“The Alcoholic Beverages Association” (*İçki Cemiyeti*) was the primary example of such organised activities.²⁰² This association was founded in 1908, with principals similar to Forel’s Association. The conferences of Bahattin Şakir in “Turkish Hearts” (*Türkocağı*) and Prof. Wietling²⁰³ in *Gülhane*²⁰⁴ can be referred to as the anti-alcohol campaigners of the first decade of the twentieth century also.²⁰⁵ In 1917, Mazhar Osman Usman founded “The Clinical Psychiatric and Neurologic Society” (*Emrazı Akliye ve Asabiye Cemiyeti*.) an association that declared its aim as “fighting against

²⁰² Çambel, p 22

²⁰³ Prof. Dr. Wietling: German Professor in medicine. He was the founder of *Gülhane*.

²⁰⁴ *Gülhane*: The first postgraduate education in medicine started in a military hospital at the district of Gülhane in İstanbul in 1903.

²⁰⁵ Çambel, p 22

syphilis, alcoholism and narcotics.”²⁰⁶ In 1919, Mazhar Osman and Fahreddin Kerim Gökay founded “The Green Crescent Association.” (*Hilali Ahtar Cemiyeti* later called *Yeşilay Cemiyeti*.)²⁰⁷ The aim of the association was fighting alcoholism. The opponents of alcoholic beverages were generally neurologists and psychiatrists. Their proposition for the control of alcoholics was on the same grounds with neurological or psychiatric patients, that is, “segregation.” In addition to “The Clinical Psychiatric and Neurological Society” which was founded in 1917, in 1930, Fahreddin Kerim Gökay and İhsan Şükrü Aksel established “The Mental Hygiene Association.”²⁰⁸ This organisation was also an example of a negative eugenic organisation. The organisation proposed the control of the “mentally disabled,” meaning segregation.

3.4.2. Eugenics In Teachers’ Colleges

Eugenic ideas and principles appeared in textbooks too: Dr. Behaddin Faik’s “New Hygiene” (*Yeni Hıfzısıhha*)²⁰⁹ for the senior students of the teachers’ colleges (*muallim mektepleri*) reflected most of the eugenic ideas of the time. This book was prepared for the students of teachers colleges in accordance with the school curriculum provided by the Ministry of Education. Students through it were to learn about hereditary diseases, alcoholism,

²⁰⁶ Çambel, p 24: Çambel described the struggle against syphilis, alcoholism and narcotics as “the early eugenic ideology.”

²⁰⁷ In 1919, Fahreddin Kerim (Gökay) was a student at the Faculty of Medicine and the President of the Students’ Association.

²⁰⁸ Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, *Bizde ve Diğer Memleketlerde “Hygiene Mentale” Mesaisi* (Mental Hygiene Studies in Our Country and the Others), Kader Matbaası, İstanbul, 1931. The book contains the proceedings of the first congress of this association. Segregation of the mentally ill was proposed. While the association was called *Akıl Hıfzısıhhası Cemiyeti*, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay preferred to use the French synonym *Hygiene Mentale* in the main heading of his book.

²⁰⁹ Behaddin Faik, *Yeni Hıfzısıhha*, (New Hygiene), Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1932.

syphilis and other venereal diseases along with the legislation concerning these matters. In this textbook, the reasons of illnesses were discussed under two categories. The first was defined as “personal reasons” and the second, “external reasons.” According to the author, among the personal reasons for illnesses, the definitions and clarifications in some cases included the extreme importance of heredity. In some specific illnesses, a particular aptitude passed from the grandfather or father to the son or, in some families, an organic specific weakness was observed in the offspring. Dr. Faik also underlined that in some cases as in syphilis, the illness was transferred to the children directly.²¹⁰

Turkish eugenicists diverted much attention to the matters concerning syphilis and alcohol consumption. Behaddin Faik demonstrated this with a similar approach. Under the heading “The Relation of Alcohol with Homicide and Suicide,” the students were informed about the relation of alcohol consumption with criminality. The students of the Teachers’ Colleges were informed of world-wide statistics indicating that in incidents of homicide and suicide, most of the actors were drunk and they performed their act with the effect of drunkenness.²¹¹

An incentive for the construction of nation-state had resulted in the introduction of the term “Social Engineering.” Behaddin Faik’s book, bearing the heading, contained two other explanatory headings on struggle against consumption of alcohol. It was stated in these chapters that, the ill effects of alcohol consumption on health, society and economy matters was not an individualistic problem and ought to be conceived as a common danger, even a disaster. Struggle against alcohol consumption was defined as an issue of the nation. It was also indicated that state struggle against alcohol in Turkey by banning its production was once tried for a short period during the years of the national struggle but it only seemed to an increase in traffic of smuggling

²¹⁰ Faik, p 7

²¹¹ *ibid*, p 9

of alcoholic drinks and had to be annulled.²¹²

It is well worth mentioning at this point that all publications of the Ministry of Education were ratified by The Board of Training and Pedagogy, making it obvious that, apart from the author, the elite notables of the Ministry of Education was in favour of The Alcohol Law, *Men'i Müskirat Kanunu* also. Referring to the book, in addition to the above mentioned concepts, the book advised which to pursue by encouraging the associations such as 'The Green Crescent' and observe the wide enforcement of Art.571, 572 and 573 of the Penal Code.²¹³

Although the word "eugenics" was used not even once through the textbook, the students of the Teachers' Colleges were trained with eugenic ideas. Under the heading "Venereal Diseases and the Education of Sexuality" syphilis was taught to the students of the Teachers' Colleges they were informed that in various countries the syphilitics compose from two to eight percent of the population.²¹⁴

The outcomes of a massive campaign concerning syphilis conducted by the Ministry of Health since 1925 revealed the exact percentage of syphilitics in Turkey.²¹⁵ Nevertheless the statistics provided in Behaddin Faik's 1932 publication book were not accurate. The reason for the misinformation was probably due to the eugenic thought nourished by the elites of the Ministry of Education. As mentioned before, the hereditary as well as the contagious character of syphilis compelled eugenicists to be keen

²¹² Faik, p 9: The author mentioned the law that prohibited consumption of alcoholic drinks, The Alcohol Law (*Men'i Müskirat Kanunu*) put into force by The Great National Assembly in 1920.

²¹³ *ibid*, p 10

²¹⁴ *ibid*. p 185: Statistics of the syphilitics in Turkey were not quoted. However, these patients were archived for the last 10 years and the exact percentage of the syphilitics could be obtained.

²¹⁵ See appendix H

on syphilis and syphilitics.*

Another misinformation concerning syphilis in Behaddin Faik's book was the claim that, from ten to thirty-five percent of the lunatics were syphilitics.²¹⁶ Had this statement been accurate, after the eradication of the disease, there should have been an equal decrease in the amount of the lunatics but such a drop did not happen. Nevertheless, the students of Teachers' Colleges were taught to be equally aware of this disease with alcoholism. Page 189 and the following few pages in the book were restricted to sexually transmitted diseases under the heading, "Defence from Venereal Diseases."²¹⁷ It was stated in these pages that though sexuality provided happiness to the individual and the family, obedience to the social order and natural laws were necessary. When such were not taken into account, sexuality transferred happiness to catastrophe and the health of the race to weakness and degeneration.²¹⁸

Under the same heading detailed information was provided about the Act 90, "The Syphilis Law," the decree of 1925 for "The Enactment of Struggle with Syphilis," the Act 1593, "The General Hygiene Law" and especially its articles concerning the impediments for marriage. The fourth year students were taught about hereditary diseases, alcoholism, syphilis, insanity and degeneration which most implicated a textbook of eugenics.

* I cannot refrain from relating an extremely interesting incident that reflects the exact mentality of this time. Unfortunately I cannot re-trace the medical congress it was encountered. During its last period syphilis attacks the neural column and brain causing palsies. However, syphilis did not cause palsies among non-Europeans as frequently as it did among Europeans. Some neurologists claimed that syphilis attacked only the neural cells that were used. When a famous neurologist was in Istanbul, during his conference, he mentioned about this conviction. Prof. Mazhar Osman who had invited the foreign neurologist for the conference became very angry and ordered his assistants to bring as many as syphilitics with palsies from the ward to the conference room. With struggles, three patients with palsies due to syphilis were carried to the spot and were engaged in a row in front of the visiting neurologist. Then, Prof. Mazhar Osman Usman made a speech stating that "Turkish syphilitics were confronted with palsies similar to the Europeans."

²¹⁶ Faik, p 186; this explanation was the wording of the eugenicists worldwide.

²¹⁷ See appendix D

²¹⁸ Faik, p.189

Most of these matters were given to the students from the viewpoint of eugenics with the expectation that students' minds would be affected through what they read.

3.4.3. Eugenics As Taught in the Medical School

There were textbooks written with eugenic proposals for the students of the Faculty of Medicine, by the academicians of the University, such as Prof. Sadi Irmak's "Alphabetic Health Guide" (*Alfabetik Sağlık Kılavuzu*.) This book is a typical example of direct eugenic ideas and proposals assembled in a textbook for medical students.²¹⁹ This book, contained advice concerning the leprosy patients explaining that this disease (leprosy) passed from person to person and suggested that the best precaution was to guide them to live in a secluded colony.²²⁰

As in the case of leprosy, life long segregation of the incurably ill was a sanitation method practised since the early ages. After the micro-organism that caused leprosy was discovered, vast changes occurred in the strategies towards this illness. It was understood that leprosy was not a hereditary but an acquired disease. Protocols of treatment started to be based on the micro-organism. It is possible to claim that Prof. Sadi Irmak was not aware of this renovation although the alterations in the therapy of leprosy had started during the last years of the 1930's.

²¹⁹ Sadi Irmak, *Alfabetik Sağlık Kılavuzu*, (Alphabetical Health Guide) 7th edition, Okat Yayınevi. (No date of publication or place of publication available.) Conceivable fact about the year of publication is achieved about what is written in the book. Sadi Irmak gave information about "Salvarsan" for the treatment of syphilis without mentioning "Penicillin." This makes us assume the year of publication was after 1910, before 1942. Another clue for the year of publication is related to leprosy. *Hansen's Bacillus*, the microbe of leprosy was discovered before the 2nd World War. Sadi Irmak did not mention this fact. So, the book must have been "prepared for publication" before 1940.

²²⁰ *ibid*, p. 59

Unlike leprosy, updated information was offered to the students of Faculty of Medicine concerning syphilis. Prof. Sadi Irmak was optimistic about controlling syphilis. He wrote that some states have archived all syphilitics and founded organisations to apply obligatory salvarsan treatment on syphilitics. Those who applied for marriage were obliged for syphilis examination. Consequently the disease lost its awe and syphilitic disasters decreased considerably.²²¹

While teaching his students in the Faculty of Medicine about hereditary diseases, Prof. Sadi Irmak called their attention to the fact that non curable hereditary diseases make up the majority of the illnesses around. The application of active and passive selective methods, with active selection, meaning sterilisation or castration, was the remedy he confided in.²²²

Sadi Irmak in his book pointed out the clues of hereditary illnesses under the heading "The Symptoms and Signs of Hereditary Diseases." He attracted attention to as he carefully reflected the clues of these diseases as (a) an illness erupting without a recognisable reason; (b) diagnosed among several members of a family; (c) effecting only one sex or the other and (d) that peculiarities were observed in some of the reactions of the body.²²³

Another scholar who proposed and defended eugenic principles was the well-known psychiatrist Prof. Dr. Mazhar Osman Usman. Though Mazhar Osman practised privately in the later years of his career, he contributed enormously to medicine and acted as the anchorman. When he returned to his academic post at Istanbul University in 1933, he was asked to deliver the first lecture of the academic year²²⁴ –which as well, was the first lecture of the

²²¹ Irmak, pp. 77-85

²²² *ibid*, pp. 77-85

²²³ *ibid*, pp. 77-85

²²⁴ Mazhar Osman Usman, "Akıl Hastalıkları Seririyatı Açış Dersi", *Üniversite Konferansları I, 1933-1937*, ("First Lecture of Psychiatry Clinic", University Conferences, 1, 1933-1937). The publisher and the date of publication are not available.

reformed and re-formatted University. In this lecture he mentioned that the cortex was the centre of understanding, speaking, hearing, moving, thinking and demanding and that the total functions of the cortex was called the soul and there was no soul apart from the body (*vücuttan ayrı bir ruh yoktur.*)²²⁵

After this short and clear-cut introduction of atheism, he came to degenerates and the importance of hereditary endowment in neurological and psychiatric diseases. He exploited that inborn degeneration had a big role in neurological and psychiatric diseases.²²⁶

Explaining eugenic principles one after another, Prof. Mazhar Osman Usman emphasised that contemporary laws required a medical report for liability in healthy matrimony. The civil codes that have improved day by day since they were meant, concentrated on heredity. This was especially important because lunatics' marriage, especially to have their progeny (*delilerin evlendirilmesine, bilhassa zürriyetine müsaade etmiyor*) was not allowed.²²⁷

Towards the end of his lecture, without using the word "eugenics" Mazhar Osman forwarded eugenic principles and propositions to medical students. He reminded that, to be well informed on heredity, syphilis, alcoholism and other diseases, infections, traumas, weakness of the body helped individuals and future generations to be free of psychiatric illnesses. It should be accepted that, the struggle against the above could eradicate degeneration, by reducing the number of lunatics and half-witted.²²⁸

²²⁵ Usman, pp. 88-91

²²⁶ *ibid*, pp. 88-91

²²⁷ *ibid*, pp. 88-91

²²⁸ *ibid*, pp. 88-91

3.4.4. Eugenics at Medical Congresses

Mazhar Osman explained eugenic principles at the Second Congress of Turkish Neuropsychiatric Society, on 6th November 1932, one year before his speech in the opening of the University Psychiatry Clinic.²²⁹ Among various issues concerning neuropsychiatry, he emphasised the struggle for hereditary issues through alcohol, euphorics and medications for the welfare of the disabled. Dr. İsmail Ziya and Dr. Hüseyin Kenan presented a joint report on “Improvement of Criminal and Psychopathic Children” at the same congress. Various physicians took turns in discussions and at the end the participants unanimously agreed that a selected working council should apply to the government for action about the matter (*takarrür etmiştir.*) The wide attendance was a clear indication that, neurologists and psychiatrists were the most prominent “eugenicists” of their time. The growing interest on eugenics led to other discussions and papers.

At the 21 January 1933 meeting of the Turkish Medical Society (*Türk Tıp Cemiyeti*) Dr. Şükrü Hazım (Tiber) one of Prof. Mazhar Osman Usman’s assistants,²³⁰ presented a paper covering 3 members of a family with dementia praecox (*erken bunama-şizofreni.*) He proposed the best solution was to castrate the remaining members of this family.²³¹ Such remarks contributed to group interest on eugenics.

It should be noted here that these were the years when full attention was diverted towards eugenic applications in Germany. In 1935, news about castration in Germany appeared in the relevant periodical, *Tedavi Notları* and under the heading “Castration in Germany,” it was related that within the

²²⁹ “Kongreler, müsamereleler”, *Tedavi Notları*, (Congresses, debates), Birincikanun 1932, p.97.

²³⁰ Şahap Erkoç, “İlk Türkçe Nöropsikiyatri Dergisi: Şişli Müessesesinde Emrazı Akliye ve Asabiye Müsamereleleri”, *Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları*, (“The First Neuropsychiatry Periodical: Neuropsychiatry Clinic Meetings at the La Paix”, *Researches in History of Medicine*), No. 10, Yüce Yayın, İstanbul, 2001, p. 119-137.

