THE TURKISH GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMPLEX:
AN EVALUATION OF THE FUNCTION AND MEANING OF
PARLIAMENTARY SPACES

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ABSTRACT

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PARLIAMENTARY SPACES

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This study is an evaluation of the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces of the Turkish Republic, focusing on the parliamentary complex of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the capital city of Ankara. Parliament buildings are symbols of the nation and the nation state, representing the national identity via expressional aspects of their functional space. The issue is of national prestige, security and power that remain in effect albeit adapting to changing situations in time. This study attempts to contribute to a better understanding of the spatial, stylistic as well as the urban characteristics of parliamentary spaces in Turkey by examining the earlier experiences in late Ottoman and early Republican periods, and by not only analyzing the establishment of the complex as designed by Holzmeister in the late 1930s, but also evaluating its enlargement as affected by the changing exigencies in contemporary political agendas after the Assembly had started to use the complex in the 1960s until today. The study examines the formation and the transformation of the Assembly complex in Turkey under the pressure of the highly dynamic political realities of the twentieth century, in order to reflect upon the continuities and discontinuities in functions and meanings of the parliamentary spaces throughout the process.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE BÜYÜK MİLLET MECLİSİ KOMPLEKSİ:
PARLAMENTER MEKANLARIN
İŞLEV VE ANLAMI ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti parlamenter mekânlarının işlev ve anlamlarını Türkiye'nin başkenti Ankara'da yer alan Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi kompleksindeki yapılaşmaya odaklanarak inceleyen bir değerlendirmedir. Ulus ve ulus-devlet için Parlamento binaları, işlevsel mekânlarının dışa vurulması ile ulusal kimliği temsil eden bir semboldür. Her ne kadar zamanla koşullar değişse de, bu temsil sürecinde ulusal saygınlık, güvenlik ve güç unsurları geçerli olmaya devam edecektir. Bu çalışma geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinin deneyimlerini inceleyerek ve Holzmeister tarafından 1930'ların sonunda tasarlanan kompleksin oluşumu yanı sıra kompleksin Büyük Millet Meclisi tarafından 1960'larda kullanılmaya başlamasından bugüne uzanan dönemde siyasi gündemin değişen aciliyetlerine bağlı olarak genişlemesini de değerlendirerek Türkiye'nin parlamenter mekânlarının kentsel ve mimari niteliklerinin mekânsal ve biçimsel olarak daha iyi anlaşılabilmesine katkı sağlamaya çalışır. Bu çalışma, yirminci yüzyılın hayli dinamik siyasi gerçekliğinin baskısı altında kompleksin oluşum ve genişlemesini incelerken bu süreçlerde parlamenter mekânların işlev ve anlamlarındaki süreklilik ve süreksizlikleri yansıtmayı hedefler.

Anahtar kelimeler: ulusal başkent, Ankara, parlamento, meclis, politika, yirminci yüzyıl mimarlığı

To the founders of the secular and independent nation state of the Republic of Turkey and National Sovereignty...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Significance of the Study

This study is an evaluation of the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces of the Turkish Republic, focusing on the parliamentary complex of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the capital city of Ankara. Parliament buildings are symbols of the nation and the nation state, representing the national identity via expressional aspects of their functional space. The issue is of national prestige, security and power that remain in effect albeit adapting to changing situations in time. Kostof (1992: 8) emphasizes urbanism as a process, "the many ways in which the city's physical frame is adjusted to changing exigencies." My aim is similarly to trace not only the formation of the parliamentary complex but also how its physical frame has been adjusted to the changing exigencies of the Turkish parliamentary context in order to evaluate the continuities and discontinuities in functions and meanings of the parliamentary spaces throughout the process.

Scholars have examined the subject of parliament buildings in a variety of perspectives that focus mainly on two spatial media: 'indoor spaces' and 'the parliament in the city'. Most of the researchers have dealt with the subject in terms of power relations between the elected and the elector, governing and governed, dominant and dominated, and represented and underrepresented groups in the society. As exemplary of such a group of researchers who deal with the physical settings in relation to their social meanings and look at governmental architecture as an expression of political ideas Goodsell (1988: xv) restricts his analysis to a single functional class of space as city-council chambers in the United States since they represent a variety of examples that suit the definition of 'civic space', which he calls "as enclosures within governmental buildings designed for the performance of political rituals before audiences". He argues that "the architecture of this kind of space is particularly revealing with respect to regime-accepted notions of political

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authority". (1988: xv) As a result of his investigation he finds out of that instead of significant political factors in shaping the environment such as seating arrangements, or layout of the city chambers, there are important style differences which are not very related to politics but only to changes in style through time.

Another group of researchers have analyzed spatial organizations and circulation schemes of parliament buildings under the theories of place making and spatial analysis in relation with concepts of power. A pioneer of this group is Dovey (1999) who searched a "cutting edge of theory" between fields of thought where *text, place and program* intersect in the concept of "placemaking", so that theories of spatial syntax analysis, discourse analysis and phenomology are intermingled in the theories of politics and space in Foucault, Derrida, Eagleton, Giddens, Lefebvre, Habermas, Bourdieu and Harvey, which are widely cited in architectural discourse. He examined the old and new parliament houses of Australia according to their spatial organizations, as well as the Houses of Parliament in Westminster Palace in London and other significant architectures of power.

Architectural historians have mainly examined parliament buildings as cases of monumentalism, together with the reference to the iconographic power they possess. Hence, they are by nature monuments for the city-states, empires and nations. In such analyses, English, French and American parliamentary spaces have vastly been examined as the evolutionary aspects of the English parliament, and the revolutionary aspects of the French and American democracies have formed references to be followed by other nations throughout the twentieth century.

Some scholars approached the issue from the points of works of architecture and acts of urban design coined with the twentieth century capital cities. Exemplary of these is Vale (1992), who worked on capitols and capitol complexes and the national symbolism in the parliament architecture, and approached the subject as an investigation on identities. In Vale's book "Architecture, Power and National Identity", political and cultural context bases the research on capitol complexes. A similar approach is followed by Sonne (2003) who differentiates urban forms with reference to the outcomes of acts of political decisions and situations as "symbol" and "symptom". He examines the relationship between city planning and politics by analyzing cities like Washington - D.C., Berlin, Canberra, and New Delhi, each of which underwent major reconstruction during the years spanning the turn of the twentieth century and the advent of the World War.

In the twentieth century, meanings of government, governance, parliament and state have significantly altered and the new parliament buildings are very much different from their classical ancestors. The parliamentary complexes are more and more conceived as spaces of culture and attraction points for their cities, and they have even evolved into showcases of modern democracy. In line with these developments, there is an increasing demand for the changes in the architecture and the sites of buildings in use in order to keep up with the complexity and volume of contemporary parliamentary activities. These changes are not only in the infrastructure of the complexes but also in the function and the meaning of their architecture. However, political symbolizations remain in tact; especially the use of architecture for political implications still continues. Compared to the past, one of the basic changes to be emphasized for contemporary parliament buildings is that they are more publicized because of the improved communication and media technologies, and populist policies of the governments. In theory, modern democracies are evolving into more open states. Even the terminology of the government is now spelled as "governance" as the ideal. The live broadcast of parliamentary sessions, the news, and the Internet access to information make those institutions more apparent. Consequently, the recent literature on the parliament buildings are on new parliament buildings with international reputation for their new interpretations on such concepts as accessibility, transparency, high-technology, ecological approaches and organic forms, such as the German Parliament, Scottish Parliament, Wales Parliament designed after the 1990s. However, market developers dominate the field of architecture even in the capital cities, producing attractive designs for offices, residences, shopping centers and hotel buildings with imposing scale. The skyline of cities, including those of the capitals, is changing with increased heights of office towers or even with new governmental buildings blocking or dwarfing parliament buildings, and as a conclusion easily recognizable parliament buildings of the past become less perceived and dominated. As a reaction to the rise of private icons, there is also a literature calling for a new type of monumentalism, exemplifying the above mentioned well-known parliament buildings.

The political, social and cultural context of the capital city of Ankara, the focus of analysis in this study, has been studied by many authors with an emphasis on the designation of the city as the capital and its consequent planning. The existing literature on the parliament buildings of the Turkish Republic, on the other hand, specifically focuses on the design and the construction period of the parliamentary complex in the governmental district,

symbolizing the unity and centrality of the government. Stylistic as well as spatial characteristics of all three houses of the Grand National Assembly are examined in the literature by architectural historians such as Alsaç (1976), Aslanoğlu (1986, 2000), Batur (1984, 1998, 2005), Sözen (1999), Yavuz (1998, 2001), and others. The third house is also studied in the context of the effects of foreign architects in the built environment in Turkey. Alpagut (1994), for example, focuses in her master thesis on the architect Clemens Holzmeister and the third house of the Turkish Grand National Assembly by giving a detailed description of the architectural, structural and material features of the project. In line with the studies focusing on the spatial medium as 'the parliament in the city' Cengizkan (1994, 2004) examines the parliament building in relation to the governmental district and the urban context of the capital city. Architectural historians such as Bozdoğan (2002), on the other hand, emphasize the construction of parliamentary spaces as an act of modernism and of searches for national identity. In a architectural critical point of view Güzer (1994) examines the dynamics around the international competition for the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

The existing literature on the Turkish Grand National Assembly principally aims to evaluate on the establishment of the parliamentary complex. Despite a few critical texts, such as the paper by Güzer (1995) on the selection process in architectural competitions for additional buildings, and the literature on the Public Relations Building and Assembly Mosque in the book by Çinici (1999), texts by Erzen and Balamir (1991, 1996) there is no research on the enlargement of the Assembly complex. Examining the spatial, stylistic as well as the urban characteristics of the Assembly buildings, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the parliamentary spaces in Turkey by analyzing not only the establishment of the complex as designed by Holzmeister, but also its enlargement after the Assembly started to use it in the 1960s until today. Thus, the major aim of the study is to understand how the Assembly complex was established in the context of nation building in Turkey, as well as how changing exigencies in contemporary political agendas have affected its architecture, and to what extent architecture has affected the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces. In the case of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex, this study examines the formation and the reshaping of parliamentary spaces under the pressure of a highly dynamic political reality, as it studies the relations between the competing interpretations of the record of the past and the significant changes in the commemorative locus associated with it.

1.2 Methodology of the Study

The study follows a two stepped inquiry in evaluating the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces of the Turkish Republic in an historical-interpretative approach.

Initially, the theoretical framework has been founded on theories on the relation of politics and space, political power and parliament in the capital. This framework is contextualized in the parliamentary spaces of Turkey, which are evaluated by examining the relation of the city and architecture, and of architecture and its components. The theoretical framework works for understanding the varying modes of political representation effective in the symbolic materiality of architecture of the parliament in a national capital and thus the urban context of the capital city as sites of power. The application of theory is an effort to differentiate between the political representation as originating ideals in the works of architecture, and the additions and changes in the design ideals as appears in the works of architecture after the buildings are started to be used and new political, economical and cultural situations emerge. In addition the findings in theoretical study will shape the terminology used in the later step, i.e. the historical framework. The "creation", "evolution" and "transformation" terms are defined for the original design and for architecture as produced by the initiatives and representing ideals of the nation state, which are envisaged and interpreted by the commissioned architect. "Transformation" in the function and meaning of parliamentary spaces points to changes and alterations in the works of architecture that are produced by different architects and actors that took part in the Grand National Assembly Complex. In evaluating changes and alterations introduced in the Assembly complex, the affects of the inner and external motivations that come from the inner organization of the assembly and also from the external sources such as the urban space of the capital city of Ankara, which also changes and grows in time, should be simultaneously in concern. Sometimes, as observed, changes and alterations in the spatial function or spatial meaning occur independently from the political, social and cultural agenda or from the capital city. These could be mere spatial exigencies or because of becoming old in the real sense, or coming from the *topos*. Therefore the study has two missions in understanding the internal and external motivations and the spatial function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces in the Assembly complex as both integral and independent subjects.

The historical framework examines the creation and the evolution of parliamentary spaces in Turkey by focusing on the works of architecture in the houses of the Turkish parliament, interpreting these along with contemporary political agendas. Although the late Ottoman parliamentary spaces are also studied to give a background in the history of parliamentary spaces of Turkey, the focus of analysis is the Republican period that starts from the 1920s and covers the developments until today. The turning points of especially the final and contemporary house of the Grand National Assembly are determined according to the visible changes in the physical environment of the parliamentary complex, not with strict reference to changes in the political system because, as Vale (1992) discusses, there can be time lags between the political decisions and the physical alterations. This historical framework will be operative in determining what evidences of public architecture match with the changes and developments in parliamentary and political context.

My primary sources in this examination are written and visual documents such as the requirement lists, and specification booklets of architectural competitions for the designs of buildings in the Parliamentary Complex; the decisions of the Presidency Council of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Bureau of the Republican Senate; and personal interviews with professionals and academicians who were engaged in the shaping of the physical environment of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex from the late years 1970s onwards.[1] I collected Assembly documents in the Archives and the Library of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. I reached the specification booklets for the competitions and jury reports in the Library of the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects. Among the secondary sources used are published jury reports; colloquium records; books and articles on Ankara and architecture in Turkey during the twentieth century; newspaper articles, Ankara plans, and drawings of the Assembly project by Holzmeister at the Republican Period Archive in the Documentation Center of the METU Faculty of Architecture.

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[1] These are as follows: competition winner and commissioned landscape architect Prof. Dr.Yüksel Öztan, commissioned architect Behruz Çinici and competition winner and commissioned architect Cem Açıkkol, competition winner architects Semra-Özcan Uygur, and jury member architects Prof. Dr. Yıldırım Yavuz and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abdi Güzer.

1.3 Chapter Layout

The study will be divided into three main chapters. Following the introduction, the second chapter will define the theoretical framework of the study by discussing the general characteristics of the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces of a nation state. In the first part of the second chapter, a basis for understanding the representations of power in the national capital and the parliament will be elaborated in relation to the emergence of a public realm, with a special emphasis on the motivating ideology of nationalism in the birth of nation-states. The study of urban forms provides a useful frame of reference in power relations. The layout of governmental buildings and parliaments in the physical environment of national capitals will be discussed. Architectural and urban context in/as the scene of power representations will be studied in terms of designating and designing capital cities and parliament buildings in a national capital.

In the second part of the chapter, the communicative aspect of the parliament building via its architecture and surrounding will be evaluated according to the expression of its functional space. The existential and transformational characteristics in design, evolution and transformation of the original design will be opened up. Representative aspect of the parliament building will be defined in four media as inner, external, shared (national) and supra-national spaces.

The third chapter will analyze the establishment of parliamentary spaces in Turkey. In the first part of the chapter late Ottoman parliamentary experience will initially be examined to understand the socio-political context of the late Ottoman parliamentary spaces in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital city, in order to evaluate the earlier experience on which that of the Turkish Republic later developed. The existential characteristics for the Turkish Grand National Assembly will be revealed in the second part of the chapter by comparing the contexts of the old and the new capital cities. Political decisions affecting the existence of its architecture are revealed. Between 1920 and 1928 are the foundation years of the Republic in the context of the city center of Ulus, and the Grand National Assembly in a political environment representative of the breaking off with the constitutional monarchy and the gaining of independence. Ulus is regarded as the first and spontaneous settlement of the political institutions and the parliament. The relations between the parliament and the people forwarded by the architecture and the city are examined in the Grand National Assembly and the Turkish Grand National Assembly buildings in Ulus. The beginnings of

1930s are the times when the representation of the nation state started to be felt in the physical environment of the capital city as well as a search for a new parliament building of Turkish Republic started. In this period the political aim of the founders of the Turkish Republic was creating the political center of the nation state as centralized and united by following the comprehensive planning approach in designing the new capital city (1932) and the parliament building of the new nation (1938).

For the Turkish parliamentary, the years between 1935 and 1960, before the move of the Assembly to the new city center have passed in-between two city centers, Ulus and Kızılay. Kızılay is the designed and designated center of the nation state. Although the ministries had gradually moved in the designed governmental district from 1927 till 1938, the Assembly stayed in the old city center until the beginning of the 1960s. Hence, two spatial nodes in Ankara were inhabited by the nation state, as the parliament building in Ulus and governmental buildings in Kızılay. Also for the parliamentary culture, it was a transition period in which the multi-party politics entered the parliamentary agenda.

The final part of this chapter focuses on the building of the third house of the Turkish parliament in Kızılay. The investigation will include the urban context with an emphasis on Ankara as a designated and designed capital of the young Turkish Republic; the architectural context in the search for a national identity in the international competition for Turkish Grand National Assembly; the personal identity of commissioned architect Clemens Holzmeister; and the development of a shared space depending on the functions and the meanings attributed to the parliament in the city by analysing the realization process of the original design of the Assembly project between 1937 and 1961. In the last section, the architectural presence of the third house of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the capital city of Ankara and in the components of its architecture is determined.

In the fourth chapter the transformational motivations and changing exigencies in the frame of the Turkish Grand National Assembly complex will be assessed. This section will focus on the period after the building started to be used in 1960, and will evaluate the changes in the Parliamentary Complex either by building on the original design or through transformations of the original design in the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces.

Starting from the 1960s the new parliamentary complex in Kızılay started to serve the politicians and people. However there were incomplete parts of the original design. The spatial and political exigencies forced the parliament to complete parts of the original design to make the complex work in full capacity. However the highly dynamic political context of the 1960s and the 1970s, and the change in economic priorities of governments did not ease the grounds for the application of unrealized parts of Holzmeister's project except for the Atatürk Monument and the landscape project of the Assembly Park. In addition to these, new spatial exigencies arose along with some changes in the parliamentary organs due to constitutional changes and the growth of the parliament became necessary due to the growth of the state bureaucracy and its population. The architectural response to these exigencies could not be given at the time due to a number of reasons. The realization of the Republican Senate Building project was one of the contemporary new projects that were abandoned due to the loss of the validity of the political value related to its architecture's existence in time. Some spatial exigencies could still be designed before the 1980s by building on the original project by Holzmeister; but most works remained to be realized only after the mid 1980s.

After the mid-1980s some of the parliamentary spaces of the original design were renewed and new buildings were added in the parliamentary complex as a result of the political decisions and situations. Some of these political decisions had been taken in the previous years but could only be realized after the 1980s when the conditions became appropriate. In the process of spatial production it is clear that the architectural product as the parliament building is a national symbol. However in an assembly complex which is growing in the number of built elements, it is also important to decide on what happened to the symbol, or infusion of national symbolism. In this case, the Turkish Grand National Assembly complex as idealized and designed has become a symbol of the nation state. Then, it is significant to evaluate whether the additional buildings favored the existing ideal or acted against it from the aspects of using the site, connecting with the capital city, use of indoor spaces and etc.

In conclusion, the last chapter will reflect upon the continuities in the existential characteristics in creating a national symbol building as well as the discontinuities in the function and the meaning of the parliamentary spaces as shaped with the transformational motivations in the capital city and in the components of architecture of the parliament.

CHAPTER 2

PARLIAMENTARY SPACES OF A NATION STATE

Everybody is susceptible to symbols. Our period is no exception. But those who govern must know that spectacles, which will lead the people back to a neglected community life, must be re-incorporated into civic centers, those very centers which our mechanized civilization has always regarded as unessential. Not haphazard world's fairs, which in their present form have lost their old significance, but newly created civic centers should be the site for collective emotional events, where the people play as important a role as the spectacle itself, and where a unity of the architectural background, the people and the symbols conveyed by the spectacles will arise.

Giedion, S. (1984)

2.1 The Parliament in a National Capital

This section concentrates on the representations of the nation state in two spatial media: the capital city and the parliament. In an historical account the political power was firstly represented in the residences of the royal people - the palace was the residence, and then the residences were separated from the climate of political power giving way to palaces as the centers of political power. Following the dissolution of feudal states, the center of political power became the capital city and in these means the modern city became the container of the sovereign state.

One of the fundamental properties of the spirit of the twentieth century is crystallized on the spread of aspiration for independence throughout the world. As emphasized by many authors as Kili (1981: 1-2) in the beginning of 1980's the states existent with national territories and flags have exceeded the number of 150. This emancipation act resulted from the will to be a state in addition and basically originated from the nationalism movement started with the French Revolution and spread around the world. On the other

side it also grew as a reaction to colonialism and elimination of distinctive personalities, and also because of the wills for getting away from the situations of being left aside undeveloped, uncivilized, colonized and catching up with "them" in progression and gaining personality. As Kili (1981: 3) emphasized the first and outmost step for gaining independence is political independence. And thus the most important problem of the societies which refrained from being colonized and gained political independence are issues of "Unity", "Authority" and "Equality". In this respect progression for the state and the nation is an integral concept.

The centralization of state was achieved with a new emphasis on political integration under the concept of "nation" giving emphasis on national identity. The political integration abstracted to "nation" is solidified in the physical reality of national capitals. In this respect, the capital city is the crystallization of the ideals and symbols of the national state and its legitimacy whereby the representation of the nation state is embodied in the physical environment. In such representation, the parliament buildings of nation states are imposed to direct communication and collaboration of the power relations of the nation state. The parliament represents the legislative power of the nation state. As stated by Uluğ (2000: 7) "the power, from a view of legislation, is described as the wills that keep and use the power in the hands of the government." And the architecture of the parliament is directly related to the power relations of the nation state.

According to Sutcliffe (2006: ix), capital cities exist not by virtue of their own size or economic importance, but because of their relationship to a nation state. The nation state, in its current form, has emerged slowly since the later middle ages as the most common and effective solution to the government of the most modernized areas of the world. The relationship of capital city to a nation state implies both practical and symbolic concerns. Symbolically it is a shared space for the nation promoting national unity and identity, a commemorative site in which the power and prestige of the government is anchored and it is the heart and brain of the nation. Practically capital city defines where the administrators of the nation resides, functions and rules from.

The existence of the capital city thus depends on its functional and expressional aspects in relation to nation state. And its manipulation via urban planning and architecture is one of the most important issues for national governments since the birth of parliamentary states,

from empires to nations, for a variety of reasons. Vale (1992: 59) describes one of the reasons as follows:

> Rulers in every capital city express power and promote national identity through the design and construction of government buildings and capitol districts.

Capital cities are national symbols. Cerulo (1995: 15-33) argues that national symbols work for promoting national identity by "crystallizing national identity", "motivating bonds between citizens", "isolating instances", "motivating patriotic action", "honoring the efforts of a nation's citizens", "legitimating authority", and "aiding popular public protest." However Baumgartner (1984) sees the last component of national symbols, i.e. aiding public protest, as a social contract from below. This coincides with the dialectical use of national symbols, for and against. As from above, it can be argued that the nation state promotes national identity via effective use of national symbols. However the intricate section of conceiving national capitals or parliament complexes as national symbols or as containers of national symbols is in their ability to strengthen the people's cognitions with socially reinforced perceptions. For Edelman (1995: 74), condensation of such symbolism is possible by objectifying beliefs in some entity, visible or imagined. For Vale (1992: 47), "visible symbols of national identity take many forms." And from the point of enclosure, "works of architecture and acts of urban design assume a peculiar place in this assemblage of national symbols."

Kışlalı defines the goal of *nationalism* as at first to create and sustain the nation state in Western Europe where it was generated. Following its birth, it has been used in a variety of countries first as a tool to gain independency and than as a progressive ideology. As previously stated also by Oran (1997), for Kışlalı (2006: 135), nationalism, for the countries lacking a nation-state as in Italy and Germany, acts as a catalyst for the act of unity, whereas for Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovenian, Finnish, Greek or Bulgarian nationalism carried a different meaning for the act of separation. Again as national symbols do, the ideology itself works dialectically for different nations.

As stated above, *nationalism* has become a tool for gaining independency and as a progressive ideology. Independency means for people to break away from being subjects of an old regime and to become sovereign citizens of a modern society. And this drastically diffused to the fields of representation for new nation states especially in their efforts to build their political centers, in this study, capital cities and parliament buildings.

Because, Vale (1992: 3) argues, "government buildings are an attempt to build governments and to support specific regimes." The definition of "new nation" is more or less in every nationalized country has been expressed with architecture, planning, art, and monuments. For French experience whose Republic developed through revolutionary process following the age of enlightenment, Etlin (1994: 29) states:

> With the coming of the Revolution, it became even more imperative in the contemporary mind to realize the space of magnificence, of hygiene, of clarity, and of emulation. Each was deemed especially worthy of the new nation. And the *Ancien Régime* was faulted for not having achieved the reforms in these fields that enlightened thought had been demanding. At the same time, there arose an understanding of still another type of symbolic space, a space of revolution. Paris, in particular, and France, in general, required *not only a new architecture but also a new type of space that incarnated the values of the revolution and of the new republic*. The mental construct of the city acquired still another layer of symbolic meaning.

The realization of the "space of magnificence", of "hygiene", of "clarity" and of "emulation" in the contemporary mind was found very necessary for the justification of a new nation in physical reality. The term liberty, as opposed to the oppression of people, was represented by sometimes proposing a new space instead of the old soiled by the emblems of the former regime and sometimes by a ritual transformation that would also result with the renaming of the place. Similarly, for new nations that emerged after the nationalist movement, progressive ideology was represented by sometimes proposing a new capital city or a new government building instead of the old soiled by the emblems of the former regime and sometimes by re-evaluating or transforming the physical environment by planning, design, architecture and ritual transformation.

In parallel, Lefebvre argues that each regime displays its ideology on the urban context. Because regimes tend to legitimate their authorities, firstly, at the physical environment: the capital city and the political center. Political regimes need to solidify their ideology firstly in the capital city and in symbolic buildings for the nation such as the palaces, parliament buildings or national assembly buildings. As for the place of the government within the capital city, Kostof (1992: 78) states that "the context involves questions of continuity, legitimacy, balance of power, and system of government." He states that "governments that want to be seen as radical or revolutionary" will change "the official site of the *ancien régime*." Or else:

> Regimes that seek to convey the reassurance of stability, of total control, of the historical dimension of their country despite changes of governmental structures, will occupy the main setting of the government they superseded.

So to speak, the site selection of capital cities is a political decision including issues such as legitimacy of their authority and continuity of their specific regime. The approach of the regime towards the site selection for the capital city may be evolutionary/conservative or revolutionary/transformative. In general capital cities of modern states are conceived as old and new capitals. Vale further categorizes them into "evolved", "evolved and renewed" and "designed" capital cities.

The nineteenth century is marked as the beginning of parliamentary states as nations established representative governments and thus their parliaments from then onwards. For Kostof (1992: 80), there are two basic options for these new installations in the city. One of them is to group all governmental buildings in one area as in London, and the other is a scattered layout of these buildings all over the town as in Paris or Rome. In his view, "the less unified landscape of government is usually the result of a sudden decision to elevate an older town to the rank of the capital, as in Rome." Power is represented in the urban spaces of the capital city, both especially in and around the political center. The administrative compound is distributed to the capital city via governmental districts, building complexes, single buildings, boulevards, squares and public arts, etc. At each exposition of such parliamentary spaces, the citizen is confronted with national symbolization. Sometimes it is in the center of the city, sometimes it resides at the edge, and sometimes it is scattered all around the city. In such an environment, the capital city acts like an urban landscape for the governmental buildings scattered all around, pushed aside or unified in a center.

The capital cities can be categorized in this respect. The place of the parliament building in the capital city can change according to the distinction made by many scholars as designed capital cities and old (or evolved as in Vale) capital cities. In old capitals such as London and Paris the location of the parliament is not necessarily be together with governmental buildings. However, as Vale (1992: 17) discusses, "most European capital cities do not have a single, readily identifiable architectural center; they are polycentric, with a great multi-formity of nodes, both sacred and secular." He explains that architectural power sharing in London is exemplified with two nodes such as "the nineteenth century Houses of Parliament together with the Palace of Westminster and

Whitehall" and "Buckingham Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Tower of London." The power sharing in the capital city can be observed in the architecture of the parliament as well. The power sharing and division of forces may be effective in the unified or scattered layout of governmental buildings. In addition to Vale statement on the capital city of London has two central nodes, the architecture of the Houses of the Parliament, Westminster has also two entrances, one is the street entry and the other is the royal entry opening to the royal quarters and then to the Chamber of Lords. That means power sharing the context of the capital city may also exist in the architecture of the parliament.
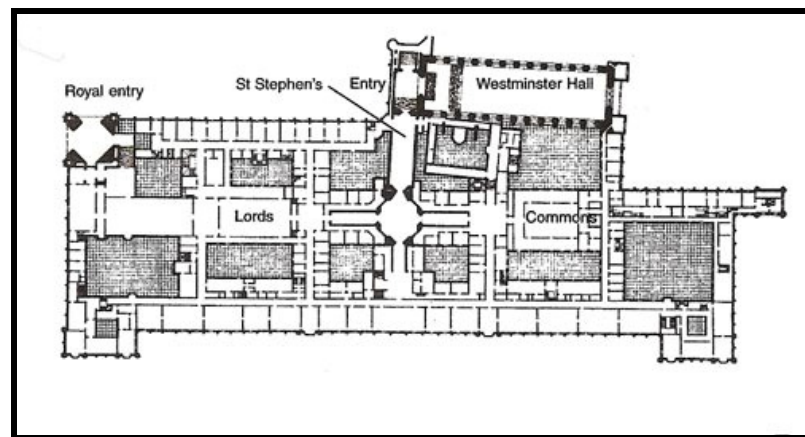
Figure 2. 1 Houses of Parliament, Westminster; Royal Entry, St Stephen's Entry
(Dovey; 1999: 88)
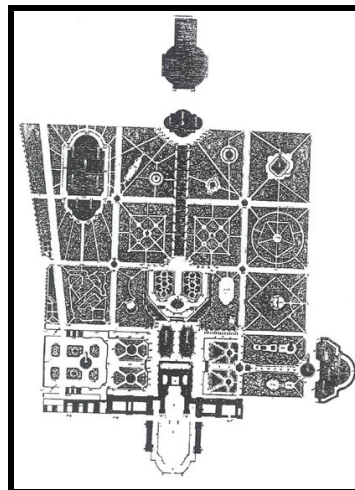
Figure 2. 2 The geometric configuration of *Versailles*
(Aben&Saskia; 1999: 96)

In the period of the birth of the nation state, the monumentality of the palace architecture or its grandeur was also effective in defining an architecture for its "other", i.e. the nation state. Vale states that "designed capital city is descended from colonially imposed cities of the past; its lineage may be traced to another important typology - the palace and its gardens." This is for him as a result of the fact that for centuries the large-scale urban projects were under either the patronage of the court or the church. The political power horizontally extended to landscape became publicized. In the sixteenth century the palace extended across the city and the countryside. Although the "royal residence cities" diminished, the baroque order derived there became effective in the fabric of European capitals. Vale (1992) explains the common repertoire for the European capital city as such:

> In Paris, Madrid, Vienna, and Berlin, in Wren's unexecuted plan for London after the great fire, and most audaciously, in St. Petersburg, grand processional axes, long, imposing facades, enormous squares, and converging diagonals provided a common repertoire for the European capital city.

As stated by Vale (1992: 43), from the second half of the sixteenth century, the development of the European city was determined by two strands, Baroque and Classicism. He explains the use of a common repertoire for the European capital city in the design of Washington as such:

> In the inspired work of Major Pierre L'Enfant, these tools of baroque order were combined with primal symbolism of the capital and applied in the service of democracy; the world gained its first post-colonial capital, Washington D.C.

After the establishment of Washington, many countries applied the same format in forwarding new capitals for the same goals of symbolization such as "a new country", "legitimacy of government" and "constructing a sense of national identity." Usually designed capitals tend to have designed governmental districts. When designing a new capital, its political center is also designed. For Vale (1992: 42),

> Any time capitals are designed as well as designated, political will is underscored with a physical plan, designed according to the priorities of those who hold power. Capital city design involves not only a new center of government, but also a new container in which to locate this center.

