

Premier



SUKRU SARACOGLU
He fights with finance

Foreign Minister



NUMAN MENEMENCIOGLU
Nationalist Internationalist

(continued from previous page)

the key battle of Inonu when the Greeks threatened Ankara itself and the defenders had only women to pull their guns, was visible in the surname given him by the Leader. (Kemal, faced with such un-European confusions as five indistinguishable Generals Kiazim, had ordered all Turks to take surnames). His later civil devotion to duty had saved the Ghazi again and again from assassination and his reforms from destruction when the "Grey Wolf" broke loose into those periodic drinking-talking marathons of his. And his patient administration had not only built the retaining-walls of law and organisation which saved the revolution but was visible everywhere in the new mines, factories, roads, tractor co-operatives, wheat, wool, cotton, and sugar exports which have rescued Turkey from the poverty of a purely primitive agricultural country. Ismet had not wasted his energies like Kemal. To-day he continues very much alive — the Stalin of the Turkish Revolution.

Wrestling With Loans

Kemal and Ismet were both Army officers—the only class in Imperial Turkey that was allowed even a smattering of Western education—and so were ignorant of both business and economics. Fortunately, however, they had in the successful lawyer Sukru Saracoglu—a lieutenant who understood finance. For 20 years now, Saracoglu—who looks a typical respectable middle-aged bespectacled businessman despite his Hitlerian moustache—has wrestled with loans. In the 'twenties the task was to free Turkey from the net of debt in which the Ottoman Empire had strangled itself. In the 'thirties it was to make possible the Five-Year and Three-Year Plans (for industrialisation) without borrowing abroad. And as the War arrived it was to transfer trade from Germany to Britain and France.

This last move was taken as part of the national policy of non-attachment. Germany was so close geographically and in so dominating a trade position that the Turks tried to distribute their transactions more widely, and to more distant and less aggressive states, in order to be politically freer. This policy succeeded in getting trade treaties and the loans to run them from London and Paris. But it failed to find how to keep

million-pound transactions going on Turkish cigarettes. And then in 1940 the British Mediterranean fleet and French Syrian army suddenly melted away at Turkey's back, while Germany rushed right up to her (quite indefensible) front door in Thrace. Saracoglu flew to Moscow to encounter there "the opposite of a honeymoon" (his own description). Turkey in short was completely isolated in the world and had to fall more and more into line with German designs. But her other alliances, and particularly the one with Britain, she doggedly refused to renounce on paper, even though events had apparently destroyed them in practice. And she would *not* enter the war.

Now that Foreign Affairs has become less a matter of financial jugglery, it is fitting that Saracoglu's understudy Numan Menemencioğlu ("on his record one of the most accomplished diplomats of his generation") should have taken over the portfolio. He again is an opposite of his robust bull-voiced senior. Wendell Willkie (who called him "Noumen Bey" in *One World*—Bey is of course his title—and whose judgment I have just quoted) speaks of "his pallor and general frailty emphasising the courtly skill with which he seems to be watching Europe and the world . . . I found his mind (continues Willkie) like his appearance, a little sad, a little cynical, very strong, and very subtle." Perhaps Menemencioğlu's elevation from Under-Secretary means that Saracoglu feels that the national danger is now sufficiently reduced for himself to devote full time to building up Turkey's national economy. Or it may mean the very opposite—that Saracoglu is building up internal strength with backing for the Army mainly in mind.

If the worst does come—no, not quite the worst, for Kemal considered that fighting for Germany was the worst—then another figure, long absent from the limelight, will step back into it. Fevzi Chakmak, third of the original Ataturk-Inonu-Chakmak trio, has firmly kept out of politics. Devoutly religious and living a quiet retired family life, he has always been different from Kemal in everything except keen military ability. Despite lack of up-to-the-minute equipment Turkey's army of a million (with a second million in reserve) is said to be thoroughly modern in outlook and methods.

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