²³¹ *Tedavi Notları*, “Kongreler, İctimalar: Türk Tıp Cemiyeti”, (Congresses, Meetings: Turkish Medical Association), April 1933, p. 224.

context of the new law, which concerned offences against public ethics, those individuals found guilty were castrated. 111 prisoners of Berlin Mosbit prison were operated. Their ages varied between 22 and 60. Dr. Schlegel, the surgeon of the hospital connected to the prison said that no difficulties appeared during and after the operations. It was added that no major complications were noted.²³²

Growing interest in eugenics was also apparent in "The 6th Turkish Medical Congress" which was assembled in September 1935. The congress discussed toxicomanies and the ill effects of the habitual drunken upon the society, especially the expected unfavourable conditions that would arise among the new generations. The congress ended with a resolution to meet in a couple of year's time, in Ankara, would bear two major themes, namely eugenics and influenza.²³³

Mazhar Osman Usman in the same year gave two conferences concerning eugenics, held by "The Association of Natural and Medical Sciences," at the great hall of Istanbul University. The topics of the conferences were announced as "sterilisation" (*kısırlaştırma*) and "castration" (*iğdiş etme.*) Mazhar Osman Usman published the proceedings of these conferences the same year, along with the text of one of his radio speeches in a book titled eugenics. He started his conference with the below quoted sentences:

One of the most important social and scientific matters of today is undoubtedly sterilisation and castration. Before the fuss about the sterilisation law in Germany of July 1933 ended, the castration law in the same country, of September 1933 exploded as a bomb. One year before these events, while psychiatrists were debating on the

²³² *Tedavi Notları*, February 1935, p. 90

²³³ *Tedavi Notları*, November 1935, p. 337. Further information about the matter can be obtained from the published proceedings of the congress, *6'ncü Ulusal Türk Tıp Kurultayı, 7-9 Birinciteşrin 1935* (The Sixth Turkish National Medical Congress, October, 7-9, 1935) Kader Basımevi, İstanbul, 1936, p.575. Voting chose the themes for the 7th Congress. The votes were as follows: Sexual hormones (1), X rays (1), Deontology (10), Diabetes (15), Physiotherapy (15), Eugenics (96), Gymnastics (87), Influenza (79), Bile duct calculi (40), Urinary tract calculi (60). Obviously, physicians were interested in eugenics.

credibility of sterilisation at the Mental Hygiene Conference in Rome, they were confronted with an enforced castration, *zwangkastration*.²³⁴

Though he clearly advocated sterilisation and defined it as a scientific health procedure, undoubtedly he was against the castration procedures. Mazhar Osman Usman continued his speech explaining the practises of eugenics in various Western countries and informed the audience that in America, Switzerland and Denmark, that is, quite before Germany, such procedures were practised but they did not raise as much consideration as of now. He questioned the cause for the previous subdued silence to these matters and the present interest. He stated that although these operations were “bloody,” their mere reason was a therapy. He pointed that these societies aimed the hygiene of the race, targeting healthy and good generations. Prof. Osman clearly named the sterilisation procedures as “typical eugenics” and its purpose as “therapy.” He added that the mission was totally “voluntary.”²³⁵

Albeit the certainty of Prof. Usman, today we know that sterilisation procedures were not voluntary as mentioned. The people who were sterilised were not well informed; at least a great majority of them did not have much knowledge about the operation. Nevertheless the difference between voluntary sterilisation and forced castration was clarified by Prof. Usman as he related that sterilisation procedures depended upon the consent of the individual or his/her guardian and the most important aspect was that, it was not a punishment. Prof. Usman emphasised that sterilisation operations were never accepted as persecution. It was an operation that was undertaken with the consent of the family or the individual. However, the 1933 laws of Germany were so different and were far remote from these principles.²³⁶

²³⁴ Mazhar Osman Usman, *Eugenic, İdiş, Kısır, Eyi Çocuk Yetiştirme Hakkında İki Konferans*, (Eugenics, Two Conferences on Castration, Sterilisation, Raising Good Children), Kader Matbaası, İstanbul, 1935, p.1

²³⁵ *ibid*, p.4

²³⁶ *ibid*, p.4

Prof. Usman continued explaining the difference between sterilisation and castration. Although it seemed as if both procedures were the product of the same overlapping way of thinking, they were not. He mentioned a book that was published by manager R uth and psychiatrists R udin and Jurst Ruhke. This book was about the judiciary measures against the increase of hereditary diseases, within the framework of the law *Gesetz zur Verh tung Erbkranken Nachwuchses*, dated 14th of July 1933 as well as the law of 24th of September 1933 concerning castration. Prof. Usman called the attention of his audience to page 191 of that book, where the viewpoint of the German Ministry of Justice was defended. He pointed out that the law about castration, which appeared in this book, bore no intention of eugenics; also it did not aim to prevent the propagation of criminal psychotics. Its sole aim was to prohibit those individuals with degenerative impulses and extinguish their innovations to spread within the community. Prof. Usman concluded that castration was an operation with judicial viewpoint rather than a eugenic and therapeutic one. He said that, sterilisation was eugenic, targeting a therapy while castration was something else²³⁷ and it was clarified in this speech that Mazhar Osman Usman was totally against castration while he defended sterilisation. What was done to a man with moral delinquency in Germany –within the boundaries of the law- was a punishment, a persecution.²³⁸

Prof. Mazhar Osman believed that this law held a weapon in its hand and everybody should consider how this weapon might be abused. He pointed at retaliation principles embodied within the law of castration and voiced his fears that by the application of this law a return to ancient times have begun. Prof. Usman defined the law of castration in Germany was nothing other than the ancient codes of “an eye for an eye.”²³⁹

²³⁷ Usman, 1935, p.4

²³⁸ *ibid*, p.5

²³⁹ *ibid*, p.5

Mazhar Osman Usman continued his conference explaining eugenic principles. He was totally in favour of eugenics and as mentioned before, advocated sterilisation principles; also the above mentioned conference was followed by an equally pertinent one with such explanations.

Mazhar Osman Usman did not only contribute academically. He performed popular contribution delivering radio speeches as well. He was publicly well known for his speeches on air. Mazhar Osman could reach quite the majority. Mazhar Osman Usman published the text of one of his radio speeches along with the proceedings of these conferences the same year, in his book titled *Eugenics*. During his radio speech, he explained eugenics in every aspect. In it he stated that eugenics was bearing a child, but a healthy one. While scientists tried to teach their folk eugenics via newspapers, books and conferences, at the same time, scientists could not leave this serious matter solely to popular understanding. Prof. Usman continued by pointing at the start of the relief for new generations. It had been the use of harsh and strict laws, especially in the aspect of marriage. He said that our government accepted the matter as one of governmental procedures, interfered with individuals' most personal and cordial wishes and the law for a licence for marriage was put into force with this purpose.²⁴⁰

3.4.5. Institutionalising of Eugenics in Turkey

Some institutionalisation of eugenics occurred in Turkey. The most energetic was Hygiene Institute but it can be said that neither this institute nor the others acted severely concerning eugenics and there is no indication that Turkey was full of eugenicists erupting from such institutes.

²⁴⁰ Usman, 1935, p.35

3.4.5.1. Turkish Eugenic Institution

The efforts of the elite group of medical notables were not in vain. By October 1935 “Turkish Eugenic Institution” was founded.²⁴¹ Dr. Şevket Aziz Kansu was appointed as the president to the institution. Prof. Dr. Tevfik Remzi Kazancıgil was assigned as his deputy. The general secretary was Asst. Prof. Dr. Esat Muzaffer Güçhan and the treasurer was Asst. Prof. Dr. Kazım İsmail Gürkan. Interestingly, Turkish Eugenics Institution did not contribute. Şevket Aziz Kansu preferred to study anthropology in Ankara, at the Faculty of Linguistics, History and Geography²⁴² and hence only the name remained.

3.4.5.2. The Hygiene Institute*

In 1935, the eugenics in Turkey reached to the extent that it started to be taught in school. “The General Hygiene Law” of 1931 encompassed the foundation of “Hygiene Institute” with a “Hygiene School” where eugenic principles were taught in addition to medicine. The news about the foundation of the Hygiene School appeared in the periodical, called *Dirim*.²⁴³ It is well worth remembering to make it visualised how medicine was interrelated

²⁴¹ *Tedavi Notları*, November 1935, p.337

²⁴² Interview with Prof. Dr. Aykut Kazancıgil: “One should not take into account the ‘Turkish Eugenics Institute’ too seriously. Şevket Aziz bey was a Doctor of Medicine. Before the 1933 University reformation he had a teaching post at ‘Comparative Anatomy’. In 1933 the so-called chair was abrogated. I remember him and Tevfik Remzi bey talking about this matter. The ‘Eugenic Institute’ was founded; Şevket Bey became its president. Then he went to Ankara, where he held talks with Prof. Eugene Pittarre. Cevat Dursunoğlu helped him for establishing relations. Şevket Bey secured a job at ‘Ministry of Education’ and after that he was transferred to the ‘Faculty of Linguistics, History and Geography’ as Assistant Professor of ‘Social Anthropology’. Turkish Eugenics Institute never contributed.”

* Central Hygiene Institute contributed enormously and effectively in health matters in Turkey. Unfortunately it was not possible to trace the studies of this very institute concerning this thesis because the military director which was attended to this institute after the 12 September 1980 coup had preferred to send the documents in the archive and most of the printed matter to SEKA for recycling.

²⁴³ In 1936 *Tedavi Notları* started to be published under the name of *Dirim*.

sporadically with indirect and direct eugenics. This piece of news included that Ankara Hygiene School opened in November 1935 by Minister of Health Refik Saydam's speech; and that the school would teach for only one semester the first year adding that the following years there would be two full courses annually. Each course would go on for 4 months and 40 directors of health and government physicians were intended to attend. Prof. Gottschlich, Prof. Pulewka, and Prof. Scheller would be teaching the general hygiene course whereas Prof. Hüsamettin Kural, Prof. Server Kamil Tokgöz, Dr. Collins, Kamil İdil and Zeki Barker would teach epidemiology and Prof. Server Kamil Tokgöz, Dr. Asım Arar and Cemal Or social hygiene. Other instructors and their specialisation areas were; Dr. Wright, Dr. Mahmut Sabit Akalın, Dr. Becher, Dr. Asım Arar, concentrating on health engineering, parasitology, bacteriology and management of health respectively. Evidently the above mentioned were all fully accepted and accredited consultants on their corresponding fields of study.²⁴⁴

A few months prior to the opening of Ankara Hygiene School the medical periodical *Dirim* gave the curriculum for physicians attending the school as; epidemiology and medical statistics, bacteriology and serology, parasitology, social hygiene, medical engineering. The concept of "Social Hygiene" was clarified in *Dirim*. Further additional information about the school continued as below:

The content of the first three courses can be understood from their titles. As referring to social hygiene; the main concept of this course is maternal, newborn and children's hygiene. Also industrial hygiene, struggle against venereal diseases, tuberculosis, trachoma and malaria will be studied.²⁴⁵

Since the term "Social Hygiene" was a newcomer to the readers it had to be emphasised and defined by the editor.

Ankara Hygiene School shared and undertook the part of the proposed

²⁴⁴ *Dirim*, "Olan Bitenler", October 1936, p.395

²⁴⁵ *Dirim*, "Olan Bitenler", June 1936, p.86

curricula of Ankara Hygiene Institute. They were both responsible to Ministry of Health and Social Welfare within the administrative hierarchy and hence, were asked to report bureaucratically in that context.

3.4.5.3. The Ministry of Health

The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, in addition to providing the official education of eugenic principles at Hygiene School, was also hierarchically formed utilising eugenic principles. The ministry was administering “The Branch Office of Struggle against Social Diseases” (*İçtimai Hastalıklar ile Savaş Şubesi.*) The such called branch office was connected to “The Office of Directorate of Health Matters” (*Sağlık İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü*) together with “The Branch Office of Hygiene” (*İjiyen İşleri Şubesi*), Struggle against Contagious and Epidemic Diseases (*Bulaşıcı ve Salgın Hastalıklar Şubesi*), Health Engineering (*Sağlık Mühendisliği Şubesi*), Narcotics and International Affairs (*Uyuşturucu Maddeler ve Milletlerarası İşler Şubesi*), trachoma (*Trahom Şubesi*).²⁴⁶ The Branch Office of Social Diseases was annulled as *İçtimai Hastalıklar Müfettişlikleri* (Inspectorates of Social Diseases) in 1936²⁴⁷ and the name of the inspectorate was altered as *Sosyal Hastalık Müfettişliği* (The Inspectorate of Social Disease.)²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ *Sağlık Dergisi* “Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığının 25 Yıllık Çalışmaları”, (25 Years in the Works of Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Health Bulletin), September-November 1948, No. 10-11, p.32-33

²⁴⁷ The Law for the Organisation and Personnel of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (*Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti Teşkilat ve Memurin Kanunu*)(3017/09.06.1936) (R.G.:23.06.1936/3337)

²⁴⁸ The Law about Adding some Items to The Law for the Organisation and Personnel of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and Alterations Concerning the Staff Tabulations under Act 4258 (*Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı Kuruluş ve Memurları Kanununa Bazı Hükümler Eklenmesine ve 4258 Sayılı Kanuna Bağlı Kadro Cetvellerinin Değiştirilmesine Dair Kanun*)(4862/11.02.1946)(R.G.:15.02.1946/6233)

3.4.6. Eugenics in the Republican People's Party Conferences

By 1938, eugenic propositions started to be discussed not only among the intellectuals and academicians but among stately environment as well. That year the ruling party –*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*- organised a series of conferences. The conferences were held at *Halkevleri* and the proceedings were printed and circulated as party documents. The first conference was about “The Biology of Heredity,” where the speaker was Prof. Sadi Irmak. The Republican People's Party published the proceedings and Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya wrote a foreword to the publication of the conference.²⁴⁹

Sadi Irmak began his conference presenting general knowledge about hereditary matters. His speech mainly elucidated Mendel laws, genotype, and phenotype, dominant and recessive genes. The 4th chapter of his conference carried the heading “Heredity and Genius.”

Social Darwinists, eugenicists and racists of that era reached to a common understanding and compromised while discussing about intelligence. Their common view was what Sadi Irmak pointed out at the conference that it had been proven by hereditary biologic studies that, intellect undoubtedly was a character and a major entity transferred to the progeny.²⁵⁰

This understanding was the prime concept of eugenics, a belief in hereditary endowment, a reason for the justification of the “some” superiors among the society. Inevitably, such a declaration awaited proof. From Galton to Dugdale, Davenport, Pearson, Frick, Ternan, Wood and Brock, all around the globe, eugenicists gave the same examples for the justification of hereditarily endowed superiors and the time had come for Prof. Sadi Irmak. He pointed that, (a) 5 well-known composers have come out of Bach family in 5 generations. (b) Strauss family has produced 3 opera artists in two generations. (c) The probability of one genius to be a relative of the other

²⁴⁹ Sadi Irmak, *Verasetin Biyolojisi*, (The Biology of Heredity), Conferences, Series 1, Book 1, Ankara People's House, The Publication of Republican People's Party, Ankara, 1938.

²⁵⁰ *ibid*, pp. 18-20

genius was 1000 times greater than his being related to a common individual. (d) 300 members have reached to the highest social ranks of a family with 1400 progenies in America, whose ancestor is Yonat Edward²⁵¹. (e) In Würzburg, when the transcripts of 1162 high school graduates were surveyed, the following facts were noted: The highest graded students had fathers and grand fathers with high grants on their graduation from school. Those children with low marks had their fathers and grand fathers with lowest marks during their studentship in their schooling.²⁵²

After providing the justifications for the inevitable hereditarily endowment of superiority, Sadi Irmak continued his speech to maintain the reasons of "some" being rich and its inevitability together with the uselessness of education. Sadi Irmak's ideas culminated around his conviction that, wealth and upbringing, meticulous care did not play the only role, but instead the following statistics have to be taken into account. The social status of the 648 cases of intelligent students in California were distributed as; 402 of their fathers being academicians, wealthy businessmen, 196 of their fathers being primary school teachers, 32 merchants, 22 artisans and only one was a worker. Sadi Irmak stated that this case study statistics was sufficient to rule out an unworthy belief that commented intellect to be the result of effort and training.²⁵³

Professor Irmak's speech envisaged further eugenic approaches that were based on various daily examples. By using scientific phrases he voiced

²⁵¹ Herman H. Rubin, "Eugenics a Greatly Neglected Subject" *Eugenics and Sex Harmony*, Pioneer Publications Inc., N.Y. New Edition, 1949, 21st printing, first printed in 1933, p. 23. Similarity of wording can be observed easily. Rubin's quotation was from *The Jukeses, a Study in Crime, Pauperism and Heredity*, by Dr. R. L. Dugdale: "By way of contrast, turn to the history of the Edwards families of New England. Data can be found in Boie's 'Science of Penology.' Jonathan Edwards was born in East Windsor, Conn., in 1703. 1394 of his descendants were identified in 1900, of whom 295 were college graduates; 13 were presidents of our greatest colleges; 65 professors of colleges; 60 were physicians, many of whom were eminent; 100 or more were missionaries, clergymen, and theological professors; ...this healthy and long-lived family. It is not known that any of them has ever been convicted of a crime."