According to Tankut (1992: 35-38), designing a capital in a short time and under a planning discipline is a concept of the 20th century. For newly designed national capitals,

there are four main examples until today, which are Canberra, Ankara, Brasilia and Islamabad. These four have differences according to their history, geographical conditions and the political systems they represent, the world view they sympathize with and the consequent capital images. The most striking common property of these four capitals, as Tankut states, is that they are a product of a political decision and attitude. In this respect, she accepts that capitalization should be perceived at first as a political act. The expectations from the capital in these examples are *creating a new symbol for the new political system*, in order to *realize socio-political concepts such as independence, national unity, nationalization and modernization*. Tankut believes that, whatever the size is, a national center has to overcome the central functions besides exhibiting a capital image. This necessity, for her, implies "a planned development, affective architectural representation and environmental standards to a good degree".

Vale (1992: 43) describes that in Ancient Greece and Rome there was the idea of a designed city. In those examples "cities were planned according to *established principles* and were *intended as architectural statements* about the superior civilization at the center of an empire." Likewise the intentions of the administrators of the nation state are making power visible using modern planning principles and exhibit progress in terms of an improved architecture. In designed capital cities one can detect the political aim of creating a new symbol for the new political system more accurate than in evolved capitals, because generally the governmental buildings are built together and views from the city and outdoor spaces between the built structures are thought accordingly. A total understanding of planning shapes the capital city so as to emphasize the importance and significance of governmental buildings. In most of the designed capitals the presence of the governmental district is made clear by planning and architectural concepts such as directionality, scale, monumentality, elevation, hierarchy, centrality, cross axes, harmony, balance, repetition, order, unity, and symmetry. In order to emphasize the presence of governmental buildings, certain urban and architectural elements are implemented such as monumental axes, boulevards, squares, places, vista points, landmark buildings, etc. In monarchies, ruler's meeting with people was in fact a way of legitimization of ruler's power over people and the stability of regime. Kostof (1992: 75) comments on the palace grounds in west and non-western societies as such:

> Within this complicated landscape, the ruler's residence was set apart from the functional and bureaucratic spaces of the palace grounds. ... The meeting ground of ruler and people is a critical aspect of the sovereign district. It is usually a large

public space where crowds can gather to hear the ruler address them in person or to petition him. The outermost gate of the palace is the place of direct popular appeal in Islamic capitals, such as the Ali Qapu in Shah Abbas's Isfahan, or the gate of Justice at the Alhambra.

The meeting grounds of nation states and people, i.e. the parliament buildings, the gathering spaces or civic forums in the capital cities, continued to be important for legitimization of power of the nation-state by giving emphasis on unity, collectivity and national identity. In dictatorships, masses gathered together again for unity under a number of iconographies of which the representations of the personality of charismatic leader were dominant. In these instances masses congest the squares or parade grounds to promote an impressive architectural ensemble symbolizing the permanence and grandeur of the dictatorship. The political democracies of nation-states also accepted parliament squares, republic parks, and outdoor spaces of the governmental buildings as civic spaces where the political power is observed and celebrated and also political action is exercised, such as public protests or public speeches. Governments who saw public protest as a threat to the legitimacy of their power decreased or prevented accessibility in the governmental buildings and gathering spaces around with a number of restrictive components like fences, walls, restricted access under police or military surveillance, etc. The architectural and urban product which is designed under the sponsorship of such conservative governments proves inaccessibility in the governmental district.

The shared space of the state buildings with the city enabling public encounter throughout time are open spaces with symbolic meanings changing according to the governing patterns from city-states to feudality, from monarchies to nation-states and the dictatorships and modern democracies. These terms used for public and civic spaces such as agora, forum, square, place, plazza, public parks, hippodromes or stadiums, and public parks functioned in the city let public encounter.
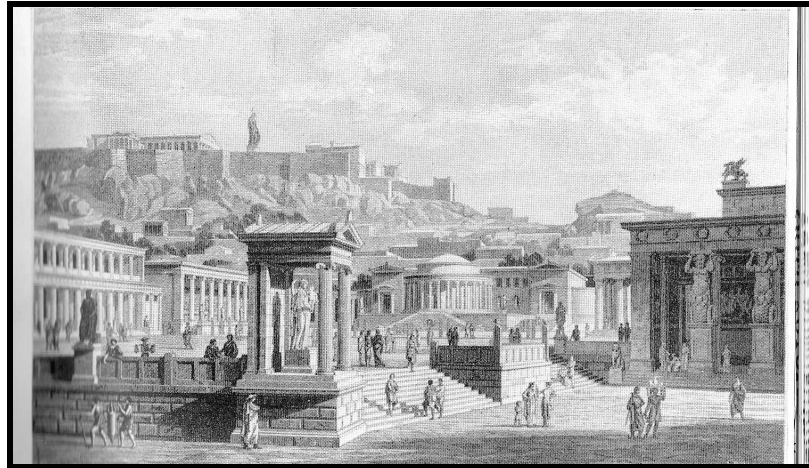
Figure 2. 3 The Agora
(Sitte; 1965: 110)

Kostof (1992: 153) made an historical account of civic centers on the argument that "if civic center signifies communal self-government, then its claim to universality in a history of squares would dwindle." And he counts "civic center square as a place for public business and trappings of power." For him in places where the square is absent, generally either another form functions instead such as a "high street" or a colonnaded avenue. Greek Agora for Kostof meant a necessary urban element "to express a community's collective power, where the laws carved in stone and exposed to public." Again for Greek commanders *provisional agora* was described as a designated agora "to keep up troop's morale and remind them their Greekness." Designation of agora, gymnasium and theater in cities were functional in spreading Hellenic culture in Central Asia. However the degeneration of agora is marked with the degeneration of the autonomy of the polis. Giving reference to Martin, Kostof (1992:154) states blocking of old agora open to all traffic with gates and porticos symbolized a withdrawal of collective political power. Kostof saw the idea of forum in Roman Republic the same as in Greek, where the commercial activities were subsidiary to civic and religious. The administration of justice was a central element with the presence of a basilica as "a court of law" in forum. Forum was a space for all kinds of citizenry speech and public announcements. However the Roman emperors appropriated forum as "an open museum of the city's memories, triumphs and glories" with statues of the rulers and naming of the place after the rulers. The collective memories of community again narrowed down. In examples of Middle Ages Kostof detected a split between religious and civic centers where cathedral and town hall squares became neighboring disparate entities. Intermingling possession of civic

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center became obvious after the 14th century where it was contested between "commune and signori". This time royal dynastic families took the right to use space. Kostof states that squares became "magnificent frames for the princely statue" in great capitals of Europe for two hundred years and cleared the essence of "citizenry governing itself." Finally, for constitutional monarchies and liberal states, the central forces of the civic center spread to new generated squares for new bureaucracy and cultural institutions such as the parliament, justice buildings, university, theater, opera, concert hall, academies and art buildings, as in Vienna's *Ringstrasse* (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2. 4 Vienna: Parliament Building, Rathaus, Votive Church,
University, Burgtheater (Sitte; 1965: 110)

The spreading of squares all over the town made the civic center lose its centrifugal forces. As far as it is understood from the historical account of the western type civic centers in Kostof, one can conclude civic centers are imposed on some architectural tactics of "segregation, domination and appropriation" according to specific regimes. The historical account proves that physical environment as evolving in history is also subject to "change of hands" between the contesting political powers. However, emerging practices of representations of democracy and collectivity in spatial structure of political centers as capital cities and parliaments may reflect an optimistic opening for open civic spaces. A significant example is the lawn area in front of the Reichstag building in Berlin, which is an "evolved and renewed capital" where German people can have the possible smallest distance to their parliament in physical. (Figure.2.5) However apart from representation of democracy, it should be noted that this representation may indicate a new type of national identity studied to reunite the country and to erase bad reputations in

supra-national arena. Another example is the open outdoor space between the ministries on the monumental axis in Costa's planning of Brasilia, a designed capital city of twentieth century for a new national identity to escape from a Portuguese impact in history (Figure.2.6). In most of the planned civic spaces for the nations in and around the political centers of capital cities, the generating idea may or not be a civic center in its sense. One can draw parallels between the improvement ideology of nationalism represented with modern, hygienic, emulated spaces of revolution and the progressive ideology generated in civic spaces of nations with open and accessible democracy in liberalism.

Figure 2. 5 Lawn area in front of the German parliament

The short distance between the people and the rulers may prove grounds for public encounter with the power structures and imply visibility and democracy; however, there are also strategic issues in the site selection and spatial arrangement of capital cities. According to Kostof (1992: 75),

> There are two primary impulses that motivate the sovereign district: the dignity of the ruler, and his safety. ... The ruler's safety is not a merely a personal matter, but a matter of state. It ensures the stability of a regime, and the orderly transfer of power. The threat to this safety is seen to come both from within the city and from without, depending on the popularity of the ruler.

For him the dignity of the ruler is mostly represented in the monumental architecture. And the safety regulations impose the space to be over scale and exclusive. Apart from making power visible or representing the dignity of the nation state, it is sure that the capital city design involves the issue of safety.

Figure 2. 6 Ministries on the Monumental Axis
(Fabio Rodrigues Pozzebom, *Agencia* Brazil)

So far it is discussed that the capital city and the parliament in a national capital are national symbols and in parallel with Vale (1992), works of architecture and acts of urban design are accepted as having a privileged place in the "assemblage of national symbols." It is accepted that the goal of nationalism to create and sustain nation state is utilized as a tool for gaining independency and providing progress, in the terminology of Kışlalı. It is also stated that building governmental buildings are indeed efforts for building governments and supporting regimes, as discussed in Vale. In Lefebvre's terminology, it is accepted that each regime displays its ideology on the urban context. And it is deduced from Kostof that urban context of political power in capital city involves questions of "continuity", "legitimacy", "balance of power" and "system of government".

In relation with those issues, some categorical information is reflected from previous studies. The national capitals are old and new in general. They are also evolved, evolved and renewed, and designed according to Vale. The spatial layout of governmental buildings may be scattered all around as in capitals evolved in old cities, pushed aside or unified in a center. Designed capitals tend to have governmental districts or centers. For Tankut in designed capitals of the twentieth century there is a political aim for the creation of a new spatial symbol for the new government. As discussed in Vale, there is a common repertoire of urban design in European capitals that is used internationally for the urban planning of emerging national capitals. In these new capitals meeting grounds of rulers and people are also created to make power visible and legitimate, which is a historical practice in urban environment. From agoras to civic squares the civic center is subject to "change offs" between the ruler and the ruled. The use of civic spaces in capital city

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planning and designs may work for creating and sustaining national identity apart from its originating ideas of self-governed communities. The short distance between the elected and the citizens may or may not prove the degree of self-government. Hence site selection and design of capital cities involve strategic issues such as safety of the government.

Until this section the planning and design of capital cities and parliament complexes are discussed from the point of national identity with the emphasis on the representation of the nation state by these spatial constructions. Vale (1992: 48) proposes that the quest for national identity is a product of a search for not only "national" but also "sub-national", "personal" and "supranational" identities. In every symbolization process inevitably there are receivers, without whom symbolization is meaningless. For that Edelman (1995: 74-75) states:

> The space itself does not convey meaning as if it were a simple code. It serves, rather, as an objectification of whatever shared meaning a particular group of people need to reinforce in each other, so that meanings for groups with conflicting interests are frequently dialectical.

For Bourdieu (2001), receiving the message of the symbol is an issue of cultural capital. In his view not only the presence of receivers but also the ability of the receiver to get the intended message matters. Anyone who does not have the cultural capital can not get the taste or the message. The clearness of the message is also an important concern for effective receiving. This is an issue of designing. Symbols are created and designed. As Cerulo (1995) discussed, a research on the degree of complexity of symbols by focusing on national flags has proved that the most homogenous the nation is, there is the most abstraction with the use of clear and simple codes. But nations with a variety of sub-national groups tend to bring more complexity to their symbols and use literal codifications. That means the symbolization of nations with sub-nationalities has to inquire a variety of national identities.

According to Czaplika (2004: 182), "the capital city is burdened with the need to carry the whole history of the nation, which is by definition translocal[2] and idealizing so that

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2 "Translocal spaces are hence constituted by those technologies and infrastructures which allow peoples and cultures to cross great distances and to transcend the boundaries of closed, territorial community. Translocality does not refer simply to a 'place,' nor does it denote a collectivity of places. Rather it is an abstract (yet daily manifest) space occupied by the sum of linkages and connections between places (media, travel, labour,

capitals tend toward the symbolic and legendary types of representation." The deeds of the nation state contain a space in the collective memory of the people. Yael (2004: 223) describes the negotiation and transformation of a nation's collective memory as such:

> Hence, significant social and political changes in the nation's life inevitably involve the negotiation and transformation of its collective memory. Under the pressure of a changing political landscape, existing commemorative forms may decline or be subject to reinterpretation, and new commemorative forms may emerge and threaten to take their place.

The urban space, especially places and squares stamped with older forms of authority, is open to attacks from new authorities. The character of the place also transforms due to changes in the ideologies of the state providing a function and meaning to urban space. One such example is the Königsplatz in München, Germany. King Ludwig I envisaged a *platz* (place) where he could accomplish his goals on turning Munich into a new Athens. Athens symbolized idealization of a civilization that had been permanent via its philosophy, democracy, arts, and sports, and public architecture of agora, library, academy, assembly, gymnasium, etc. It was a civilization that had temples lasting for centuries. In an instance of dissolution period for the empire, the King expected from the symbolization of Athens to promote the permanency of his regime. He had Karl von Fischer design this square as a "Forum of Art". Actually the forum is implemented in the period of the Roman Empire, as it was discussed previously, as a "museum of city memories". There were three classical buildings eventually there, the *Propylaeum* (a gateway), a *Glyptothek* (a collection of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture) and the *Antikensammlungen* (an antiquities museum).

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import/export, etc.). The notion of locality is included within the term in order to suggest a situatedness, but a situatedness which is never static. Translocality can be theorised as a mode, one which pertains not to how peoples and cultures exist in places, but rather how they move through them." As quoted from Mandaville (2000) in Czaplika (2004).
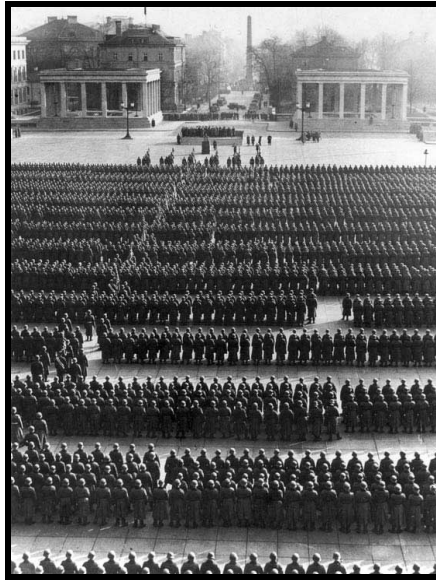
Figure 2. 7 Königsplazt, 1938
(Stadtarchiv München, Historisches Bildarchiv)

After years this square was appropriated by the Nationalist Socialists and from 1933 to 1935 it became the *Akropolis Germaniae*, the capital of the movement of the National Socialists. Architects Paul Ludwig Troost[3] and Leonhard Gall were responsible for the changes made to the *Königsplatz*. Grassy areas were covered with granite and the neo-classical buildings were used for large Nazi rallies. (Figure.2.7)Trees were removed and the buildings took on different functions. One housed the offices of the National Socialist Workers' Party of Germany while another was known as "The Führer's Building." Additional buildings, known as the Temples of Honor, were eventually blown up after the war to symbolize the fall of the Nazi party. The renovation project of the Königsplatz was completed in 1988, and the square was restored to its original grandeur together with the surrounding buildings. It is now a contemplation space for walkers, visitors and citizens with the old sculpture garden and the hundreds of artifacts at the *Antikensammlungen*, known for its collection of 650 Greek vases, a collection originally started by King Ludwig I. According to Yael (2004: 223),

> The sanctification of time and space constitutes an important dimension in the process of constructing a national memory. The memory of certain historical events, which assume the symbolic significance of turning points in the nation's past, may be anchored in a variety of commemorative sites; these can be temporal

commemorative loci, such as the place where an event took place or a monument erected in the memory of that event.

However, Sonne (2003: 29) states, "while many historical studies and general works discuss architecture as an expression of political ambitions and values, few authors have focused explicitly on cities as means of expressing political values." In his respect he finds two works significant. One of them is *Abedlandische Stadtbaukunst* by Braunfels, "interpreting the city primarily as a product of political conditions and decisions", and the other is *Architecture, Power and National Identity* by Vale that studies "the political aims pursued in specific twentieth century capitals especially in their capitol complexes". What Sonne gets from these two different oriented works is that urban forms can be interpreted after the fact as unintentional expressions of political situations or they can be planned from the outset as intentional expressions of political values." That is, they can be either a "symptom" of conditions, or a "symbol" of aims. And "nearly all urban forms can be understood as symptoms of political conditions or events, while few are conceived as symbols." For Sonne symptoms and symbols are not separate elements in a city: they are often closely intertwined. In order to define something as a symbol, one needs something a priori, or a proto-form that can be called as a "symptom", so to speak, "a characteristic sign or indication of the existence of something else". This is valid for Sonne's statement that "a specific form becomes 'charged' with a specific political meaning only by virtue of being employed in a specific political context; subsequently, it functions as a symbol of that meaning." According to Sonne (2003: 30), "A city's political iconography therefore develops in two stages: in the first, specific political systems are allocated to the urban forms they employ, and in the second, these urban forms and the political connotation associated with them can be used as deliberate symbols."

2.2 Architecture of the Parliament

In the previous section the power representations of the nation state in two media, the capital city and the parliament, are assessed. In this section parliamentary spaces will be evaluated in detail with reference to the function and the meaning of the parliament - as of designed and evolved parliamentary complexes. In this framing it is suggested that parliament buildings represent the nation state via expressional aspects of its functional space.

Moore (1996: 4) sees public architecture as a medium containing information about social relations associated with power. He states that "the political process cross-cuts social units of different scales, although different political concerns and configurations are associated with different groups. The problem is how to discover architectural evidence for such different configurations of power." For him, the creation of social units ranged from families to empires, but the political process was common to all of them once they decided to build public constructions. Similarly, Kuper (1972: 421) states that:

> The process of social interaction may be expressed empirically through disputes over or manipulations of sites. It does not matter whether the site be a cattle byre, a house of parliament, a public hall, or even a university. Though the process is similar, the range of people and groups affected may vary from a few individuals to an entire nation.

Vale discusses the quest for national identity in the symbolism of a designed capital or capitol as a product of the search for "subnational", "personal" and supranational identity". For Vale (1992: 49) "the national identity communicated through the production of a parliament usually highlights the identity of a dominant group within a plural society. The search for national identity in parliamentary architecture is, therefore, closely related to the political structure of the state." And any new parliament "should therefore be viewed in the context of that which preceded it, especially in relation to past capitol buildings and past capital cities." The personal identity in Vale's categorization belongs to both the designer and the sponsoring politicians. In designing a parliament building from scratch generally there is a dominant political aim of power sponsoring the regime. Understanding the personal identity of the designer is "examination of architectural culture, the ways that a building is a product of the education, office practice, and aspirations of its designers. And lastly "parliament buildings and new capital cities are intended as a demonstration of

a developing country's ability to equal the West on its own terms." Moreover the goal in supra-national level is "identity in the eyes of an international audience." This may result a confirmation of "stereotype".

Vale (1992: 55) suggests that "the infusion of national symbolism into capital cities and capitol districts occurs over a long time of period. Though there is some grand master plan, this symbolism will inevitably undergo marked alteration during the long course of the city's growth and development." In the overall sense "the fabrication of national meanings and the symbolic consolidation of political power occur in a great variety ways, at variable rates and always subject to the vicissitudes of public opinion." Along with his suggestions the physical environment of the nationalism symbolism is continuously transforming because of "the diversity of personal and group reactions to government sponsored acts."

The change offs between governments and changes in the political system may produce new political situations, and political decisions are made that are reflected in the physical environment of parliament buildings. However the commemorative locus associated with the architecture of the parliament becomes very important when combining the old and the new; those attempts of the governing favoring the new can result uproars from another group focusing on old and historical buildings. And the decision made reflects the attitude of the new governments towards the symbolism of the government sponsored acts.

I would argue that representative aspect of the parliament building should be relevant for four media: inner (personal), external (personal), shared (national), and supra-national spaces. What the politician commissioned the architect tells about the identity of the power, i.e. about the symbol of the regime. How the architect implemented his idea, on the other hand, provides a personal identity in correspondence to contemporary architectural tendencies. Assembly members as elected and the assembly organization as employee would also develop a possession or a personal identity for the space. The visitors of the parliament or the citizens would develop a shared national identity via the presence of the parliament in the city, promising the sustainment of the representative regime. In general, people would develop from shared space of the parliament a civic identity and a feeling of public possession as a result of any public encounters with the assembly building, such as in and around the building, from and within the city, in media, on television, in books or postcards, etc. During these encounters, how they perceive the parliament is an outcome

of the representative aspect of national identity imposed in its architecture. Sonne (2003: 44) puts forward the meaning of a form as such;

> The meaning of a form is a product of the producers' intentions (the statement that clients and architects want to make) and the recipients' opinions (that which critics, inhabitants and visitors understand). The interplay of producers and recipients creates the meaning of the product (the meaning of the building or the city). The history of the forms employed for the product (their historical meaning) plays a role only inasmuch as it is known to producers or recipients and utilized as an argument. The product itself is not an active agent; rather-figuratively speaking-it is only ever awakened to life through its users. If historians wish to decipher the meaning of a product, they must first determine the positions of the participating actors.

In the design process of the parliament there are important actors such as the architect and the sponsoring regime. In the construction process of the parliament building, the state's building policy is one of the determinant factors in shaping the physical environment. In the use and evolution process of the parliament, which is a long time of period, there are actors such as the architect, the commissioning client as the elected, technocrats, bureaucrats (employee) and electors. However the conflicts between the central and local administrations in physical environment turn the shared space of the parliament building into a place for negotiation.

Parliamentary culture evolves. Turan (1994: 103) sees representative legislatures as transformations of a traditional institution by a set of social and economic developments and he states that "the current status is the end product of an evolutionary process." Hence, expressional aspects of the field of architecture are also evolving due to shifts in architectural paradigm. A specific case in the history of parliamentary spaces does not necessarily follow the continuities and the discontinuities of the spirits of the age. That means, each case is unique for understanding how the accumulation of knowledge generated from the timely aspects of socio-political relations determining the parliamentary culture. In fact how these knowledge is transmitted to present and future with the architectural element and the built urban environment does matter. For Lasswell (1979: vii),

> Our present problem is to consider the complex interplay between the material and symbolic. The physical changes introduced for political purposes by architects, planners and engineers are guided with the subjectivities-the perspectives of designers. A complete structure influences both the symbolic outlook and behavioral activities of the people who adapt to its existence.

"The complex interplay between the material and symbolic", as quoted above, is reflecting the state of art of the complexity in the evaluation of the parliament architecture of the nation-state. Only after there is a political aim to create and sustain the national state with a designed capital city and parliamentary complex, urban forms and the political connotation associated with them can be used as deliberate symbols. In order to make an evaluation on the function and the meaning of the parliament architecture occupied for a certain period, we need to define a framework for learning from its architecture that has evolved and transformed in time. Time defines here a "before" and "after" relationship for each episode when an intervention is made into the structure. Hence, for the architecture of the parliament, there is an "existent situation" upon which the new intervenes and transforms it. Existence is about a situation, whereas the transformation is a changed existence. Therefore in this study, the communicative aspect, "the shared space" of the meaning and the function of the parliament in terms of the expressional aspects of its functional space will be revealed within its existential characteristics. For a post-design evaluation of "shared space" of the architecture in use, new exigencies and transformational motivations should be revealed in the evolution of its architecture.

Existential characteristics can be defined as everything related to the spatial existence of the parliament. In a way, for the designer, it is an issue of gathering data as requirements and constraints of the context during the planning phase. For the politician or the political power, it is rather an intentional expression of a political value or an unintentional expression of a political situation or decision, i.e. the political aim. In terms of the landscape, it may imply "coming from *topos*"; geomorphology, existing built environment and site requirements: such as topography, sun direction, climate, etc. In terms of architectural design, the existing architectural understanding in the design and application of civic architecture and more specifically parliament buildings could define the architectural vocabulary. In terms of the field of politics, these imply the political motivations to build a capital city or a parliament building. It is also related to the attitude of the new government towards the products of the former. Specific site, specifics in architecture and political aims, decisions and situations all together define the existing context of the parliament building or complex to be built. And for every past time's production, one can conclude that it is an existential motivation for the new production, for and against its existence.

Transformational motivations that are influential on the characteristics of transformation include the inner and external motivations emerged after the building starts to be used by the people. First of all, inner motivations occur from an internal source. Internal sources can be political power as elected, and organizational power as assembly bureaucracy. For example, it may imply a change in the general understanding of parliamentary space defined by shifting terms in theory and application of democracy and government such as social democracy-liberal democracy, government-governance, and one party politics-multi-party politics, etc. The internal motivations cause a field of negotiation between the political power as the elected and the bureaucratic power as the assembly organization. The elected or representatives are temporary, however the assembly bureaucracy is more or less permanent. The political power may be ineffective in shaping the environment because the regulations of the assembly may define a closed system of their own. For example, state ceremonies of the nation state are regulated by codes that define the rituals, dress codes, and place of ceremonial events in assembly regulatory. The place of the ceremony is coded. So any change in the place of the ceremony should require a change in the regulations, codes and even laws.

Secondly, external motivations occur from an external source. External sources are local governments, civil organizations, media, press and people. The external motivations cause a field of negotiation between the local and central partners of the capital city administration, parliament members, and cultural heritage councils, civil and professional initiatives like chambers of architects, media, academicians, and citizens. A local policy may be affective of the future use of the physical environment of the parliament building. The parliament building is a shared space in the city where different actors are operative. The private space of the parliament building is open to attacks from inside and outside. For that reason determining the "shared space" of the parliament building is crucial. Vale (1992: 9) states that "to view government buildings as acts of urban design as well as instances of architecture is to be able to judge how the larger design carefully delimits the zones for public gathering and defines areas of increasingly exclusive privacy."

The functional space of the parliament is defined with the requirements of the commissioning client, in this case the political power, and interpreted by the subjectivities of the commissioned architect. The requirement list is a product of the assembly organization, in which some technical departments are operative. However for new regimes, the commissioning client may imply the sponsoring regime. For regimes with

long history usually there is a strong bureaucratic mechanism that will shape and preserve the inner logic of organization. Hence the parliamentary institutions as complex structures with regulations have strong impact on the architectural programs and the structure of the parliament buildings. Spatial organization is composed of spatial requirements for better living in the built environment; however, functional component also addresses issues on the essence of the institution from the point of space management such as security regulations, infrastructure, technologies, and rituals and behaviors definitive on how people get into social interaction that could be sometimes in opposition to optimum spatial standards.

The functional space of the parliament is also determined according to the essence of its institution. At the broadest level, parliaments are institutions both operative and symbolic for the nation. Institutionalization of an organization means that there is a corporate understanding depending on the use and meaning of the organization. Chanlat's (2006: 17-20) study on "organizational space" could be helpful here to discuss different functional characteristics in detail: He defines "organizational space" in a variety of representing themes such as "divided", "controlled", "imposed and hierarchical", "productive", "personalized", "symbolic" and "social". According to Chanlat, "organizational space" is "productive", and this means that it is goal oriented and dependent on the objectives. In so far as parliaments are organizations that have an inner and external world (divided), they are "controlled" spaces where boundaries of the inside and the outside are determined according to security regulations. Especially for the transparency of the institution (rights of the individuals to monitor how and what is discussed by their representatives) the plenary debates are open to public. Like any other organization, parliaments are "hierarchical" in the sense that there is a stately hierarchy where there are definitions of a governing party, an opposition party, a speaker of the parliament, the council of presidency, a general secretary, committees, fractions, etc. The "personalized" organizational space of the parliament can be discussed both from the point of the individual and that of the nation. The parliament is a "symbolic" organizational space which is by itself a symbol of the nation. And lastly, parliaments are "social organizational" spaces where social integration is quite favored.

The shared space of the parliament has a significant role in the way people use, see and give meaning to it. For the people the parliament's shared space may be affected from the expressional aspects of its functional spaces. The communicative aspect of the parliament

building in the city is eligible for people as a result of a number of components such as urban setting, urban context, visual accessibility, external spatial qualities and architectural presence. The resultant identity of the shared space could be evaluated according to such criteria as their relationships with surrounding urban character, compatibility with surrounding land use, and the position within the urban context of the city.

So far it is stated that the parliament building represents the power of the nation state via expressional aspects of its architecture. In light of Vale's argumentation, it is accepted that national identity in the symbolism of a designed capital or capitol is also a product of a search for "subnational", "personal" and "supranational identity". Therefore the search for national identity is related with the political structure of the state, the context of past capital city or old regime, the personal preferences and aspirations of the architect, political aim of sponsoring regime and international prestige based itself on progressive ideology. Especially in creating new symbol buildings for a new regime, the infusion of national symbolism takes a long time period. Due to city growth and development in addition to personal and group reactions against the government sponsored acts, the symbolism of nation state is continuously evolving. In order to evaluate the meaning and function of parliamentary spaces of a new regime starting from the instance a new parliament building was constructed and covering all transformations in time, there should be a framework of learning from its architecture. These are existential characteristics for the new design and transformational characteristics for the transformed design.

In the design process of the parliament there are important actors such as the architect and the sponsoring regime. In the construction process of the parliament building, the state's building policy is one of the determinant factors in shaping the physical environment. In the use and evolution process of the parliament, which is a long period, there are actors such as the architect, the commissioning client as the elected, technocrats, bureaucrats (employee) and electors. The representative aspect of the parliament architecture should therefore be discussed according to the identities of these actors. That means representative aspect of the parliament building should be relevant for four media: inner (personal), external (personal), shared (national), and supra-national spaces.

The spatial transformation of parliamentary spaces may imply another opening because the role of governmental buildings in the physical environment of cities has changed, and

the monumental qualities of governmental buildings have been induced to economical concerns on aesthetics, and the modernist movement in architecture played an important role in emasculating their grandeur and imposing scale. After modernism played a diminishing role in the presence of governmental buildings in terms of their impressiveness and easiness in recognition, states nowadays search for a new terminology. In fact the meaning of grandeur has also changed. The policies of governments turned into a more open and transparent democracy in theory. In its new vocabulary, the progressive ideology is more and more emphasized by making the technological power of nation-states visible. This coincides with the search for a technological expression in the field of architecture. There is a new terminology for parliaments: open, transparent, technologically progressed. The openness and transparency is at first and the most experienced in the Bonn parliament building of West Germany designed by G. Behnisch.[4] The opening for technological progress escalates between futuristic, ecological and organic approaches in architecture. Some pioneer examples would be the new parliament building of Scotland, sculpturing the land by E. Miralles, the renovation of the German parliament building in Berlin with its ecological dome by R.Fosters. However the market developers dominated the field of architecture producing attractive typologies for office, residence, shopping centers and hotel buildings with imposing scale. Even the capital cities are affected from the domination of market architecture. Their skyline is changing with increased heights of office towers or even with new governmental buildings blocking or dwarfing the parliament buildings and as a conclusion easily recognizable parliament buildings become less perceived and dominated. Vale (1992: 53) states that "the global architecture of parliament buildings still turns along a single major axis that runs between two poles: the economic pull of multinationalism and the magnetic attraction of personalism." For Safdie (1984: 94),

> Our culture is now at a point in its evolution where the preconditions for a legible city are impossible because the minimum accepted constraint does not exist between that which is significant and which is not. Our culture is therefore *a priori* and by definition fated to anarchic chaos. Achieving legibility in the city is an impossible task until the values of economic and social restraint are reestablished. The exploration of these values is not without paradoxes: buildings that related to governments and to religion seem to have been made significant, whether the government was a Greek democracy or a Roman imperial dictatorship. Today the situation is very different because there is no consensus

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[4] "This equation of literal with figural transparency, that is of glass with open, accessible institutions...has a distinguished history in Germany dating back to Scheerbart, Taut, and the modern movement of the 1920s." as quoted from James-Chakraborty (2000: 128)

about what should be singled out as significant nor is there any clarity as to what means are appropriate. A corporation has wealth, as does government and private individuals. This situation leads to visual chaos. ... We must attempt to achieve buildings of significance that have universal, collective meaning. They have to come from an understanding of the collective, not only from an understanding of self. We place too much emphasis on self. We miss the essence of the collective in our narcissistic focus.

Dennis (1986: 2) detects a historical parentheses articulating pre-industrial and post-industrial society, between the approximate dates of 1775 and 1975. In this period, as Dennis states, societies rushed away from a past with class distinction, authority and uncontrolled public extravagance. Dennis focuses on the "erosion of public life and the increased preoccupation with personal life" during a three hundred years period. This social transformation accompanies an architectural and urban transformation. This social change is in favor of private realm. According to Dennis, this formal transformation is completed from "public to private icon" in the early twentieth century, where "free standing object buildings began to replace enclosed public space as the focus of architectural thought". He adds that "it is here, in the physical environment, that unseen forces or attitudes show up and it is the physical environment that in return redefines our values".

The following section will include evaluations on the acceptation that there is a creation, evolution and transformation phase in the Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex related to function and meaning of parliamentary spaces of Turkey starting with the foundation of the Republic lasting until the present.

CHAPTER 3

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY SPACES IN TURKEY

3.1 Prologue: Late Ottoman Parliamentary Spaces

There had been advisory and executive institutions in forms of councils or assemblies in the Ottoman Empire.[5] The Ottoman state organization developed from its institutions and their change in time leading to a practice via assemblies and representative and advisory organs. In examining the Ottoman parliamentary spaces, the main focus here is to understand the background of parliamentary activities of the Ottomans to give us a means for understanding the changes and continuities in constructing the assembly of the new-born Republic of Turkey.

"Meclis" which is used as "Assembly" in Ottoman language addresses several things.[6] "Meclis" is an Arabic acronym, which stands for "a session to discuss on a subject", "a place for a meeting", "an assembly of people coming together for discussing a subject and

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[5] In the period of Mahmud II there were many local "meclis"s about administrative issues in Ottoman towns and cities. Turan (1994: 109) states at the end of the eighteenth century it was a "consultative assembly or Meclis-i Mefveret". According to Turan, the assembly had an advisory nature since it was assembled to discuss the reforms, which Selim III was planning to introduce. On the administrative level there had been significant efforts to emphasize the centralization of government. Karpat (259) states that after the coming of Abdülaziz to the throne, (1861-76) "a Law of Vilayets (1864) modeled on the French administrative system, a Council of Justice (Divan-ı Ahkâm-ı Adliye), a Council of State were introduced."

6 Before Islam, Turkish civilizations had also assemblies in the names of "Toy", "Kurultay" for "military assembly", "Kengeş", "ternek (dernek)".

"a gathering of fellows".[7] It comes from the act of "cülûs" which means "tahta çıkmak" (to enthrone) or "atanmak" (to be appointed) in Arabic.[8]

The parliamentary experience of Ottoman Empire actually resulted after a stagnation period starting from the mid-seventieth century, which turned into a decline and dissolution period at the beginning of eighteenth century (Mumcu; 1987: 21). Sultan Selim III who ruled the Empire between 1789 and 1807 was the first to understand that it is essential to make some reforms in order to strengthen the Empire. In his reign Ottoman governing was a "consultative assembly or Meclis-i Mefveret", which had an advisory nature since it was assembled to discuss the reforms that Selim III was planning to introduce (Turan; 1994: 104). Later in 1839, Mahmud II for the first time in Ottoman history limited his power with the *Tanzimat* Warrant, by which he left his rights of authority of punishment to the courts of justice (Mumcu; 1987: 26). A century after the introduction of *Meclis-i Mefveret*, the consultative assembly, a two-chamber legislature, a rather representative assembly, was started by the constitution of 1876 during the period of Abdulhamid II in 1877 (1994: 109). Actually, *Kanun-i Esasi* of 1976, the first constitution in the form of a legal document was modeled after the Prussian Constitution which dates to January 31, 1851.[9] According to Mumcu (1987: 30) in the establishment of this constitution, there was no impact of social movement and thus it was directly related to the will of the sultan, so as to say there was no powerful social, political, economic or legal movement, or an ideological base that shaped the preparation and realization of this constitution. In addition, there was no elements of restriction or inspection of political power, guarantee for fundamental rights and freedom and pluralism. The first Ottoman parliament, *Meclis-i Umumi* or the General Assembly was composed of *Meclis-i Ayan*, "the upper Chamber of Notables" and *Meclis-i Mebusan*, "the Chamber of Deputies." Although the upper Chamber was consisted of lifetime members appointed by the Sultan, the Chamber of Deputies had a representative nature reflecting "the religious and ethnic composition of the Empire (Turan; 1994: 109).

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[7] "meclis" in Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK), published in http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/?kategori=veritbn&kelimesec=223375 (accessed in February 20, 2009)
[8] "cûlüs" in Türkçe Sözlük (1959) Third Edition, No: 175, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları: Ankara, p.155
[9] *see also* Mumcu (1987: 29) and Üçok, Çoşkun (1977: 1–30)
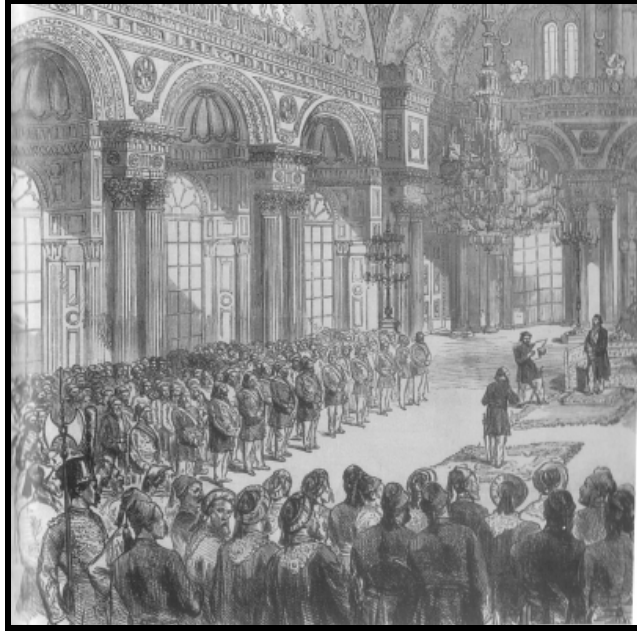
Figure 3. 1 Opening ceremony in Dolmabaçe Palace, 1877
(London News 1877)

The first Ottoman Assembly, *Meclis-i Umumi,* or the General Assembly was opened with
the speech of the Sultan in the Great Ball Room of *Dolmabahçe* Palace in March 19, 1877
with 69 Muslim and 46 non-Muslim members. The elected members of the Chamber of
Deputies had the authority to discuss the draft law on and send a minister to the Imperial
Court, *Yüce Divan or Divan-ı Ali* (Mumcu; 1987: 31)

Figure 3. 2 Darülfünun Building between Sultanahmet and Hagia Sophia Mosques
(Archnet Digital Archive)

From the fact that there was no specifically built architecture for the Ottoman Assembly, the parliamentary sessions were held in the *Darülfünun* building in Sultanahmet Square, facing Hagia Sophia mosque. It was actually designed as a university building by Gaspare Fossati between 1830 and 1854. The building was opened for the use of Finance Ministry firstly and Judiciary and Estates Ministries later in 1864. The building was designed with nineteenth century European neo-classicism understanding so that it was composed of symmetrically placed side wings with courtyards connected with a thin central entrance block. Chamber of Deputies held their meetings at the great hall on the central axis of the building, which faced the Marmara Sea and accessed from the central entrance hall. The great hall facade of the building was extended from the first floor and a two floor height colonnade and an ornamented pediment were placed to emphasize the symmetry. (Yavuz; 1998: 203-204)

Mostly for the part that Chamber of Deputies criticized the government severely during the Russian War; the Sultan abrogated the Chamber accusing it to have used its power in extra-courageous manner in April 23, 1877. The Sultan again recessed the second Chamber in 1878 for an indefinite period of time just after the elections were made according to the legislature, with the explanation that they used their unjust authority to take down the *Sadrazam*, the Grand Vizier. This event terminated the legislature as well. (Mumcu; 1987: 31)
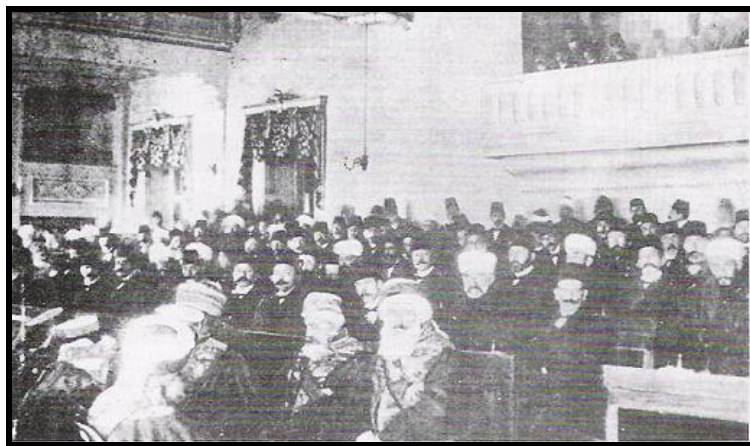
Figure 3. 3 First *Meclis-i Mebusan* at meeting in *Darülfünun* Building, 1876
(Popüler Tarih, March 2002, p.20)

Figure 3. 4 The General Assembly meeting in *Darülfünun Building*, 1908
(Cezar; 1991: 175)

The second parliament after the termination of the legislature was opened in 1908. As Turan (1994: 110) explains, "thirty years period between 1877 and 1908 were years of turmoil. In the face of growing nationalist separatism, the sultan tried to hold his empire by increasingly becoming authoritarian." As stated in Ekşi (2005: 9) the Sultan promulgated the legislature, *Kanun-i Esasi*, with an event known as "the Proclamation of Liberty" in Ottoman history, when the army officers from the Party of Union and Progress, *İttihak ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, had started an uprising in Selanik in 1908. As Karpat (1972: 280) argues, "to be a Turk meant not only an ethnic identity but a political one" As a result of the elections, the General Assembly made its opening at the Darülfünün building which served as the Department of Pious Foundations of the Judiciary, *Evkaf Dairesi*, on December 17, 1908. (Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4)

The opening of the General Assembly was found very significant by the foreign press at the time. At the opening ceremony there was also places reserved for the press members in the great hall. Before the ceremony many foreign press members came to Istanbul and monitored the atmosphere of Istanbul. Kansu (2005: 57) quotes from an article in *Neue Frei Presse* (17 December 1908) on the opening, where it was explained that the Sultan Abdulhamid was undertaking an historical atonement. Years before the meeting of the Sultan Abdulhamid at the speaker's desk with the creators of the Ottoman constitution in 1908, Abdulhamid had dissolved the parliament of Mithat Paşa without any uproar from the same desk. However this assembly was observed as permanent by the writer. In spite

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of similar retreats in future, he foresaw a new building for the new assembly secured by the constitution; thus a monument that was worth of the historical and geographical significance of a new born world state was found necessary. The German journalist must have made a connection with the spirits of time and most recently with the parliament building of the German Empire, which was designed by Wallot in 1882-1894 with the ambition to create a high German unified culture in respect to the high renaissance elements in its architecture. If a new building had been designed, he argued, this would mean that the Turkish people now understood the value of "space and time" that they had lost in centuries and finally appreciated its value. The journalist added that, if the Sultan did not give any of his palaces to the Turkish people, the people would make their own "People's House".

Figure 3. 5 Russian Duma in Tauride Palace, St Petersburg, 1906
(Wikipedia Commons)

The journalist also told about his visit to the Judiciary building before the opening. And he wrote his commentaries about the spatial organization, decoration, spaciousness and style of the parliamentary spaces in the Judiciary building, speculating that this was a temporary house for the parliament. There were two halls here: The *Meclis-i Mebusan* was in the lower floor of the *Meclis-i Ayan*, in a way showing the hierarchy. In spite of its positive character, the journalist found the general hall as small as a place for a "room orchestra", incompatible with the European parliaments. He noted that it could at best be compared to the Russian Duma (Figure 3.5). The State Duma of the late Russian Empire, the lower house of the parliament was inaugurated in the Tauride Palace, St Petersburg in 1906.[10] However, he concluded that it would be misleading to compare a parliament space

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[10] *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1911) 11th Edition. New York.

converted from a meeting room with the monumentality of the Vienna Parliament, or with the delicate gravity of the German and English parliament buildings.

The elevated presidency desk at the front facade and the places for the president and the clerk secretaries in front were reached through stairs in German style. Seen in the bird-eye-view from this height was the red velvet coated banks of members, each for three persons. There were seven parallel placed rows of sitting on a smooth slope, each row with nine desks. There were 189 places but the total number would reach 250, and the architect would use the narrow space under the lodges for them. The architect mentioned in the article is Vedat Tek, the Head Architect of the Sultan in 1908. (Kansu; 2005: 57)
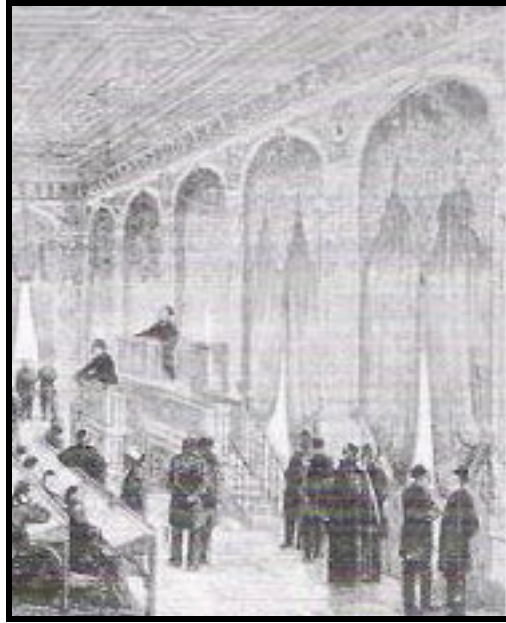
Figure 3. 6 The Presidency Desk in the Chamber of Deputies
(*Popüler Tarih*, March 2002, p.20)

The insufficient capacity of spatial relations showed itself most in the lack of gallery spaces. By diminishing the thin walls only extra space for the side lodges could have been gained. A clumsy arch-shaped hole was opened to the wall on the opposite side of the presidency desk at the half height of the hall ceiling. This was the press lodge spared for 50 persons however the view of the speaker's and presidency desks was prevented by extra light from chandeliers. (Kansu; 2005: 57)

For the opening day the lodge at the second floor of the right wing was opened to press members because the day before an the international uproar popped out because of the less amount of established quota for the press. The lodge spared for the Sultan at the left wing was spatially equal to the size of two rooms, and the lodge upstairs was kept empty as a symbol for the respect to the Sultan. The lodge was connected to a reception room reached by stairs from the corridor. This reception hall was decorated very modestly with a small baroque style table, two golden coated armchairs, three velvet coated chairs, three red velvet coated armchairs, and a golden coated and marble cigarette desk. The golden screen was ripped out with the order of Galip Pasha and the Party of Union and Progress, so as the Sultan would be completely visible to the general hall.
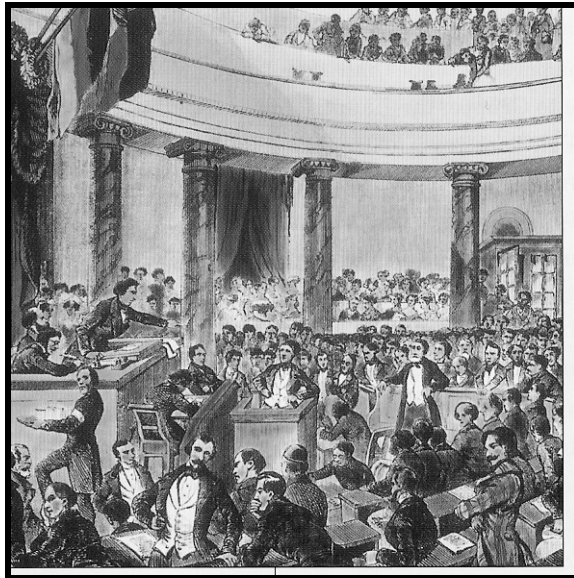
Figure 3. 7 The German style "Elevated Speaker Desk" reached with stairs
("1848/49: Das 'Paul Kirchenparlament-Die Deutsche National Versammlung' in *Der Deutsche Bundestag*, 2003, 24)

The directionality of sitting layout of *Meclis-i Ayan* was just the opposite of the previous despite the sameness of their sizes. This time the Presidency desk was facing the window. There were more or less 80 sitting places. The journalist found it weird to see here the same coating (white and burgundy) that he had seen on the banks remaining from 1876, and questioned if it was just a coincidence or a cross-reference to the old, good days.

Luckily he found proof of parliamentary progress in every place, especially at the commission rooms for 14-20 persons sitting around large tables at comfortable armchairs. Member-accessed telegraph and postal center was then about to be completed. There was a ceiling painting of a phantasm by a Greek painter at the the meeting room spared for counseling with the Sultan. Under an allegory of the constitution with the date of the revolution stated as 10 July 1324 (23 July 1908), the Empire's today and tomorrow was pictured with four symbols: railway, steamboat, submarine and balloon.

The article of the German journalist is full of comparisons he tried to develop between parliamentary spaces of the Ottoman Empire and German, Viennese, English, and Russian parliaments. However, he also tried to make connections with the existing parliament and the remnants of the old parliamentary spaces of the Empire. Of all his observations the ceiling painting with vehicles of industrialization seems significant.

Following the foresight of the journalist, who wrote that this should be a temporary space to house the parliament, the new assembly members searched for another place soon. The underlying reason for that was the increase in the numbers of deputies-the total number of deputies was then 233, out of which 180 members were Muslim. The Çırağan Palace was seen as the ideal place for the General Assembly meetings by the Speaker of the General Assembly, Ahmed Rıza Bey, who complained the Sultan about the inadequacy in current working spaces. Successfully on their efforts, the second term General Assembly members started using the Çırağan Palace after the opening on November 14, 1909. There were three saloons in the second floor so that the first one facing the Bosphorus was given to Sultan, the middle hall was reserved for the general assembly and the third hall at Istanbul side was spared for the notables. As Yavuz (1998: 204) states, the building was one of the significant buildings in the westernization period of Ottoman Empire. The building was designed by Nikogos Balyan- one of the head architects of the palace- under the direction of Sultan Abdülaziz and constructed by Sergis and Agop Balyan between 1864 and 1871. According to Yavuz (1998: 205) the palace signified a most interesting example of orientalist architecture, which shortly appears as a political science in western imperialist countries born out of an interest in eastern civilizations- especially Egyptian history- and partly impressed from romantism movement and also reminds "glorious" past and "happy future" as a reaction to fast industrialization in nineteenth century. For Yavuz (1998: 2007) Çırağan palace could have been a false decision for the part that its architectural elements-in various foreign styles contradicting with the traditional elements

of Ottoman architecture- and moreover its eclecticism fell quite contrary to cultural conservatism the empire exhibited to west. Another important detail is in the seating arrangement of the deputies. According to Yavuz, the general assembly hall and the hall of notables had both half-circular seating arrangements with desks and armchairs. I would say it may result from an attempt of emulation with western parliaments especially with German and French legislative chambers. It is a pity that there is no visual document of these saloons because the parliamentary experience in the palace could not be long. Because of an unknown reason the Çırağan Palace was burnt of a fire in January 19, 1909. For a short time the General Assembly turned back to their old residence.

Short time after the opening of the General Assembly, internal and external events accelerated in the Empire due to a lack of authority. In April 13, 1909 a bloody rebellion, *31 Mart* Event broke out. The General assembly could not work, and Sultan was found responsible for he did not interfere with the event. Conclusively the General Assembly gathered in Yeşilköy in April 26, 1909 and decided to dethrone the Sultan and enthrone Mehmet V instead. For the first time in Ottoman history, the General Assembly pronounced itself as *Meclis-i Umumî-i millî*, the National General Assembly. The first constitutional change in 1909 was followed by eight times in consecutive years; 1912, 1914 and 1916. After the change in August 21, 1909 a parliamentary system was brought in which the government was appointed by the Grand Vizier appointed by Sultan. According to the changed constitution of 1909 there had been great changes that would shape the parliamentary life. First of all the government was responsible to the General Assembly. Judiciary function was left to General Assembly. And each time a Sultan was enthroned he would swear in front of the assembly that he would follow the principles of the constitution and offer loyalty to homeland and nation. And in terms of political rights, political parties and associations were given permission in the constitution. After all, the regime turned into a constitutional monarchy within these changes. In 1912 *İttihak ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, the Party of Union and Progress as the most powerful party in the assembly put a change into execution, which would increase the authority of the sultan in dispensing the Assembly. Nevertheless they could not achieve the government. The Party of Union and Progress chose an undemocratic way to achieve their goals and made a sudden foray to the Assembly and seized the government in 1913 and held the authority until 1918. (Mumcu; 1987: 33- 35)

After the great fire in the Çırağan Palace, the last house of the parliament became Fındıklı Palace, today the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts Academy. The Assemblies of Notables and Deputies moved to the Fındıklı Palace in May 3, 1910. The real power was at that time not of the Sultan but of the Assemblies dominated by the Party of Union and Progress. The Fındıklı Palace was originally built for Cemile Sultan by his father Sultan Mecid in 1887. The Last Assembly of Deputies made their first gathering on January 12, 1920. The last Ottoman Parliament members were taken by the English from this building when they invaded İstanbul during First World War.[11]

According to Karpat (1972: 260), in terms of social stratification, after the middle of the nineteenth century, Ottoman middle class was composed of two groups: agrarian wing of Muslims and commercial-entrepreneurial non-muslims in the cities consisted of mostly non-Muslims. The interaction of these two groups played a part in the transformation of the state. Similarly a new and powerful "social stratum", *ulema* was introduced and represented with a council of *ayans* and notables in 1845. The "process of integration" as an effort of "centralization" had some consequences in the socio-political field and developed a concept of "political loyalty". For the part of the citizenship of the Ottoman state, Karpat states that "the idea of equal citizenship, known usually as Ottomanism, was a mere legal device through which the government wanted to supersede the ethnic and religious loyalties of various minority groups." For Lewis (1955), 'ottomanism' is a Europe originated nineteenth century invention. Before, "Ottoman" term signified the name of the sovereign family like in Ummayyads, Abbasids, or Seljukids. The "Ottomanism" was not welcomed by the non-Muslims; however, it was seized as a nationalist ideology amongst Muslim Turkish intellectuals. Karpat states that it was a transition from nationality to nationalism at the same time. Mumcu (1987: 33) states in terms of efforts of the General Assembly on gaining national sovereignty the only instance is the decision of April 26, 1909, when they dethroned the Sultan in Yeşilköy relied upon the advice of the *Şeyhülislam*, chief religious official.

The Turkish Parliamentary experience started in late Ottoman years. The unsuccessful attempts in this period were resulted from the problems in the share of authority between the Sultan and the Chamber of Deputies. As a consequential reality, the parliamentary experiments did not last long enough to talk about a persistent parliamentary culture. This

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[11] After the resolution of the Ottoman Assemblies, *Sanayı-i Nefise Mektebi* (Later MSUGSA) moved to the building.

was also reflected in the lack of a definite representative space for the members to assemble. They were all converted buildings from residential palaces of the royal family members. However, the last phase of the Ottoman State between 1908 and 1919 could be defined as the Young Turks era, "as the final stage in which the last conditions necessary for the emergence of a national secular Turkish state." (Karpat, 1972: 281) In order to evaluate the changes and continuities from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, a comparison of the Ottoman parliamentary spaces should be made that would only be possible by examining the Turkish parliamentary spaces in detail.

Karpat (1972) explains the movement of nationalism as a modernist act matched with the westernization process, started as a driving force for the integration of nationalities in the Ottoman Empire, although it gave way to its disintegration in the end. Modernization as westernization started in the late Ottoman period but could not turn into a social movement until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Nationalist movement progressing from Europe did affect the Ottoman government system in which different ethnic and religious societies were living together. In 1830 the Ottoman state could not resist against breaking away and the Greek national state was founded. For Sözen (1999: 3-4), together with nationalism growing in Europe, historicism was also developing on the interest in ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. The neo-classicist movement accompanied historicism. The modernization movement starting with the reforms of Selim III spread to architecture as well and effects of westernization was experienced by the use of mainly a neo-classical style introduced with the European impact in Ottoman architecture.

Figure 3. 8 Map of Istanbul, Power Sharing between Topkapı Palace, Bab-ı Ali, and places of Ottoman parliament buildings : 1. Darülfünun Building, 2. Çırağan Palace and 3. Fındıklı palace

(Istanbul Map, B. R. Davies, Gravür, 1840 in Çelik (1986:8))

3.2 The Turkish Parliamentary Spaces

Architectural and urban culture and their products had a very important place in the modernism movement starting from the early years of the Turkish Republic. The designation of Ankara as the capital city of the Republic as a process of this modernization act happens to be one of the most important issues for architectural and urban historians and theoreticians. The birth of a republican regime out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, the gain of national sovereignty as a result of the Independence War, the change in almost every expression of the individual in social, political and economic life in relation with the modernist reforms bring together a creation of a national identity for the new born Turkish Republic. In the previous section late Ottoman parliamentary experience is examined to give a background of the evolution of the parliamentary culture in Turkey signifying the dissolution of the absolute regime and the introduction of westernization based itself on a search for Turkish nationalism. Actually in July 1919 the council of representatives held their first meetings in Sivas Congress. This part will analyze the establishment of parliamentary spaces in the Turkish Republic as starting with the council of representatives moving to Ankara in December 1919.
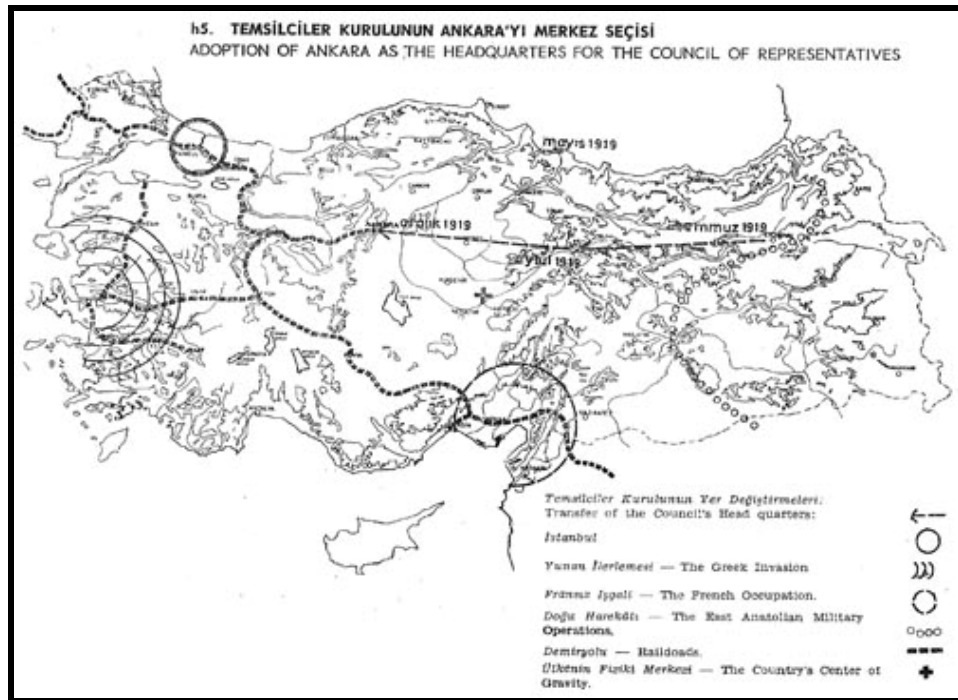
Figure 3. 9 "Adoptation of Ankara as the Headquarters for the council of representatives" (Akçura 1971: 26)

3.2.1. From the Empire to the Republic: The First House of the Parliament

One of the most important moments in the nation building process was in fact the foundation of the Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)* in Ankara on the principle of national sovereignty in 1920. The founding members of the assembly as gathered together in a small two storey building in the district of Ulus with extra-ordinary authority and patriotism. After this date ordered military troops were organized and the Independence War was commanded from this Anatolian city. On 13 October 1923 the Assembly voted and accepted the capital city of the new born nation as Ankara.

After the arrival of railway to the town in the late nineteenth century, Ulus had also been the developing part of the Ottoman Ankara, where the first building of the parliament was constructed as the clubhouse for the Party of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti)*, which was the party in power during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. The building was constructed with the initiatives of Enver Paşa, the Minister of War (*Harbiye Nazırı*) when he visited Ankara in 1915 or 1916.[12] The building was initially designed by Mimar Hasip Bey[13] in 1917 and was completed by Mimar Salim Bey. Another resource states that the construction work started in 1915 by Mimar Hasip Bey and interrupted when he was appointed to Halep. According to the records of Yalçın (1989: 81) Mimar Hasip Bey returned to Ankara in 1919 and the building was completed in 1920. The construction work went on under the patronage of Memduh Şevket (Esendal), the Ankara Representative of the Party of Union and Progress. However the construction could not be finished although an atelier near Akköprü was founded just for the production of brick, mosaics and water pipes for this specific building.

The first representative formation is Council of Representatives, *Heyeti-temsiliye* gathered in the School of Agriculture, *Ziraat Mektebi* after their arrival to Ankara in December 1919. After their arrival, Ulus, where the train station and Taşhan square had already existed, became the political and economic center for Ankara with the proliferating state buildings designed in the first national style. War government (1920-1923) depended on solidarity and executed with extraordinary power and was engaged with foundational issues. The place for gatherings of The Grand National Assembly was inevitably in Ulus, just at one of the corners of the Taşhan Square, and the building was selected amongst the

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12 Akgün (1996: 404) states that there is a conflict about that date in different sources.
13 Some sources like Bozdoğan (2002) state that the architect's name is İsmail Hasif Bey; but TBMM resources mention the name as Mimar Hasip Bey.

presentable buildings of the district built in first national style. It was a spontaneous and of necessity decision and there was no time and money for representation.