²⁵² Irmak, 1938, pp. 18-20

²⁵³ *ibid*, pp. 18-20

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some abstract and scientifically un-proven concepts such as “intelligence units” He concluded by indicating that two conditional parameters were necessary in order to the capability might erupt in an individual. The foremost essential was that intelligence units (*zeka üniteleri*) should be present among one or two of the parents while the second essential being that these units should not suffer damage.²⁵⁴

Executive members of the ruling Republican People’s Party who attended Professor Irmak’s conference witnessed his views regarding his tackling and relevant explanations covering “intelligence units.” Sadi Irmak did not give any details on how these units could be measured or tested.

It should be noted here that, Republican People’s Party was the founder of the young republic and rational, scientific and positive methodology constituted its basis. Sadi Irmak was speaking about some “intelligence units” which were impossible to be defined scientifically. He continued his speech discreetly in such a way that, the audience would presume that these units were embedded inside certain cells. Rest of his speech encompassed the act of fertilisation by preserving healthy sperm and ovum cells to avoid degeneracy. He apparently emphasised the odd effects of the contact of chemical and physical environment and the relevant unknown interrelated mechanism behind it. Inflammation -being a major endangering factor for fertilisation- could create degeneracy just as it is faced in syphilis, alcoholism or while an intake of ionised radiation beams, during pregnancy.

As it can be observed, initially sought were the individualistic candidates and consequently the probability for capability (*kabiliyet*) might have been manifested in that individual. This was reductionism. From the parameters of the hazards of fertility cells, Dr. Irmak reached to the conclusion of capability. The “intelligence units”, in conjunction with the immeasurable abstract units were related to physical and chemical conditions.

²⁵⁴ Irmak, 1938, pp. 18-20

Incidentally intelligent individuals did not always have intelligent progenies. The explanation behind this proposition might sound rather contradictory. He claimed that heredity units that are related to intelligence were sometimes dominant and otherwise recessive in character. For recessive characters to be manifested in the progeny, both the parents had to carry the same qualifications. He asserted that was why some of the highly capable families were not able to give birth to capable children for several generations. But this, he thought, did not alter the fact of the heredity of individual intellectuality.²⁵⁵

Consequently the synthesis of his views was the confirmation that there was no evidence for mankind to be equal on their birth. Furthermore, he added that human beings were not only the product of their infinite ancestors that were *Homo sapiens*. He stated that, on them, there were also the traces of the animal genera.²⁵⁶

His proposition to end the conference included with specific verdicts concerning Turks. He concluded that Turks' hereditary inclinations were not similar to any nation. So, any social or pedagogic order of any Western country, which they have adopted for their own structure, could not be accepted. Folklore had been neglected. Because of this each of ours idea about our nation varied. He mentioned that reform in education had to be imposed with live folklore.²⁵⁷

Debates on eugenics were not limited to Prof. Sadi Irmak's conference at People's Houses (*Halkevleri*.) Mazhar Osman Usman gave the second conference about the matter there. The Republican People's Party published the proceedings of his conference in 1939, in a book titled "Öjenik". The

²⁵⁵ Irmak, 1938, pp. 21-23

²⁵⁶ *ibid*, pp. 21-23

²⁵⁷ *ibid*, p.23

following passage was extracted from this book²⁵⁸ constituting the main idea in the conference:

Turkish Republic must take into account eugenics by its second front, the negative eugenics side.

Mazhar Osman Usman maintained that although much work was done for encouragement of marriage and childbirth by medical licensing of marriages, still there was the necessity of strong hands to keep this land, the land that was won with blood. Mazhar Osman Usman also pointed out to a danger; a very close danger such as eugenicists always did worldwide. He claimed that the welfare of Turkey, the construction, progress and defence needed healthy and strong hands. To fill this land that is in need of construction with degenerates, rear new generations to be put into asylums and prisons was not something to be pursued. Hence, to increase the healthy, encourage the healthy was inevitable. A compulsory health (*zecri sıhhat*) was necessary. This had to be told to those rotten (*çürüklere*) that they were not needed.²⁵⁹

Actually Mazhar Osman Usman in a way was describing the “misfits.” They were not needed. His conviction was that “some” healthy new generations were necessary rather than “other” unhealthy ones. Mazhar Osman was speaking about the basic concepts of eugenics He also voiced a typical eugenic proposition; compulsory health means that the unhealthy should be kept away from the society.

Regardingly, four years before this conference, in his book “Eugenics” Mazhar Osman Usman had defined marriage as “the individual’s most personal and cordial wish” with respected choice. In 1939 this concept was totally altered. The updated definition of marriage in his book “Öjenik” was described as follows:

²⁵⁸ Mazhar Osman Usman, *Öjenik, C.H.P. Konferanslar Serisi*, (Eugenics, Republican People’s Party Series), Book: 2, Recep Ulusoglu Basımevi, Ankara, 1939.

²⁵⁹ *ibid*, p. 4

From the eugenic view point, marrying is not a personal decision but a racial, a stately matter. Those who wish to marry can not be accepted as those who are in pursuit of their own repose besides a clean and mild sexual life, by forming a family. They have to conceive that they are intending a sacred duty for their genera, race and country.²⁶⁰

The population was scarce. In order to reach a higher population, a state promotion existed for prolificacy.²⁶¹ This condition had effects on what could be said to the notable elites of the ruling party. Mazhar Osman Usman proposed that parents should have at least four children in order to keep the generation. Especially parents with more than four children were more patriotic.²⁶²

Prof. Mazhar Osman Usman continued as below providing detailed information on segregation, sterilisation, castration, euthanasia and the misfits:

Neither the individual nor the society is content with the increase in the number of misfits. Different measures were employed in order to decrease the inheritance of such diseases. Euthanasia, the application of painless death was up-roared as well. It did not gain acceptance. Then sterilisation started to be practised. Germany is content of this method. Of course, this method cannot afford negligence. Sterilisation is performed after the examinations of a commission composed of psychiatrists, surgeons and forensic medicine experts. In some other countries like Switzerland, this method is voluntary. For the present we accept that our laws are suitable.* But our laws and regulations need modification for finer adjustments and clarification to carry out the desired eugenic precision in mass practise. The laws of psychiatry (*ruh kanunu*) must be understood. The target of the law is to prevent the inheritance of disease. The interpretation has to be undertaken by doctors, particularly the specialists.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Usman, 1939, p. 7

²⁶¹ See appendix A

²⁶² Usman, 1939, p.8

* In the sense: "We don't need new laws, we don't have to pass new laws."

²⁶³ Usman, 1939, p.15

3.5. Eugenic Propositions Halted

Perihan Çambel, in her book titled “Ideas about Eugenics” acknowledged the 7th Turkish Medical Congress as follows:

The 7th Turkish National Medical Congress was held in 1938. At this congress Ali Esat Birol presented a paper titled ‘Eugenic Practices.’ Şükrü Hazım Tiber provided the congress his paper titled as ‘An Overall View of Eugenics.’ Prof. Gottschlich’s presentation was ‘The Science of Genetics on the Basis of Eugenics.’²⁶⁴

Though Perihan Çambel claimed that Prof. Gottschlich presented the above quoted paper to the congress, this was not true. According to *Sağlık Dergisi* (The Health Bulletin) published by the Ministry of Health in 1948, an issue with the coverage of the history of the Ministry, the acknowledgements was rather different. According to *Sağlık Dergisi*, at the 7th Turkish Medical Congress which was held between 17th and 19th of October 1938, Prof. Şevket Aziz Kansu and Dr. Şükrü Hazım Tiber presented an overall view about eugenics at this congress. Following them, Zoology Professor Naville presented knowledge concerning heredity. Prof. Ali Esat Birol undertook the third and last presentation about eugenics.²⁶⁵ Prof. Gottschlich’s name was not mentioned in the history of the Ministry of Health.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ Çambel, p.56

²⁶⁵ *Sağlık Dergisi*, “Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığının 25 Yıllık Çalışmaları” (Health Bulletin 25 Years in the Works of Ministry of Health and Social Welfare), September-November 1948, No. 10-11, p.67-68

²⁶⁶ Interview with Prof. Dr. Aykut Kazancıgil: “Gottschlich was one of the doctors sent to Turkey by that man (*Hitler*) in Germany. The doctors who came to Turkey in 1933, because they were teaching in their language, the Germans were not too much antagonistic about them. The embassy accepted their passports. The German Embassy even invited them. Sauerbruch and Nissen accepted the invitation conditionally: ‘We don’t want this flag,’ they said. The Nazi flag was pulled down at the Embassy during their visit. Germans were too eager to have Nazi doctors teaching in Turkey. Ten of them came to Istanbul. Ten military doctors with fluent German language were chosen to accompany them. After a few days of sightseeing and several feasts, Germans found themselves at Sirkeci train station. Gottschlich was among them. The Ambassador Papen carried him to Ankara. As to his presentation at the Medical Congress, it never occurred. I remember. With Gottschlich’s presentation in his case Abdulkadir Noyan Paşa came to our ‘*konak*’ in Istanbul. He and Tevfik Remzi Bey talked about the matter. It was decided there upon that ‘it should not be presented’ to the congress. That is why you cannot find Gottschlich’s presentation anywhere. If it could occur, it would be about the Turkish children.”

Evidently, both the above quoted historiographies mentioning the 7th Medical Congress were misleading. According to the published proceedings, the aggregation was opened by Premiere Celal Bayar's message to the congress and the former Minister of Health Refik Saydam headed the court while the Minister of Health Hulusi Alataş took his seat among the members of the congress.²⁶⁷ Prof. Abdülkadir Noyan²⁶⁸ who headed the session on the second day of the meeting declared that, he had invited physicians who beared pro-eugenic tendencies.²⁶⁹ He added that he had listened to them (*öjenikçileri dinledim,*) not reading their papers (*tebliğlerini okumadım.*) He pronounced that eugenic ideas were not suitable for this very society (*bu iş bize göre değildir.*) Additionally, he referred the odds and degenerative outcomes of matrimony realised among next of kin and in familial surroundings. Interestingly, he concluded with the difficulties in healing this irrevocable and imperious social wound that was widespread specifically in rural areas with participants bearing relatively poor social and intellectual level. His conviction was that, the matter was "too complicated to be resolved at a first glance, evidently bearing enumerable steps, including primarily the procedures of property inheritance. After Prof. Noyan's speech, Prof. Dr. İhsan Hilmi Alantar presented his paper about eugenics with the heading "Eugenics from the Corner of Paediatrics" (*Pediyatri Köşesinden Öjenik*) and Prof. Dr. Münir Ahmet Sarpyener presented "Eugenics from the Corner of Orthopaedics" (*Ortopedi Köşesinden Öjenik.*)²⁷⁰ Obviously, the ideas of some physicians about eugenics were censored. Prof. Gottschlicht could not address Turkish physicians. That is what happened in Turkey.

²⁶⁷ 7'inci Ulusal Türk Tıp Kurultayı, Ankara, Birinciteşrin 17-19, 1938, (The Seventh Turkish National Medical Congress, October 17-19, 1938) Kader Basımevi, İstanbul, 1939, pp.85-100.

²⁶⁸ General Professor Doctor Abdülkadir Noyan (*Abdülkadir Paşa*) was famous for his studies in reducing the losses of manpower due to typhoid fever during the First World War.

²⁶⁹ 7'inci Ulusal Türk Tıp Kurultayı, p.86

²⁷⁰ "Öjenik Raporları Celsesi, Öjenik Hakkında Münakaşalar" 7'inci Ulusal Türk Tıp Kurultayı ("Session for Eugenic Reports, Discussions about Eugenics" The Seventh Turkish National Congress), Pp 85-100.

3.6. Had Eugenic Principles Been Accepted, What Would Change?

Scholars of anthropology also debated eugenic measures. The book, titled *Irk Sağlığı ve Ceza Hukuku* (Racial Health and Criminal Law) written by Prof. Dr. M. Staemmler, published in 1943²⁷¹ was an interesting example of the case. Prof. Staemmler's book started with the conviction that it should not be forgotten that it was impossible to change one's characteristics. Heredity made the decision. For that reason, no one could be condemned about his/her character. If there was evidence about the person's mother or father or that there were criminals among one of his ancestors, it could be derived that the convict was criminally inherited. This characteristic could not be changed by education.²⁷²

Staemmler made distinction between "those who could or couldn't be educated." If such propositions had been accepted, pedagogic principles of the Turkish Republic would have had to be changed. Prof. Staemmler held that "heredity determined crime." Prof. Staemmler continued that human beings could not be responsible for how they were born. It was not one's willpower to decide upon becoming a genius or criminal. It was pure luck that was decisive. In that case, there was no blame for his being born unhealthy. One couldn't be blamed as 'why were you born unhealthy?' The same applied to a criminal. A criminal could not be blamed for becoming one, as "why did you become a criminal?"²⁷³

The above quotation from Staemmler's approach constitutes the touchstone for evaluating hereditary concepts. The answer to the question "*Is crime a genetic heredity?*" is still valid both in western countries and in Turkey²⁷⁴ and an affirmative answer to the question with a *quod errat*

²⁷¹ M.Staemmler *Irk Sağlığı ve Ceza Hukuku* (Racial Health and Criminal Code), translated by Ekrem Hayri Üstündağ, Marifet Matbaası, İzmir, 1943.

²⁷² *ibid*, p.5

²⁷³ Staemmler, p.1

²⁷⁴ See appendix G

demonstrandum, all social institutes has to be changed accordingly. That is the idea that paves the route to eugenics, racism and genocide. When the question is answered affirmatively, there is no barrier to stop the mind.

The same applied in the case of Prof. Staemmler. He was a professor in pedagogy. His reasoning with a certain acceptance of heredity as the source of crime led him to make propositions such as the state was empowered and entitled to discard the morally ill –or criminal- individuals away from the society for the long term sake of the community.²⁷⁵

The significance of the terminology adopted by Prof. Staemmler should be noted. Accepting “morally ill” individuals as “criminals” and hence proceeding to propositions accordingly would raise a contradictory approach within the newly established and transformed Turkish Criminal Code, because of non-availabilities. Interestingly the interpretation of relevant approaches in Prof. Gölcüklü’s “Criminal Law” envisages that Turkish law accepts the principle that there can be ‘no crime and punishment without law’ (*Kanunsuz suç ve ceza olmaz*); it does this in order to avoid arbitrary accusation and punishment and to protect personal liberty. Art.38 of the Constitution states that ‘no one shall be punished for any act which did not constitute an offence under the law in force at the time it was committed.’ In Turkish law, therefore, the source of all crimes and punishments is a provision of the written law.²⁷⁶

Had Staemmler’s proposition been accepted, Turkish Constitution too would have to be altered accordingly. Prof. Staemmler advocated “castration” of the “moral criminals” as quoted below:

Moral criminals have an inclination to overuse their sexuality or in other words, their distorted sexuality yield and lie on perverted paths. It is obvious that these people are ill. These individuals cannot be

²⁷⁵ Staemmler, p.9

²⁷⁶ Feyyaz Gölcüklü, “Criminal Law”, *Introduction to Turkish Law*, Edited by Tuğrul Ansay, D. Wallace, Jr., (fourth edition 1996), Kluwer Law International, The Hague, London, Boston, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara, 2000, p.161

sympathised for their existent sickness.²⁷⁷

Such reasoning concluded with a conviction in getting rid of them, castrating them. Then, it would be “the most appropriate and radical measure towards these people.”²⁷⁸ Prof. Staemmler continued to explain castration as an appropriate method and described the difference of German eugenics, its judiciary basis adding that this method first appeared in Germany by the 24th September 1933 law thus enabling the judges to decide on penalties and castration. With the start of the forced castration, especially with the mission utilised in pursuit of castrating homosexuals, a new era had begun.²⁷⁹

In Turkey, our valid law enables some criminals to be exempted from penalties. These are the insane. After being inspected by specialists, if it is proven that a crime was committed while the convict was not totally in control of his/her mental faculties, he cannot be held responsible for his/her behaviour. This condition is the product of a principle of law called *mens rea*, that is, “The Moral Element of a Crime” (*Ceza Ehliyeti*). The situation is displayed and studied thoroughly in Prof. Gölcüklü’s related interpretation.