Despite its unfinished situation the building was still one of the major stone masonry buildings in Ankara at the time. According to Ekşi (2005: 62), after the First World War, as in many other parts of Anatolia, the English and French soldiers were waiting in Ankara. The French soldiers located themselves in this stone building although it was incomplete and roofless. In 1919 the English walked out of Ankara and placed themselves in İzmit when the 24th Troop under the command of Ali Fuat Paşa located on the ridges of Sarıkışla and Etlik. And the French troop was obliged to leave when Mustafa Kemal Paşa came to Ankara in December 27, 1919. As quoted in Yalçın (1989: 81), Ali Fuat Paşa recalls the preparation of the first parliament building as such:

> We were quitely occupied with the issue of where the National Assembly would reside in Ankara and where the members would be hosted. At that time the execution of this issue was taken on by the 20th army corps. We agreed on the place of the Assembly as [a school,] *Numune Mektebi,* built by the Party of Union and Progress. Nevertheless the construction was not complete. The roof tiles were also missing. Promptly preparations started and I charged the corps of engineers of the army with the construction. Some specialist friends helped in organizing the meeting hall. We spared the Teacher Training College as the guesthouse for the members. It also had minor repairs. Together with Mustafa Kemal Paşa we were controlling the construction work and working to finish it sooner.[14]

Right before *Meclis-i Mebusan* had been dissolved; and Mustafa Kemal Paşa announced the foundation of a new parliament in Ankara in March 19, 1920. After the elections, an appropriate space was searched for in order to be used for the new assembly. The unfinished Party building was chosen as the most appropriate as the first house of the National Assembly. When the building was selected in 1920, Necati Bey, the Bursa representative was urgently assigned to complete the building activity (Ekşi; 2005: 62). The realization of the parliament building was a result of an enormous voluntary activity of parliament members and the public.[15]

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14 also see Ali Fuat Cebesoy's "Milli Mücadele Hatıraları"

[15] The roof of the parliament was damaged because of a fire; therefore the roof was completed with the tiles that were collected from several domestic houses and other old buildings. As translated from Dündar (2006: 85), in his memoirs Vehbi Koç tells a real story about the first house of the National Assembly. He was selling Marcilia type roof tile samples in his hardware dealer shop. One day there was a big storm and people on the street took shelter in his shop. Rüştü Bey saw the roof tile samples and he was the administrator of Grand National Assembly. The storm chopped off a corner of the roof

The first house of the Turkish Grand National Assembly reflects all the stylistic properties of the civic architecture of the late Ottoman period. Yavuz (1998: 209) argues that this small building is not as elaborated as its precedents in Istanbul designed by Kemalettin and Vedat Beys due to war conditions, economy and lack of technology in Anatolian cities. According to the memoirs of Velidedeoğlu as quoted in Yalçın (1989: 82), "this stone building was though a very significant built structure in the midst of wrecked and mud brick houses of Ankara which had a big fire at the First World War." On the façade there are double and triple classical Ottoman pointed arches and large eaves resting on wooden spurs. Two balconies on the front façade increase the depth of the building and this emphasizes the symmetrical plan. For Bozdoğan (2002: 50-51), the building is described as the first important building in "National Style" (Milli Uslup) in Ankara, which is related with the birth of a nation in Turkish collective memory. Bozdoğan finds reflections of a renaissance of national architecture in the overhanging roof and pointed arches and other Ottoman details of the building.

According to Yavuz (1998: 209), the civic buildings in Ankara at the beginning of the twentieth century were built with a formal understanding developed as a reaction to the revivalist and eclectic approaches of the late nineteenth century that were repeating the stylistic approaches of western eclectic historicism, and applying many styles at a time by selection of some pieces, and images. As stated by Yavuz (1998: 210), a new style started to dominate the field of architecture with the rise of Turkish nationalism. The approach favored elements of classical Ottoman architecture against the eclectic use of Western and Eastern architectural elements. However, Yavuz (1998: 210) states that Vedat and Kemalettin Beys could not escape from eclecticism in the style they built and educated architects since the program of the new approach was again historical as in the civic architecture of West in the nineteenth century.

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tiles from the Assembly roof. Rüştü Bey came the next day to buy some tiles to repair the roof of the Assembly building and Vehbi Koç made a good profit out of this business. On the other hand, fifty four desks for the meeting hall were brought from *Dar-ül Muallimin*, the Teacher's Training College, and the tables and chairs were from official departments, and the oil-lamps were taken from coffee stalls, as stated in Yalçın (1989). A carpenter undertook the woodwork of the chamber room and the speaker's desk without charge. Ekşi (2005) marks that the carpenter's name was not found in the documents, however, it is reported that he told he would not charge money and let this work be a present to the nation.
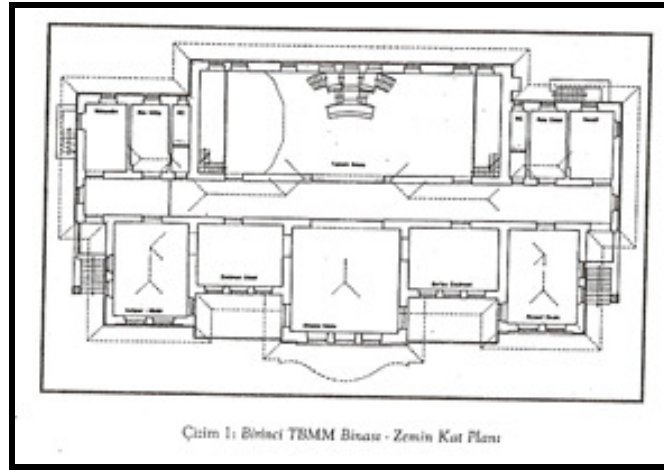
Figure 3. 10 Ground Floor Plan of the first house of the Grand National Assembly
(Yavuz; 1998: 206)

In mass organization, the Grand National Assembly building was a symmetrical one-storey building over a high basement. In spatial organization, basically, it is composed of two halls around a corridor and other rooms are placed on the corridor connecting the two doors on the city and train station sides (Figure 3.9). At one side there were a small praying room, the speaker's room, a general meeting hall, rooms for the assistants and the visitors, and on the other side the Presidency Council (*Divan*) used for the council of ministers, rooms for recorders and commission rooms. Yalçın (2005: 82) states commission meetings were held in rotation because of the inadequacy in the number of rooms and sometimes these meetings were held in rented rooms in the city. In light of his narration there was a huge showcase between the two doors opening to the general meeting or assembly hall.[16] Facing this showcase there was a cascaded sitting of the presidency council, speaker's desk and the recorders at the very front desk. While entering the hall, the balcony at the right side was reserved for journalists, high-officers and diplomatic corps, and the balcony at the left side were for other listeners. Ekşi (2005: 63)

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[16] Yavuz (1998: 213) speculates that the rectangle meeting hall could have been enlarged in time. There are two main reasons for this supposition: firstly in the memoirs of Velidedeoğlu the meeting room was described as a T shaped room and secondly it should have been impossible to welcome 350 members in this saloon for the later meetings of the assembly; in 23 April 1920 the parliament was opened with its 120 members. He adds that the square shaped lounge space beside the showcase could have been added to the inside space of the saloon though preventing the lateral movement in the building during general council meetings.

defines that on the wall behind the speaker's desk there was a board on which "Sovereignty belongs to the Nation" was inscribed. This saying was written by a *hattat* in (*Talik*) Arabic script. Yalçın (2005: 82) states that there was another inscription just behind the speaker desk on which "what they do is with consulting between each other" is written.[17] On the desk there was a bell that was used in meetings.

This building is the center for the war government between 1920 and 1923. The Grand National Assembly decided here on such important issues as the inauguration of the first constitution (1921), the foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923), the termination of the Caliphate (1924), and the inauguration of the second Constitution of the Republic (1924). The building was used by the Turkish Grand National Assembly from October 29, 1923 until September 17, 1925. After this date until 1952, the building was used as the Republican Party headquarters.[18]

Figure 3. 11 Founding members of the Turkish Parliament at the balcony of the building
(TBMM Website)

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17 The inscription says in Arabic: "emrühün sûra beyneküm" that is translated to Turkish as "onların işleri aralarında danışma iledir".

18 Akgün (1996: 404) states that, when the party property was captured at that date, the building was assigned to the General Directorate of Antiqueties and Museums (Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü), and in 1961 the building was re-opened as the first Grand National Assembly Museum. After 1980, with a new arrangement, the Museum was converted into the Museum of Independence War.

Although significant for its time, this building was a very modest home for a patriotic assembly, only fulfilling the urgent basic need for the parliament of a young nation to gather in a space designed in the 'First National Style'. The Grand National Assembly, the first house of the parliament in Turkish parliamentary spaces, is accepted as the center of a political power symbolizing a transitory regime from the empire to the Republic. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the search for building a special place for the Turkish Grand National Assembly started. The selection of Ankara as the capital city was determined on 27 May 1920 though only after the foundation date of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the selection was accepted by the international audience.

Figure 3. 12 The Opening of the Grand National Assembly
(Müderisoğlu; 1993: 97)

Figure 3. 13 Ulus Square in 1935, old Grand National Assembly as the headquarters for Republican People's Party
(Cangır, 2007)

3.2.2 Building for the Turkish Grand National Assembly

The beginning of attempts to produce new space for the new Republic coincides with the initiatives of the government to achieve a comprehensive urban planning for the capital city. Thus there are certain efforts as in the Lörcher Plan which was found not enough for the fast growing capital and partial plans of Jansen developing streets and squares as remnants of the previous plan; especially the *Strasse der Nation* (Millet Caddesi) and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square, (previously Taşhan square, later Nation Square and today Ulus square) defined the scenery of the political center and formed the urban context of the Grand National Assembly since 1924. Finally it has come to a point of threshold in searching a national identity in capital city planning and parliament architecture.

Figure 3. 14 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at the podium
(The Museum of the Republic Leaflet)

3.2.2.1 The Second House of the Parliament

The second house of the Grand National Assembly was initially designed as the club of the People's Party (*Halk Fırkası Mahveli)*, by *Mimar* Vedat Tek in 1922 at about 100 m. away from the first building of the Grand National Assembly. Just at that time, the inadequacy of the first building in terms of working spaces and a larger meeting hall was discussed. As a stereotypic attitude of its time, the club building was hence converted into the new assembly building after necessary arrangements and additions. The building started to serve the Grand National Assembly in September 17, 1925.[19]

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[19] Akgün (1996: 286) states that the date can also be 18 September 1924 according to other writings.

Figure 3. 15 The second house of the TGNA
(TBMM Website)

Yalçın (1989: 82) tells about the debate for the issue of a new parliament building as follows: The administrative supervisors of the parliament suggested finding a property near the first house of the parliament and they proposed to pay 114.000 Turkish liras for a new building. When this idea was being negotiated, other ideas were put forward. The representative of Kütahya, Recep Bey[20] suggested building a larger house and paying more if needed. The representative of Kayseri, Ahmet Hilmi Bey[21] proposed that at first they should determine where the governmental center would be. Some members also thought that the new building was needless. But the majority of them favored a new building. Since the discussions became intensive and the demand for space increased, they decided to move to the club building of Republican Party that was very near to the first building.

The building was built on a corner parcel at the intersection point of the İstanbul Street and the Station Street (where the monumental buildings of the new capital Ankara stand in

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[20] So called Recep Bey was, in fact, Mehmet Recep Peker, the General Secretary of the Republican People's Party between 1931 and 1936. It is stated by some that he favoured a politics on the line of the fascist Italian regime and nationalist Germany and for that reason he was suspended from the government in 1936. In 1946 he assembled the first government of the multi-party period and became the Prime Minister between 7 August 1946 and 10 September 1947.

21 Ahmet Hilmi Kalaç was also the representative of Kayseri in the last parliament of Meclis-i Mebusan. He was also the head-writer of the first newspaper in Turkish language in Kayseri.

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a line) between the Train Station and the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square. It is a two-storey building over a basement. The main entrance of the rectangular planned building is on the short side, opening to the Nation Street in Lörcher plans and Grand National Assembly street as named in Jansen's 1928 plans. This street is a partial of Station Street. The building faces to the Ankara Palace, or Ankara Vakıf Hotel which was built between the years 1924 and 1928 by Behçet and Mimar Vedat Tek and completed by Mimar Kemalettin. Pointed and oblate arches span the windows in the second floor of the longitudinal façade. The area between oblate arches and the lintels of the windows of the first floor is ornamented with turquoise and ultramarine glazed tiles. In 1925 Mimar Kemalettin Bey added a portal to the entrance façade in order to add complexity and greatness to the simple facade. At the back facade there are two balconies looking to the Nation's Garden (*Millet Bahçesi).*

Figure 3. 16 Grand National Assembly and Assembly Garden in 1927
(Postcard by Jean Weinberg, no: 365, in Cangır; 2007: 222)

The building houses a large meeting room with a two-storey high ceiling used by the General Council. The sitting layout of the assembly members was consisted of rows of desks facing towards the presidency desk. This face-to-face sitting layout with the speaker of the members existed also in the assembly halls of the Ottoman parliament in the *Darül-Fünun* building and the first building of the Grand National Assembly. All other rooms open to the corridor around this meeting hall. Actually planar organization enabled to

place service spaces around a central hall, as in the composition of elements in the Beaux-Arts design. However the difference is the lack of elaboration of the entrance gallery in a grandiose manner. The ceiling decoration is consisted of classical Ottoman and Seljuk motives, characteristic of the First National Style.
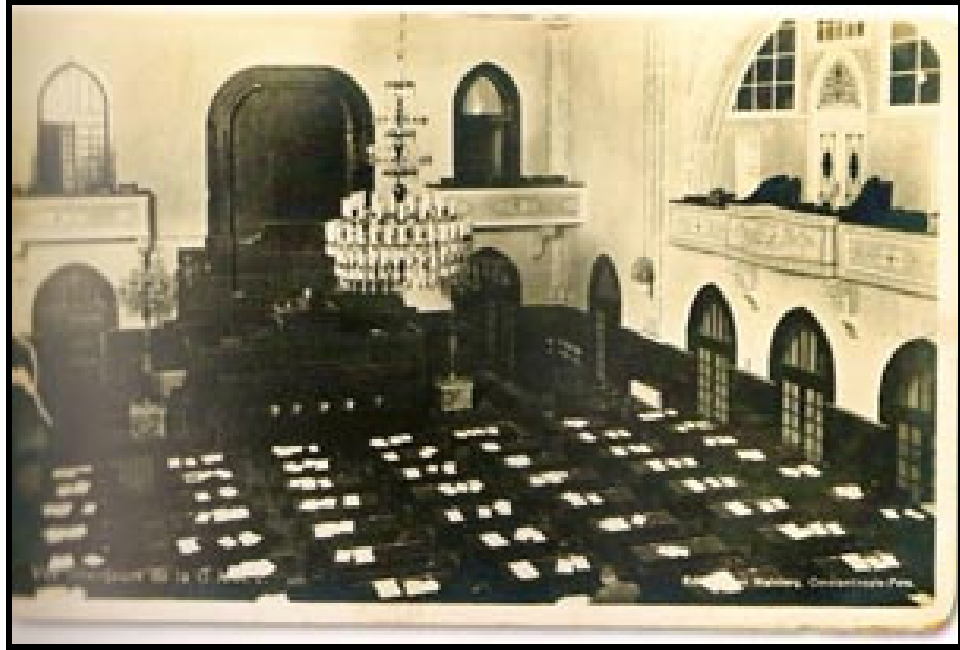
Figure 3. 17 General Meeting Hall, or Grand Chandeliered Saloon, "Büyük Avizeli Salon" in the second house of Grand National Assembly in 1927
(Jean Weinberg, no:367, in Cangır; 2007: 223)
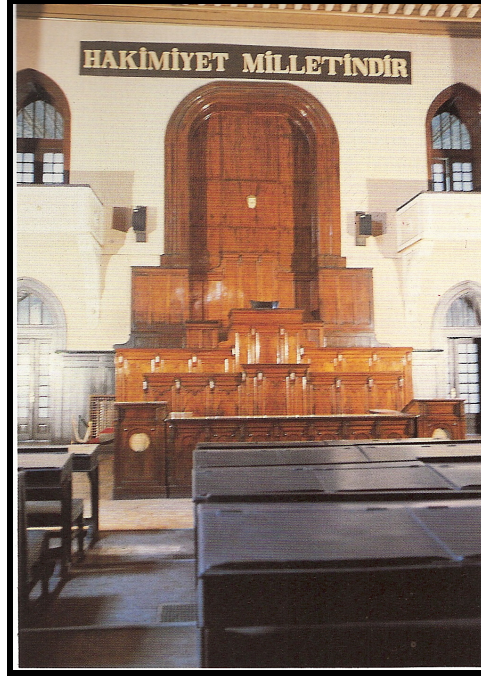
Figure 3. 18 General Meeting Hall of the Second House of the Assembly
(*Milli Egemenlik ve TBMM*)

The backside of the humble stone building is a very nice garden with cascading pools. According to Yalım (2002: 193), the second house of the parliament has a special place in organizing the social practices. For her, the placement of a square near the façade of the parliament, facing the Train Station, was important for those practices since it was used for the spatial organizations of ceremonies and various speeches and meetings open to the public. Jansen marks the street as the Grand National Assembly Street as a follower of the Nation Street in Lörcher's plan in his 1928 studies. Until the opening of the hippodrome, many activities and ceremonies took place in this square. The second evidence was the role of the Parliament Garden in the cultural life of Ankara. This large and public garden of the Parliament was also the stage of concerts given by the official orchestra (*Riyaseti Cumhur Orkestrası*). Most researchers such as Güneş (2004) interpret the city parks of the new Kemalist state as a tool for the modernization process dedicated to spread a new recreational type for the free citizens of the Turkish Republic. The Parliament Garden also became a space of action in which being a modern individual of the Turkish Republic was practiced via listening to classical concerts, celebrating national holidays and festivities, Turkish men and women all together. In these events being visible in the society was also canonized, especially for men and women in their modern costumes. Every reform of the modernist movement was reflected in the living codes of the people and, as Yalım (2002:

196) points out, their living was identified with the nation-state in such installations of the Parliament Garden.

Figure 3. 19 Postcard by Memduh Biraderler, 1928, A view from Baruthane Square to Ulus, to the right the first building of İşBank, at its back Ankara Palace, to the left Second house of Grand National Assembly, at its back Sayıştay Building
(Cangır; 2007: 155))

The building had been the place of the Grand National Assembly for thirty-six years until May 27, 1960, when the Army that took power closed the parliament. After the restoration of democracy, the assembly moved to its third house in the Governmental District in *Yenişehir*.[22] Having been used by some state institutions, the second house of the Assembly was finally turned into the Museum of the Republic in September 30, 1981, for the 100th anniversary of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's birthday.

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22 Akgün states that in accordance with Afet İnan, Atatürk sympathized with the idea that the second building could be used as the headquarters of the Ankara Municipality after the parliament would move to its new building; but this idea was not remembered at all. Akgün mentions that it was later reconsidered in the Turkish media; however, the democrats opposed the idea and supported that the building should better be conserved as a museum. Then, the second house began to be used for CENTO (Merkez Andlaşma Örgütü). After the resolution of the organization, the building was given to the Ministry of Culture. The building was restored and divided into two sections, front and back, in order to open the Museum of the Republic at the front part. The museum has a vast collection of photographs, visual documents, and models about the foundation of the Republic. The section of the building at the back houses the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums (*Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü)*. See Akgün (1996: 406-7).
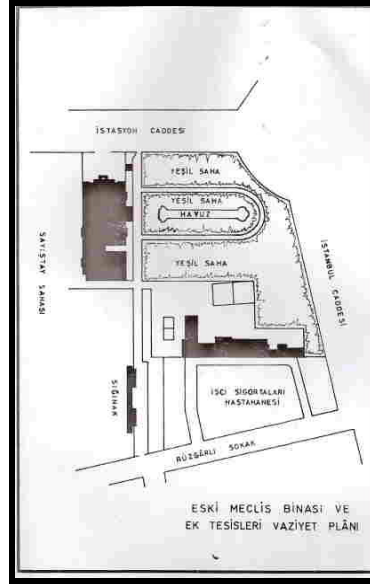
Figure 3. 20 Bird's eye view of the second house of the Parliament.
(*TBMM'nin Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını*)

3.2.2.2 The Parliament in a New Capital

In this section the aim is to investigate the function and expression of the final house of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the framework of the new capital Ankara as a planned capital city. For the Turkish Republic and its administrators the search for a national identity was through modernism, for the symbolization of a promise on which the Republic would continue. From many aspects one may conclude that the twentieth century is an era of planned cities and communities. The supposition could find its clear evidences in the capital city planning in the early twentieth century. Different definitions of nations, nation building processes, and civilizations and the beginning of the end of imperialism, the beginning and presence of democracies, and totalitarian regimes all found their places in contemporary socio-political and physical geographies with the strong emphasis on modernization and urbanization processes. In the competition of nations urban planning became a tool for comparisons between cities and nations. As Sonne (2003) points out, because of the internationalism in architecture and the exchange of knowledge through world fairs and international design competitions, the dialogue between planners and architects could be safeguarded.

There is a considerable amount of study on the capital city of Turkey, Ankara, with reference to its selection and realization. Already the foundation of the Turkish Republic is a very interesting period with its internal dynamics. The selection of Ankara as the capital included strategic and politic decisions. After the Independence War, the Republic of Turkey was founded on the principle of *national sovereignty*. It was a time of change and revolution taking its energy from a modernization period leaving behind the Ottoman Empire and its capital, Istanbul. This break with the past was also reflected as a spatial alienation with the spaces of the Empire, including the old capital Istanbul. A new capital in the middle of Anatolia would not take the place of the old capital but would create a new understanding of a capital city, which wanted to write a new history. Of course it was a natural conclusion of the new regime. The Empire was over and its spatial agencies should also be left aside. The Republic of Turkey needed its own spaces of action.[23]

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[23] See Bozdoğan, Sibel and R. Kasaba (1998)

Figure 3. 21 Birdview plan of Jansen's Ankara Plan, South Development Plan
(TU Berlin Arkitektur Museum, Inv.Nr. 22735)

Bozdoğan (2002: 76) states that the enlightenment inevitably points at an "other" in contrast with the definition of the existing civilization, and this confrontation with the past in the form of the new is many times pictured within the 1930s' official language of the Republic. This is, for Turkey, a solidification of opposition of the old and the new as one of the leading themes of *Kemalism* and can be traced in other oppositions such as anachronism/progress, tradition/modernity, and illiteracy/enlightenment. The new is not only praised with its definition but also favored against the old symbolizing an image of "backwardness" and an "uncivilized" identity. For Bozdoğan, Istanbul, the center of authority of the empire and a religious center for five centuries was chosen to play the role of the "other" for Ankara.

Since the foundation of the Republic, Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, has carried a leading role and behaved as a model for the rest of the country while combining its

strategic, political and socio-economic functions with its pioneering function. It is also often stated that Ankara is the symbol of modernization. According to many historians Ankara is the symbol of independence for the new-born Republic, created and designed to be a guide city for the rest of the country in the task of being modern. To be modern implied a westernization period. Sonne (2003: 35) in his very helpful study on examining the relationships between urban design and politics of capital cities categorizes Ankara as one of "the capital cities with ambitious plans driven by the desire to engender national statehood based on the Western model". Similarly for Vale (1992: 98) the move of the capital city to Ankara "represented a search for an appropriate setting to nurture the development of a Turkish national identity." The capital city and the parliament are evaluated together feeding each other with their symbolism especially for capitol complexes in designed capitals such as Ankara, Brasilia and Chandigarh.
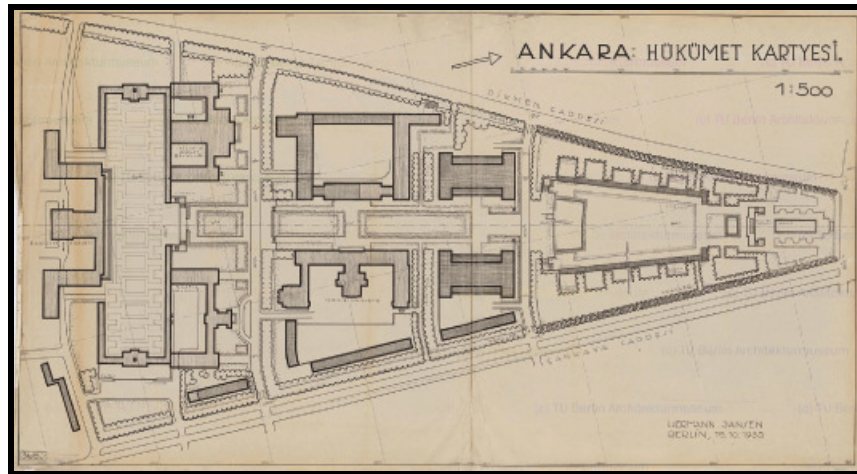
Figure 3. 22 Jansen's Governmental District, 1928
(TU Berlin Arkitektur Museum. Inv.Nr.22866)

Tanyeli (1997: 81-82), on reconsidering the urban stage of Turkish modernization, argues that Ankara functions as the focal point of the modernization process especially in the First Republican period and the following decade (1923-70). In order to support this argument, he mentions about the differences between the 1920s' images of Ankara and Istanbul, which has an undeniable priority in the history of modernization for the Ottoman Empire. For Tanyeli, Ankara as a project is significant because it is the first overall urban modernization process in Turkey and in the Islam world as well. The other examples lack some features of the urbanization process and its concepts, and their projects are limited

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only to the degree of a revision. What Tanyeli suggests for Ankara case is a project evaluated in all scales, from the public to the individual, from the city structure to the citizen. To a degree, Tanyeli finds the selection of Ankara as the capital city not enough for explaining what was achieved and aimed in the city. He seeks the grounds to ease modernization in the case of Ankara in the socio-economic background of the city. He explains this with the fact that historically Ankara's economy depended on especially the trade of wool (*sof*) and the city was not functioning as traditional cities. Although it was the second crowded city after Bursa in the sixteenth century, there were not so many monumental public buildings here except *Han*s, which explained that the public were investing money on trade rather than producing goods. Tanyeli traces in Ankara the pre-capitalistic attitudes as in the start of modern rationality. He also relates this to the almost harmonious coming together of the insiders and outsiders in the geography of Ankara since the Independence War. These arguments are interesting to argue for the aspect that the modernization process would not have been realized without its social actors.

Another important detail in explaining why Ankara was the focal point of modernization in Turkey is about the identity of the people living in Ankara. Modernity has been accompanied with the concept of the individual. And Ankara was the place to live and work in, and did not have many of the traditional city functions and complicated bounds with the city such as a status in the society or kinship. For that reason, Tanyeli (1997: 81-82) suggests the aspect of the *modern identity* of the citizen was the first to be observed in Ankara instead of a *traditional identity*. Batuman (2000: 18) similarly states that, "for the Turkish republicans, the struggle for modernization was not only the struggle of mankind against nature, but also a national attempt to construct a *modern identity*." For him, "the process of development concerning both physical environment and the cultural sphere" was a reflection of a "discursive construction of national identity."

Tanyeli (1997: 82) suggests that it was the first time when a pre-modern model was destroyed and just in the 1920s with its varied population Ankara became the place where the national identity was replacing the traditional identity. For him, Ankara, from many aspects, is the birthplace of the modern citizen in Turkey. Its pioneering role in the organizations of urban space and the citizen can be traced in the resolution of the concept of *mahalle* as the organizing space of the public. And many modern spaces are discovered in the spaces of Ankara such as public parks, which signify a new program in the modern planning, i.e. recreation. Not only the spaces of modernity but also the rhythm of a

modern way of life is introduced in Ankara with its working time schedules and weekend holidays. Tanyeli concludes that it is the conscious where the modernity is brained rather than the spaces and its concepts. Yet, he states that our conscious is also related to our built environment, to what we receive from outside.

Before discussing the planning of Ankara as a national capital of the young Republic, the priorities of the Turkish government after the Independence War should be revealed. As Cengizkan (2004: 15) summarizes, after the foundation of the Republic until the end of the 1920s, the main concern of the government was to make the public and the economy survive the war conditions, to solve the in and out movements of migrants and immigrants (*mübadil-muhacir-mülteciler)*, health and education, and fulfilling the need for physical space. In this early Republican period, official buildings were designed according to the first National Style. However the years 1926 and 1927 for the government were a time span dominated with the search in physical planning. As stated by Vale (1992: 99), "for larger questions of urban design, Atatürk and his followers also looked toward Europe." Moreover, in 1928, Cengizkan (2004: 15) states that the government realized the field of representation in the construction of the new nation-state and accelerated its activities.

As Cengizkan (2004: 37) documents, the first development plan of Ankara was designed in 1924 and 1925 by a *Berliner* architect, Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher, who was an old member of the Istanbul Planning Commission. Since the years of the Independence War there had been an increasing building activity in Ankara. Tankut (1992: 49) states that after the foundation of the Republic, and the declaration of Ankara as the capital city, low urban environment standards and inadequate urban services and infrastructure were taken into consideration and as a first step the existing municipality was restructured into Ankara Municipality (*Şehremaneti*) with the law 417 dated 16.2.1924, following the model of Istanbul founded in the nineteenth century, preserving power and missions and applying the laws and regulations according to Ankara.

This initial plan of Lörcher in fact became the guide to Jansen Plan in 1928 with regards to some important schemes that are preserved and over-written. Lörcher plan was found in some ways not enough for a fast growing capital. However, Lörcher's ideas on Yenişehir, the to-be-developed new part of the city away from the old one, were preserved and applied in main principles of shaping the city, especially in the conceptualization of the meanings in the new city and the squares. Lörcher plan, Cengizkan (2004: 73) states, is

the first and the unique plan to have been applied and defined the new city until the opening of a new competition in 1928. Cengizkan adds that, while it was used in the infrastructure of the new city, the sizes of the new plots, and the definition of floor heights and property shares, the plan organized these regulations from its own structure. It is quite important to note the quality of the plan focusing on a foreseen connection between the old and the new city, without disturbing the old when developing the new. Cengizkan (2004: 73) finds in this "a semantic integration, an effort of identification". What Lörcher discovered in the old city is a linear placement of Station-Parliament-Castle and, for Cengizkan, this symbolized an axial organization of the town defining a relation with modern transportation, and the power's reflection in city space as the present regime as well as the old regime coming from history. He adds that the castle was very important for Lörcher, and this meant 'the beautiful castle' for him, so as a further step he proposes the new parliament in the outer fortifications of the castle. Later on, as Cengizkan (2004: 75) points out, he would develop this connection in the axis of castle-Station square-the new parliament, which is named by Lörcher as *Strasse der Nation* (*Millet Caddesi*). The settlement of the Governmental District in the form of a wedge (*kama*) is written in this plan. The idea of a Governmental District (*Regierungsviertel*) would be elaborated by Hermann Jansen and Clemens Holzmeister later on. Cengizkan (2004: 87) states that it is the second time when in an Anatolian land after the Hittites the government buildings were planned all together in one place in this governmental district.
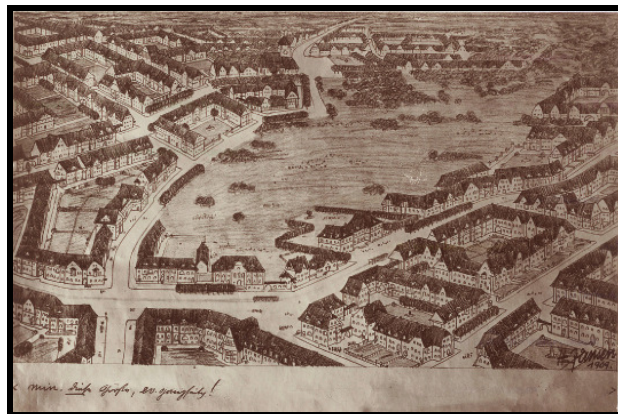
Figure 3. 23 Hermann Jansen. "Wettbewerb Gross Berlin 1910. Typ einer Kleinsiedlung Buckow Rudow 1908"
(TU Berlin Arkitektur Museum, Inv. Nr. 20526)

Herman Jansen was one of the three planners invited to the city planning competition in 1927. The same year there was an expropriation for approximately the total area of *Yenişehir*. His plan, according to Tankut (2000: 304), was accepted since it was found modest and modern; and also the plan was found suitable for the local conditions. In parallel, Jansen's plan is defined as "less rigidly geometrical and monumental than its alternatives and emphasized the creation of Garden City kinds of neigbourhoods and was not premised simply on the exalted depiction of government" by Vale (1992: 99). Tankut states that he was one of the most famous German planners of his time, already won one of the first prizes, "*Gross-Berlin*" in 1909 with the motto, "within the boundaries of the possible". According to Tankut, this motto would bring him fame and define the life view of Jansen for his future acts in city planning. Sonne (2003: 111) states that Jansen won the first award in Berlin 1910 competition for his design, which clearly distinguished housing and traffic as principle themes. Sonne adds that "his report emphasized that he had refrained from planning "parade-grounds" and "large buildings", envisioned no "inclusion of large public buildings" and did not support "so-called parade ensembles" with monumental buildings."[24] Similarly, according to Bilgin (1997: 79), Jansen's plan for Ankara has a smooth way of combining such elements as the green, monumentality, main axes, and separation of functions, housing plots, and lodgings. This coming together does not imply any dominance of one element over the other. Instead, for Bilgin, this created an image for the city as a whole without disturbing the conventions and falling into nostalgia. However, in the Great Berlin competition, as Sonne (2003: 113) states, "Jansen's design principles can be understood as adapting the spatial design oriented on the small town scale to the conditions of the metropolis." In Berlin, for Jansen, the streetscapes, the uniformity of the development of entire blocks without dividing them into parcels, keeping the facades plain and rhythmically articulated in order to create a "dignified urban image" were important concerns. Thus in his work, Sonne (2003: 113) found an adaptation of the perspective of a pedestrian, including the concept of speed to the static space of Camillo Sitte.

On Jansen's plan Tankut (2000: 314) defines the bureaucracy of the Republic as the commissioner of the planning. In her terminology, the kind of bureaucracy between 1923 and 1932 consisted of the political elite and high-status bureaucrats. Political and

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[24] Sonne (2003: 111) quotes from Wettbewerb Gross-Berlin, 1910. *Die Preisgekrönten Entwürfe mit Erlaeterungs berichten*, (1911) Berlin. (part Jansen).p.20

bureaucratic elite in this time span when national capitalist economy was accepted, she states, would protect the revolutionary and dynamic attitudes to a degree, opposing liberalism and behaving respectful to public interests. Also she adds that the bureaucratic elite in these ten years would behave independently from the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the attitudes of the elite would reflect their own knowledge and interests. Her observations in the changing motivations for the conflicting attitudes of the bureaucracy after the early 1930s is quite important: For the term before 1932, she states that behind the roles of the state such as facilitator, supporter and controller was an independent mechanism of bureaucracy. While on the other hand, after 1932, this was replaced with the bourgeoisie, conquering the castle of Ankara and bureaucracy becoming a tool for the conqueror.

It was the ideal of the Republican government to formulate a designed and planned governmental district in the new city center. As it is discussed in the previous section, on the issue of moving to the second house of the parliament, the parliament members discussed about determining the place of the governmental district around 1924-25. In order to realize this ideal a special law was issued in 1928 and a 20-hectar area was appropriated for that purpose in Yenişehir in 1929. According to Altaban (1997: 89-94) the founders of the Turkish Republic found it very important to have a governmental district as a symbol of the Republican regime. The discursive strategy of the state was to nourish "expressive revolution" thus the modern social movement in the public architecture of the capital city of Ankara. Their great project was to design a governmental district to symbolize the motivations of the new born republic in order to perpetuate the founding ideals and maintain their permanence. Only a great project could be a tool to materialize power. The political ideology of the founders of the Turkish Republic required producing space for monumentalizing the achievement of independence, stability of the new regime and progress in national sovereignty. However the grand scale was not at first worded.

Jansen devised two important arteries in his plan of 1932. The most significant one is the Atatürk Boulevard lying on a north-south axis between Ulus and Çankaya. Yenişehir develops towards the south as attached at two sides of this artery towards the south. Cengizkan (2004: 74) emphasizes on the "corridor" idea, binding the old city and the new city as Lörcher initially proposed, which still existed in the Jansen's plan. Cengizkan states that, besides the organizational approach and characteristics of the Lörcher's Plan, the semantic construction binding the new city and the old city was an effort in bringing

all parts together, in a way providing identification with each other. Cengizkan discusses Lörcher's linear organization of the Train Station, the Assembly Building and the Ankara Citadel, which are located in the old city, giving way to different relations. They are the relation of the city and the modern transportation, the reflections of power on urban space and reflections of old power coming from the past. Cengizkan states that, in the organization of Yenişehir, Lörcher used the same kind of a metaphor. For that reason, the starting point of Lörcher's governmental district is the Sıhhiye Train Station. Here he searched for an axial organization between the Citadel, the Station and the new Parliament. On this perspective, Cengizkan (2004: 90) states, Jansen developed the governmental district in a center well defined with open spaces such as parks and squares in the direction of the will of the Republican government to symbolize the unity of the Republican regime with the togetherness of governmental buildings.
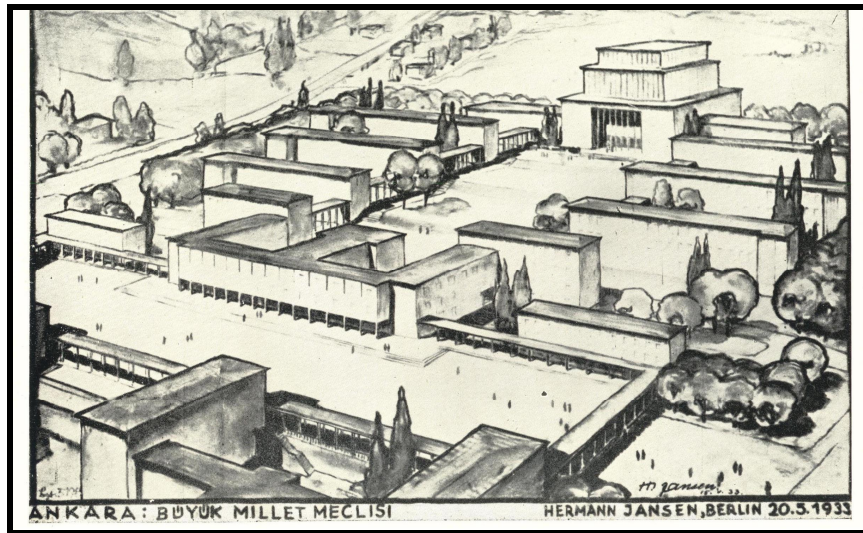
Figure 3. 24 Hermann. Jansen 1933. Perspective drawing of the Grand National Assembly, at the foreground there is the civic forum between the Ministries and the Parliament
(TU Berlin Arkitektur Museum)

The governmental district was situated in Jansen's plan of *Yenişehir*. Jansen proposed that to the south of the governmental district should the parliament be placed. After Jansen's initial works on the plan of Ankara, the Austrian architect Holzmeister started to work on the sketches of the governmental district and prepared proposals. Holzmeister initially produced drawings of the parliament on the hill of the old citadel, reminding the acropolis

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of antique cities. Jansen had enormous efforts for placing all governmental functions together and for defining the governmental district with open spaces such as parks and squares. However, both of these architects were in fact working on the remnants and in the light of a previous city plan by Lörcher. As an explanation Cengizkan (2004: 73) gives the fact that all of the documents as well as the basic principles of the Lörcher Plan of 1924 were provided to the competitors of the Planning Competition of Ankara by the Municipality as requirements and input data. Cengizkan (2004:84-90) examines the contribution of Lörcher plan to the capital city's urban space in two folds: quality and meaning in urban space. The qualities contributed to urban space were sequential arrangement of green areas, "beautiful citadel", zoning principles and garden city approach. The zoning principles in Lörcher plan as could be a reflection of the spirits of the age in urban planning defined separate districts for governmental, educational and health functions in the city from the start. Jansen's planning depended on this understanding.

In Jansen's organization the governmental district was placed at the new city center enveloping the two sides of the corridor as remnants of the Lörcher's plan. The entrance to the governmental district is the Güven Park. Jansen proposed that people would gather at this initial spot and walk through the governmental buildings and reach to the parliament at "Vilayetler Meydanı" (the Square of Ministries). This corridor turns into a pedestrian alley in his conceptualization. Holzmeister, who designed many official buildings in Ankara, designed the governmental district according to Jansen's projection. However, it is very significant that Lörcher's plan, his perspective sketches on the governmental district, his ideas on a "Forum der Regierung", a civic forum, and a "Torbau", a gate building as a starting point for the district, as documented in Cengizkan (2004:84-90) had impacts on the following designs by Jansen and Holzmeister.

Holzmeister placed the parliament complex at the highest point of the axis starting from the Governmental District. Vale (1992: 58) states that "in placing the Capitol at the focal point of an entire composition, the designers of Washington established a precedent for all future capital cities." Applying the same principal, Holzmeister elevated the House of the Nation over all other governmental institutions. While applying this degraded layout, he proposed a chain of green public squares between the governmental blocks. He placed the Güven Park in Kızılay as the threshold for the governmental district. In a way he recalled European city gates. One important example is the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin designed

after the unification of the nation and placed as the starting point for the *Unter den Linden* Boulevard that opens to Tier Garten, the gardens of the German Empire.

Instead of a grand scale boulevard, Holzmeister proposed an axial pedestrian approach as it was developed in Jansen's plans for the governmental district. The Güven Park was designated and designed as a civic space enabling vista point for the governmental buildings and the national assembly on the axis, symbolizing the connection between the old city center and new city center. The monument developed at the center of the Güven Park, literally meaning "Security Park", pointed towards both of the ends of the axis as an effort to monumentalize the power and security of the nation state. In Batuman (2005: 44), it is stated that "the monument as an urban artifact appears as a component not only of the process of identity formation but also of the formation of social space instead." This park developed into the first civic action and protest space of the nation in years, and the infusion of national symbolism worked for aiding public protest. This meaning shift could not be guessed before the people's appropriation. When the governments realized the power of the space they marked the space as a threat to the stately authority and preferred to decrease the representative power by means of physical alteration. Firstly they masked the vista point by placing trees on the visual axis. Then they left space to be used as a station point for public transportation.[25]

Holzmeister's governmental district starts at one end with the Güven Park and continues with the governmental blocks. From the start of the Güven Park to the National Assembly there is an approximate one kilometer distance. Nicolai (1998: 53) states that Holzmeister here proposed an approach similar to the out-of-competition submission of Bruno Taut in the international competition for the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1937, emphasizing *Stadtkrone* as the parliament of the Turkish nation state. It is important to note here that in 1929 Holzmeister produced proposal drawings for the new parliament in the walls of the old citadel emphasizing again the Stadtkrone idea.

After that Jansen designated the place of the governmental district in the new city center, Holzmeister developed the governmental buildings according to Jansen's projections, though there were different opinions between the planner and the architect. Jansen

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[25] see also Batuman (2002: 48-54), Saner (2007: 41-52)

believed that the buildings should be placed parallel to topographical lines, though Holzmeister envisaged some of his governmental buildings cutting these lines vertically.

Holzmeister drew a civic space on the axis passing through the governmental district between the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the parliament building as it can be seen in his 1936 drawings. This scheme for open public space between the legislative ministries was actually brought from Jansen's governmental district as it can be seen from his 1932 drawings. This scheme of a civic forum, "*Regierungsforum*", between the front facade of the parliament and the arcaded building of the Ministry for Interior Affairs continued to exist in his 1946 sketches. This area was planned to host crowds and create a civic forum for the nation. Also in the 1936 sketches of Jansen on the governmental district one can see a huge open area between the parliamentary blocks and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On Jansen's organization the road underpassed the ministry blocks and there was an open space undisrupted by the traffic in front of the parliament building.

Through the continuous transformation of the governmental district via plans of Jansen and Holzmeister, one can conclude that it was a nearly twelve years' design and construction process with alterations due to the interventions of the government and conflicts between the planner and the architect. From Nicolai (2001) it is understood that after 1935, Holzmeister lost his power as state architect and at this period the Prime Ministry building was commissioned to Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Nicolai also detects a shift in the representation of Holzmeister towards a more neo-classical approach from a rational approach he exhibited in the buildings such as the General Staff Building and the Ministry of Defense. This tendency also coincided with the spirit of the age in terms of the international representation of nation states and especially the impact of the fascist Italian buildings as discussed in Aslanoğlu (2001: 67). Aslanoğlu states that it was a result of the foreign architects who were conditioned to reflect architecture of international reputation. Except for the times at the early stages of the Republican period, Aslanoğlu (2001: 67) states that the state never encouraged the style, and the demand was to fulfill the spatial necessity.

From now on the choice of the parliament building project after an international competition in 1937 will be studied. The new capital city was planned by a foreign planner. Similarly, an international competition was opened for the parliament building that was initially only open to foreign architects. This is informative for the will of the

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political power to represent the nation state via a European architectural understanding, which was found an appropriate method to erase the old and to create and sustain the new regime. As stated by Vale (1992) this search for a national symbolism found in European architecture is valid also for showing the national power in front of an international audience.

3.2.2.3 The International Competition (1938)

The Turkish Grand National Assembly accepted to build a new parliament building in 1937. On January 11, 1937, a law was issued about a project competition for the construction of a new parliament building of a "monumental quality that will be suitable to the permanence of the Turkish Republic and to the characteristics of the twentieth century". Aslanoğlu (2000: 274) states that the building designed was accepted to have a sober and lasting character, in a manner that would symbolize the strength and immortality of the Republic of Turkey.

The commission responsible for the building of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which was defined by the law to define and announce the competition, was composed of three assembly members, a lawyer, a military officer and a doctor. They were assembled under the presidency of Fikret Sılay who was the vice president of the parliament in 1937. As published in *Arkitekt* (1938: 99-132), the commission declared that they were not only searching for a building to fulfill the needs and the functions of a parliament but also a monument with a perfect style, hygiene, in harmony with contemporary foreign architecture, to symbolize the twentieth century and the existence of the Turkish Republic. The competition not only searched for the most functional building but also urged for perfection in its style, cleanness, and harmony with its surrounding environment. The building should be contemporary enough for the needs of the new century and represent the presence of the Turkish Republic in a monumental manner. In line with the suggestions in the plans of the city, the assembly building should be located on a hill behind the governmental district, which had a very good Ankara view, so it should be visible from various points in Ankara as well. The architects should not neglect to provide space for the buildings of the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of External Affairs that were to be built in the future. The project should include an entrance hall and a presidency section, and the building should be designed as a single building except the service

buildings. This service requirement was not asked in the program; however its proposed site could be shown in the site plan. The project cost, except the service buildings but including the architect's share, should not be more than 4 million liras. (*Arkitekt*; 1938: 99-132)

Bozdoğan (2002: 301) states that the international competition in 1937 for the Grand National Assembly building was a very important event for representing the architecture culture with all the aesthetic, symbolic and political dimensions of its time. The competition was opened for the "Kamutay", meaning the house of the public. According to the Great Turkish Dictionary of Turkish Language Association, "Kamutay" is the word defining the General Council of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. "Kamu" in Turkish signifies a number of terms. Among these are state's organs in public service, public, man, social group in interaction to reach the same goals, general, everyone. "Tay" has also different meanings, such as filly, equal, coequal, equivalent, one of a pair, one of the weights on a horse's or animals two sides, bundle.[26] "Kamutay" (Kamu-tay) could be signifying a gathering of a "coequal public", which coincides with principles of equality and unity coined for nationalism. The definition of a "new nation" is more or less in every nationalized country has been expressed with architecture, planning, art, and monuments. For the French experience, where the Republic developed through a revolutionary process following the age of enlightenment, it is the same. According to Etlin (1994: 29),

With the coming of the Revolution, it became even more imperative in the contemporary mind to realize the space of magnificence, of hygiene, of clarity, and of emulation. Each was deemed especially worthy of the new nation. And the Ancien Régime was faulted for not having achieved the reforms in these fields that enlightened thought had been demanding. At the same time, there arose an understanding of still another type of symbolic space, a space of revolution. *Paris, in particular, and France, in general, required not only a new architecture but also a new type of space that incarnated the values of the revolution and of the new republic. The mental construct of the city acquired still another layer of symbolic meaning*.

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[26] Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK), published in http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/?kategori=veritbn&kelimesec=223375 (accessed in February 20, 2009)

The realization of the space of magnificence, of hygiene, of clarity and of emulation in the contemporary mind was found very necessary for the justification of the definition of a new nation in physical reality. This found also concrete proof in the competition announcement of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Etlin (1994: 34) states that "expressive revolutionary space relied on the perceived meaning of spatial characteristics." And even "the elimination of spatial configurations that were understood to impart a lesson of oppression". It seems that what the administrators of the Republic searched for in the design of the Assembly was not the elements borrowed from classical Ottoman architecture, as seen in the First National Architectural Movement, but an international architecture. Not only the hygiene and clarity were searched in planning and architecture but also the architectural style also should be freed from ornamentation and exhibit a pureness and healthiness. As Etlin (1994: 36) states, "not only the republican city had to be the salubrious city, its places of political assembly had to enjoy the advantages of most healthy sites." In addition:

> The entire city itself could appear as an image of oppression. Here the prerevolutionary space of hygiene acquired new meanings as the lack of its realization seemed to be a special affront to a newly acquired dignity and freedom.

In the French case, Etlin describes the spaces of the old regime as spaces of oppression that should be replaced by spaces of liberty. Paris in this representation is an evolved capital where the political authority was designed over the products of the old regime in the same physical environment. But for the Turkish case Ankara was not an old capital that had spaces of oppression; instead a progressive ideology was observed here in creating a new city, a model for all cities. In many of the literature written on Ankara, the city before the foundation of the Republic was expressed with illness and dirtiness. The modernity project as part of the revolutionary program of the country's elites also found the hygiene and clarity brought by the new regime a symbol of progress and development. Thus the open air spaces and leisure parks with waterfronts were accepted as the spaces of the Republic and thus architecture itself with pure, modernist solutions and unornamented facades were also the symbols of the revolutionary Republic.

Figure 3. 25 Entry by Alois Mezare
(Arkitekt, 1938, No:4, p.111)

The winning three projects belonged to Austrian Clemens Holzmeister, French Albert
Laprade and Hungarian Alois Mezaraya. The competition ended in January 28, 1938, and
Atatürk chose the project of Clemens Holzmeister amongst the three first-awarded
finalists chosen by an international jury consisted of M. Dudak (Dutch), I. Jenkborn
(Swedish) and H. Roberston (English). As Bozdoğan (2001: 301) explains, all of the three
winning designs had monumental and classical facades with high colonnades, presented
by perspective representations of dark shadows, statues, flags, and wall relieves and
writings, which enabled a more *gigantic* look. Symmetry, high colonnaded entrances and
the use of stone are common features of these projects. According to Aslanoğlu (2001:
67), the high colonnades of the sixteenth century renaissance, being an element of
representation of strength, solemnity and monumentality, were an inevitable feature of the
neoclassical architecture of the 1930s that featured symmetrically arranged huge masses,
high colonnades, elevated entrances, the use of stone in the structure and gigantic scale.
From the end of the 1930s onwards, and especially during the war years between 1940 and
1945, this approach was commonly seen especially in Germany and Italy but also in other
parts of the world. Aslanoğlu explains the effect of this approach in Turkey with reference
to the work of foreign architects following this approach, who were applying the European
monumentality in those years maybe because they felt obliged to symbolize the authority
of the state by these means.

Figure 3. 26 Entry by Albert Laprade
(Arkitekt, 1938, No:4, p.105)

As stated in *Arkitekt* (1938) there were 14 entries in the competition for the Assembly. By the way it is important to note from Batur (1984: 88) that "while competitors were invited from abroad, Turkish architects were excluded, only after a vociferous campaign were Turkish architects given the chance to compete." This situation coincides with the fact that Alsaç (1976: 19) stated as the national style tended to get use of the forms of traditional architecture that contradicted with the reforms of Atatürk in putting a contrast between the "old" and "new". These forms had a revivalist attitude towards the symbols of Ottoman Empire. Alsaç (1976: 19) found it a naturally that they could not be allowed in the first years of the revolution. Like these works of architecture, the national architects could have been not preferred at first as competitors in the international competition looking for a progressed and thus "western" architecture.

According to the reports of the referees, the program explained the requirements quite well. In all the submissions there was a lack of elaboration of entrance halls for large number of visitors. And there were different representations of the Presidency in each project, as the obscurity in the solutions for the presidency would signify. However the program of the competition looked for a single building including all functions inside the building. Although the timetable of the competition was found very limited for such an important competition, the referees found most of the projects very highly represented. However, after a detailed analysis of the projects, the referees determined that the competitors misunderstood or undermined some building properties or some space requirements, which might be caused by the limited time given for the projects. The jury

made the selection according to the following criteria: Plan and presentation, architecture, economic appropriateness and site plan.

Figure 3. 27 Entry by Asım Körmükçüoğlu
(Arkitekt, 1938, No:4, p.119)

The competition and the architectural projects show how civic architecture in both international and national architectural agenda was perceived. Observing the Turkish architects' projects one may conclude that they had the knowledge of how to produce civic architecture in terms of mass organization and facade articulation in international scope. However, as it was reported by the referees, the entrance halls were underemphasized by most of the architects Maybe it was a result of an extra effort put on the external communication of their buildings. However in terms of civic architecture of the period, giving evidence from Cret's works in the United States, threshold areas to reach the great halls were designed with the principle of *grande architecture*. (Figure 3.27) However, most of the entries worked the outdoor spaces as the lobbies of the Grand National Assembly. The outdoor space was conceived as an entrance hall where ceremonial activities hosting crowds made possible. It was found sufficient to submit outdoor lobbies maybe because of visiting a parliament house was not nourished in the collective memories of the participants.Though from another point of view, from Jansen's site organization for the governmental district, the in-between area between the ministries and the parliament site inevitably proposes a huge meeting area for the public between the legislative and executive organs.

First Floor
1 Conference Room
2 Law Library
3 Reading Room
4 Files
5 Extensions
6 Entrance Hall
7 Stenographers
8 Stair Hall
9 Elevator Lobby
10 Chief Counsel
11 Men's Lockers
12 Women's Lockers
13 Press Release
14 Secretary of Board
15 Court, Ground Floor

Second Floor
1 Governor
2 Private Office
3 Board Room
4 Reception Room
5 Library
6 Conference
7 Public Relations
8 Extension
9 Upper Part of Stair Hall
10 Files
11 Examiners
12 Stenographers
13 Chief Examiner
14 Assistant Chief Examiner
15 Men's Lockers
16 Women's Lockers
17 Elevators
18 Gallery

Figure 3. 28 Paul Phillippe Cret, Federal Reserve Board Building plans, Washington D.C., 1935 (Etlin; 1994: 81)

Figure 3. 29 Paul Phillippe Cret, Federal Reserve Board Building, Washington D.C., 1935 (Etlin; 1994: 82)

When Fikret Sılay was interviewed after the announcement of the winner as Clemens Holzmeister, Sılay stated: "It is a relaxing and confident method to order the most appropriate projects for such monumental buildings via opening international competitions which bring very important specialists together."[27] There are two important openings of this declaration. The first one is that the politician of the time found internationalism in architecture very confident. Secondly the politician paid attention to

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[27] "Kamutay planı müsabakası neticelendi" in *Ulus Newspaper*, February 23, 1938 as republished in *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'ninDünü-Bugünü-Yarını* (1976)

the choice of a specialist in giving the responsibility of building the most monumental building of its time.

Figure 3. 30 Entry by Clemens Holzmeister in 1938 International Competition
(Arkitekt, 1938, No: 4, p.119)
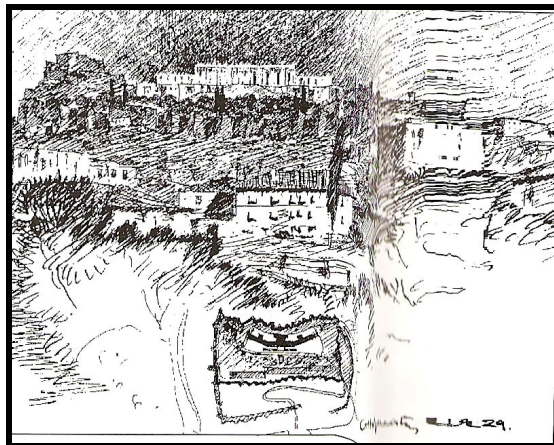
Figure 3. 31 Proposal for the new parliament in the walls of the old citadel
by Clemens Holzmeister in 1929.
(Cengizkan 2004, 222)
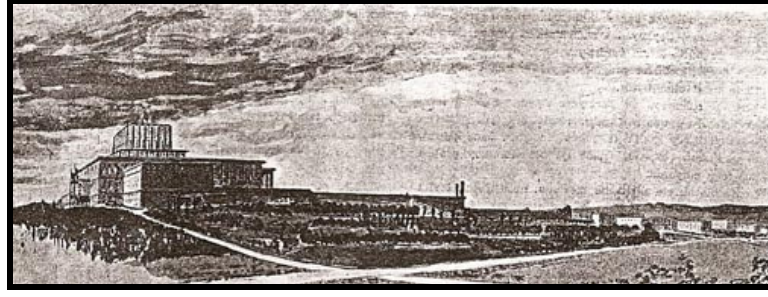
Figure 3. 32 External Submission by Bruno Taut, International competition, 1938
(Arkitekt, 1938, No: 4, p. 131)

3.2.2.3 The Architect Clemens Holzmeister

Clemens Holzmeister's design for the parliament building was chosen in the international competition from among three finalist projects as his project was the one that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk favored the most. Making Ankara the capital had already been a political and ideological decision. Together with breaking up with the past and tradition, the determined reforms and changes found their reflections in the architecture of the capital. Oesterheld (1994:10), the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, in a seminar on the European Architecture in Ankara between 1923 and 1950, states that the "modern architecture of Ankara" was pure, functionalist and exposing political ideals. It implied the rejection of ornamentation, and exhibited sober and permanent forms. The Republic of Turkey was hence having an architecture appropriate to its politics. From that point of view, he found no coincidence in the affective role of the famous German architects and planners in the construction of the capital. Oesterheld (1994: 10) adds that these German professionals could detach themselves from the boundaries of the traditional methods of arts and structure, and searched for a free building activity and carried the Republic on the way towards a modern architecture. According to Erichsen (1994: 26-35) these professionals had very important responsibilities in the construction of Ankara by defining a new vocabulary for the state architecture of the Turkish Republic. These German and Austrian professionals were either exiles from the racist regime of the Nazis, or on-leave academicians of the universities who came to Turkey as a result of the external cultural politics of Germany.

The role of foreign architects in the construction of the capital city was also definitive for Clemens Holzmeister who was chosen to design the third parliament building of the young Republic. The first time when Clemens Holzmeister visited Ankara in 1927 was for his commission to design the National Defense Ministry. Following this visit, he came also for other projects. For Muck (2001), Clemens Holzmeister succeeded in the natural way elaborating the monumental forms for the edifices he built for Ankara with the title of the State Architect, and hence he created the Kemalist state architecture as a "symbol of orderly power". According to Batur (2005: 20-21),

> The number, size and the properties of these projects made Holzmeister the most prominent architect of the period. Classical diagrams in the shape of a "U" or "H" with a large, rectangular central courtyard, symmetrical and axial plans or front facade designs, and block joints without any articulated couplings are the properties that immediately attract attention. These properties connect the Holzmeister works to the pre-modern period. Although there are elements such as circular planned corner volumes, front facade plastics provided with protrusions in the shape of a "T" turned upside down to be attributed to the Vienna School of the early modern style, the prominent trend is the classicist line when they are combined with the colossal style of the columns in the height of two or three stories in some samples.

In light of Nicolai (1998), there are two important phases of Holzmeister's activities in Turkey. The first one is of an architect's who gave shape to the governmental district of the capital city Ankara between 1927 and 1935. At this period he was also continuing his academic studies at the academies of Vienna and Düsseldorf. Nicolai explains this period of Holzmeister as very productive, in which he exhibited examples of representative architecture, in a way creating a style of "Holzmeisterizm". In addition to that, as stated by Windsor (1994: 178), the new Austrian *Werkbund* had been founded on 24 February 1934, with Clemens Holzmeister as President, Behrens and Josef Hoffman as Vise Presidents. As Nicolai (1998) states the second period between 1938 and 1954 is that of a man who preferred to live an exile life without returning back to his country because of the Nazi Regime in Germany that also controlled the Austrian culture. The most important work of Holzmeister during this period is the building of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Holzmeister lived in Turkey and taught at the Istanbul Technical University between 1946 and 1949.[28] He had all the advantages and possibilities of its time with the buildings he designed in Ankara and therefore he was harshly criticized.

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[28] The Academy of Fine Arts dedicated a retrospective on his honor in 1982. He was commemorated in the Turkish Grand National Assembly with an exhibition "Clemens

3.2.2.4 The Project and Its Realization

The original idea developed as a comprehensive planning for the components of its architecture. The axial development of the governmental blocks would point to the people's house at the highest point of the governmental district. The symbol of the new regime was the National Assembly given the highest hierarchy in the architectural setting. The side wings of the parliament architecture connecting to the central mass of the Plenary Hall were opening to a forecourt where the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of External Affairs would follow and reach the Ministry of Internal Affairs via sequential forecourts. The sequential open spaces would be for public use, taking the people from the Güven Park and bringing them together at the civic forum.

The project of Clemens Holzmeister for the Grand National Assembly consisted of a main block situated on the highest point of the site, and wings placed parallel to each other, and bridges connecting these wings. The main block housed the great halls and an elevated entrance with high colonnades and monumental stairs. Aslanoğlu (2000: 274) states that the monumentality was created also by the symmetric placement of the masses. Muck (2001) similarly compares Holzmeister's other governmental buildings with the Parliament building and states that, with its solemnity and strict appearance, the Parliament building could well be fitted in a picture of the fascist Italian architecture, popular at the time. However, this does not necessarily imply that it was a representation of an authoritarian regime for Muck (2001), who accepts it would be a mistake to make such commentaries for a nation breaking up with an empire and in the transition period of the parliamentary system.

According to Etlin (1994: 47) the widespread application of neoclassical facades and buildings in fascist regimes such as German and Italian civic architecture during the 1930s was in a way an implication of mass architecture, or later on they were accepted as spaces of oppression. And Scobie (1990:69) writes that, for Speer, *Versammlungsarchitektur* (assembly-architecture) was "a means for stabilizing the mechanism of Hitler's domination". However in the Turkish case, the administrators and politicians wanted to define a new architecture in order to define spaces of a newly liberated nation.

Holzmeister: An Architect at Turning Points of History" in 2003. In his life he completed 673 works. He died on June 12, 1983.
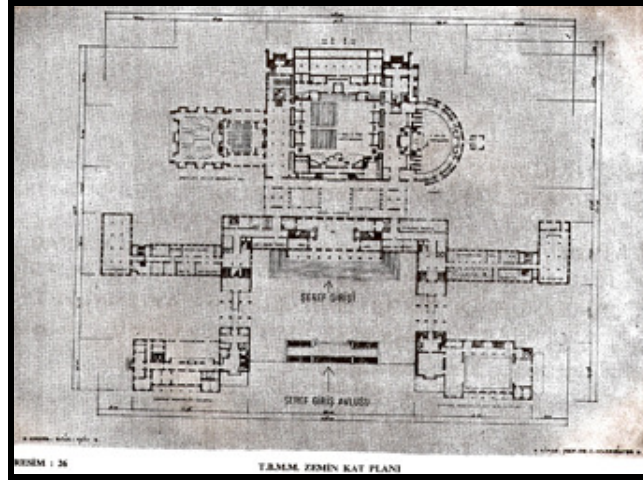
Figure 3. 33 Clemens Holzmeister, Ground Floor Plan of the Turkish Grand National Assembly
(*TBMM'nin Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını,* 1976, No: 26)

At the center of the spatial layout of the main block, there is the National Assembly hall. This great hall opens to the coulisses that surround it on the right and left sides. At the competition submission of Holzmeister, the coulisses were opening to two equal size rectangle halls for minor meetings. But in the realized situation there is a half- circle amphitheater for the senate hall and there are two other halls opening to the coulisses. This modification can be observed between the later drawings and Holzmeister's drawings of 1938.
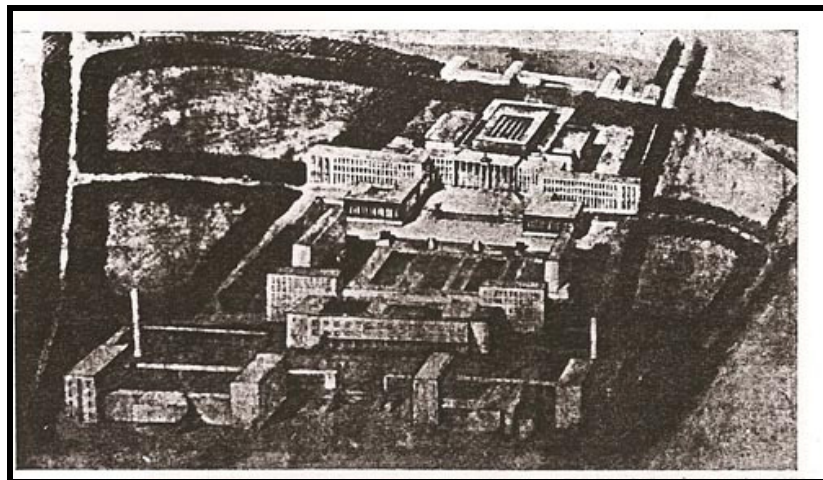
Figure 3. 34 Site submission of Clemens Holzmeister in 1938
(Arkitekt, 1938, No: 4, p. 101)

Following the Beaux-Arts neo-classical tradition, Holzmeister developed an articulation of great halls on major and minor axes. The vestibule area worked as a generator of forces. He maintained the circulation via rectangular halls such as coulisses, vestibule, and hall of honor and stairs and corridors in the symmetrical wings. He placed coulisses so as to give access to the general hall, group meeting rooms and the senate hall. He connected the meeting halls via coulisses to the vestibule area in which he placed two winter gardens. The vertical and lateral flows coincide in this vestibule area. Although the circulation continues from the coulisses to the vestibule vertically, the vertical directionality is broken in the vestibule area because of the structural elements screening the passage to the side wings, preventing visibility.