The Turkish Criminal Code embodies the Classical School concept of the moral responsibility for the offence. For a man to be held guilty, he must have both criminal capacity and criminal intent. Thus, Art.46 of the Penal Code provides that ‘anyone afflicted with a mental illness, which causes a complete loss of consciousness or of freedom of action at the time of commitment,’ shall not be punished.²⁸⁰

It is obvious that the basic principles of the valid Turkish law and Staemmler’s propositions were far apart from each other. Prof. Staemmler finalised his views by commenting that any person, who has a criminal locus (*konut*)* or suspected to have one, should not be permitted to propagate.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Staemmler, p.10

²⁷⁸ *ibid*, p.10

²⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.11

²⁸⁰ Feyyaz Gölcüklü, p. 167

* *Konut*: The term used by Üstündağ. It represents the place of the “gene.”

Had the above quoted proposition been accepted, a series of judiciary, legislative and even constitutional changes would have had to be initiated accordingly. It is not possible to assume that Prof. Staemmler was not aware of the wide gap between his ideas and the valid judicial and constitutional principles in Turkey. Prof. Staemmler continued as below:

A popular government (*halk hükümeti*) has to create (*yaratmalıdır*) strong and sound people. The moral health of the community is as important as bodily health. If the soul of the nation has decayed, its sound construction, the number of its poets, artists, scientists, manpower has no meaning. It degrades. Every citizen should be aware that, national presence, honour and grace depend upon his own actions. He must feel the high and heavy burden of this faith in himself.²⁸²

Had Prof. Staemmler's propositions been accepted -in Turkey- constitutional, legislative, executive powers would change. That is what happened in Germany and what did not happen in Turkey. It is obvious that Prof. Ekrem Hayri Üstündağ who translated and published Prof. Staemmler's book had analysed Turkish constitution, law and executive powers and was well aware of the non-availabilities. The book was a call to the government to take the steps towards what he believed:

Governments are constituted for their fellow citizens. They are not entitled to govern neither for themselves nor by themselves only. The answer to the question whether the style of the government works or does not work is so straightforward. The general health of the people constitutes the desired reply. The general health of the people comprises of two inner elements; the first being moral health, and the second being bodily health. The government should therefore undertake the necessary steps towards what he believes. He should not forget the relative value in the pursuit of helping the invaluable. These two don't have equal rights. It is necessary to get rid of the invaluable and take care of the valuable.²⁸³

²⁸¹ Staemmler, p. 16

²⁸² *ibid*, p. 28

²⁸³ *ibid*, p. 27

Today, we know that the governments during the 1930's did not take steps towards Prof. Staemmler's ideas although there were discussions about the matter.

3.7. Changing the Conceptualisation of Eugenics

While some scholars in medicine and anthropology were in the pursuit of proposing eugenic measures, state officials of health were on a different path. In 1938 Prof. Dr. Server Kamil Tokgöz published his book titled *Öjenizm*.²⁸⁴ The subtitle was *İrk Islahı* (Racial Improvement.) The book was a publication of Central Hygiene Institute (*Merkez Hıfzısıhha Enstitüsü*). Prof. Tokgöz started his book by giving acknowledgements about hereditary matters after summarising the concept of eugenics. Prof. Tokgöz held that "eugenic principles have uprooted from child-care." His priority was child care. He proposed that in Turkey, the first thing to do should be "[to] have a look at the mortality of the newborn."²⁸⁵

The above two sentences were a different way of approaching eugenics. We know that eugenic principles did not uproot from child-care. On the contrary, child-care represents the egalitarian concept of health. The reader might wonder the reason for Prof. Tokgöz emphasising that view.

Today, child mortality still is the parameter to measure health services. Public health has the prime objective of decreasing this ratio. Every measurement under consideration, every proposition concerning health services is aimed at well being of the children by raising the existing quality.

Prof. Tokgöz's book about eugenics concentrated on child care, calling attention to child mortality rates. Prof. Tokgöz provided statistics compiled by

²⁸⁴ Server Kamil Tokgöz, *Öjenizm, İrk Islahı* (Eugenics, Racial Improvement), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Hıfzısıhha Müessesesi Neşriyatından, No: 10, 1938, Ankara, Sümer Basımevi, 1938.

²⁸⁵ NMR, *Newborn Mortality Rate* is the basic parameter to measure health services.

the physicians practising in the campaign against malaria, covering 3.245.214 people. Mortality of the 0-1 year's old children has been calculated as 16.281. As the overall deaths have been 59.014, giving us a ratio of one to four.²⁸⁶

It can easily be understood from the above statement that the overall health service of the country was in poor health conditions. Although there were idealistic "precious" physicians campaigning to change the conditions, obviously this goal could be achieved after long years of serious and dedicated work. Starting from 1927, every year about 100 additional physicians participated in the campaign against malaria. Those physicians not only tried to eradicate malaria but they acted as public physicians in their area. Their methods differed from other physicians. They initiated adoption of the principles of preventive medicine. Their work was planned and programmed. Each physician's task was pre-defined for a certain unit of time and his success and performance was assessed statistically.

In 1927 in 1309 villages, an analysis among 487.146 people discerned that the birth rate was 39 per thousand. Death rate being 13 per thousand, the increase was 26 per thousand. In 1930, in 1227 villages and among 455.054 people a similar analysis demonstrated that the birth rate was 39 per thousand, whereas the death rate was 19, yielding an increase of 22 per thousand. By 1934 at 3075 villages, among 1.094.433 people it has been found out that the birth rate was 39 per thousand, whereas the death rate was 17 per thousand thus causing an increase as 21. In 1935 in 3445 villages consisting of a population of 1.208.581, birth rate was found as 44 per thousand, while death rate was 20.8 per thousand. The increase was 23.3.²⁸⁷

From the information given above, it can be easily estimated that Prof. Tokgöz was proud of his army of physicians who have supplied him this precious and boasting data during their tiresome mission. During the deprived and needy days of the republic, such an army of physicians were scattered

²⁸⁶ Tokgöz, p.8

²⁸⁷ *ibid*, p.7

around the country, performing vigorous work. Although they were named as “malaria fighters,” in reality they were the pioneers of “first-step medical service.” Well-trained doctors of the era gathered solid data on the spot conveyed them to a centre for collection and further analysis based on these statistics.

As the “second director” of the Central Hygiene Institute, Prof. Tokgöz was also the conductor of a network of physicians. He was an important official of the Turkish Republic. What he said and published concerning health issues was regarded more significant than most of his medical colleagues. In a book with the heading “eugenics” his comments concerning the main terminologies of the concept were different from the accustomed eugenic literature:

The child is the fruit (*meyvasıdır*) of the male and female’s togetherness. This is natural law. From this we can easily conclude that, in order not to receive unnatural, negative or distorted physiological formation from the parents, in order to have a bodily, mentally and morally fit child, we must concentrate on parent’s health.²⁸⁸

As it can be understood from the above quoted paragraph, Prof. Tokgöz was pointing to the basic principles of public medicine. He specified that, without a healthy society, it would be needless to talk about selection and to reach this goal; the basic impositions should be the precautions to provide the pregnant mothers satisfactory health care. He continued to express his feelings towards “selection” that, bearing this principle in mind, we could have the mother and the father -as if breeding them- disclose to selections.²⁸⁹ While he used all the terminology of eugenics, the concept was something else. We understand that Prof. Tokgöz’s book about eugenics was nothing more than a sarcastic evaluation of its principles. His mockery did not end, but it continued into the depths of the eugenics:

²⁸⁸ Tokgöz, p.6

²⁸⁹ *ibid*, p.7

Those who deal with eugenics (*öjenikçilikle uğraşanlar*) divide the population in a country into three segments. The first part consists of a selected group, with a certain body, wits and morals. The population of this group is few. The second part consists of ordinary human beings. They are the nine out of ten of the bulk. The third part encircles the one tenth of the population and is called the 'cacogenic' class. It is this class of people that raises anxiety. Lunatics, epileptics, dumb, deaf, blind, murderers, drunken, tramps, immoral, all of these are among this class."³³

Prof. Tokgöz continued his book with propositions. These consisted of child-care, mother care, pregnant care, struggling against syphilis, tuberculosis and malaria. As it can be easily understood, Prof. Tokgöz, who represented the state-approach towards eugenic and health issues, was not backing eugenicists. Obviously, the Ministry of Health was not after eugenic principles.

3.8. The Importance and Reason of the Rejection

The 1930's were the years of no opposition. An answer to explain the question, "*Why did not the state take racist actions during the 1930's?*" as, "*the governments during the 1930's were racists*" by picking up catchwords among the historical data also needs questioning. Dependence on catchwords, the terminology used by some executives or scholars would certainly mislead the researcher. Server Kamil Tokgöz's book with the heading "Eugenics: Racial Improvement" is a simple example of the matter. Although eugenicist, racist terminology were used, his approaching was far apart from being neither eugenic nor racist.

To find a correct response to the question above, whether the state apparatus was ready for these changes should also be questioned.

It is well worth mentioning that, eugenic propositions –if they have been accepted and reached as far as legislative measures- would have triggered a chain of changes. An interpretation in conjunction with the non-availability of the 1924 Constitution for eugenic impositions was given in

Prof. Ergun Özbudun's relevant paper, titled "Constitutional Law." He compiled the matter.

(1) As it was in the 1921 Constitution, the new constitution of 1924 carried the basic principle of national sovereignty. The Grand National Assembly was considered, 'the sole representative of the nation, on whose behalf it exercises the rights of sovereignty' (Art.4).

(2) Theoretically, both legislative and executive powers were accumulated in the Assembly (Art.5), but the Assembly was to exercise its executive authority through the President of the Republic elected by it and a Council of Ministers appointed by the President (Art.7).

(3) The Assembly could at any time control the Council of Ministers and dismiss it, while the Council had no power to dissolve the Assembly to hold new elections.

In classical constitutional theory, this was an 'assembly government' based on the unity or concentration of the legislative and executive powers, rather than a parliamentary government where such powers are, to some extent, separated from each other.

In practice, however, the theoretic supremacy of the assembly is often transformed into the domination of the executive, since normally the executive is composed of party or fraction leaders, while the legislature includes a numerically larger, but politically much weaker, group of back-benchers. This was also the case in Turkey.

(4) But during the single-party (1924-1946) the authoritarian leadership of the chief executives and strong party discipline reduced the Assembly to a secondary role.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ Ergun Özbudun, "Constitutional Law", *Introduction to Turkish Law*, Edited by Tuğrul Ansay, D. Wallace, Jr., (fourth edition 1996), Kluwer Law International, The Hague , London, Boston; Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara, 2000, pp. 19-35.

Regarding these explanations one should ask, whether it would be fair to assume these “chief executives” which could “reduce the Assembly to a secondary role” to accept a vast change in favour of the eugenicists? If the acceptance of eugenic principles had been as far as racism, than, these concepts would have triggered changes over the shape, content and holders of the political power. Then the below question would have to be asked: *Was there a necessity or the need in Turkey to start an intra-class struggle within the sovereign, hegemonic class?*

The history of the Turkish Constitution might yield to a reply. Prof. Ergun Özbudun’s remarks are worth quoting.

The Constitution of 1924 was undoubtedly a democratic constitution in spirit. But this was a ‘majoritarian’ or ‘Rousseauist’ concept of democracy, rather than a ‘liberal’ democracy based on an intricate system of checks and balances. The majoritarian concept of democracy holds that sovereignty is the ‘general will’ of the nation (which, in practice, has to be interpreted as, the majority’s will), and it is, as such, absolute, indivisible, and infallible. Within a representative system, this means that the legislature represents the true will of the nation. Hence, limiting the powers of the legislature would be tantamount to restricting the national will, which would, in turn, limit the sovereignty of the nation. Furthermore, such limitations would be neither necessary nor useful, since under Rousseauist concept of democracy the general will is always right. Needless to say, modern democratic theory no longer depends on such metaphysical concepts, as the general will. Nevertheless, Rousseauist ideas had a lasting impact on the French democratic thought, through which they influenced the thinking of the Turkish revolutionaries. Nor should one lose sight of the fact that the Constitution of 1924 was the culmination of a long struggle against the sultans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the only perceived threat to national interests was that which could come from the sultans; once this threat was removed, the revolutionaries thought, there would be no need to protect the nation against its own true representatives.²⁹¹

Ergun Özbudun’s interpretation, especially the idea concerning the threat should be noted here. According to Özbudun, “the only perceived threat to national interests was” removed. Theoretically, there could be a change only if a new threat would appear. 1930’s represented the “normal”

²⁹¹ Özbudun, pp.19-35

period while a threat was not observed.

The capitalist state is not a simple instrument manipulated by a unitary ruling class. State plays a vital role in unifying the ruling classes. Competition among capitals threatens the unity of the ruling classes where as, its involvement in struggle always unifies the working classes. Organisation of political and ideological domination is enacted by the state. The organisation of the dominant class and disorganisation of the dominated classes do this. To reach this solution, an ideological hegemony is necessary. The form of the state will be the only helpful institution, which can secure the support of dominated classes, in attaining the moral and intellectual leadership of the popular classes by the dominant classes or power bloc.

Relevant approach in conjunction with hegemonic classes was studied in Prof. K. Boratav's "Social Classes and Repartition in Turkey in the 80's." The following extract might give a view.

There are three dimensions in the prospect of transition from the class 'anatomy' to class dynamics. The formation, evolution and transition of social classes; rivalries caused by inter-class distribution antagonisms and sometimes the struggle that reach to greater extent and the relations between the social classes, groups, layers and the state... how can this problematic be analysed on the basis of Twentieth Century Turkey? It is most important to emphasise that, state/class relations should not be analysed based only at exceptional periods when social classes were in the struggle to achieve political power, that is, the period of revolution and counter-revolution instances. After the question of 'which class is going to govern?' was answered, during 'normal' periods of time, the power balances among the sub-groups of the hegemonic class may change and also the relations between the political superstructure and the dominated/governed social classes/groups may change.²⁹²

1930's were certainly the years of construction of the young Turkish Republic, the years of a "normal" period. The rivalries had come to an end. The only possibility for the acceptance of eugenic principles could be the intentions of the sub-groups of the hegemonic class to change the power

²⁹² Korkut Boratav, *1980'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm*, (Social Classes and Repartition in Turkey During the 1980's), Gerçek Yayınevi, 2nd printing:1995, İstanbul, p.14.

balance. Korkut Boratav's analysis is an invaluable tool in understanding the matter:

During the 'normal' evolution of social organisations, the economically hegemonic class –the main class that takes over the surplus- controls the state. The power balances among the sub-groups of the hegemonic class, the changes occurring during that time are the determining factors of holders of political power, with their content. This matter constitutes the intra-class struggle, bargains and reconciliations over them.²⁹³

Although the debates on eugenics give us the evidence that those sub-groups "checked" the opportunity, they were neither inclined to change the superstructure, nor were ready for it. That is what happened in Turkey during the 1930's.

3.8.1. İnönü's Rejection of Social Darwinism

A time would arrive when clear rejections of not only eugenics but of Social Darwinism would start to be voiced by high ranked statesmen.

On 29th of May 1939, at the opening speech of the 5th Congress of the Republican People's Party, İsmet İnönü, was now the President of Turkish Republic. He stated as follows: "We do not and will not accept the theory that it is the destiny of the small societies to be swallowed by the stronger ones." These words were said for self-defence from war, the war of the strong nations. Social Darwinism with its implication to "strong" and "weak" nations could not be accepted in Turkey.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Boratav, p.15

²⁹⁴ *İnönü'nün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (İnönü's Statements and Speeches) Volume 1, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1946, p 338

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the existence of eugenic ideas and debates together with the interrelations of medical sciences with social matters in Turkey during the 1930's was surveyed.

Eugenics is the application of natural sciences to social theories -the application of hereditary sciences to legislation and jurisdiction. It has the power to decide for and against certain human characteristics. It is the science of the improvement of human race by better breeding.

Once eugenics was transposed; pioneers experiencing this very mission found themselves fully occupied. Primarily eugenicists launched campaigns for permanent custodial care, sterilisation and marriage restriction to halt the increasing burden of mental disease and delinquency. The eugenic movement was a creation of biological scientists, social scientists and those with a faith that science provided a guide for human progress. But, many strands of eugenic thought were a scientific disguise for conservative indictments of classes and races. So, eugenics became -for a time- predominantly a conservative creed.

Evidently eugenics was the legitimate offspring of Darwinian evolution. Eugenic ideology arises from ethnocentric way of thinking, hereditary sciences, Darwin's theories and Social Darwinist issues. The eugenicists inclined to root all social and physical deviance in genetic defect. This led eugenics to racism. But, adherence to eugenics did not result in racism everywhere. The adaptation and appropriation of eugenics with racism occurred in some countries such as Germany and the United States.

In these societies where eugenics movement resulted with racist policies, the social and historical context of racism was ready for it. When the notion of innate inequalities of men, families, nations and races arising from Social Darwinist issues found legitimacy, imperialistic policies and the scientific explanation of the inequalities of groups of men competed in impromptu. From this notion of inequality, sterilisation of many types of defectives was carried on. It did not stop there as a medical sanction and a welfare program. Some states passed eugenic legislation -reaching as far as sterilisation, castration and euthanasia- in some or other way, for various periods.

The first sterilisation law was in the United States of America. American sterilisation laws preceded the laws of other countries by twenty years. Both American and German people found in eugenics the arguments to buttress their case for "the others" that "polluted" their society. Because colonialism and imperialism needed a belief in the inequality of men (families, groups, nations or races) hereditary sciences and eugenics were used for this purpose, for racism.

Today, the word "eugenics" has a chilling effect because of the atrocities of the eugenic program of the Nazi Germany. The high profile of sterilisation in Nazi ideology is still remembered as frightening. The euthanasia program of the Nazi Germany, applied to mentally handicapped persons from 1939 to 1945 was more brutal.

German eugenics was unique. The difference of German eugenics came from their strong belief in Social Darwinism, that is, the notion of struggling groups, tribes, nations and races. This resulted in a belief of racial purity and led them to anti-Semitism. Excluding Germany, the European states that applied sterilisation declared their purpose as a medical sanction.

Evidently eugenic ideas appeared in Turkey long before the 1930's. The only eugenic imposition in Turkey has been marriage restrictions. Marriage restrictions are eugenic impositions. Marriage restrictions for the

insane and those with contagious diseases carry the same motive, an aim to decrease the number of the misfits among the society. The first marriage restriction in Turkey is older than the Turkish Republic. "The Decree for Family Law" (*Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi*) in 1917 was the first imposition of a medical inspection for marriage, restricting marriage. Syphilis Law constitutes the first eugenic imposition in the Turkish Republic. Defensive medical measures against the disease were not accepted to be sufficient. As syphilis is a disease with hereditary acquisition besides its microbial cause, the first eugenic application in Turkey was directed towards syphilitics. Some members of parliament defended the proposed law in terms of eugenic ideas. Syphilis Law covered this purpose and contained restriction by the imposition of imprisonment of the syphilitics if they infected others. By 1931, medical inspection for marriage and as a result of this inspection, marriage restrictions was legally established through The Civil Code and The General Hygiene Law with eugenic principles. "The Regulations for Marriage" (*Evlendirme Yönetmeliği*) in 1926 and in 1931, "The Regulations about Medical Inspection of Marriage" (*Evlendirme Muayenesi Hakkında Nizamname*) was put into force and the diseases that would impede a marriage (syphilis, gonorrhoea, leprosy and mental illness) were described. Obviously, the marriage restriction constituted a rational, scientific, positive, objective and biologic imposition.

Eugenic legislation other than marriage restrictions have been put into force in Turkey although it could remain in effect for only a short period. Alcohol Law is the example.

Turkish eugenicists demonstrated much attention on the matters concerning syphilis and alcohol. Eugenic ideas and principles appeared in textbooks. Students were taught about hereditary diseases, alcoholism, syphilis and other venereal diseases. Mazhar Osman forwarded eugenic principles and propositions. Sadi Irmak was another contributor. Their voice was heard by the ruling party, the Republican People's Party. On the other hand Server Kamil Tokgöz's contribution to eugenics was different. He

emphasised child and mother care and presented it as eugenics. He was a top ranked Health Ministry official.

In Turkish law, although the source of all crimes and punishments is a provision of the written law, some eugenic propositions tried to establish hereditary endowment as the source of crime. Such propositions could not gather audiences. If they could, that might lead the road to the acceptance of racism easily.

As the state plays a vital role in unifying the ruling classes, during the 1930's in Turkey, that is, during a "normal" period of evolution of social organisations, there was no need to try eugenic or racist policies. Such changes would result in the reestablishment of constitutional, judiciary and executive powers. Albeit a single party system, such deviations were not resorted. In Turkey, marriage restrictions (the only eugenic imposition) unlike the United States or Germany, was not accompanied by racist impositions. On the contrary, there is enough evidence that eugenic ideas were censored. At the end of the third decade of the twentieth century, when war was apparent, state authorities did not approach eugenic ideas with sympathy and evidently such ideas started to be censored. This censorship reached as far as declaring the rejection of Social Darwinism.

As eugenics is the touchstone of racism and as the notion of innate inequalities of men are their common belief, surveying eugenics in Turkey inevitably clarifies racism in Turkey during the 1930's. This thesis proves that during the 1930's there was not any attempt to impose eugenic legislation other than marriage restrictions. The absence of other eugenic impositions and legislation -with a belief in the innate inequality of men- makes it easy to conclude that in Turkey during the 1930's eugenics did not reach as far as racism as it did in some other societies.

As a final remark:

The hegemonic powers of certain Western societies tried eugenics and used genetics as a tool in the past. This was an attack on mankind. Global

awareness of human rights and the notion of the United Nations overcame this attack. Today, the hegemonic powers in formatting the nature and the global society in the future are using genetics as a tool again. Today's findings show this to us.

But the situation is somewhat different today. Obviously the reflections of the United Nations were an accumulation of nation states. Today, global hegemonic powers are after the denunciation of both the nation states and the United Nations.

On the other hand, genetic science has reached to the borders of creating chemical animals, plants and men. Global biotechnology firms as well as their medical informatics counterparts are working on these matters.

Their materialistic and ideological impact will be on Turkish people soon. It is not possible for us to survive from this inevitable and ongoing attack by pursuing global hegemonic ideas.

Global hegemonic ideology has no intention to spare the backward societies from global decisions and let them make decisions on their own and for their own. On the other side, in Turkey, there are some ideas influenced by global hegemony. One of these concerns the Turkish history.

Some historians of the Turkish Republic claim that modernisation, capitalism and progress in Turkey were halted by Kemalists. They are convinced that free speech and press was absent together with a lack of free enterprise and consequently the result has been the absence of free decisions of the society. They conclude that, today, the backwardness of the country has not been overcome due to a lack of freedoms and the remainders of Kemalist authoritarianism. To overcome backwardness, free speech and press, free enterprise and free decisions should be secured.

In order to strengthen their claims, restrictions are being researched in the history of the Turkish Republic. Such an approach is not restricted solely to Turkish history and derivations uproot from the downgrading of the Young

Turkish Republic. This inevitably reaches to a conclusion: the acceptance of new global hegemonic ideas.

This thesis surveyed the restrictive impositions. Eugenics is restrictive, authoritarian and related with racism. It has been condemned. It is a decision for and against human characteristics. It is a frightening recollection. It was utilised in the "Jewish Question," recalls the ceremony in the crematorium.

Eugenics is against human rights. It is the ideological justification of a "religiosity without religion" and can never be accepted by the one who bows his head in reverent contrition. It is also the ideological justification of the wealthy tycoons so it can never be accepted by the one who is after free meals.

Eugenics has been the ideology of the power bloc, especially the ruling classes. The inter-class and intra-class relations will inevitably form the shape of eugenics according to new findings. During the 1930's the nation state was a requisite. In the new millennium, it has been declared that the nation state is not a requisite. The new global order is rejecting negotiations between the ruling classes of different national entities and accepting global hegemony. This means that, again, some, rather than the others are going to decide.

Unfortunately, today is the era of chemical nature. Biotechnology and medical informatics firms are making decisions for and against natural characteristics of plants, animals and men.

This also means that "the others" ought not to decide. Today, for the backward societies, there seems to be no possible decisions on their own and for their own. Even The European Union countries have lost their decision making capacities concerning biotechnology.

Today, the global health policy is health marketing. Biotechnology firms, together with their counterparts, the medical informatics firms, started

to control the global health market. These firms run with their basis on genetics and this very knowledge is expanding in logarithmic order.

Contrary to some historians of the Turkish Republic and related social scientists who claim that the backwardness of Turkey has been due to the authoritarianism and restrictions during the 1930's and free decisions of Turkish individuals will overcome the backwardness, Turkish people together with other backward societies and even the European Union societies, are not going to be able to make decisions for their own and on their own.

The question is: "Are we going to resist the inevitable attack which will come from global hegemonic powers?"



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Grants for Mothers with Many Children

According to Act 1593, the General Hygiene Law, mothers with 6 or more children received a grant. Mothers, whose last child was born before 1930 -the year of enforcement of the Act1593- were granted with medallions. 3623 mothers received medallions. From 1931 to 1948 a total of 132.892 mothers were granted with a sum of 4.025.485 TL. The table below shows yearly differences of grants according to Art 156 of the General Hygiene Law.

YEAR	NUMBER OF MOTHERS	GRANTED SUM (TL)
1931	37	1.850
1932	87	4.350
1933	137	6.850
1934	140	7.000
1935	268	13.400
1936	275	13.750
1937	989	49.450
1938	2.446	73.380
1939	2.368	71.040
1940	2.500	75.000
1941	2.500	75.000
1942	52.500	1.575.000
1943	2.500	75.000
1944	20.766	623.000
1945	12.047	361.415
1946	16.666	500.000
1947	8.333	250.000
1948	8.333	250.000
TOTAL	132.892	4.025.485

"Çok Çocuklu Annelere Yardım", *Sağlık Dergisi*, ("Grants for Mothers with Many Children", Health Bulletin), Ministry of Health and Social Welfare Publications, Oct-Nov 1948, No: 10-11, 1948.

APPENDIX B

Increase in the Number of Doctors of Medicine

Increase in the number of doctors of medicine
and the related branches in Turkey, from 1923 to 1948.

YEAR	DOCTORS	PHARMACISTS	PARAMEDICS	MIDWIVES	NURSES
1923	554	69	560	136	4
1948	4.630	801	921	1.124	584

The distribution of specialist doctors according to their branches,
in Turkey, in 1948.

TOTAL	2.507
Internists	602
Surgeons	385
Gynaecologists	237
ENT Surgeons	115
Paediatricians	136
Neurologists	105
Ophthalmologists	160
X-ray specialists	104
Psychiatrists	28
Pathologists	37
Physiotherapists	20
Hygiene specialists	15
Bacteriologists	192
Biochemists	170
Urologists	75
Dermatologists	126

“Zat İşleri ve Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü Çalışmaları”, *Sağlık Dergisi*, (“The Works of the Office of Directorate of Personnel and Processing”, Health Bulletin), Ministry of Health and Social Welfare Publications, Oct-Nov 1948, No: 10-11, 1948.

APPENDIX C

Unitarians and Euthanasia

"Few issues in medicine and society today are more controversial than euthanasia, the term derived from the Greek word for 'easy death' and often called 'mercy-killing'. Current debates raise questions about the past and what euthanasia has meant to earlier generations. The most infamous example of a state euthanasia programme occurred between 1939 and 1945 in Nazi Germany when thousands of handicapped men, women and children were murdered. But little is known about the history of Anglo-American euthanasia. This article, based on an examination of documents from a variety of archival collections in England and the USA, explores the early history of the unsuccessful movement to legalize euthanasia in Great Britain, as embodied in the Voluntary Euthanasia Legislation Society (VELS). By focusing on the career of C. Killick Millard (1870-1952), the founder of the VELS, this article argues that although the VELS tried to convince the public that it sought the legalization of only mercy-killing with consent, there was a tendency within the VELS to obscure the distinctions between voluntary and involuntary euthanasia. There is even some evidence of VELS sympathy for Nazi euthanasia. At the same time, VELS members also tended to be involved in the eugenics, birth control and public health movements or belong to liberal religious groups like the Unitarians, or they were physicians radicalized by the experience of watching patients die in protracted agony. It is this complex constellation of motives - some murky and some indisputably humane - that warrants attention nowadays, at a time when courts and legislatures are being asked to rule on such literally life and death issues. Unitarians were a Liberal Protestant sect that holds as its distinctive tenet the belief in a uni-personal, instead of a tri-personal God."

Ian Dowbiggin, "C. Killick Millard and the Euthanasia Movement in Great Britain, 1930-55" *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 36, Issue 01, University of Prince Edward Island, Canada, 1 January 2001: Unitarian Church of England campaigned for the legalisation of euthanasia during mid 1930's. It was a difficult task to compile information about the ecclesiasts who were favouring euthanasia. Voluntary helps came from Bülent Erdemgil, Halil Zoral, Emine Gürsoy Naskali, Rachel Krespin, Nuran Kostak, Fahriye Hazer, Dicle Evren; my schoolmates from TED Ankara College and Ayla İmre; my Maths teacher from the same school, all of whom are living or lived for long years abroad, some of them still teaching either in Turkey or abroad.

APPENDIX D

Yeni Hifzıshha



Fig.81: "Running is a very good exercise" Drawing from "New Hygiene"

P.189: Knowledge was presented concerning sexually transmitted diseases under the heading, "Defence from Venereal Diseases." There was the Figure: 81. This was a running athlete. Below the athlete's illustration was written, "Running is a very good exercise for the youth." Adjacent to the illustration, the below information was given: "Sexuality provides happiness to the individual and the family if obedience to the social order and natural laws are undertaken. When these laws and orders are not taken into account, it transfers the happiness of the home to catastrophe, the health of the race to weakness and degeneration." Below this information there was the Fig.82, in which a young, naked man was illustrated, ready to jump into a swimming pool. Below this young swimmer's illustration, it was written, "A suitable exercise for the



Fig.82: "A suitable exercise for the youth" Drawing from "New Hygiene"

youth.” At the bottom of the page, there was another illustration, Fig. 84. This was a drawing of a young man at the summit of a mountain. Under it was written, “Turkish youth have strong muscles, are powerful, donated with high determination, brave, capable of mastering himself, equipped with self esteem.”



Fig.84: “Turkish youth have strong muscles, are powerful...” Drawing from “New Hygiene”

Under the heading “Defence From Venereal Diseases” detailed information about the Act 90 of 1921, (Syphilis Law), the By-Law of 1925 (The Enactment of Struggle with Syphilis), the Act 1593 of 1930, (Hygiene Law) and especially its Articles concerning the impediments for marriage were provided.

“Defence From Venereal Diseases” were presented together with illustrations of “health” and “sports”.

**T.C. YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU
DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ**

Behaddin Faik, *Yeni Hıfzısıhha*, (New Hygiene) Milli Eğitim Yayınevi, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1932

APPENDIX E

Tıb Yolunda Yılbaşı, 1936

Tıb yolunda yılbaşı (New Year on the Way to Medicine) was an annual magazine, published on the 14th of March's, for the commemoration of the beginning of medical education in Turkey, edited and published by the students.



Prof. Mazhar Osman Usman Drawing from "*Tıb Yolunda Yılbaşı, 1936*"



Prof. Dr. Tevfik Remzi Kazancıgil Drawing from "*Tıb Yolunda Yılbaşı, 1936*"



Prof. Dr. Fahrettin Kerim Gökay Drawing from "*Tıb Yolunda Yılbaşı, 1936*"

APPENDIX F

Eugenic Ideas are live in Turkey 1

Eugenic ideas are live in Turkey. Some minds easily make categorizations and assumptions for the “misfits” among the people they are confronted with, during their daily life, and try to solve the problem with eugenic measures.

Case 1: A eugenic proposition. The following news appeared in the issue of Milliyet newspaper on Friday July 19th, 2002: “Sterilisation for a Rape Case”

“Eight year old child showed up in the court together with his rapist. The judge was able to communicate with the boy only by offering him a chocolate bar.” Reporter: İsmail Akduman, Samsun, DHA : “Mr. Mevlut Sevindik, Mr. Kenan Ömer Ünalın’s solicitor, on behalf of the accused rapist of a boy, claimed in the trial that, **his client had been prosecuted of a similar crime before; and that, his demand for the sterilisation of his client was rejected on the basis of human rights.** The judge tried to convince the eight year old boy to talk by offering him a chocolate bar. The boy Ü, who was with Mr. Ünalın the accused rapist in same court trial, initially didn’t speak. Eventually the judge Mr. Ahmet Akyüz succeeded to urge him to confess that the man raped him in the toilet of the mosque when he went there to drink water. He added that he told the story to his mother. The trial was postponed for the hearing of the witnesses.”

Case 2: A eugenic application. The following news appeared in the issue of Milliyet newspaper on March 4th, 2003: “She is reborn with every newborn. She has 300 thousand babies.”