The circulation twists around these structural elements and the directionality of the circulation turns 90 degrees and continues as a lateral movement to reach offices and service spaces at the side wings. In a way this intersection point for vertical and lateral movements together with decreased accessibility via screening with structural elements complicates the continuity in the rest of the building. By these means access to spaces of executive and inspection is made difficult. The vestibule area opens to the hall of honor which is also opening to the Ceremony place outside. In fact the vestibule area and the hall of honor are placed adjacent from the long side of the rectangle. The vestibule area also takes people to the left and right wings. To the left and right of the hall of honor on the facade there are two symmetrical entrances for the parliament members. These two entrances also connect with the vestibule area. The horizontal layout of the wings which have connections to the vestibule area makes the spatial depth increase. The library and the restaurant which are placed at the two ends of the wings have the longest distance from the coulisses. In fact the stair halls of these two wings have the most traffic in the parliament. In fact they should be larger designed if the hierarchy of the spaces had been arranged accordingly.

The Presidency and Ceremonial Blocks are placed facing the entrance halls for parliament members. On the ground floor the circulation is continuous outside between the entrance doors of the main building and the blocks. The continuity in the upper floor is maintained via two bridges. If the plans of these two separate blocks are investigated, the plan organization is held completely different from the main building. Though in terms of mass organization these two blocks are symmetrically placed, the plans are not solved

identically. The planar organization is more of a modernist approach enabling flexible use of the big spaces and axial arrangements do not dominate the design. For the ceremonial block Holzmeister envelopes the Hall of ceremonies with the lobby space at the entrance and the vertical movement shifts to lateral in gallery space at one side. The lobby space could be divided into small halls. Holzmeister articulated the interior design of the parliament building with great care. Batur (2005: 21) explains that

> The building of the Turkish Grand National Assembly is the biggest and most magnificent example of Holzmeister in Ankara... The buildings of the Holzmeister project, which were simpler and less pretentious that the other projects submitted, have a monumental air, which is not oppressive in the urban perspective of today's Ankara. Especially in the internal design of the parliament, the work displays care and knowledge. A masterly stylization of the classical repertoire is used in the architectural elements and the surface arrangements. In the decorative arrangements, this repertoire forms original compositions with more modern, Art Deco or expressionist motifs.

Together with the parliament building project, Holzmeister was commissioned with the projects for the Presidency, the Prime Ministry, and the house and the guesthouse for the Speaker of the Assembly. The Speaker of the Grand National Assembly, Abdülhalik Renda, started the construction of the project in October 26, 1939. The building exceeded the contemporary capacity of Turkey in terms of technical, artistic, industrial and work force levels.[29] The technical staff and workers were from abroad and there was a lack of foreign currency at the time. Moreover, the Second World War had quite negative effects on the economic situation. Because of these reasons, the construction stopped in 1941, and

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[29] According to the Committee Report (1976) although the architect of the new assembly building was a foreigner, he preferred to use local materials (copper, stone and marble). The representation of four seasons of the Anatolian land in the color usage of the building is also significant. The structure of the building is reinforced concrete. The Erzincan Earthquake in 1938 had a lot of attention on the issue of earthquake, although Ankara was out of the earthquake region, hence the building was designed as earthquake-resistant. The walls of the office section were strengthened with earthquake curtain walls and the meeting halls were structurally designed also to resist horizontal loads. The exterior walls were covered with white travertine stone of 8 to 24 centimeters. Travertine was maintained from stone fields in Eskipazar and Malıköy. The marble that was used in inner walls was from Marmara, Afyon and partly from some newly opened fields (which we do not know where yet) and 36 kinds of marble were used in the building. The use of local marbles in the building helped the development of 100 new marble industries in Turkey. This was also the same situation for the wood works. A drying oven and a modern cutting atelier were founded in the field; workers were educated and for the first time such a large work was realized here in Turkey, and the city gained a lot from the construction activities. For the roof tiling, on the other hand, 260 tons of copper was used. (Committee Report; 1976)

only restarted in July 29, 1942. At that time, construction activities, such as masonry, woodwork and installation, were adjudicated to different contractors. For some installation works that could not be possibly done in Turkey, Swiss experts were called for. Again for the panel heating and ventilation system, which would be the first application in Turkey, technical support was taken from the English. Ziya Payzın, who was one of the students of Clemens Holzmeister, was commissioned for the detail drawings of the structure. By 1947, the rough construction of the building was completed.

Figure 3. 35 An axonometric representation of Holzmeister's Plan, as partially realized without the Palace of the Republic at the south (at the top) and the Prime and External Ministries at the north (at the bottom) 1946
(*TBMM Dünü-Bugunü-Yarını*,1976, p.10)

The beginning of the 1950s is marked with the Democrat Party government, which "came to power by elections through parliamentary and constitutional ways" (Lewis; 2000: 379). And "the modernity project, together with the development of the welfare state after the Second World War, gained a populist understanding, which was reinforced also with a passage to a multi-party system" (Tekeli; 1988: 12). This was a new term where "strict statist policies of protectionism were abandoned and liberal policies were put into implementation" (Özçelebi; 1999: 67). This opening also found reflections in the social and urban life. The Chamber of Professions (Labor Unions) was founded after the 1950s.

"The establishment of the Chamber of Architects in 1954 according to the Law of Turkish Association of Chambers of Engineering and Architecture enabled independent control mechanisms and the monopoly of the state supervision over architecture was over" (Sey; 1998: 34, and Özçelebi, 1999, 65). These new openings in the field of architecture quickly reflected to the commissioning of state projects as well. These were the introduction of new building types necessitated with new socio-economic conditions, whereby the method for delivering public architecture still remained to be via competitions. The developments in the architectural field gave way to national architects to produce projects and participate in architectural competitions. Actually these developments terminated the period of commissioning foreign planners and architects for the state sponsored projects. In addition, the foreign architects also got older or left for their countries and naturally they disappeared out of the field of Turkish architecture.

The same year, the construction process was turned over to the Public Works Ministry. In 1949 Ziya Payzın represented Holzmeister, and after this date he was commissioned as the head of construction. Actually after the building was started to be used, Ziya Payzın continued his studies on the development of the project and represented the architect in related studies. Initially the construction work had been given to one contractor, Nuri Demirağ. Since this method could not be realized within the hard economic conditions of the country, the work was then divided into parts. As a result of the negative developments in contemporary political agenda of the war and immediate post-war periods, there was a great criticism about the construction process of the parliament building as the costs were off the limits for this great investment. There were not only ministers who insisted that the work should be converted to a university or a hospital for the sake of the public, but also politicians who thought that the yearly costs for the maintenance of the building would exceed the construction costs so the building should be left incomplete.

Figure 3. 36 Clemens Holzmeister 1946. Birdview drawing of the TBMM and
the Ministry of Interior and the civic forum envisaged in between them
(METU, Dept.of Architecture, Documentary for Republican Architecture Period)

The Democratic Party that came to power in the 1950 elections was also the follower of the second thesis. After the elections, ruling party members came in groups of 70 or 80 in order to determine the future of the building, and the majority of them were for the idea that the construction should not be completed. They decided to assemble a committee composed of 30 people to determine what should be done with the building. This committee under the presidency of Sıtkı Yırcalı[30] made a detailed investigation. The architect Ziya Payzın finally proposed a solution. He explained that the plan of the building had not been designed as a hospital or a university, so the conversion could be more expensive than completing the original. Knowing that the building was designed extra-large for the need, the suggestion was that the Prime Ministry could also be placed in the campus at the Presidency section and the Ministry of External Affairs could be moved into Block C, where the library was supposed to be. That solution would have saved 50 million liras.

The project was introduced to the parliament speaker Refik Koraltan[31] and he accepted it conditionally that a great conversion would not be done and in the future they should turn

[30] At that time Sıtkı Yırcalı, Balıkesir Representative, was the Minister of Economy and Trade (between 17 May 1954 and 9 December 1955)
[31] Refik Koraltan worked in *Kuvayi Milliye* in the War of Independence; later on he was elected as the representative of Konya in the first Assembly and continued till 1935. He was one of the four founders of Democrat Party in 1946. He was the chairperson between 22 between May 1950 and 27 May 1960.

to the original scheme. Again under the presidency of Yırcalı a committee of three investigated and accepted the proposal to build the parliament building so as to include the Ministry of External Affairs and the Prime Ministry. Yet, the reluctance on the construction work continued because money was needed for imported materials in the central heating plant, but the government finally decided to make that investment. While the construction work was going on, the first completed part, which is inhabited by the guardsmen of the Assembly, and the Presidential Guard today, was given to the American Aid Commission and the Printing Press, and the building for the personnel was given to the service of the newly established Middle East Technical University.

In December 1957, the Baghdad Pact was going to assemble in Ankara. According to Alpagut (1994: 54) the first conglomeration had been in the Iranian Parliament. The second gathering of the Pact would be in Ankara. Unfortunately the old parliament building was not suitable for this specific occasion, and any other place could not be found in Ankara. Except for a few conference halls of some faculties, there was not a place for such an organization in the city, and those conference halls of the faculties were not suitable because of the mandatory work and the existing insecure conditions. The Ministry of External Affairs was in a hard situation. Again the architect Ziya Payzın offered a solution to realize this organization in the completed parts of the Parliament Building. Two meeting halls of the party groups and a gallery space with the corridors in front of them could be arranged for that purpose. The interior work of the partition, where the roof and rough work was completed, could be finished in five months and the building could be heated meanwhile. However, despite the present money preserved for the building, an extra amount of 1,5 million liras, another 300 000 dollars for the completion of the heat central that was being produced in Switzerland, and extra authority were required in order to realize the proposal. On the condition that the money was transferred in September 1, the responsibility was going to be fulfilled in five months and that part of the building would be opened in December 1957. (Committee Report; 1976: 15)

At first the proposal did not receive any attention. On August 30, the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes[32] was informed. Despite the national holiday, foreign currency was transferred and the other conditions were guaranteed. Finally the construction gained speed in the morning of September 1, and a non-stop hard work started. For the

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[32] Menderes was the founder of the Democrat Party. And he was the Prime Minister between 22 May 1950 and 27 May 1960.

conference a lot of armchairs were required. The armchair production capacity of Turkey at the moment was 30 pieces a month. Ziya Payzın prepared the detail drawings of 2700 armchairs. Alpagut (1994: 55) explains that the leather supplied from Beykoz was sent to Bielefeld, Germany, and the inside mechanism of the armchairs were completed there and the details for the parts that were going to be completed were simplified and applied according to the existing materials.

The Baghdat Pact in December served for two purposes about the assembly building. Firstly, it provided the confidence that the building could be completed, and secondly it proved that the building could be heated. The government increased the construction season from 6 months to 12 months for the rest of the interior work. In the following monetary meeting of the parliament, this subject was handled specially and they decided to complete the last wish of Atatürk. Every completed part of the heated building was being inhabited. By these means the Ministry of Public Works Control Organization, the Prime Ministry, the Secretary for CENTO, the *Distribution Allocation Commission*, and the National Unity Organization all used the building for some time.

In May 27, 1960 the army took over the power. Muzaffer Yurdakuler[33], a member of the National Unity Committee[34], "*Milli Birlik Komitesi*" asked if they could use the building for the "founding assembly". On this occasion, with a last support (of power and money) of the National Unity Government, the building was finalized for the meeting of the "founding assembly" in January 6, 1961; and the new constitution was prepared in the new building. After that date the building has continuously been used by the national assembly. However, when it was finally opened in 1961, there were a lot of unfinished works like construction work, artwork, landscape, water units and extension buildings. On July 2, 1975 in the common meeting of the Republican Senate and the Assembly Divans they decided to complete the unfinished project (1976: 15).

The parliament building was now slightly differently interpreted than the 1938 competition-winning project. The changing economic conditions, the Second World War and changing governments urged for some changes in the application of the project. In the

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33 General Colonel Muzaffer Yurdakuler later became natural senator of the Turkish Republic
34 The name of the military organization which overthrew Adnan Menderes at the coup d'etat in 27 May 1960.

first design of the parliament in 1938, the meeting halls to the east and west of the great hall (the general meeting hall) were depicted as rectangle and they had the same size. But to the east of the great hall two attached meeting rooms, and to the west of the great hall the Republican Senate Hall were constructed. In the same design, the Bureau of the Assembly, *Cumhur Reisliği Daireleri*, and the Hall of ceremonies Blocks, did not have connections to the wings. As Alpagut marks (1994: 56), the settings were enlarged for the Ministry of External Affairs and the Prime Ministry that were in the north of the campus, and their construction was undone because of economic conditions. Moreover she adds with the same reason that they also gave up the idea to build the service offices to the south of the meeting rooms. Of all these sections, the construction of the Prime Ministry, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Speaker House, the police barrack and lodgings for manager members were left for later interventions. According to the Committee Report (1976: 15) the other sections were finished in time. The officer lodgings were added to the program later on (1976: 17)

3.3 The Turkish Parliamentary Complex and the Turkish State

As discussed in the previous chapter, the communicative aspect of the parliament building via its architecture and surrounding is an outcome of expression of its functional space designed with existential characteristics and changed with transformational characteristics. The communicative aspect of the parliament, i.e. its shared space, may be affected from a number of components such as urban setting, urban context, visual accessibility, external spatial qualities and architectural presence. The basic assumption here is that state buildings have an "image" problem: contemporary acceptances and conditions are effective in the form and the appearance of the building. In fact, the time span of a parliament building is much longer than any other architecture; thus it is meant to be monumental because of the commemorative locus associated with the national symbolism. One can conclude then that it would not be possible to examine architecture of parliaments as a reflection of any architectural period or style. Yet, the time when the building was built becomes important. So the initial ideas and how these ideas were realized in the frame of existential characteristics that are discussed in the second chapter will be discussed with a focus on the Turkish parliamentary complex in relation to the power representation of the nation state.

Goodsell (1988) states that "architecture is used as a physical and durable "readout" of common tendencies in political life prevailing at the time of construction. Because those in power inevitably made an imprint on the huge public investments that are represented by governmental buildings, this interpretation reflects the shared values of political regimes and elites." In parallel with Goodsell, the building for the Turkish Grand National Assembly is a product of the political decision of the Republic administrators. The shared value of the political regime and elites in Turkey was represented in two fields of representation, planning and architecture. In planning, a perspective of city beautiful movement and the ideals of Camillo Sitte was followed by Jansen. The planning decisions were taken into consideration according to the planner and the plan at the initial period. And the planning was seen a state matter rather than the responsibility of the city administration. From the beginning of twentieth century until the Second World War the civic architecture of public buildings were mainly built in international style. And the neo-classical architecture that was breed from the Beaux Arts Ecole was also favored in examples of civic architecture. As for Etlin (1994: 55),

> The challenge faced by Beaux-Arts architecture in the nineteenth and eigteenth-century components - the *grande architecture*, character and Durand's rationalization of academic composititon - in the most effective way.

As discussed in the previous sections the international competition for the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1938 did also search for *grande architecture*, clarity, and hygiene and architecture representing the twentieth century. In architecture, the founders of the Republic turned away from the first national style towards an international style, which they believed to be a symbol of modernization.

The foundation of the Republic is a starting point for a new terminology. The building and its site are determined according to visual readability and orientation of the crowds to the front square of the parliament. The term "crowds" is important here. It enables state ceremonies and gatherings of the people, however it does not potentially offer a use for the public as free individuals. Sonne (2003: 297) states "the use of multi-wing palace typology which already fulfilled a multitude of governing functions in times of absolutism was therefore ideally suited for the complex administrative machinery of the early twentieth-century state." And this typology usually showed up with ceremonial forecourt ensembles. The building is designed as a working parliament centralized on the idea of all legislative functions coming together around a great hall. Maybe because of the

contemporary ideas of the period, the gathering spaces are visualized, however it is not specially designed for the individual. Not only the public but also the parliament members are given collective spaces but not working offices or visitor halls. The materiality of the parliament symbolizes the durability of the founding principles with its strong and vague appearance.
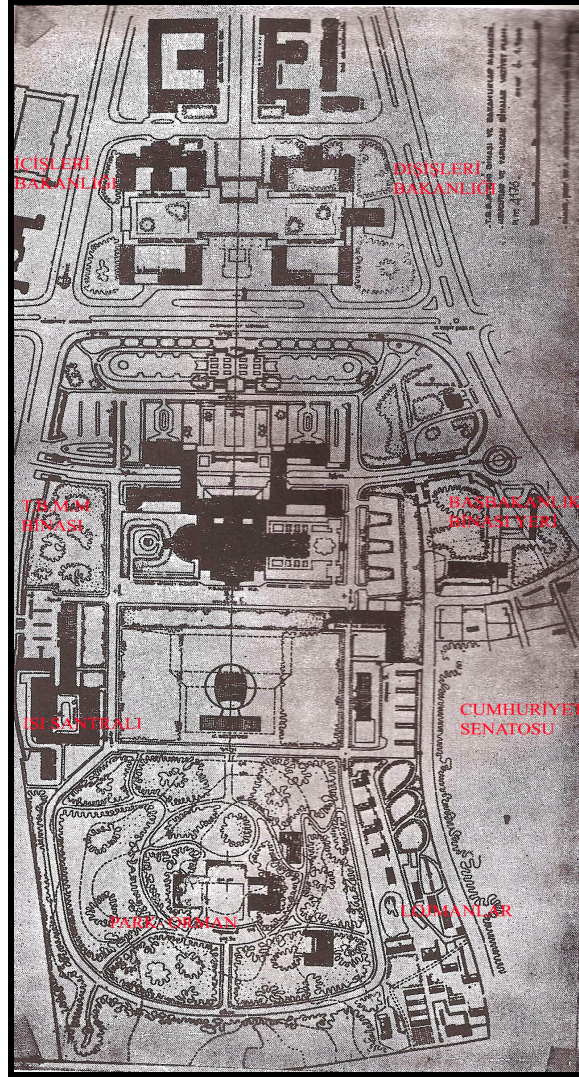
Figure 3. 37 Plan by Clemens Holzmeister and Ziya Payzın, 1959-1961, where the future position of the Senate Building is determined in the back garden of the Grand National Assembly, where the Public Relations Building (1985) exists today
(TBMM'nin Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını, p.53)

This building is designed for a possible bicameral organization later on. Atatürk in choosing the project also envisaged a bicameral system for the future life of the Turkish Parliament. The building has a general hall, one senate hall, and one hall for the governing

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party, one hall for the opposition and two small halls for party groups represented in the parliament. It is designed for a multi-party system parliament. Although the competition date was 1938 in the one-party period, the program of the parliament envisaged a multi-party system. It is also related with the foresights of Atatürk and trials of multi-party politics in the inner organization of single party.

The shared space of the parliament as discussed in the second chapter could be defined within the spaces of public encounter. The shared space determines the communicative aspect of the parliament architecture. The governmental center of the Turkish Republic was set forward in a way emphasizing the centrality and unity of the government. Its relations with the capital city were an outcome of the surrounding built environment. In conclusion the political center of the designed capital is the governmental district planned by Jansen and nearly all of the ministries were built by Holzmeister.

Between the time period 1932 and 1938 all of the ministries moved from the old city center to the planned governmental district. Although an international competition was opened for the parliament building in 1937, its construction continued for nearly thirty years because of the economic situation and war conditions. Therefore the legislative of the Turkish nation state remained in the old city center till 1961 and between 1930s and 1960s there were two political centers in the capital city of Ankara. Therefore the Atatürk Boulevard, or the Gazi Mustafa Paşa Street in the early years as a connector of these political nodes became a spatial locus of "space and meaning production for the ideologies of the state on constructing new culture, new citizen and progress" as stated in Keskinok (2009: 56). So the capital city planning and designing new political center necessiated new actors, as Batuman (2005: 35) argues. For him, "the creation of Yenişehir as a specifically social space was a necessary precondition for the construction of modern identity." However another important point is, as Batuman (2005: 35) states, that the railroad built around 1893 became a "natural border" between the old city and new city. So as to say a modern republican identity was only experienced between the elite actors in Yenişehir in the south of that border, which is "planned to provide government buildings and residences for the state employees." In this way, Batuman (2005: 36) concludes, "Yenişehir then was to be home for an emerging modern Turkish bourgeois identity."

The political aim of the Turkish Republic in architectural and space production was to design a capital city and a sovereign district to symbolize the motivations of the new born

republic to create and sustain the new regime through physical legitimacy. However, the aim is also to be modern in relation to the progressive ideology. This implied a period of foreign architects' domination in the creation of the state architecture. However the First World War conditions and the National Socialist Regime in Germany forced German architects to live exile in Turkey. The new regime welcomed these professionals with excitement. For the social life on the other hand the state ideology implied the construction of a national identity under the title of modernity via the spaces of Republic. From the beginning of the planning process of Ankara as the capital, foreign planners and architects such as Lörcher, Jansen and Holzmeister shared a common vision of a governmental district. This is the great ideal of the founders of the Republic as well - although there were also reactions to move to the new city center in Yenişehir. This generally shared vision was a reflection of the current movements of capital city planning internalized in old capitals in the form of a European repertoire imported as new planning for new capitals. The planning strategy of the planners of Ankara was to define zones or districts of development in the new city center in collaboration with the old via emphasizing the power of axial boulevard as a connector. The contrast between the old and new was already in the selection of the place of the capital as Ankara instead of the old capital İstanbul. However one must also care about the war conditions and the military strategic concerns in the selection of Ankara as the center for directing the Independence War. The center for commanding during the War became the national capital because of the new dynamism brought in the city accelerated and focused in an ideal of construction of a "new nation", yet it was born in the final stage of Ottoman Empire and in the era of Young Turks after 1908 on gaining independence.

Vale (1992) discusses the infusion of national symbolism as a time taking period for emerging states in the physical environment so that there would be alterations due to city growth and development, and personal or group reactions against the government sponsored acts. This is valid for the governmental district of Ankara as well. Before the governmental district was completed, there were signals of these reactions in the executive wing of the regime. The disappearance of the civic forum between the ministries and the parliament in years is an outcome of these reactions appearing as physical alterations in the plan and architecture of the district. This period also symbolizes the change offs between the sponsorships of state projects as discussed by Tankut (1932) as "bourgeoisie conquering the castle of bureaucracy".

In the following chapter the analysis will focus on the period after the building started to be used that starts with the preparation of the constitution by the National Unity Committee in the new parliament building in 1960. The political and social life in Turkey as well as in the parliamentary complex experienced changes from then on.
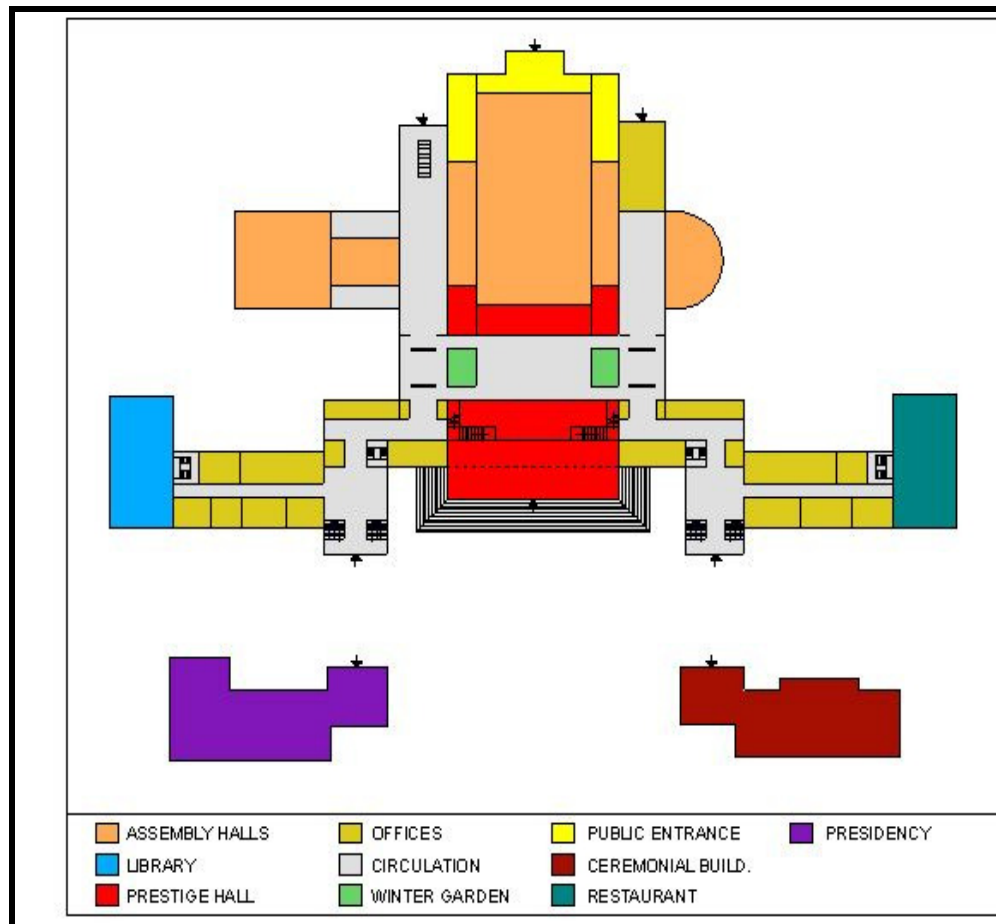
Figure 3. 38 The spatial arrangement in the Main Building

1	2	3
Concepts for Power and Authority Structures	**Concepts for Capital City Planning of Ankara**	**Architectural Concepts for Parliament Buildings**
-Republic -Centralization -Division of Forces -Legislation -Executive -Judiciary -Inspection -Government -Ministries -National Assembly -Democracy -One chamber -Two chambers -Bureaucracy -New Bourgeoisie -Nation -National State -Unity -Modernity -Central Government -Local Government -Domination -Appropriation -Emulation -Oppression -Emancipation -Independence -National Sovereignty -National Ideology -National Identity -Modern Citizen -Republicanism (1924) -Nationalism (1923) -Populism (1921) -Statism (1937) -Secularity (1926) -Revolutionism (1925)	-national capital -designed capital -city as symbol of nation state -revolutionary space -locus -composed monumentality -garden city movement -Camillo Sitte -sequential green axes -axial development -boulevard -Republic Square -Nation Street -Nation Garden - Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard -Glory Square -Security Monument -Government Place -Civic Forum -zoning -governmental district -residential district -health district -education district -city crown -national monuments -health institutes, youth park -clean, simple lines -early -tabula rasa -revolutionary space -old city: beautiful castle -new city: castle of bourgeois -historical: early regime -modern: International style	-axial movement -scale -hierarchy -enclosure -orientation -symmetrical -centralized space -scattered space -centrifugal space -sequential design -ceremonial space -monumental architecture -Beaux-Arts Architecture -International Architecture -modern architecture -neo-classical -vestibule -plenary hall -coulisses -gallery -entrance hall -foyer -committee rooms -party group halls -hall of ceremonies -presidency -public gallery -public entrance -member entrance -press hall -division elements -circulation -visitor traffic -exclusion -inclusion -segregation -division -transparent -massive -prismatic

Figure 3. 39 Concepts for Power and Authority, Capital City Planning and Parliament Architecture as generated with the urban acts and works of architecture in the national capital and the parliament

CHAPTER 4

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE TURKISH PARLIAMENTARY COMPLEX

This chapter is designed to reveal the significance of political and architectural decisions in the function and the meaning of the built environment of an assembly complex. In consequence of the settlement of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in its new complex in Yenişehir – now Kızılay, a number of developments took place in the setting of the Assembly in terms of changes and additions of buildings, landscape elements and monuments. The built environment of the assembly complex grew due to the necessities of the original project of Holzmeister during the first couple of decades; and political situations and decisions in later decades affected the function and the meaning of the complex and thus transformed the expression of its functional space.

The construction of the assembly building could be completed and the building started to be used only after the military intervention in 1960. After the building had been completed and started to be inhabited in January 6, 1961, a wide investment plan was prepared for developing the landscape, monuments, and new buildings in the assembly complex that would be built in future. Each requirement in the plan was not put into action soon, and this plan could only be started to be realized after 1976. In the mean time, the spaces of the Assembly were used within the boundaries of the existing original project.

The assembly building has witnessed many periods since its design and construction: Turkish politics experienced many important constitutional changes during this period, and conclusively new political situations and decisions necessitated transformation of the parliamentary space. The political structure changed within intervals of external interventions. The political structure became a larger organization with the augmentation and expansion of parliamentary functions. In accordance with the 1961 constitution, the period between 1960 and 1965 became a period of development in foundational, social

and legal structures for the parliament, with the introduction of new legislative, executive, judiciary and inspection functions. The Republican senate was then inaugurated, and the political system turned into a two-chambers system. Another expansion in parliamentary functions was an increase in public relations due to free elections. With the development of interaction between the electors and the elected, the elected acquired the mission of face-to-face problem solving of the electors. The centralization function of the government forced the elected to make these public dialogues in the capital city; and the Assembly building in the capital city had the mission to response to this new requirement of parliamentary function by either adjusting its existing spaces or producing the necessary new spaces.

The required changes in the spatial organization of the Parliamentary Complex as a result of political decisions created new buildings in the campus and necessitated renovations in the existing ones. How these were presented, discussed and realized mostly via architectural competitions will be analyzed in this chapter. The projects in the competitions will feed the study from the point of the contemporary attitudes towards public architecture and the approach to the representation of the state in the architectural agenda of Turkey. Examining the requirement lists of the competitions, we can have information about both the clients' and the architects' decisions on such issues. The chosen project will help us understand which solutions were preferred to spatial problems in the Assembly complex.

The analysis will be divided into two sections. The first section is about the new spatial requirements and arrangements in the built environment that necessitated from the cultivation and enlargement of the parliament complex, complementary to the architectural character and setting of the original design that Holzmeister developed in a period starting with the architectural competition in 1938 and finalized in the 1960s. In time, the original Holzmeister design became insufficient with new political decisions such as the increase in public relations (a result of free elections), the doubling of the assembly organization with the addition of the republican senate (as a result of the two-chamber system), the increase in spaces of bureaucracy (as a result of the growth of the state), and also the foundation of the national television (as a result of the creation of new autonomous constitutional institutions). In addition to new space requirement resulted from the new developments, there were also incomplete parts of Holzmeister's project to

be the concern of the Bureau of the Assembly from the 1960s onwards, such as the implementation of landscape projects and monuments.

The second section studies the attempts of the Assembly for obtaining new buildings via national competitions to re-define the Turkish parliamentary space and to answer the needs of increasing parliamentary activities. This period shows a scattering of parliamentary functions in the assembly complex especially by the separation of the visitor traffic from the main function of legislation. The formations and transformations of the recent decades have derived from inner and external motivations affecting the communicative aspects of the Assembly Complex.

Figure 4. 1 Aerial photograph of Turkish Grand National Complex in 1960's
(Öztan; 1973, 22)

4.1 Building on the Original Project (Early 1960s-Early 1980s)

The most significant change in the parliamentary practices was, according to the new constitution of 1961, the division of sovereignty via organs- new legislative, executive, judiciary and inspection functions, which also resulted with the introduction of new spaces of bureaucracy. The load of the building also increased with the two-chambers system. From the late 1970s onwards, the Turkish Grand National Assembly Building experienced

spatial changes and the parliamentary complex had extensions. In this section it is aimed to examine these alterations and reflect upon their reasons.

The period starting when the parliament started to be used in the early 1960s coincides with great constitutional changes in the political life in Turkey. The new constitution of 1961 brought the division of sovereignty via organs in addition to the bi-cameral parliamentary system. As a result of new constitutional terms such as primary elections, the multi-party democracy developed into the parties' democracy. After the 1965 elections, the majority of the representatives were not political elites and high official bureaucrats any more; on the contrary, they were professionals as engineers, lawyers, doctors and so on. These developments naturally increased one-by-one relations between the elected and elector in the Assembly. In the National Assembly in those years, a search began for completing the unbuilt parts of the original design and arts and monuments in the assembly site. The main building functioned at the moment only for the legislative purposes. Then followed the 1965 competition for the landscape design; and around the 1970s the Assembly began studies on the enlargement of the campus.
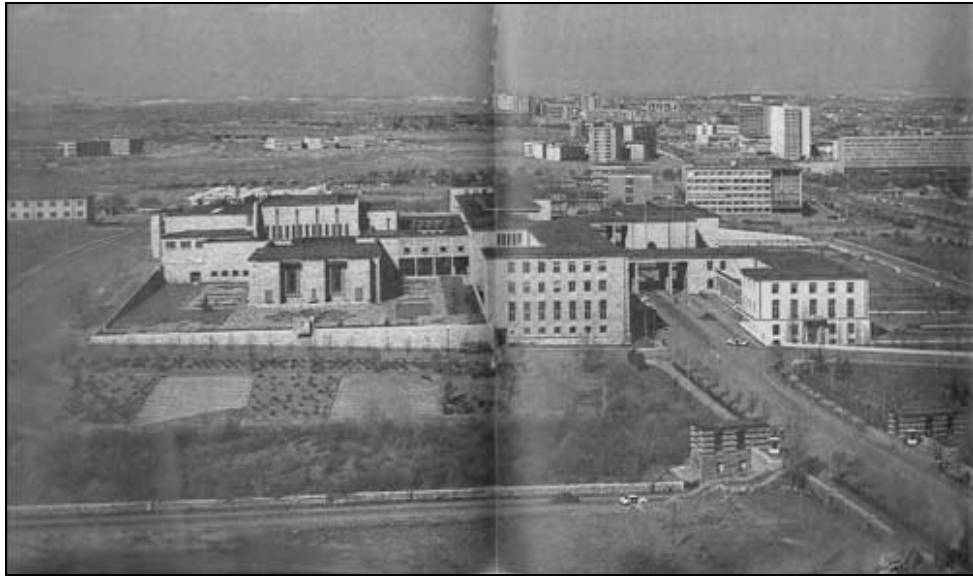
Figure 4. 2 Turkish Grand National Complex in 1970
(Mehmet Rado, *Hayat*, No: 4, May 1970, 50- 51)

A Commission Report of 1976 prepared by the Preparation Committee of Monuments and Buildings under the Councils of Republican Senate and National Assembly (*Cumhuriyet Senatosu ve Millet Meclisi Divanları Anıtlar ve Yapılar Hazırlık Komitesi*) has been a guide for the situation after the building was completed.[35] The Committee Report (1976) depicts the great changes that the Assembly faced at that time, revealing many principal changes in the social structure of Turkey. These changes are reported as follows:

> There was the division of forces. Legislation, Inspection, Execution, and Judgment are differentiated. Non-elected "natural senators" and "senators of the President of the Republican apportionment" were introduced. In addition to that, former presidents had also constitutional seats in the Republican Senate. The President became the head of execution. By this, his actions in the parliament are decreased. New autonomous constitutional institutions are founded. The Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) and press became important. In respect to the new social state features, the state began to have more responsibilities. The changes in the election law forced a democratic change towards the multi-party system. 450 members of the National Assembly, 150 members of the Republican Senate and 15 members of the President apportionment would already make 615 seats in the parliament. When the former presidents and the natural senators were added to this number, it would reach a total of 643 members. Apart from these, the working hours of the Grand National Assembly members and the other chambers increased. The social duties and the planned economic order became the driving forces for this increase. While the multi-party democracy transformed into parties-democracy via primary elections, the member-elector relations increased.

This period is an evolution process for the Turkish parliamentary space between the 1970s and the late 1980s. Actually the 1980s are stamped as the starting period for liberalization of economy and starts with the military coup of 1980. The military intervention to democracy symbolizes a withdrawal from democracy and resulted with suppressions of political parties and disempowerment of civil organizations. However the construction activities of the 1980s in the parliamentary complex are actually a belated implementation of ideals cultivated in the first half of the 1960s, and generated in the next half of the 1970s. The military government supported the continuation of the constructions started in the late 1970s. And these projects are the landscape design, the Atatürk Monument and the Public Relations Building that could only be completed at the end of the 1980s.

The preliminary projects, proposed as part of a working report in 1976 by the architect Ziya Payzın under the title of technical advisor and assistant to the general secretary of the

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[35] In the previous chapter I have also used this document as Committee Report (1976)

assembly, mainly concentrated on adding member and senator rooms to the south facade of the main building. According to the common decision of two bureaus of the Assembly, the additional buildings for the requirements of both chambers are decided to be delivered by the Public Works Ministry in 1977. In 1978 the decision was taken as the management of construction of additional buildings was handed over from the Public Works Ministry to the Grand National Assembly with the condition that they should be planned under the advice of Clemens Holzmeister and should response to all of the requirements of the original master plan. However it is understood that the Bureau of the Republican Senate felt uncomfortable since the Bureau of the Assembly was taking decision on annulment of a common decision without asking the senate's opinions.[36] As understood the power sharing between the two bureaus of the parliament could not be realized and there was a conflict about the method for delivering new building. In return the Republican Senate Advisory Council decided to build a separate block for the senate. The requirements included working spaces for groups and senators including common spaces such as working rooms for groups, independent member, leaders of political parties, leaders of groups and administrative councils, and meeting rooms for groups. As a result of the conflict between two bureaus, the opinion of the Public Works Ministry is taken, which advices to open a national competition for the delivery of the buildings responding to the requirements of both bureaus. In parallel with the advice of the Ministry, the Chamber of Architects and Engineers of Turkey sent a letter to the Bureau of the Republican Senate, giving opinion that opening national competition would be the most valid approach for attainment of campus enlargement project.[37] In return to the decision taken by the Bureau of the Republican Senate on attainment of the project handed over the Public Works Ministry, the Bureau of the Assembly sent a letter explaining that they could handle the requirements of both chambers and there could be the possible setbacks of handing over the project to the Ministry emphasizing future legal and technical problems that are explained in the working report of Payzın, commissioned as technical assistant of general secretary and representative of Holzmeister after 1947. In relation the Bureau of the Republican Senate participated in the common meetings of two Bureaus (1-8 May 1978), where Clemens Holzmeister was invited. As a result of these meetings, it was concluded that there should be a new building for public relations and member rooms. The proposal

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[36] See *Cumhuriyet Senatosu ve Millet Meclisi Halkla İlişkileri ve Ek Kuruluşların Yapımına ilişkin Çalışmaların Süreci* (1979) p.9

[37] Ibid, p.10

by Çinici amongst three projects (Çinici, Payzın and Güreli) assessed under a jury composed of three foreign architects directed by Holzmeister in 1979. The Bureau of the Republican Senate followed the method of obtaining a separate building via national competition. However the winning project could not be applied since Holzmeister proposed that it could better be designed at the opposite side of the Public Relations Building that had already started to be constructed by then.

4.1.1 The Landscape Design of the Assembly Park (1968-1985)

During the mid-1960s, while Ferruh Bozbeyli[38] was the President of the Assembly, there were some efforts on a program of future activities but could not be applied. Actually the first concern of the Bureau of the Assembly after the establishment of the Assembly in its new place was to attain the landscape design of the Assembly Complex.[39] After the building started to be used in 1961, the planning of the garden of the complex was immediately started to be discussed in the Presidency of Fuat Sirmen (1961-1965). As a result a competition was opened in 1965 for designing the landscape of the Parliamentary Complex.

The attainment of landscape design is significant from three points. Firstly the landscape design actually tells about how the outdoor spaces in the Parliamentary Complex will be handled. Secondly landscape articulation of the Assembly building will determine the connection of the outdoor spaces of the Assembly with the urban spaces of the capital city. And thirdly the landscape design will affect how people perceive the Parliamentary Complex from and within the city.

In order to understand the architectural presence of the Parliamentary Complex it is necessary to evaluate its existence in relation with the Assembly Park. Thus in this section, it is aimed to determine the connection of the Parliamentary Complex with the urban spaces of the capital city behind its borders, reveal the composition of outdoor elements in the Complex and to understand the shared space via the external space of the

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[38] Ferruh Bozbeyli left Justice Party and he founded the Democratic Party in 1970. He was the chairperson of the TGNA between 22 October 1965 and 1 November 1970.
[39] According to the program prepared for the Assembly Complex in 1938, there should also be the Prime Ministry, the Ministry of International Affairs, the Bureau of the Assembly and the Guesthouse, the Police Barrack and Lodgings; but these had not been constructed until then.

Complex. And lastly the motivations of the landscape designer reflect the designer's point of view in approaching Holzmeister's original design in the Complex. Moreover, it will hopefully be helpful to envisage the state of architecture in the Parliamentary complex in the second half of the 1960s.

The landscape competition for the Assembly Park in 1965 is significant for it was the first competition for landscape design in Turkey. Another significance of the competition was that it became the reason for having the Directorate of Parks and Gardens, a department for landscape, in the assembly organization.[40] The jury of the competition was consisted of Ziya Payzın (architect), Dündar Elbruz (landscape architect), Neriman Birce (Master of Architect), Günal Akdoğan (Agricultural Engineer) and Şeref Günsur (Forestry Engineer). The requirements of the landscape competition were arranged as technical requirements for the drawings to be submitted. Such important questions on how the public use of the park would be were not defined and also not answered in the questions and answers of the competition. By it is understood that the competitors were free on how they would interpret those issues. The jury chose the project by the landscape architect, Yüksel Öztan.[41] Before the project was realized, the garden space had accommodated weak plants, trees and bushes. Below I evaluated the landscape project by Öztan so as to reflect upon the parliament building's connection with the urban spaces of the capital city, the project's composition of outdoor elements, and the shared space understanding in relation to landscape.

The axis that had been drawn through the governmental district to the parliament was emphasized with a terraced organization in the Assembly Park, and this space was organized as a front garden, which exposed the main building to the city and the public. A two or three meter cut-stone masonry wall from the south and partially from the east and

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[40] Interview with Yüksel Öztan, February 2009

41 "The selection criteria of the jury was as such: 1) An aesthetical quality in the spatial organization of the park, which suits the architectural quality and identity of the building and affects the views of the building from inside and outside. 2) The existence of circulation schemes, settlement, facilities and plantation according to the use objectives proposed by the competitors on plan drawings 3) The plantation selections according to climatic conditions 4) A signaling property of evergreen plantation from the point of city aesthetics 5) Recreation areas for the assembly members and senators around the senate hall and group meeting halls and at the backside where future senate building will reside 6) Despite the high walls at the back border of the garden and limited space it serves, a normal scale organization which can be controlled in consistent to the parliamentary understanding of today 7)the economy in the construction." as stated in Öztan (1968)

west would circulate the garden. At the north side, the parliament was open without a wall to the Inönü Boulevard that had cut off the parliament's connection with the governmental district. The parliament building was separated from the boulevard and the pedestrian pavement by a grand front garden that had a smooth slope starting from the Boulevard and reaching at a height of fifteen meters at the parliament threshold. The natural rise of the landscape avoided the concept of ceremonial forecourt ensembles of the state in early twentieth century. However the small forecourt in front of the assembly facade was spared for stately ceremonies.
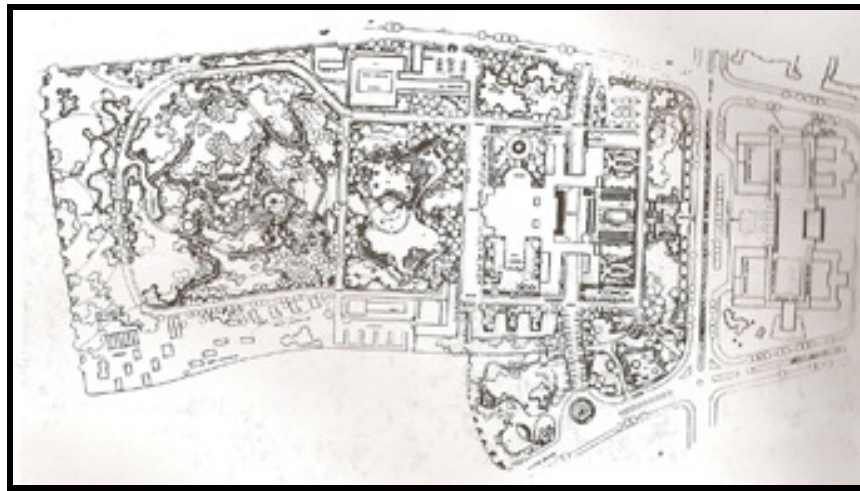
Figure 4. 3 Yüksel Öztan Landscape Project 1968
(Öztan, 1972)

When the landscape project started to be implemented in 1968, there were the Parliament Building, the Guardsmen Barrack, the Personnel Building and the Publishing Office in the campus. Öztan (1968) reports that, of all the built elements in the Complex, the only buildings that had architectural quality were the main blocks of the Assembly. Although the other architectural elements such as "Muhafız Taburu", the armed guard battalion building, pension for workers and room keepers, greenhouses, water tank, garage and ateliers, the heat center and the coal silo were in the circulation of the main building, Öztan (1968: 20) signified that they presented no architectural coherence and contiguity with the Assembly building and thus they were forced to be concealed from sight in the general composition with plantation. Conclusively the composition of the outdoor spaces in the Assembly Complex was shaped according to the location of the blocks of the main building. Öztan (1968: 20) states that this presence determined the categorization of the

garden spaces as front, lateral and back gardens. In a way the main building at the center of four gardens became monumentalized as a sculptural object.

In the composition of the back garden, Öztan did not design the continuation of the main axis through the parliamentary complex. However in order to follow its traces, he envisaged landscape elements with moderate strength just on purpose of emphasizing the axis to a degree. Just across the people's entrance at the south of the parliament he planned a green area informally elaborated, an orchestra place in the middle of a decorative pool, an informal lawn at the north slopes of the small hill and a circular terrace at the 927 meter level. The slope of the Complex continues throughout the site towards the south and reaches at this terrace area after having another five-meter height at the south of the Parliament Building. The back garden of the Complex was for the purposes of sitting, wandering and contemplating the surroundings. Öztan (1968: 39) preferred this informal landscape attitude in order to enhance the solemnity and serenity of the Assembly building by harmonizing with its nature of existence. Öztan (1968: 40) states that the only available section of the Assembly settlement suitable for practicing the craftsmanship of landscape architecture was this section. Öztan emphasizes that a detailed garden arrangement was prepared for the platform between the hill and the Assembly. He states that in the site plan submitted to the competitors this platform was located as the site for the future Senate building. In case of the application of the senate building at here, he was afraid that the very available area with the appropriate flatness and closeness to the Assembly building would be lost and the depth of vision of the Assembly from the back elevation to Çankaya and ridges of Dikmen would be abandoned. For this area he envisaged a sitting area or orchestra place in the middle place of the artificial lake and a wandering promenade with a bridge and an attached lawn area free for garden parties and open air gatherings. The garden of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ulus could have been a pre-example for him in inserting cultural activities in the parliamentary complex. In the project report Özkan also proposed a site location for the Senate building in place of the Armed Guard Battalion building which was, for him, interfering with the private space of the Assembly building and destroying the beauty of its architecture. In case his choice was followed, the back garden would increase its value in function, meaning and aesthetics. The back garden would be the outdoor lobby for the people's entrance to the Complex.

In Öztan's project the lateral gardens to the east and west of the parliament were arranged for completely different purposes. In the west garden organization he utilized a curtaining

of the built elements on the other side of the Dikmen Street with tree elements. He found that the buildings of naval forces and air forces on the other side of the Dikmen Street were in a manner competing with the grandiose of the Assembly building in the site sections. For that reason he placed trees considering the height of the Assembly building and without interrupting the visual perception of its architecture. However the public face of the Assembly Complex in terms of its views from the city was still designed as the front elevation. Yet, how the project communicates with the people of the city and its use objectives do not match.

On the contrary to this maneuver of concealing the west blocks from sight of the Assembly, he opened the Assembly building to the east gardens. Firstly, the section adjoining the Ataturk Boulevard arranged as a sitting place (already in use for the same purpose before competition as a municipal park), and the empty field in front of the Russian Embassy were both spared for public use. Öztan favored the arrangement of these two areas for intense use in a decorative manner so that it would create a facility of recreation for people and an aesthetic contribution would have been made to the Ataturk Boulevard. The connection and unity of these two areas would be maintained by a tunnel at the east gate. For the circular refuge at the east gate he proposed a monument with a theme (may be freedom, democracy, etc.) that would enhance the public presentation of the Assembly on that side and by this means the site would gain a meaning. Öztan states that there should be monuments at both gates at the Atatürk Boulevard and the Dikmen Street and he believes that they will better present the Parliamentary Complex to the capital city.[42]

The landscape architect may not be blamed of not being able to keep his promise on a landscape that he promised for public use. In most of the buildings erected and opened to competition, it will be obvious that the common sense of the architect or the designer may not be in harmony with the visions of its users. That is a field of conflicts and can be solved via negotiation however. The frequency of having this kind of conflicting interests is in site decisions and mostly they are solved in parallel to the wills of the Bureau of the Assembly and the General Secretary Service, and mostly not in the direction of the common sense of the architects and planners.[43] Strategically one setback of Öztan's

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[42] From personal interview with Öztan in February 2009
[43] From personal interview with Yavuz in August 2009

landscape project comes from the possibility that he fell into the mistake of not predicting which direction the Parliamentary Complex would develop at most the in future.

Öztan focused on issues as appropriateness to climatic conditions, unity with the building character, the way the park area was used, recreation type, design elements and edifices.[44] Above all Öztan put his efforts on studying the views of the Parliament facade in the Assembly Park. This implies that it was not eventually a planned landscape for public use but a mediator in perceiving the form of the parliament building not the parliament itself.

4.1.2 The Atatürk Monument

Figure 4. 4 Turkish Grand National Assembly Facade, Competition Submission, Holzmeister, 1938

In the front garden the most important element was the square in front of the Hall of Honor. Actually the Grand National Assembly communicated through the front garden and the front facade with the capital city in terms of visual accessibility and vista points. The lateral gardens can not give a total facade effect. Öztan (1968) believed that there should be a monument of Atatürk in the middle of this front square. This he proposed in the competition for the Atatürk Monument. As a part of the original plan on completing the arts and monuments in the Parliamentary Complex, a new competition was announced for the Atatürk monument to be placed in front of the Hall of Honor in 1979. The competition was held as two staged in 1979 and 1980. Actually the issues of monuments

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44 The material of the plantation in the landscape of the Assembly Park as proposed by Özkan can be summarized as such. He gives emphasis on enhancement of silhouette and color properties in the site, on harmony of the plant groupings and thus color, form and texture properties of the species. The lawn areas are used generally in the near surrounding of the buildings and where broad vistas are necessitated, on the other parts earth covering plants are preferred.

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in the assembly campus are discussed in detail in commission meetings for monuments and arts in the guidance of the architect Ziya Payzın and with the know-how of artists, sculptors, architects, historians. And the common decision of the Bureau of the Assembly and the Bureau of the Republican Senate was to erect conceptual monuments in north-south and west-east axes of the Assembly settlement. The most important issue was to put a monument for the founder of the Republic as represented as a civilian but not as a commander since this building is the National Assembly of the state. Remembering that in the competition submission Holzmeister proposed that at the front facade on the roof there would be a monument or sculpture for Atatürk. The committee for monuments and arts in 1976 decided that it would be wrong to put the sculpture on the roof of the parliament, and that would also contradict with the ideas of Atatürk as well who saw the utmost power belonging to the nation. In 1979 Holzmeister was also invited to the jury. Çinici states that, since he could not attend, the jury sent the photographs of the works proposed. Holzmeister determined the place of the monument, and sent some sketches. He had drawn an amphitheater for 5000 people and a people's forum (20x20 meters) facing the protocol entrance of the parliament. Holzmeister stated that "this place becomes the symbol of a free nation. I feel that I am fulfilling another responsibility on behalf of Atatürk's memory."[45] Holzmeister had always a vision of the public walking to the Parliament and coming together in a square, a people's square. The ideal of a civic forum between the parliament and the ministries starting from Jansen's plan was also developed by Holzmeister and proposed again and again although it had not been realized yet.[46]

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45 Çinici, Behruz. (1995) Clemens Holzmeister, Mimarlık Tarihi Notları, 1951-1952. Behruz Çinici Mimarlık:İstanbul.

46 However, a public park was accepted by Adnan Menderes instead of the un-built structures of Prime Ministry and Exterior Ministry as in a plan of Holzmeister and Ziya Payzın of 1959-61.

Figure 4. 5 Atatürk Monument by Hüseyin Gezer
Source: TBMM Web News Portal

The jury selected Hüseyin Gezer's project and the Atatürk monument was opened to public on the 19th of May in 1981. In front of the sculpture, there is a proverb by Atatürk on which "Independence and Freedom is my character" is written. The monument is placed near the left wing of the Assembly building in front of the entrance to the Hall of Honour. The Atatürk monument faces the ceremonial place and is a node for remembering the founder of the Turkish Republic, enabling some formal rituals of the parliament such as putting flowers at national holidays, or organizing welcome ceremonies for foreign visitors such as ambassadors, speakers of other nations, and presidents. By this way the monument enhances the civic character of the place. The placement of the monument at the side rather than in the center of the ceremonial forecourt exhibits irregularity however enables urban vistas and provides setting for ceremonies.

4.1.3 The Republican Senate Competition

At the common meeting of the Councils of the Republican Senate dated 31.10.1975 the members inspected the development of the National Assembly building and additional buildings and decided on the preliminary program for the further projects proposed by the preparation committee. The decision was made on the condition that for the new suggestions a total of 160 billion liras would be spent as probable investment for the list of building activities attached in the program. The preparation committee consisted of the committee president Tarık Remzi Baltan (senator of Zonguldak), committee members

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Hasan Tosyalı (representative of Kastamonu), Hüsamettin Çelebi (Council Member), Ziya Payzın (project responsible and architect), Suzan Uzer (architect from the Ministry of Public Works Project Development Department), Orhan Akyürek (architect from the Ministry of Public Works Preliminary Project Department) and Yüksel Öztan (landscape architect and professor of Ankara University Faculty of Agriculture Landscape Department).

The general elections for the parliament members and the first senate of the Turkish Republic were realized on October 15, 1961. It was then when the new building started to be used by the Assembly. In fact, in comparison to how the assembly worked in the 1930s when Holzmeister had designed the building, the load of the parliament increased with the Republican Senate, which was created according to the 1961 Constitution. Still, the economy of using the same building was still favored against making a new house for the Senate. In the 1976 report it is stated that making a new building, establishing a site of construction and arranging the landscape accordingly were points of discussion. However, due to the fact that the constitution was still very new, that there was not enough time for new construction, and that the Senate was not willing to undertake such a project, the idea of making a new building did not find support then. In the meantime, some proposed as an alternative solution the re-use of the second building of the Grand National Assembly for the Republican Senate. But this solution also did not find support because the distance between the two chambers would decrease the productivity of work and the listeners would not be able to follow both sessions.

While the members were complaining that the parliament building was not sufficient for the two-chamber system, it is necessary to remember that Holzmeister's project had actually been planned for two chambers. Karaibrahimoğlu (1968:289) states that, when the jury for the Grand National Assembly competition could not decide on the winner project of the three first prizes, Atatürk chose Holzmeister's project because of its bicameral planning scheme. Karaibrahimoğlu could not give evidence but he cites from his memoirs that Atatürk once told that "Turkey will choose the bicameral system in the future. Let this project be done". However the bicameral scheme in the original design, that means symmetrically arrangement of two great halls at the two sides of a general council hall was slightly modified and instead at one side there are two small halls for group meetings and a half-circle moderate size hall, which was used for Republican senate meetings.

Very interestingly the Senate decided to open a competition for the Republican Senate building in 1979 almost twenty years after the first Republican senate was elected. Throughout that time the senators resided in the rooms not originally designed as working spaces for them. At that time, the parliament members did not even have working rooms while the senators had rooms although shared with two or three other senators.[47] The senators made plenary debates in the senate hall designed by Holzmeister for this purpose.Though the announcement of a competition for the Republican Senate took reactions and applauds as well. Actually the campus enlargement project was held under the dominancy of the Bureau of the Assembly and the Bureau of the Republican Senate stated their spatial requirements were not taken into concern. By the time Ziya Payzın had produced drawings for the enlargement of the complex applying a method of additions to the main building's south facade. In his organization there should be placed the office rooms and reception saloons for the assembly members and rooms for senate members. Due to uncoordination between the assembly and republican senate presidencies, the republican senate searched for a separate building for their spatial exigencies.

The competition was a national contest. During the years following the international competition for the Turkish Grand National Assembly, especially from the 1950s until the 1960s, the influence of foreign architects in the field of Turkish architecture became nearly diminished.[48] The jury members of the architectural contest for the Republican Senate were Maruf Önal, Nezih Eldem, Sedat Gürel, Hilmi Beyazıt and Orhan Akyürek. The location of the Senate was decided in relation to the Public Relations Building, which would be designed by Behruz Çinici and advised by Holzmeister. These two buildings would be placed symmetrically according to the main axis of the Parliamentary Complex. Behruz Çinici states that the Public Relations Building was designed as a singular wing at first. According to the initial site proposal, at the east side there would be the Public Relations Building and on the west side the Senate Building.[49] By the time of the Republican Senate Competition, the construction of Public Relations Building had already started with the initiatives of the then President Fahri S. Korutürk on April 5, 1979. That is

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[47] I have learned this situation from an informal interview with Abdulgani Demirkol who was the elected senator of Urfa between 1975 and 1980

[48] The international competitions after the international competition for Turkish Grand National Assembly are as follows. Anıtkabir (1941), İzmir City Planning Contest (1951), Ankara City Planning Contest (announced) (1955), Erzurum Atatürk University (1955), Middle East Technical University (1960), Side Touristic Settlement Planning (1968), Turkish Embassy in Bayreuth (1968)

[49] Personal interview with Behruz Çinici on March 20, 2006. see appendix A.1

the reason why the competition for the Republican Senate was developed on the idea that on the east side there would already be the Public Relations building. The program of the Republican Senate building included a general hall, senator rooms, rooms spared for old senate presidents, restaurants, group meeting rooms, administration and service units.

As published in *Mimarlık* (1979: 41) the first prize project by Zafer Aldemir and Gültekin Aktuna was composed of a General Hall building connected to a complex building that was consisted of eight blocks connected around a gallery space with working rooms and group meeting rooms for the senators. In this project the General Hall was connected with a long and narrow corridor which prevented the efficient use and the accessibility of the hall. The General Hall was a square shaped meeting space and the architects placed the podium on its diagonal axis and the lines of seats on two adjacent sides facing the podium. The jury members stated that the drawing technique was not as qualified as one could read and relate the plan, sections and elevations. However the jury found the relations of width, length and height of the general hall positive. And they also found positive the functional properties, related with the spatial form.

The second project is by Muhteşem Giray and Affan Kırımlı. This project also had a square shaped general hall and its direction was arranged on its diagonal axis. The third prize in the competition belonged to Edip Önder Us and Merih Karaaslan. Their arrangement was consisted of a main block on the east-west axis and a lower service block attached to it. The handicap of the project as stated in the jury report was the placement of the General Hall and related office spaces in the main block which were required to be built in the second stage of the construction. (*Mimarlık* 79/4: 40-48)

When the General Halls in the prize winning projects are investigated, there are different approaches to seating arrangements, the speaker's desks and the staff desks. Actually when the competition entries' model photos are investigated, one can easily sense the over-scale of the Senate building proposals and the heaviness of their architecture and facade articulation beside the facade of the main block designed by Holzmeister, and this gives a feeling of alienation with the built environment in the Parliamentary Complex.

Figure 4. 6 First prize by Zafer Aldemir and Gültekin Aktuna
(*Mimarlık* 79/4)
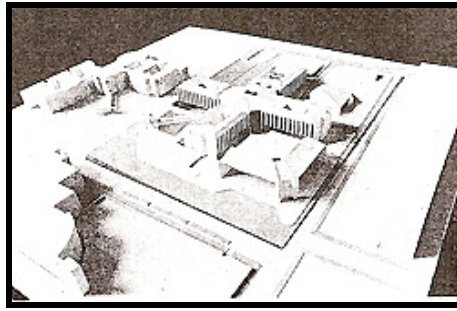
Figure 4. 7 Second Prize by Muhteşem Giray and Affan Kırımlı
(*Mimarlık* 79/4)
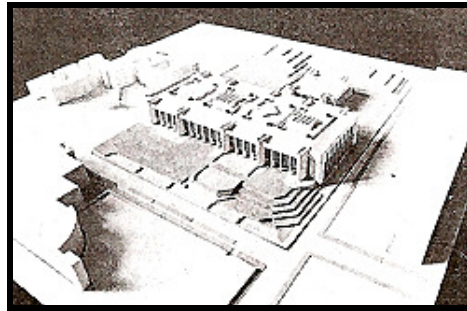
Figure 4. 8 Third Prize by Edip Önder Us and Merih Karaaslan
(*Mimarlık* 79/4)

The colloquium of the competition produced many discussions and these discussions informed how the architectural jury interpreted the complex, especially from the point of permanencies in the architectural setting.[50] It is understood that there was a misconception on the evaluation of the approach to the Senate building from the western direction in the complex. The jury made selections on the projects which denied approach from the western direction. The participants of the competition colloquium reminded the jury that the future location of the governmental site would support the approach from the West to the Senate building. Supposedly this future location of a new site for governmental buildings comes from the plan decisions of Uybadin-Yücel in 1957. According to the planning report (1957: 10), the south side of the General Staff Ministry which was at the western side of the parliament building, was spared for a new expansion site for the increasing space needs of governmental buildings. This expansion site was developed on the concern of holding governmental buildings together in order to prevent their scattering into the city. But since the service buildings of the Assembly existed in the west side of the Complex then, the jury was criticized for favoring the projects which were closed to the West without giving importance to the temporality of those service buildings. The jury replied that the people's approach would not change when the governmental site was realized and the service buildings were interpreted as permanent in the Parliamentary Complex.[51] From this explanation it is concluded that the service buildings were accepted as permanent components of the Complex in 1979.