“Sadiye Eren, the head doctor of the Zeynep Kamil Women’s and Children’s Hospital says that she feels the same pain with every woman giving birth.” Reporter: Şükran Özçakmak, İstanbul : “Op. Dr. Sadiye Eren, although she has two children, as the head doctor of the Zeynep Kamil Women’s and Children’s Hospital where 12.000 births occur annually, she is the mother of 300 thousand babies. She declares that she assumes herself as the mother of all the babies that were born at this hospital where she started her career as a resident twenty years ago. ‘I feel the same pain together with every woman who is giving birth’ she says. Eren also deals with the problems of unmarried mothers and the misshapeness that occur due to finance.” “They don’t want to return back.” “Eren explains the difficulties of her career as follows: ‘Women on the street that give birth, when they receive the soup and bed here, they don’t want to leave. **The tubes of the feeble-minded women who are on the street are cut and tied here with the consent of the court in order to obtain their sterility.** After that, they are sent to institutions of welfare such as Darülaceze. Women that are confronting problems with their husbands or mothers in law apply to our hospital with nausea and then they don’t want to return back home. Our psychiatrists help them.”

APPENDIX G

Eugenic Ideas are live in Turkey 2

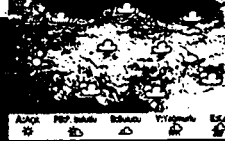
Eugenic ideas are live in Turkey. Some minds easily make categorisations and assumptions for the "misfits" among the people they get confronted during their daily life. Some news that appeared on *Milliyet* newspaper in 2002 is presented below.

 **Milliyet**

Salı 17 Eylül 2002

Türkiye'de hava

Adana	23/34 PB	Erzurum	4/19 S
Afyon	10/20 S	İstanbul	17/20 S
Ankara	14/20 S	İzmir	17/26 A
Antalya	20/29 PB	Mersin	22/33 PB
Balıkesir	13/21 PB	Samsun	17/21 S
Bursa	15/21 S	Sivas	11/15 S
Dişarbakır	19/33 PB	Trabzon	17/23 S



Onlar aileden 'katil doğmuş'

Amerika'da iki kız çocuğunun katil zanlısının babası da 'seri katil' çıkınca tartışma alevlendi: 'Suç genetik mi?'

DIŞ HABERLER SERVİSİ

Amerika'nın Oregon kentinde geçtiğimiz haftalarda kaçırıldıktan sonra ölü bulunan Ashley Pond ve Miranda Gaddis adlı iki kız çocuğunun katil zanlısı 39 yaşındaki Ward Weaver ve ailesi ilginç bir tartışmaya konu oldu.

Weaver ve diğer aile üyelerinin yaşamı mercek altına alındığında görüldü ki, kuşak farkına rağmen bir aile benzer suçlara yatkınlık gösterebiliyordu.

İstatistikler...

Nasıl mı? Weaver'ın babası Ward Weaver JR. da 1981 yılında iki otopoçuyu öldürmek suçundan idam edilmiş. Ayrıca bu baba Weaver'ın ilk suçu da değildi. Kayıtlara göre "Natural Born Killer" (Doğuştan Katil) portresi çizen Weaver, 18 yaşındaki Robert Raddford'u döverek öldürmüş, gencin 23 yaşındaki nişanlısı Barbara Levoy'a da önce tecavüz edip ardından öldürmüştü. Weaver, Levoy'u evinin yanındaki arsaya gömerken 10 yaşındaki oğlu Rodney de kürekle mezarın kazılmasına yardımcı olmuştu.

ABD'de yapılan istatistikler bu 'genetik suçlu' durumunu doğrular nitelikte. Çünkü, cezaevlerindeki mahkûmların yüzde 47'sinin bir akrabası da hapiste.

Örneğin, Missouri'de üç yıl önce cinayetten idam edilen Rom Ramsey'in



Babasının oğlu.

İki küçük kız çocuğunu öldürmekle suçlanan Ward Weaver (sağda) bu özelliğini babasından almış olmalı. Baba Ward Weaver JR. (üstte) kurbanlarından birini gömerken o zamanlar 10 yaşında olan diğer oğlunu da yardımcı olarak kullanmış.

10 kardeşinden 9'u hayatlarının önemli bir bölümünü cezaevinde geçirmiş. Bunların dördünün suçu yine cinayet.

Şiddet şiddeti doğuruyor

90'lı yıllarda Columbia bölgesinde uyuturucu işi yapan Rayful Edmond ve annesi Constance Perry de ailece "suç sektörünün" içinde yer alanlardı. Edmond'un babası, kız kardeşleri, üvey kardeşi, kuzeni ve halası da zaman



zaman uyuturucu çetesinin kadrolu elemanı olarak görev yapmış. Bu örnekleri çoğaltmak mümkün. Bazı bilim adamları bu durumu genetik bilimiyle açıklamaya çalışırsanız Georgetown Üniversitesi'ndeki Şiddet Çalışmaları Merkezi'nden Alan Lipman konuyla ilgili "ebeveynlerde şiddet içeren davranışlarla, çocuklarındaki şiddet eğilimi arasında güçlü bir ilişki var" diyor.

Film sanki onları anlatıyor

ABD'li yönetmen Oliver Stone'un 1994 yapımı filmi "Natural Born Killers" da (Katil Doğulanlar) iki gencin birbirlerine olan delice aşkının yanı sıra, şiddete ve kan dökmeye olan tutkularını işleniyordu. Senaryosunu Quentin Tarantino ile birlikte kaleme alan Stone filminde, Mickey ve Malory isimli şiddet düşkünü aşkıları, ABD medyasının da etkisiyle ülke çapında ilahlaştırılmaları konu alıyordu. Stone ve diğer yapımcılar, film aracılığıyla şiddete methiye düzmekle suçlanmasa, filmdeki sahnelerden ilham alan bazı canilerin Mickey ve Malory'ninkilere benzer cinayetler işlemesi bu suçlamaların üzerine tuz biber ekmişti. "Katil

Doğanlar" birçok eleştirmene göre modern Amerikan yaşamının karanlık yüzünü tüm çıplaklığıyla gözler önüne seriyor.



Onlar doğuştan suçlu (They are Criminals at Birth): The news maintains the concept of hereditary endowment for criminals. From this concept arises the idea of inevitability of criminality, impossibility of education. The idea to ask relief from medical sciences to stop criminality by affecting their heredity can easily flourish among the minds that believe in hereditary endowment.

Alkolik olmak da soyağacına bağlı

B. E. 2002

Yok psikolojik, yok çevresel etkenler derken, alkolikliğin de genlerden olduğu anlaşıldı. Araştırmalar gösterdi ki, Yahudilerin alkolik olma olasılığı, Avrupalılara oranla daha az



Avrupalılar için içki içmek zevkil. Bu yüzden de çok içebiliyor ve alkolik oluyorlar.

KOLOMBİYA Üniversitesi ve New York Psikiyatrisi Enstitüsü'nden Dr. Deborah Hasim, yaşları 22 ile 65 arasında değişen 75 İsrailli Yahudinin genetik yapısını inceledi. Ayrıca bu kişilere, alkol tüketimleri hakkında sorular soruldu. Bilim adamları, alkolün damarlarda dolaşmasında rolü olan ADH2 genindeki mutasyona araştırdılar. Araştırmalar bu değişimin, her beş Yahudiden birinde bulunduğunu gösterdi.

Avrupalılar zevk alıyor

BİLİM ADAMLARINA göre, ADH2 geni mutasyona uğramış olanlarda, kandaki asetaldehid adlı zehirli maddenin seviyesi yükseliyor, bu madde de baş ağrısı, mide bulantısı ve yüzün kızarmasına neden oluyor. Böylece, bu tür genlere sahip Yahudiler alkol içince kendilerini iyi hissetmez ve içmeye devam edemezken, Avrupalılar için içki içmek daha zevkil hale geliyor, bu da alkolizme neden oluyor. ■ DIŞ HABERLER SERVİSİ

Alkolik olmak da soyağacına bağlı (Alcoholism Is Due To Heredity Too): The news maintains the concept of hereditary endowment for alcoholism. From this concept arises the idea of inevitability of alcoholism, impossibility of cure. The idea to ask relief from medical sciences to stop alcoholism by affecting their heredity can easily flourish among the minds that believe in hereditary endowment.

APPENDIX H

Syphilitics in Various Syphilis Contention Areas

TOWN	YEAR STARTED	PEOPLE INSPECTED	SYPHILITICS AT START	PERCENTAGE AT START
Sivas	1925	69394	3220	% 4.6
Hafik	1926	28160	1132	% 4.0
Orhaneli	1926	42245	1625	% 3.8
Çarşamba	1929	41448	4890	% 11.8
Düzce	1929	75868	5159	% 6.8
Ordu	1929	100566	5147	% 4.8
Fatsa	1929	37453	1327	% 2.8
Şarkışla	1928	45705	1940	% 4.0

The struggle against syphilis with special organisations in Hafik, Orhaneli and Çarşamba was discontinued in 1935. A similar application was done in Sivas and Düzce a year later. The reason for the discontinuity was the success of the struggle. There were 49 syphilis patients in Hafik, 228 in Orhaneli and 471 in Çarşamba in 1935. After the date of discontinuity of the actions of the special organisations, the therapies of the remaining syphilitics were undertaken by the ordinary health organisations of the Ministry of Health. The percentage of syphilitics in Hafik was reduced to 0.1 % from 4.0 %. Similar reductions occurred in Orhaneli, Çarşamba, Düzce and Sivas. The most extraordinary achievement was in Çarşamba. The struggle of syphilis contention organisation started there in 1929 and in 6 years, 4890 syphilitics were reduced to 471, an overall reduction from 11.8 % to 0.9 % was achieved.

"Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığının 25 Yıllık Çalışmaları", *Sağlık Dergisi* ("25 Years' Work of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare", Health Bulletin), Ministry of Health and Social Welfare Publications, Oct-Nov 1948, No: 10-11, 1948.

APPENDIX I

Der Mensch der Arzeit

Hr. Leopold Krumpal

Berlin 16/2/17

Der Mensch der Urzeit

Runde über Lebensweise, Sprache und
Kultur des vorgeschichtlichen Menschen
in Europa und Asien

Von

Heinrich Driesmans

Vieles Gewaltige lebt,
Gewaltiger nichts als der Mensch.
Sophokles

Mit ausführlichem Namen- und Sachregister für das
ganze Gebiet der Urgeschichte und zahlreichen farbigen
Tafeln und Textabbildungen

31.—35. Tausend.



Stuttgart

Verlag von Strecker & Schröder
1907

Figure represents the cover page of Heinrich Driesmans's book, *Der Mensch der Arzeit*, (The Mankind from the Very Old Times), 1907. The sub heading was as: *Kunde über Lebensweise*,

Sprache und kultur der vorgeschichlichen Menschen in Europa und Asien (Life Over *Lebensweise*, The Language and Culture of the Mankind Dispersed in Europe and Asia). *Lebensweise* means the land where the Germans live. The term was taught at the Medical School. The concept of *Lebensweise* has a broad meaning such as "all" the lands over which German people –claimed that they- had rights. The note on the cover page of the book is Tefvik Remzi (Kazancıgil) Bey's handwriting.



Tafel I.

Copyright 1891 by Franz Hanfstaengl, München.

Pithecanthropus alalus.

Nach dem Gemälde von Gabriel Max.
(Im Besitz des Herrn Professor Ernst Sædet, Jena.)

The drawing is from the book *Der Mensch der Arbeit – Tafel I* (Table 1) implicated Darwinian ideas. A male that most resembled a monkey and a female that resembled

a human being were drawn together. Darwinian, imperialistic, racist concepts were all in one book. This was a textbook for the students of Medical School in Germany in 1907. On the 5th and 7th pages, the famous *swastika* was presented. *Swastika* is the emblem that was used by the Nazis in Germany. Obviously the Nazi's did not invent it because it was taught through textbooks in 1907. Darwinian ideas, imperialistic concepts and *swastika* were taught to the students of Medicine. That is one of the reasons why German eugenics reached as far as racism. The educated mind was ready for it.

die die verschiedenen Völker und Rassen gezeitigt haben, die ersten realen und greifbaren Erfindungen und Entdeckungen des Menschengeschlechts zugrunde liegen. Wir werden sehen, wie jeder Kult in seinem Ursprung überall auf die Heiligung und Weihe irgendeiner Erfindung und Entdeckung zurückgeht, die natürlich für göttlichen Willens und Inhalts, für die Offenbarungen einer göttlichen Natur gehalten wurden, wie dieser Grundzug sich durch die ganze Kulturentwicklung aller Zeiten und Völker erhalten hat, so daß er selbst im Religionsdienst unserer Tage noch zu erkennen ist.

Die epochemachende Entdeckung der Urmenichheit war die Kunst der Feuererzeugung. Sie war das einschneidendste und folgerichtigste Mittel, das das Menschengeschlecht zwischen sich und die Natur setzte, und mit ihm ist das Kulturleben und die Kulturentwicklung erst wurzelnhaft geworden. Alle religiösen Kulte lassen sich auf diese Entdeckung zurückführen, sie waren im Grunde nur eine Weihe und Umschreibung dieser Entdeckung und haben ihren Ursprung von ihr genommen.

Das heilige Feuer der Vesta (innen wie die ewige Lampe der katholischen Kirche) sind die letzten Zeugen eines Kultus, der sich auf die Feuererzeugung als eine heilige Handlung gründet, die überall in den Händen der Priester lag. Der Altar war ursprünglich der Steinblock, auf dem das Feuer erzeugt, das Opfer dargebracht wurde, und das Kreuz, das sich die Christliche Kirche nicht anders als mit dem Opferaltar, mit der Idee eines Opfers verbunden denken kann, ist nur eine Symbolisierung der beiden kreuzweise übereinandergelegten Hölzer, auf denen das Feuer durch Quirlen erzeugt wurde. Das Kreuz als Symbol des Lebens findet sich dergestalt in allen Kultformen, jama in denen der arischen Völker, zum Zeichen, daß diese ihre gemeinsame Wurzel im Feuerdienst haben und

Die Entdeckung der Feuererzeugung.



Abb. 1. Heilkreuze.

Der Feuerkultus.

wobei die vier Stabenden je einen heiligen Fortsatz erhielten, vermutlich zur besseren Befestigung auf dem Block oder dem Altar, der zu der heiligen Handlung diente. Der Sanskritname für dieses Heilkreuz ist Swastika, und unter dieser Bezeichnung hat es in der Archäologie Bürgerrecht erhalten, als ältestes Kult- und Schriftzeichen der Urmenichheit.

Der Kreuzpunkt der beiden Stäbchen, der in der Regel eine kleine Vertiefung erhielt, hieß in der Sprache der indischen Veden: Maja. In diese Vertiefung wurde der Quirl eingeführt, der durch Rotieren mit den Händen oder einer sich abwickelnden Schnur den Funken erzeugte, welcher durch bereitliegenden Jähstoff aufgefangen und mit Butter genährt zu der aufblühenden Flamme des göttlichen Feuers emporwuchs. So schildern die Veden die Geburt des Gottes Agni.

des Feuers, und wir finden dort im alten Indien diesen Kultus am vollkommensten ausgebildet und überliefert. Die Geburt des Agni war die heiligste Handlung, die unter feierlichsten und ehrsüchtigsten Zeremonien von Priesterschüden vollzogen wurde.

Der Feuerquirl hieß Pramathi oder Pramantia, ein Wort, das etymologisch merkwürdig an Prometheus anknüpft, den Titanen, der nach der griechischen Sage das Feuer vom Himmel gestohlen und den Menschen gebracht haben soll, wofür er zur Strafe von Zeus an den Kaukasus geschmiedet worden. Prometheus büßte danach ursprünglich auch nichts anderes als der Feuererzeuger, der Feuerquirl bedeutet haben, und die ganze Sage läßt sich wohl als eine Umschreibung der ersten Feuererzeugung ansprechen, deren Entdecker vermutlich für die erwiesene Wohlthat von seinen dankbaren Urmenichen als Heroen an der Gottheit gerichtet worden sein wird, wie so viele seiner Nachfolger, die der Menschheit Licht und Freiheit bringen wollten. Prometheus war der erste „Heilkreuzige“ und wird auch in antiken Texten buchstäblich als solcher bezeichnet. Auch Perseus

Vertiefung der Maja aus dem Feuerkult.



Abb. 2. Heilkreuz.

Promethi-Heilkreuz (der „Heilkreuzige“).

The 5th and 7th pages of Driesman's book *Der Mensch der Arzeit* contained knowledge about *swastika*.

APPENDIX J

Turkish Summary

1930'lu yıllarda pek çok ülkede ırkçılık, ırk politikası ve ırk hıfzısıhhası (*öjenik*) gibi tanımlamaların çok sık kullanıldığını, bu kavramlar üzerinde tartışmaların yoğunlaştığını, bazı ülkelerde devlet politikası olarak kabul görerek kanun ve kararnamelerle bu yönde uygulamalar yapıldığını biliyoruz.

Öjenik, insan karakterlerinin lehinde ve aleyhinde karar verebilen büyük bir güce sahiptir. Bu güç, beni, genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde öjenik konusunu araştırmaya yöneltti. Çalışmalarım ilerledikçe, Türkiye'de oldukça eski tarihlerden beri öjenik (*ırk hıfzısıhhası*) düşünce ve tartışmalarının varolduğunu ve tip bilimleri ile sosyal bilimlerin birbirlerinden etkilenererek bu öjenikçi düşünceleri, giderek de uygulamaları yarattığını fark ettim.

Genel bir tanımlama yapılırsa, öjenik, tabii bilimlerin sosyal bilimlere uygulanması, ırk bilgilerinin kanunlara ve kararnamelere yansıtılması olarak açıklanabilir. Daha açıklayıcı olmak istenirse, öjenik, bir ırk veya soyun nesillerinde insan çiftleşmesi ve doğurganlığının sosyal kontrolü yoluyla insanlığın geliştirilmesini amaçlayan bilim olarak tanımlanabilir.

Konunun kapsamının genişliği, araştırmanın 1930'lu yıllar ile sınırlanmasını gerektirdi. 1930'lu yıllar, öjenikğin tüm dünyada en yaygın biçimde tartışıldığı yıllar idi. Diğer bir sınırlama ise, öjenik önermeler, uygulamalar ve kanunların dışına taşmamak şeklinde gerçekleşti. Aksi halde konuyu anlaşılabilir kılmak zorlaşacaktı.

Birinci bölümde öjenik düşüncesi incelenmektedir. İkinci bölüm öjenik uygulamaların yapıldığı bazı örnek devletlerden oluşmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm ise tümüyle Türkiye'ye ayrılmıştır.

20'inci yüzyılda pek çok devlet öjenik amaçlı kanunlar yaptılar. Bazı uygulamalar kısırlaştırma, iğdiş etme ve ötenaziye kadar vardı. Bu nedenle, öjenik hareketini incelerken, bilim noktasından sabit ve emin olabileceğimiz kısımlarla,

kanıtlanmamış hipotez veya az çok romantik birer önerme olan taraflarını birbirlerinden ayrı tutmak lazımdır. Kanunlara ve karamanelere varan düşünce sistemini gözden geçirmek gereklidir.

18 yüzyıl düşünce sistemi, insanı tarif eden eski anlayışı değiştirmişti. O zamana kadar dini veya metafizik bir antropoloji konusu addedilen insanı -örneğin Rousseau tarafından yapıldığı gibi- duygu ve hayalle dolu bir bütünlük içinde kabul ediyordu. Bu kabulün sonucu şu oldu. İnsanlar eşit yetenekte varlıklar olarak kabul edildi. Ancak, insanın içinde yaşadığı ortamın iyi veya kötü nitelikleri bu insana etki edebiliyordu. O halde, sosyal reformlar ile dünyayı cennete dönüştürmek mümkün olabilirdi.

19.uncu yüzyılda, tabii bilimlerdeki büyük gelişmeler insanın bütün canlılara ait olan genel kanunlara tabi olduğunu gösterdi. İnsan, bir hayvan türü olarak tanımlandı. İnsanın gelişme kanunları araştırılmaya başlandı: zaman içinde insanın tarihi varlığının aşamaları arandı, insanın bir ortam içinde büyümesinin, olgunlaşmasının kanunları arandı.

Sonuçta, "tür"den geçen karakteristiklerle, gelişme ve çevrenin etkileri arasındaki ilişkiler arandı. Bu araştırmalar sonucunda, hayvan ve bitki türlerinin incelenmesi yeni bir bilgi zümresi ortaya çıkardı: ırk bilimi (*veraset ilmi.*) Anlaşıldı ki canlılarda, onların biyolojik varlıklarında önemli olan şey çevre değil verasettir (*heredity,*) seks hücreleri aracılığıyla sonraki nesle aktarılan niteliklerdir. Her kişinin gelecekteki niteliklerini tanımlayan şey verasettir. Buradan şu çıkarımlara varıldı: nihayetinde zeka ve yetenek eğitimle gelişmez, anadan-babadan geçer. İnsanı yüksek bir geleceğe taşımak için onu bilgi ile donatmak yeterli olamaz. Eğitim yardımcı bir unsur olabilir ama yeteneği yaratamaz. Irk biliminin (*genetik*) önemi anlaşılınca bu bilgilerden bilimsel yarar sağlama çabası ortaya kendiliğinden çıktı. İnsanı kendisine ve topluma yararlı şekilde yetiştirmek için, onun geliştirilmesi için olanaklar bulunup bulunmadığı araştırılmaya başlandı. İşte öjenik hareketi bu tarihi sebeplere bağlıdır.

Öjenik ilk defa, Darwin'ciliğin etkisi altındaki Francis Galton tarafından ortaya atılmıştır. *Eugenic* terimini kullanan Galton'dur. Şöyle bir tanımlama yapmaktadır: öjenik öyle bir bilimdir ki bir toplumun irsi niteliklerini geliştirerek bunları o topluma en yüksek oranda yararlı olacak şekilde getirmeye çalışmak.

Galton'dan sonra İngiltere'de bir öjenik hareketi başladı. Orada, Darwin'in seçilerek (*istifa-selection*) evrim (*tekamül-evolution*) teorisi pek popülerdi. Aileden Leonard Darwin, öjenik kavramının aydınlar ve halk arasında yayılması için çok çaba sarf etti ve büyük bir otorite ile etkili bir hareket yaratmayı başardı. 20.inci yüzyılın ilk yıllarında bu hareket Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde de etkili olmaya başlayıp bazı eyaletlerinde bu yönde yasalar çıkmaya başladı. Fransa'da 1.inci Dünya Harbinden önce bir öjenik cemiyeti kuruldu.

Bu hareket çok sayıda ve geniş halk kitlelerine de yayılan bilimsel ve popüler yayınlar yapmıştır. Yirminci yüzyılın ilk yıllarının yayın hayatında öjenik düşünceler çok geniş kapsamda yer almıştır.

Belçika'da etkili bir öjenik hareketi oluştu. İsviçre'de Vaud kantonu öjenik uygulamalar yaptı. Kısırlaştırma kanunu uygulamaya başladı. Benzer hareketler ve uygulamalar İskandinav ülkelerinde de gelişti. Türkiye'de evlenme muayenesine dair kanun bu dönemlerdeki öjenik hareketin sonucudur ve Batı'daki yaygın hareketlenme ile aynı tarihlere denk düşmektedir.

Almanya'da, 1930'lara gelmeden önce zaten etkili bir öjenik hareketi vardı. Tabii bilimlerden ilham alan bir öjenik düşüncesini daha 1891 yılında Schallmeyer "Veraset ve Evrim" adıyla yayınladığı kitabında ileri sürdü. Asıl büyük hareketler ise 1.inci Dünya Harbinden sonraki yıllarda başladı. Nüfusun nicelik ve nitelikleri tartışmaları bütün ulus devletlerin düşünsel ajandalarında yer almakla birlikte Almanya'da bu konular daha çok ve sık tartışıldı. 1922'de Alman öjenik cemiyeti bir deklarasyon yayınladı. Öjenik bilgilerinin okullarda zorunlu ve sınava tabi bir ders olarak uygulanmasını önerdi. Öneriyi yazanlar ünlü bilim adamları Lenz, Bauer ve Fischer idi. Bu yazarlar, daha sonra iki ciltlik bir öjenik kitabı yayınladılar. Bu kitap kısa sürede Almanya'da "çok satanlar" arasına girdi ve ardi ardına dört kez yeniden basımı yapıldı. Münih Üniversitesinde Öjenik kürsüsü açıldı ve Lenz bu kürsüye profesör olarak atandı. Daha sonra, 1928'de, Kayzer Wilhelm Bilim Kurumu, Berlin'de bir öjenik-ırk bilimi-antropoloji enstitüsü kurdu. Fischer, bu enstitünün başına getirildi.

1932 yılında ise Alman öjenik cemiyeti bütün üniversitelerde öjenik dersinin zorunlu ve sınava tabi bir ders olması için öneride bulundu. Aynı yıl Alman Tabipler

Birliđi kongresinde öjenik hakkında kapsamlı tebliğler sunuldu ve kongre bu hareket hakkında olumlu kararlar verdi.

1933 yılında, Nazilerin iktidarının hemen ardından tüm Alman Tıp Fakültelerinde öjenik dersi okutulmaya başlandı. Ardından, o güne kadar biyologların elinde kalan öjenik hayata uygulandı, ünlü kısırlaştırma ve iğdiş etme kanunları kabul edildi. Alman ırkının yükselmesince engel teşkil edeceği düşünölen kişilerin üreme organlarının işlevsiz kılınması için cerrahi müdahaleleri zorunlu kılan yasa uygulanmaya başlandı.

Naziler döneminde Almanya'da Yahudilerin toplu şekilde yok edildiđini hemen herkes duymuştur ve bu konuda az veya çok bilgi sahibidir. Almanların bu dönemde sadece Yahudileri deđil bazı Almanları da "bilimsel" gerekçelerle kısırlaştırdıklarını, iğdiş ettiklerini ve öldürdüklerini (*ötenazi*) ise çok daha az sayıda kişi bilmektedir. Bundan daha az bilinen, daha doğrusu unutulmuş, hatırlanmayan, hatırlara gelmesinden hoşnut olunmayan konu, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde, aynı "bilimsel" gerekçelerle 24 eyalette kısırlaştırma kanunlarının Almanlardan 20 yıl kadar önce kabul görüp uygulandıkları gerçeğidir. Daha da az bilinen, Alman kısırlaştırma kanununun, Amerikalı öjenikçi McLaughlin'in Amerikalılar için hazırladıđı "model" kanunun Almanca'ya tercümesi olduđu, bu kişinin Almanya'ya davet edilerek Nazi idarecilerince madalya ile onurlandırıldıđı gerçeğidir.

Hepsinden ilginç, İsveç'te 1990'lı yıllarda olanlardır. Maria Nordin isimli yaşlı bir bayanın henüz genç kızlıđında "geri zekalı" addedilerek yumurtalıklarının alınmış olduđu gerçeđi İsveç medyasında tartışmaya açılınca, hele de bu hanımın televizyondan izlenebilen röportajlarında son derece normal görünümde, hatta esprileri ile izleyenleri güldürebilen sevimli bir ihtiyar olduđu kamuoyu tarafından algılanınca, İsveçlilerin de bir zamanlar bazı sübjektif kriterlere dayanarak kısırlaştırmalar yaptıkları, bu uygulamaları öngören kanunlarının bulunduđu hatırlandı. Sokaktaki kaldırım taşlarını bile kayıt altına almakla ünlü İsveçlilerin nasıl olup da yüz binlere varan sayıdaki vatandaşlarını "zararlı" oldukları için kısırlaştırdıklarını unuttuklarının araştırılması birkaç yıllarını aldı.

İsveçlilerin ardından diđer İskandinavlar, Finliler, Norveçliler ve Danimarkalılar da arşivlerine inerek bir zamanlar kısırlaştırmalar yaptıklarını, bu uygulamaların "ırkın sađlığını" korumak için yapıldığını, bu işlemler sırasında

işbaşındaki hükümetlerinin ise “insanların eşitliği” ilkesiyle hareket ederek siyasi ve ekonomik kararlar alan Sosyal Demokrat kabineler olduğunu hatırladılar.

Daha da ilginç olan Japonya’daki gelişmelerdir. 1945 yılında Amerikan işgal kuvvetleri komutanlığı uzmanlarının Japon toplumunu “dönüştürme” çalışmaları başlayıp da bu ülkedeki ilkökul müfredatından evlerin kapı numaralarına kadar her şeyin yeniden düzenlendiği yıllara kadar bu konularla hiç ilgilenmeyen Japonların, bu tarihten itibaren “ırk ıslahı” çabalarına girmeleri, kısırlaştırma kanunları çıkarmalarıdır.

Bütün bu sıralananlar, bir bilim olan öjeniğin “Batı” kaynaklı bir düşünce olduğunu, hızla gelişen ırk biliminin verilerinin yorumlanışına göre ırkçılığa hatta jenoside kadar giden bir meşrulaştırıcı niteliğinin bulunduğunu, tarihsel ve toplumsal şartlarına göre değişik toplumlarda değişik uygulamalara yol açtığını, Alman Nazizminin tiksinti uyandırıcı uygulamalarının düşünsel temelinde öjeniğin yer aldığı apaçık olduğundan insanlığın bu uygulamalara yol açan her şeyi reddederken öjeniği de unutmayı tercih ettiğini göstermektedir. Tarihçinin görevi ise unutulmuş ve unutulacak olanı hatırlatmaktır.

Öjenik, Galton’un ilk tanımlamasında belirttiği gibi ırkın niteliklerini geliştirerek toplumu iyileştirmeyi hedef aldığında, toplum ve onun geleceği konusunda karar vermek gibi bir görev üstlenmekteydi. Bireyin biyolojik nitelikleri ile toplum arasında bağ kurulmakla toplum yaşamı üzerinde etki iddiasını içermekteydi. Amaç pek belirgindir: bir toplumun en yüksek niteliklilerini, yeteneklilerini seçerek (*istifa/selection*) sağlık ve akılda en yüksek olanlardan bir topluluk yaratmak. Burada, Darwin’in “seçilerek evrim” teorisindeki “seçilme” işleminin tabii seyrine bırakılmayarak seçilmeyi hızlandırmanın, evrimi de çabuklaştırarak mükemmele erişmeyi hızla gerçekleştirmenin amaçlandığı açıktır. Öjenikçiler, antropolojinin ideal olarak tanımlayabileceği bir ırkı aramadıklarını, kendilerinin sadece doğaya yardım ettiklerini, bilimsel olarak kanıtlanmış hasta ve zararlı unsurların bu niteliklerinin gelecek nesillere aktarılmasını engelleyerek zaten tabiatın yapmakta olduğu bir işleme katkı sağladıklarını savunmuşlardır.

Öte yandan ortak kültüre sahip, ortak dil kullanan ve aynı milli sınırlar içinde yaşayan toplumların bu ortak niteliklerinde değişiklik olmadan nüfusunun azalması, o ulusun yok olmaya doğru yol aldığı şeklinde bir algılamaya yaratmıştır. Ulus

devletler nüfus politikalarında çok hassas davranmışlardır. Sanayileşen ulus devletlerde şehirleşmenin hızlanması ile oluşan nüfus hareketleri yönetimleri hep kuşkulandırmış, doğum oranlarındaki düşüşler felaket senaryoları ile karşılaşmıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşından sonra da böyle bir gelişme gerçekleşmiş, sanayileşmiş Batı toplumlarının hemen hepsinde doğurganlık azalmıştır. Öjenikçilerin tanımlamasıyla, şehirlerde toplanan “fakir ve sefil tabaka” artmış, “kendilerinden bir şey ümit edilmeyecek” nüfus artarken diğer sınıfların doğum adetlerindeki düşüş toplumu tehdit eden bir olgu olarak algılanmaya başlamıştır. Savaşın öldürdüğü insanlardan etkilenen nüfus yapısının, savaştan sonra açık ve seçik olarak doğurganlığın azalması şeklinde gelişen yeni durumu, sanayileşmiş toplumlarda ciddi bir tehdit olarak görülmüştür.

1.inci Dünya Savaşının ardından hızla artan intiharlardan da söz etmek yararlı olacaktır. 1920’li yıllarda hemen tüm sanayileşmiş Batı toplumlarında intiharlarda artışlar gözlenmiştir. Doğurganlığın azalması, intiharların artması ve bunlara ilaveten metropollerde yoğunlaşan emekçi yığınları, bunların içinde buldukları sefil ve perişan yaşam şartları, orta ve üst gelir gruplarında gelecekte şüphe etmeyi beraberinde getirmiştir. Aynı tarihlerde sanayileşmiş toplumlarda çoğalan ve gelişen işçi sınıfı hareketleri de kendi geleceklerinden duydukları endişeleri yüksek sesle duyurmaya başlamışlardı. Tedbirler düşünülürken, tıpkı gelişen “eşitlikçi” akımların bilimi esas almaları gibi, “eşitsizlikçi” akımlar da bilimsel yöntemlere başvurmuşlardır. Nasıl ki Engels “Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni” adlı yapıtında Darwin teorisini övüyor ve “vazgeçilmez bilgi” olarak adlandırıyor idiyse, Amerikalı ve Alman öjenikçileri ve ırkçıları da düşünce sistemlerini Darwin’in teorilerine dayandırıyorlardı. Endüstriye dayalı modern sınıflı toplum düzeni bilimi esas alıyor ve farklı sosyal sınıfların gelecek endişelerine karşı buldukları çözüm önerileri de hep “bilimsel” dayanaklara -mevcut pozitif bilimlerden yapılan çıkarsamalara- bağlı öneriler ortaya çıkartıyordu.

Veraset bilimi (*hereditary science / genetics*) hücrelerdeki kromozomların veraset taşıyıcı unsurları ile bitki ve hayvanlardaki irsi niteliklerin gerçekleşme aşamalarını incelerken bazı kanıtlanmış bilgiler elde etmişti. Hızla yeni nesiller verebilen bazı bitkiler ve hayvanlarda yapılan gözlemlerden elde edilen bilgilerin insanlarda da aynı kanunlara uyup uymadığını anlayabilmek çok zordu çünkü insanoğlunun yeni nesil verebilmesi için yıllarca beklemek gerekiyordu. Toplumun bu kadar uzun süre beklemeye tahammülü olmadığını düşünenler için başvurulacak

tek yol kalıyordu: bilinenler üzerinde karar alarak bir an önce hareket etmek. Zeka geriliği ve akıl hastalıkları bu nedenle öjenikçilerin şiddetle üzerine gittikleri “zararlı unsurlar” olarak ele alınmıştır. İrsi nitelikleri çok eski devirlerden beri bilinen ve tanımlanan bazı psikozlar ile zeka ve davranış bozuklukları olan insanlar, işte bu nedenle öjenikçilerin “kısırlaştırma” kararlarının bedenlerinde uygulandığı ilk “zararlı unsurlar” grubunu oluşturmuşlardır.

Öjenikçiler toplumun ileriye ve güzele gitmesini hedef olarak seçtiklerinden, bir yandan “zararlı unsurları” toplum içinde azaltmaya çabalarken diğer yandan da “yararlı unsurların” sayıca artması için yapılması gerekenleri araştırmak için zaman ve emek harcamışlardır.

“Pozitif öjenik” olarak da adlandırılan “yararlı unsurların” toplum içindeki sayısını artırma çabaları pek karmaşık bir düşünceler ve önermeler zincirine sahip olmuştur. Hastalıklarla mücadele bu açıdan bakıldığında pekala bir öjenik kavram olarak kabul edilebilmektedir. Bunun gibi bir diğer örnek de, ekonomik başarı ve gelirlerin artırılması gibi bir hedef de öjenik bir amaç olarak sayılabilmektedir. Öte yandan sağlık taramaları yöntemleriyle bazı hastalık taşıyıcıların bulunup bunların hastalıklarını tedavi etmek de toplum içinde sağlıklı kişilerin oransal olarak artışına sebep olacağından, böyle bir kavramdan yola çıkan bir uygulama da bir çeşit öjenik amaç olarak kabul edilmektedir. Buraya kadar anlatılanlardan anlaşılacağı gibi “pozitif öjenik” çok farklı uygulamalar için kullanılan bir terim olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. En doğrusu, “negatif öjenik” kavramını anlatınca “pozitif öjenik” konusunun daha kolaylıkla anlaşılabilceğini düşünmek herhalde doğru olacaktır.

“Negatif öjenik” tanımı çok basittir: ırk için zararlı olabilecek kişiyi kanundan alınacak yetki ile üreme faaliyetinden uzaklaştıracak cerrahi müdahaleyi yapmak. Genel tanımı böyle olmakla birlikte, günümüzde adı geçen “cerrahi müdahale” kullanılmadan da insan vücuduna müdahale edilebilir ve bazı üreme faaliyetlerinin önlenebilir bir duruma gelmiş olması dikkate alındığında, 1930’lu yıllarda pekala geçerli olabilecek bu tanım bugün değişmek durumundadır ve “toplum için zararlı olabilecek nitelikteki genetik özelliklerin önlenmesi” şeklinde tanımlanması daha doğru olacaktır. Görüldüğü gibi “öjenik” geçmişte kalmış bir kavram olmayıp bugün için de geçerli ve uygulanabilir bir durumdadır.

Tekrar konumuza dönüp “negatif öjenik” kavramını ayrıntılarıyla açıklamaya devam edersek: “öjenik” denince akla gelen, 1930’lu yıllarda bazı toplumlarda yapılan uygulamalar nedeniyle daha sonraları sert eleştirilere uğrayan kavram ve uygulamalar negatif öjeniktir. Cerrahi müdahale ile üremesi engellenen kişi toplumun kemiyetinden uzaklaştırılmaktadır. En otoriter toplum kurallarının uygulandığı insan topluluklarında bile bu dışlama olayı toplum vicdanında kolay kabul edilemeyeceğinden, böyle bir kararı alacak ve uygulayacakların doğru bir eylem yaptıklarına ikna edilmeleri gerekmiştir. Nitekim, Alman Nazizminin kısırlaştırma kanunu da böyle bir gereksinim ile kesin bir bilimsel tanımlama yapmak iddiasında bulunmakla birlikte, zamanın genetik bilgileri yetersiz kaldığından, daha birinci maddesinde “ruhi ve bedeni ağır hastalıklardan yeni nesillere büyük bir ihtimalle geçen hastalıkların kısırlaştırılması”ndan söz etmek durumundan kurtulamamıştır. İnsanlarda tecrübe yaparak bilimsel olarak kanıtlanmasının mümkün olmaması ve irsen geçen hastalıkları kesinlikle tanımlayamamanın getirdiği sıkıntı, kanun maddesinin ilk cümlesinde kendisini göstermiştir. 1930’lu yılların bilgilerinin ancak “büyük ihtimallerden” söz edebiliyor olması bu kanunun daha yayımı tarihinde eleştirilere uğramasına yol açmıştır. Eleştirilerin en belli başlı olanı şu tartışmayı getirmiştir: irsen yeni nesillere nasıl geçeceği kesinlikle bilinen hastalıkların dahi o yeni nesil insanında ne gibi ruhi ve bedensel özürlere yol açacağını bilemediğimize göre bilimsel bir karardan söz edilemez çünkü bu konuda bilinmeyenin varlığı kesindir.

Negatif öjenik, başka bir tanımlama gerekirse kısırlaştırma kanunları, daha ilk yayınlandıkları günlerde bu eleştirileri almakla birlikte uygulayıcılar kendilerinden emin bir şekilde yollarına devam etmişlerdir. Başta Almanya’da olmak üzere 1930’lu yıllarda pek çok ülkede çok sayıda erkek, kadın ve çocuk toplumun yüksek menfaatleri yararına olacağı şeklindeki bir çıkarsamaya dayanılarak üreme organlarından mahrum kalmışlardır. Alman kısırlaştırma kanununun yayınlandığı o tarihlerde, 15 Temmuz 1933 günü yayınlanan Klinik Mecmuasında (Klinik, Aylık Tıbbi Gazete, Şehremaneti, Fuatpaşa Türbesi, Piyer Loti Caddesi, Lale Apartmanı, No.1, 1.inci sene, Nr.1, Hamit Bey Matbaası, İstanbul, 15 Temmuz 1933, S. 43) Prof. Tevfik Remzi (Kazancıgil) “Eugenik” başlıklı makalesinde şu soruları sormuştur:

Müstakbel eugenik şu üç sorunun cevabını verecek; (1) hangi insanlar irsiyet noktasından mühim ve faydelidir? (2) hangi insanlar irsiyet noktasından muzırdır? (3) hangi vasıfla iyi veya kötü irki evsafi birbirinden ayırabiliriz?

Aradan geçen 70 yıl içinde bu soruların bilimsel yanıtı verilebilmiş değildir. Ancak aradan geçen yıllar içinde genetik bilgilerinde büyük ilerlemeler olmuş, biyoloji bilgileri hücre seviyesinin çok altındaki yapılara kadar inmiş ve moleküller seviyesinde tanımlamalar yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Bugünkü bilgilerimiz ile nesilden nesle geçen özelliklerimizin şifreleri çözülmüştür. 1930'lu yıllarda verasetin bilimsel olarak kanıtlanamayan kısmı, insan üzerinde verasete dair deney yapılamaması, deneylerde çıkan sonuçlar ile gözlemlenenlerin aynı sonucu vermesi kuralının işletilememesi nedeniyle bilimsel olarak kanıtlanamayacakmış gibi görünen veraset prensipleri artık laboratuvar ortamında denenebilmektedir. Halen -bu konudaki haberlerin gizli tutulmuş olabileceği nedeniyle- yapıldığı bilinmemekle birlikte, laboratuvar ortamındaki işlemlerle insanın kopyalanması mümkün görünmektedir. Kaldı ki, bitkilerde ve hayvanlarda bu deneyler hızla ilerlemekte, her geçen gün kopyalanmış koyun, domuz, kedi, şempanze ve dana örneklerinin fotoğrafları yayınlanmaktadır. Öte yandan bitkilerde "iyi soy" araştırmaları sonucu, özellikle endüstriyel tarım ürünlerinde daha önceleri hayal bile edilemeyecek sonuçlar alınmaya başlanmıştır. Şeker kamışı veya şeker pancarı yerine arpadan tatlandırıcı üretimi maliyetleri akıl almaz şekilde düşürerek tüketicilerin hizmetine sunulmaya başlanmıştır. Bugün genetik biliminin ulaştığı bilgi seviyesi kısırlaştırmalar, iğdiş etmeler ve ötenazi yöntemleri kullanarak "iyi soy" elde etmeye çalışanların akıllarının ucundan bile geçmesi muhtemel olmayan sonuçlar almaktadır. Artık insanoğlu "kimyasal" bitki, hayvan ve insan yapma aşamasına gelmiştir. Genetik bilgilerinin yenilenmesi logaritmik bir artış seyri göstermekte ve her üç-beş yılda bir bu bilgiler eskimektedir.

Bugün tartışmaya açılması gereken konu şudur: Yirminci yüzyılın ilk yıllarında, "iyi soy" peşine düşenler aslında hakim sınıflardı. Bilimsel dayanakları Darwin'in teorisi ve gelişen genetik bilgileri idi. Kendilerinin toplumsal artıdan daha fazla pay almalarının meşrulaştırıcı ikna gücünü "iyi soy" düşüncesinde buldular. Zamanın genetik bilgilerini sosyal bilimlere, oradan da kanunlara ve karamamelere taşıdılar. Yirminci yüzyılda gelişmiş Batı toplumlarında yaşayan insanlar bilime o kadar büyük bir inançla bağlı idiler ki bu hakim sınıfların ideolojik meşrulaştırıcılarını sorgulamayı düşünmeden, itiraz etmeyi akıllarına bile getirmeden bazı kararları uyguladılar. Almanlar Yahudileri "canavar ruhu" taşıdıklarından değil, zamanın bilimine saygıları nedeniyle gaz odasında öldürdüler. Unutmayalım. Almanlar Yahudileri öldürmeye başlamadan önce akıl hastası, geri zekalı ve vücut

deformiteli Alman çocuklarını kitleler halinde öldürüyorlardı. Bu çocukları yok ederken “gaz ile öldürme” tecrübesini edindiler ve daha sonraki yıllarda bu “teknolojiyi” Yahudileri öldürmek için kullandılar. Yine hatırlanması gereken bir diğer husus da şudur: uluslar arası hakim sınıfların kolonyal ve emperyal “global” düşünceleri ile “farklı” insanlar, “eşit olmayan” insanlar hakkındaki düşünceleri aslında birbirleri ile örtüşüyordu. Ulus devlet aşamasına geçen, birer “millet” aidiyeti içinde kendilerini tanımlayan bireylerden oluşan toplumlar kolaylıkla “öteki” kavramını kabul ettiler. Irkçılık böyle gelişti. Çok kötü uygulamalar yapıldı. Sonuçta, olan bitenler insanoğlunun binlerce yıllık değerler sistemini, insani değerlerini o derecede rahatsız etti ki ırkçılık nefret ile anılır oldu. Birleşmiş Milletler bu yönde adımlar atarak insan hakları kavramının doğmasına yol açtı. İnsanların eşitliği ve hakları konusundaki düşünceler yaygınlaştı, uluslararası ve ulusal kanunlara, kararnamelere taşındı.

Günümüzde ise uluslar arası politik durum öyle bir durum arz etmektedir ki, genetik biliminin ulaştığı gücü –herhangi bir biçimde, örneğin insanların eşitsizliği doğrultusunda- sosyal bilimlere oradan da kanunlara, kararnamelere ve nihayetinde uygulamaya sokacak güç odaklarının önünde durabilecek, bunlara direnebilecek herhangi bir güç görünmemektedir. Açıktır ki Birleşmiş Milletler bir ulus devletler topluluğudur ve bu ulusların kendi başlarına ve kendileri için alacakları kararların bir toplamını arz etmektedir. Halbuki yeni oluşan küreselleşme bu ulus devletleri reddetmekte, ulus devletlerin halklarının iradesini kabul etmemektedir. Küresel mali yapılar ve üretim biçimi ulusların kendi kaderlerini tayin haklarını giderek ortadan kaldırmakta iken bu karar alma mekanizmalarının yerini uluslar arası şirketler almakta, onların kararları esas olmaktadır. Bilgi de bu uluslar arası şirketlerin elinde temerküz etmektedir. Yeni bilgilerin üretilmesi ve pazarlanması bu uluslararası şirketlerin eline geçmiş gibi bir görünüm söz konusudur. Ve işin kötüsü, bugün uluslararası hakim güçler geleceği ve gelecekteki toplumları şekillendirmede genetik bilimini tıpkı yirminci yüzyılın başlarında ulus devletlerin hakim sınıflarının yaptığı biçimde kullanacağına benzemektedirler.

Uluslararası şirketlerin doğayı biçimlendirebilecek bilgileri vardır. Henüz dünyanın diğer toplumları tarafından bunlar bilinmemekte ve kullanılamamaktadır. İnsanoğlu arasında doğayı şekillendirme gücüne sahip olanlar ve olmayanlar biçiminde çok tehlikeli bir ayrım ortaya çıkmış gibi görünmektedir. Doğayı şekillendirme bilgilerine ve gücüne sahip olanların diğer insanlara karşı, onlar

hakkında “eşitlikçi” düşüneceklerini beklemek pek mümkün görünmemektedir. Muhtemelen onlar kendilerini “farklı” görecekler ve öyle davranacaklardır. Tıpkı düzenli tarım yapmayı öğrenmiş ve bunun nimetlerinden yararlanan Sümerlilerin göçebe kavimlere baktıkları gibi bakacaklarını düşünmek herhalde inandırıcı olacaktır. Tıpkı sanayileşmiş batıların tarım dönemi topluluklarının insanlarına davrandıkları gibi davranacaklarına inanmak doğru olacaktır. Bu davranış biçiminin ipuçları küresel egemen güçlerin diğer ülkelerin halklarının kendi egemenliklerini tanımak, onların kendileri için ve kendilerine göre kararlar almak istemelerini reddetmelerinde görünmektedir. 1930’lu yıllarda gelişmiş Batı ülkelerinde, o toplumların hakim güçlerinin kendi topluluklarının arasındaki “zararlı unsurları” yok ederek toplumsal yarar sağlama çabalarının benzerinin günümüzdeki hakim güçler olmaya başlayan uluslar arası şirketler tarafından “öteki” insanlara karşı benzer argümanlarla ve –korkudan titreyerek söylemek gerekir ki- çok daha bilimsel, çok daha basitleşmiş metotlar kullanılarak uygulanması pek muhtemel görünmektedir.

Türk halkının karar vermesi gereken şudur: bu kararlara direniş gösterilebilecek midir?

VITA

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