The colloquium put forward that the architectural competitions lost their significance because of a series of reasons. These were summarized as the inadequacy of the winning awards, the unsatisfactory relationship between time requirements and quality of the project competition, so the inadequacy of time to develop the project, the maintenance of program requirements after an inadequate working session, and the fact that the competitions were usually an economic effort causing a burden for the participants. Knowing that architectural competitions had vital importance fore sustaining architectural offices, the participants wanted that these problems would be solved at first hand. And these issues all resulted with a series of conclusions such as the competitions were no longer environments for research in design and on the contrary they gave the way to repetitions and stereotypes. As a solution the participants proposed a two level competition system in which the concept project would be discussed more.

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[50] *Mimarlık* 79/4. pp.40-48.
[51] ibid.

In reply to the insufficient time given for the submission, the jury told that they had nothing to do about it and the only other option would be not having the competition. For constructing additional buildings in the Parliamentary Complex, Clemens Holzmeister firstly accepted that there should be competitions. Later on he wrote to the Bureau of the Assembly that one of his students should design these buildings.[52] His proposal was accepted by the Bureau of the Assembly in the period of Cahit Karakaş (1977-1980), however the Republican Senate had already appropriated the idea of getting the project after a competition. Besides, the Chamber of Architects was also favoring the competition, and in the case of being late in decision, they were afraid that the Bureau of the Senate would give up the idea of organizing the competition.[53] So the submission date was limited in order to realize a competition instead of commissioning the project directly to an architect.

Here it is obvious that the decisive organs and civil organizations were in a conflict in deciding about how to build the Senate and even the Public Relations Building. The winning project of the Senate building was not applied. Instead, Holzmeister later proposed that a symmetrical building could be designed at the mirror side of the Public Relations Building that was designed in the mean time by Behruz Çinici after the suggestion of Holzmeister. The sketch drawing by Holzmeister proves that suggestion. This drawing was produced when he was showing Behruz Çinici how his building should be placed on the Assembly site.[54] For the sake of the architectural composition of the site and the harmony with the existing buildings, the Senate addition seems to have been luckily unrealized. However the increasing room requirements coming out of such a decision to host both the parliament members and the senators forced Behruz Çinici again in fitting the necessary space inside the given site. The rooms and the assembly halls of the building were arranged according to the bicameral system until 1980-81.

In relation with the loss of validity of the political decision of two-chamber system, the site spared for the Senate building was later utilized by the National Assembly in the Public Relations Building started to be constructed in 1979.

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[52] see the interview with Behruz Çinici in Appendix A.1
[53] Mimarlık, Vol:79/4.40-48
[54] See sketch on Appendix C.1

4.1.4 The Public Relations Building

The preliminary projects, proposed as part of a working report in 1976 by the architect Ziya Payzın under the title of technical advisor and assistant to the general secretary of the assembly, mainly concentrated on adding member and senator rooms to the south facade of the main building. According to the common decision of two bureaus of the Assembly, the additional buildings for the requirements of both chambers are decided to be delivered by the Public Works Ministry in 1977. In 1978 the decision was taken as the management of construction of additional buildings was handed over from the Public Works Ministry to the Grand National Assembly with the condition that they should be planned under the advice of Clemens Holzmeister and should response to all of the requirements of the original master plan. However it is understood that the Bureau of the Republican Senate felt uncomfortable since the Bureau of the Assembly was taking decision on annulment of a common decision without asking the senate's opinions.[55] As understood the power sharing between the two bureaus of the parliament could not be realized and there was a conflict about the method for delivering new building. In return the Republican Senate Advisory Council decided to build a separate block for the senate. The requirements included working spaces for groups and senators including common spaces such as working rooms for groups, independent member, leaders of political parties, leaders of groups and administrative councils, and meeting rooms for groups. As a result of the letter traffic between two bureaus, the opinion of the Public Works Ministry is taken, which adviced to open a national competition for the delivery of the new buildings responding to the requirements of both bureaus. In parallel with the advice of the Ministry, the Chamber of Architects and Engineers of Turkey sent a letter to the Bureau of the Republican Senate, giving opinion that opening national competition would be the most valid approach for attainment of campus enlargement project.[56] In return to the decision taken by the Bureau of the Republican Senate on attainment of the project handed over the Public Works Ministry, the Bureau of the Assembly sent a letter explaining that they could handle the requirements of both chambers and there could be the possible setbacks

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[55] See *Cumhuriyet Senatosu ve Millet Meclisi Halkla İlişkileri ve Ek Kuruluşların Yapımına ilişkin Çalışmaların Süreci* (1979) p.9

[56] Ibid, p.10

of handing over the project to the Ministry emphasizing future legal and technical problems that are explained in the working report of Payzın, commissioned as technical assistant of general secretary and representative of Holzmeister after 1947. In relation the Bureau of the Republican Senate participated in the common meetings of two Bureaus (1-8 May 1978), where Clemens Holzmeister was invited. As a result of these meetings, it was concluded that there should be a new building for public relations and member rooms. The proposal by Çinici amongst three projects (Çinici, Payzın and Güreli) assessed under a jury composed of three foreign architects directed by Holzmeister in 1979. The Bureau of the Republican Senate followed the method of obtaining a separate building via national competition. However the winning project could not be applied since Holzmeister proposed that it could better be designed at the opposite side of the Public Relations Building that had already started to be constructed by then. New requirements due to the changing working patterns of the parliament members forced changes in the parliament building just before the 1980s. These were as stated in the Report (1976: 26):

> The members had less opportunity to visit the sites of election because of long working hours and at the same time electors had much willingness to reach and speak to the parliament members. By these means, the public-member dialogues and relations took place in the parliament building. Planned development has urged that the technicians should prepare some laws. The members had difficulties in discussing, inspecting and making arrangements on these studies within the limited working environments of the discussion halls. The members' working conditions necessitated for a desk and a telephone. The electors were visiting the members individually or in committees. These speeches took long times and sometimes they needed to continue at lunchtime on the dining table. The present restaurant was also insufficient for the members themselves. It has been a must to build a guest restaurant. The present space for worship is not proper for the exercise of the religion and also for the parliament discipline. Traffic, security, parking places, garage, and garden irrigation were not enough for the present situation. The subject matters should be re-evaluated; a new requirement list should be prepared. The main points of the program would focus on monuments and art buildings with historical value, completing un-finished works in the parliament, refinement of the old infrastructure, defining new requirements, programming and application.

The Report of 1976 presented new requirements of the parliament, investigations on the re-organization of the spatial layout of the building and extension possibilities, an approximate financial analysis of the possible expenditures and the main scheme of the main program. The main program consisted of work spaces for the Assembly and the chambers, representational spaces for the Assembly, communicative spaces of the Assembly, the maintenance of member's comfort, public open spaces of the parliament and its regulations, work spaces for committees and helping organizations and a series of

monuments and art structures representing Turkish history, art, culture and also democratic understanding. According to the decisions of the committee, the south entrance would be open to public, and the public relations office, the reception for press members and intermediary workspaces would be placed in the south block as they were unrealized parts in Holzmeister's original design. Apart from the main building program, despite the building and restoration works, the field between the Atatürk Boulevard and the Assembly wall would be expropriated and the Assembly Park would be connected to the Municipal Park.

As it was stated in the report, starting from the 1970s, the Grand National Assembly began studies on a new building for public relations and member rooms. Behruz Çinici, the architect and a member of the Assembly Artists as well as a former student of Holzmeister, was asked for advice by the speaker of the parliament, Cahit Karakaş.[57] The speaker demanded for his help on issues such as a mosque for the members and the personnel and mostly for working spaces for the parliament members. The extension would be called as the Public Relations Building and give the parliament members special units for working. Çinici (1999) stated that it would not be possible to build an extension without the permission of Holzmeister. The preparations started in 1978. Holzmeister was invited to Turkey in 1979. Cahit Karakaş formed a commission for the new extension building. Mukbil Gökdoğan, Orhan Alsaç, Vedat Dalokay and Hayati Tabanlıoğlu were the committee members. Holzmeister brought with him his old students, Ziya Payzın and Muhittin Güreli to the committee meeting in the National Assembly for the buildings that are going to be constructed.

On the selection of the final project to be constructed, Çinici proposed that three of the architects, Payzın, Güreli and Çinici would draw the project which Clemens Holzmeister would sketch; nonetheless this idea was not accepted but instead Holzmeister was asked to design the project. Holzmeister told that his age was not suitable for the mission and proposed that Payzın, Çinici and Güreli would plan the project and he would inspect it. There would be three projects and these projects would be sent to Salzburg without names

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[57] Cahit Karakaş was the chairperson of the TGNA between 17 November 1977 and 12 September 1980. He had his Ph. Degree in Water Construction and Water Economy from Berlin Technical University in 1961. He became the representative of Zonguldak in 1965. He was in the cabinet of first period, Nihat Erim and was missioned as the minister of Public Works and Transportation

on them. Three architects prepared their projects and sent them to Salzburg. In order to make a selection, Holzmeister formed a jury composed of Prof. Gutbrod and Prof. Hubaher from Switzerland. The jury accepted the project drawn by Altuğ-Behruz Çinici. And finally, the construction of the Public Relations Building was started by the then President Fahri S. Korutürk in April 5, 1979.[58] The report of Holzmeister on the preliminary draft projects was publicized via his own voice record in the opening ceremony. In this report accessibility, organization and economy were stated as the three criteria for the evaluation of the projects. . Holzmeister stated the positive parts of Çinicis' project as follows:[59]

1) From the point of accessibility, Holzmeister stated that this project proposed a parking place, which was accessible from the existing street level of 902 meters and was limited with the existing Barracks and thus it would save a garage space at the basement. By this way the traffic to the south of the complex at 906 meter level was isolated from the main traffic and by this means expensive underpasses were avoided and thus the construction time was shortened.

2) From the point of organization, Holzmeister stated that the accessibility and circulation of the blocks started at the entrance below the meeting rooms and ended up at the restaurant, and this connection was maintained via main diagonal axes. By these means the accessibility to each part was maintained at one instance and the perfectly organized corridors were easily accessible.

3) From the point of economic concerns, Holzmeister stated that the project was economically planned according to the use of the building site and from the user point of view. The service floor enables the lighting facilities and air conditioning facilities worked effectively. Holzmeister stated that the architects might have avoided the travertine cover on facades because of the idea of being economical in all parts of the project. He proposed the use of skeleton frame construction where prefabricated elements were benefited.

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[58] Fahri Korutürk is the sixth President of Turkish Republic between 1973 and 1980. After Coup d'etage in 1960, he was forced to resign from his duty as the Navy Forces Commander and became ambassador of Moscow and later Madrid. In 1968 he became a senator of Turkish Republic.
59 From the report of Clemens Holzmeister which he submitted as a voice record with a date January 28, 1979 and read at the ceremony for the start of the construction in April 5, 1979. It was given by Behruz Çinici to the author.

Despite all limitations, Çinici offered a solution, which was in harmony with the architectural style and rhythm of the main building. Although the faces of the two blocks were not the same yellowish tone of the main building, the façade elements between the dark colored aluminum frameworks of the openings and the high portals, giving viewpoints from the courtyards, produced a rhythm of high vitality. Holzmeister added that he offered some solutions for two points that he found destructive for the harmony. These were the meeting rooms and the entrances. According to their consultation, Holzmeister stated that Çinici developed the axis ending with the restaurant. He ended up by saying that this building was something from his architecture and he had already developed affection with it. Holzmeister supported the realization of the Public Relations Building as an advisor until his death in June 1983. Starting from 1978 he sent letters to the Turkish Grand National Assembly and Behruz Çinici about the Public Relations Building and the place of the Ataturk Monument.[60]

Just after the construction started, the army took over power in 1980. In the construction process the National Security Council and their executive councils and later on Karaduman had great efforts and supported. Behruz Çinici mentioned that the soldiers were very effective and helpful in completing the construction The President of the Assembly, Mr. Karaduman, opened the Public Relations Building to service in January 25, 1984.[61]

The Public Relations Building by Çinici is composed of 4 floors and has a total 14.000-meter square space. The blocks are connected by a bridge. There are also underground car parking area and a tunnel connecting it with the main building. In every floor there are six counters, and each counter has 18 rooms. The total number of rooms in one block is 432. There are also meeting rooms for 20 and 40 people. Every parliament member has a room, and there are rooms spared for the member assistants and the personnel. The south facade of the main building opened to the back courtyard. People are oriented directly from the public entrance stood at the middle of the south facade to the diagonally placed entrances of the Public Relations Building. And the other two entrances opening to coulisses are coinciding with the two entrances of the Public Relations Building. The opening in the

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[60] Letters of Clemens Holzmeister. See Appendix C.1
[61] From an interview with Behruz Çinici made by the author in Çinici's Office in Salacak, March 20, 2006, Istanbul

middle of two symmetrical blocks enabled vista points for Kabatepe region in the campus, where the landscape designer Öztan placed vista terraces for the city and the old citadel.
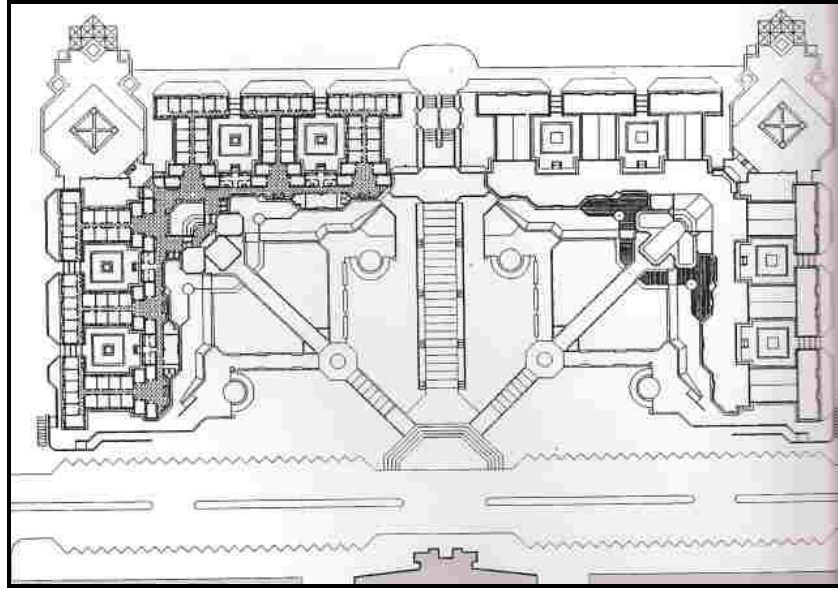
Figure 4. 9 A plan drawing of the Public Relations Building
(Çinici, 1999)

The pedestrian alley on the symmetry axis of the Public Relations Building intersects with the axis of the main building passing from the people's entrance giving access to the General Council. The space in-between is an open lobby in the form of a park with pools, water canals, and landscape elements such as resting areas. The diagonal paths signing the entrances of the symmetrical blocks direct the visitors to the middle large space with a high ceiling that centers the galleries on the upper floors. At the ceiling there are domes taking natural-light in. This gallery space has also stairs and elevators for vertical circulation between floors. According to Özer (1995) this diagonal axis turns into an inner street orienting the users to the common spaces and the restaurant.

One of the most important features of the project is the application of pre-stressed concrete prefabricated system in order to erect the four-storey parliament members units, which are six in number, in one of each identical blocks of the building. Özer (1995) emphasizes that sixty percent of the building was built by using new techniques applied

for the first time in Turkey. Later on the project was awarded by İşbank and got the City and Architecture Prize.

Figure 4. 10 The monumental axis pointing towards the citadel Ankara through the Public relations and Main Buildings

However the project was also criticized severely because of the small size of the parliament rooms. Again Çinici explained this with reference to the fact that the number of parliament members increased from 400 to 550 in time, and the program of the building was determined according to the previous number.

The use of high-technology or introducing a new architectural use in buildings may result with the building becoming a symbol for the era, a symbol for the nation, or a symbol for the will of the state to be modern. One example for these kinds of symbol buildings is the Eiffel Tower. This iron tower was engineered by Gustav Eiffel between 1887 and 1889 and was erected in the name of the centennial celebration of the French Revolution for the World Fair. However the building is now a symbol of Paris and one of the global icons of the world. Another example is the Berlin Parliament building, Reichstag. Reichstag building was originally designed by Paul Wallot in the 19th Century. This building housed the parliaments of different periods of the German state until it was burnt by a fire, of which Hitler was blamed. After the Second World War the capital city of the Federal Republic of Germany moved to a small city, Bonn. The Bonn parliament is the best example of a democratic architecture, showing how a parliament building could properly

function despite its modest scale. The transparency concept in the parliament buildings should have born after this example. After the unification of Germany with one of the most symbolic unification stories of the world, stamped with the demolishing of the wall separating Berlin in two, the unified Germany started a new search for identity in every symbolic means including architecture. Nearly totally demolished Reichstag building had already witnessed a restoration process by Baumgarten before unification. However, when Fosters did take the responsibility of building the parliament of the unified Germany, this project became the pioneering effort of the German State in reconstructing Berlin in urban and architectural context. The result was astonishing from the fact that the architect chose to take the inner structure out of the building and a totally new inner articulation and structure was placed under a glass and steel dome which enabled sights of the parliament hall for visitors climbing up the stairs, and acted as an ecological system for the heating and cooling of the building. This attempt of the German state could be read as a new understanding or the image of the German nation which turned its face from the undesirable past towards a future when the nation would be known by its high-technology, high degree of development and ecological concerns.
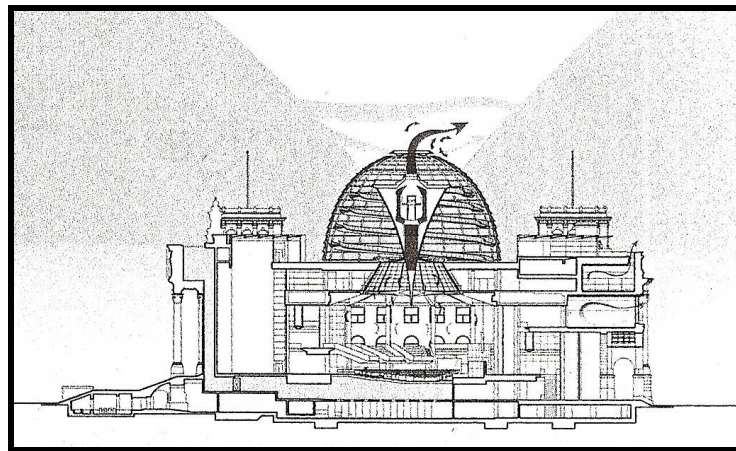
Figure 4. 11.Ventilation Concept in German Parliament, Fostner & Partners
(Hammer-Schenk &Riemann; 2002)

In Çinici's project the use of pre-stressed concrete prefabricated system cannot be or was not read as a symbol for the nation or the parliament. First of all, it did not carry such powerful motivation as in unification of a nation or show one nation's industrial ambition. However it is more an indication of the Turkish architect's will to catch up with the technological developments in the construction industry. Another reason for the fact that it

is not perceived as a symbol is the way the building was articulated: Its existence did not compete with the main architecture of Clemens Holzmeister. As an architectural product the Public Relations Building did not exhibit itself. It followed the main site decisions of the Parliamentary Complex. Çinici accomplished the addition in local tones using properties from Turkish past civilizations. However these localities were on purpose but melted for the sake of harmony with the main building defined as "having a monumental air, which is not oppressive in the urban perspective of Ankara" and "biggest and most magnificent example of Holzmeister in Ankara " as identified in Batur (2005: 20).

Actually one of the most difficult endeavors in the practice of architecture is to build a new structure besides an old one. Besides it gets more complex when the old building is a symbolic building. I would here also draw some parallels between the underlying patterns of political behavior that constitute contemporary political culture and the context of architecture. If the Public Relations Building had been elaborated in a very different manner than the architectural style of the Holzmeister's building, I would have said that the political culture of the time was not quite satisfied with its past behaviors or the norms of governance. One can say that it is not quite correct and the architecture is no more than a reflection of taste and economy at the moment. If I accept the second choice (which I believe may work in some conditions), again then one should remember that there are some regulations developed because of the symbol value of the main building. For example, one such regulative application is the "protection" of the height of the General Hall, the highest point of the Assembly building, by not allowing proposals higher than that limit in building additions to the Complex. Similarly, the strategy of Holzmeister was preferred to be followed by Behruz Çinici, and the outcome was in a way building on Holzmeister's original design.

Holzmeister's design was selected in the 1930s, but could not be finalized until the 1960s. The building reflected the properties of its period. Throughout the decades when it functioned, the number of people using the building increased according to the change in the patterns and behaviors of the government and with the growth of the political structure of the parliament an increase in the number of assembly members and related personnel was inescapable. Moreover, the bicameral system was introduced increasing the space requirements. The understanding of work by assembly members also changed in time. The parliamentary work was taken inside the building, and there was obvious visitor traffic as well. Sometimes these public relations activities could be obstructive for the everyday parliamentary work of members. There were many complaints of the members on less

effective working conditions and lack of social spaces. The Public Relations Building was born out of such increasing space requirements of the Turkish National Assembly. The Public Relations Building was the first step in the formation of the Public Relations Complex consisting of the later built the Assembly Mosque and the Library, to be discussed below.

4.2 Transformations in the Function and the Meaning (Mid-1980s onwards)

This period reveals attempts of the Assembly for obtaining architecture via national competitions to re-define the Turkish parliamentary space and to design new buildings to catch up with the volume of increasing parliamentary activities. This period shows a scattering of parliamentary functions in the Parliamentary Complex. The main aim in the setting is separating the intense visitor traffic from the working atmosphere of the elected, and taking out the other functions other than legislative from the main building. The transformations and formations are derived from inner and external motivations affecting the communicative aspects of the Assembly Building.

4.2.1 The Assembly Mosque and the Library

The second phase of the architectural practice of Çinici in the Assembly Campus is the mosque, and the library. However the three parts should be taken as a complex, after all were completed. The members complained about the absence of a satisfying praying space to the Bureau of the Assembly and the need for a prayer space was listed in the report of 1976. That is why Cahit Karakaş wanted Çinici's technical advice in the late 1970s in finding solutions also for a prayer space besides for the member working rooms.

In an Assembly report of 1984 about the project of the future mosque in the complex, it was stated that for the Friday pray a total number of 500 people were using two different places, one in the main building and the other in the print office block. But these places were found quite low in user satisfaction. Another criterion was the fact that the praying activity in the main building damaged the work discipline a lot. According to some old parliament and senate members, there were times when the crowd of the Friday pray spilt over the corridors and soon it turned out into a way of protesting the lack of enough

space.[62] Because of such problems, it was found necessary to open a national contest in order to find the most suitable project that would reflect architectural and artistic understanding of its time, be manageable and also encourage the artistic creation of mosque architecture. The mosque should be near the main buildings, house appropriately 500 people, having a singular mass, and be economically designed by providing appropriate sub-spaces such as the ablution space, and equipment rooms, which should not diminish the size of green areas in the complex. And also the mosque should have a minaret. From the point of architectural concerns, the mosque should have an architectural language that would be in harmony with the main building. Although the main inspiration point would be Turkish-Islamic tradition of mosque architecture, modern architecture should also be of concern.
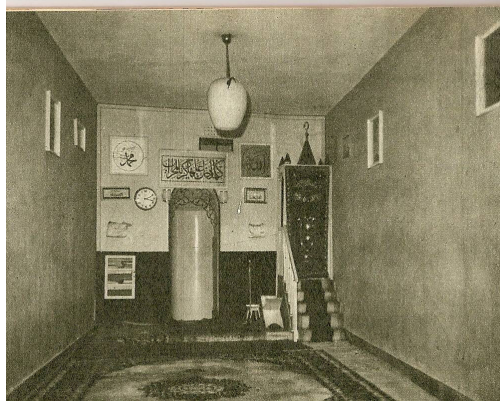
Figure 4. 12 Praying Space in the Main Building of the Assembly
(Mehmet Rado, *Hayat*, No: 4, May 1970)

Figure 4. 13 Assembly Mosque
(personal archive)

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[62] From personal interview with Abdulgani Demirkol, elected Senator of Şanlıurfa between 1975 and 1980 and also see interview with Behruz Çinici in Appendix A1
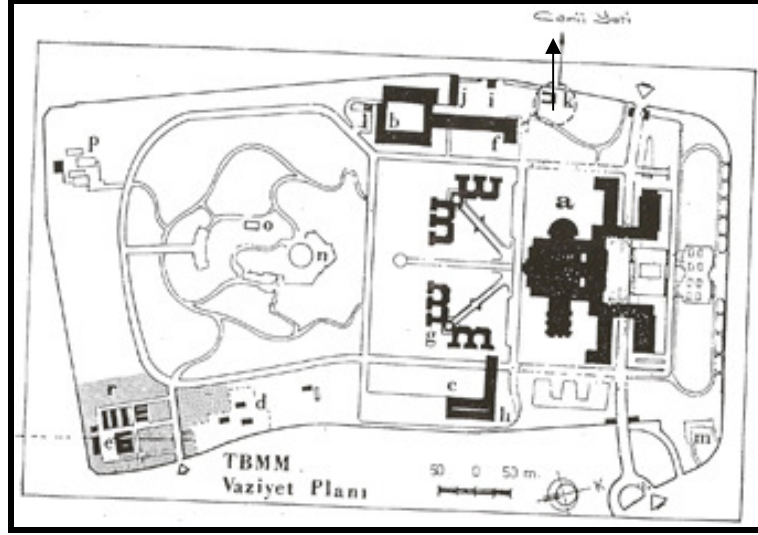
Figure 4. 14 Proposal for the mosque's placement in an Assembly Report ,
(as part of "Presidency Council Decision 1st article of the number 12th decision on February 18,
1984")

The General Secretary initially proposed the location of the mosque in the site plan where today the entrance kiosk exists at the Dikmen gate. In a document (T.B.M.M. Başkanlık Divanı Kararı, No: 20) dated May 22, 1984, it was stated that this mosque project would be obtained via a national competition through the Ministry of Public Works and Housing. A later document dated June 12, 1984, from the General Secretary to the Parliament Presidency, mentioned two important points that would change the previous decision. First of all, the Visitor Entrance Building had initially been planned to take place at the East Gate on the Atatürk Boulevard according to the 1st article of the number 12th decision on February 18, 1984; but then it was stated that its template would not give a nice view from the boulevard and it would increase the density of the region. So, in the document it was also proposed that the Visitor Entrance could be solved in the Personnel Block that would be set off when the second phase of the Public Relations Building was completed. Hence, it would be necessary to abandon the project of the Visitor Entrance building and save the park in front of the personnel building for visitors. However, it is necessary to remember that, in the 2nd article of the 20th decision on May 22, 1984, the spot of the mosque was depicted as the same plot near this park. Then, the park and the mosque would be projected together. In the document it is stated that this togetherness would ruin the image of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Moreover, during the studies on the proposed tunnel connecting the main building and the Public Relations Building, it was found that placing the mosque in the site of this building was the best solution in terms of easy access and use. In the second article of the document it was

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stated that, if the change in the mosque place would be accepted, instead of obtaining the project via a national competition, it was found more relevant to get into contact with the architect of the Public Relations Building. So the Secretary asked the presidency to re-evaluate the issue of the mosque in the light of the above criteria.

In the 4th article of the Presidency Council Decision dated January 8, 1985 and numbered 42, it was decided to commission the architect of the Public Relations Building, Behruz Çinici, for the plan of the mosque according to the law numbered 2490 with the bargaining procedure. This decision was taken under the circumstances that a commission would investigate the appropriateness of the architect from the point of reconciliation rights. The commission informed the Presidency about their selection, reporting that Çinici would be a better choice in achievement of harmony with his existing building. After the architect and the method of the building process were determined, the Presidency Council made two more important decisions. The first one was related with the construction firm that would adjudicate the project. With the number 96 decision on November 20, 1986, the Council decided in the 3rd article that the commission decision taken on November 11, 1986 was found appropriate and the Assembly Mosque was adjudicated to Molin Construction Collective Company, which was selected amongst 9 applicants. After the completion of the rough work, Vakıf Construction Restoration & Trade Company (Vakıf İnşaat Restorasyon ve Ticaret A.Ş) was adjudicated to complete the finishing work of the mosque with the decision number 34 of the Presidency Council on April 20, 1989. (Assembly Report)

The construction lasted a few years and from January 12, 1990 onwards the Assembly Mosque was opened to only Friday prayers. When the whole work was completed on November 11, 1990 it was opened to every prayer. During the construction process of the Assembly Mosque there were many public debates, and political hindrances. First of all, the proposed project was designed without a minaret and the kıble was a glass elevation opening to a tranquil pool. Another important fact that was depicted by Çinici (1999) was that no other parliament of the Muslim countries had a mosque inside their campuses. However, Çinici focused on the fact that his project should not be conceived as a mosque project, but it had inspirations from a *külliye*, a cultural and social space where the public would come together in a united space, where they would pray and read. Yavuz stated that the Mosque by Çinici was the most contemporary praying space ever made in the Turkish

architectural scene.[63] He found the use of a Poplar tree instead of the Minaret a very successful transition and a symbolic effort. The most speculative feature of the mosque project did exist in its location in the site plan. As Al-Asad (1999) called so, the location of the mosque on the north-south axis of the national assembly is rather a "termination point" or "arrow head". For Al-Asad:

> On the site plan of the National Assembly Complex the mosque occupies the prime position terminating the axis connecting the buildings of the complex. As a three-dimensional composition, it is surprisingly modest, even self-effacing, integrated as the structure is with the surrounding landscape - the mosque seems to hide inside it. The pyramidal arrangement of the roof also serves to give impression of an organic form growing out of the ground. In this way the mosque is given the most prominent position in the complex and kept from dominating it. By rejecting the traditional Ottoman mosque, the architects also emphasize the break with Turkey's Ottoman past signaled by the founding of the secularist Turkish Republic in 1923. Placing the mosque in the country's legislative complex is an acknowledgement of the significance of Islam to Turkey, while its design separates Islam from the country's Ottoman past.

The mosque project won the Aga Khan Award in 1995. The jury made a selection for its design strategies enabled that "the mosque acknowledges its secular environment while enhancing the acts of prayer and devotion that are essential to Islam".(Agha Khan Development Network) For Al-Asad, it symbolizes an award for a representation of "ahistorical and abstract spiritual religious space". In that respect it differs from contemporary mosque architecture which is defined by Al-Asad (1999) as "an eclectic array of historical elements with a few modern ones." Many would agree the modernity of the architecture of the mosque and the precision in its elaboration. However the location of the mosque as a "termination point" has been discussed by many scholars. For example Yavuz sees it a disadvantage because it blocks the north-south axis and prevents the development of the Parliamentary Complex from this direction. Again Özcan questioned the location of the mosque[64]. She was quite suspicious about the fact that the park taking entrance from the Ayrancı Street is prevented direct access from inside the complex. She asked whether the termination point for a secular and democratic National Assembly Complex should be a mosque or not. As a matter of fact, at the site development plans of Holzmeister, the north-south axis terminated with the Presidency and the Prime Ministry. Again there is another controversial point with the landscape designer, Öztan's site decisions: Öztan (1968) designed the Kabatepe region, where now the mosque was

[63] Personal interview with YıldırımYavuz, June 5, 2008, *see* Appendix A.2
[64] Personal interview with Semra and Özcan Uygur, May 15, 2008, *see* Appendix A.4

located, as a walkway for the parliament members and a site seeing place for the citizens in plans of 1965. The public use which could have enhanced the dialogue between the parliament and the people is consumed for the private space of the parliament. Actually it is the beginning of transformation in the parliamentary spaces where the original idea of placing the people's house at the highest point is demolished as well as the vista point for the Çankaya ridges.
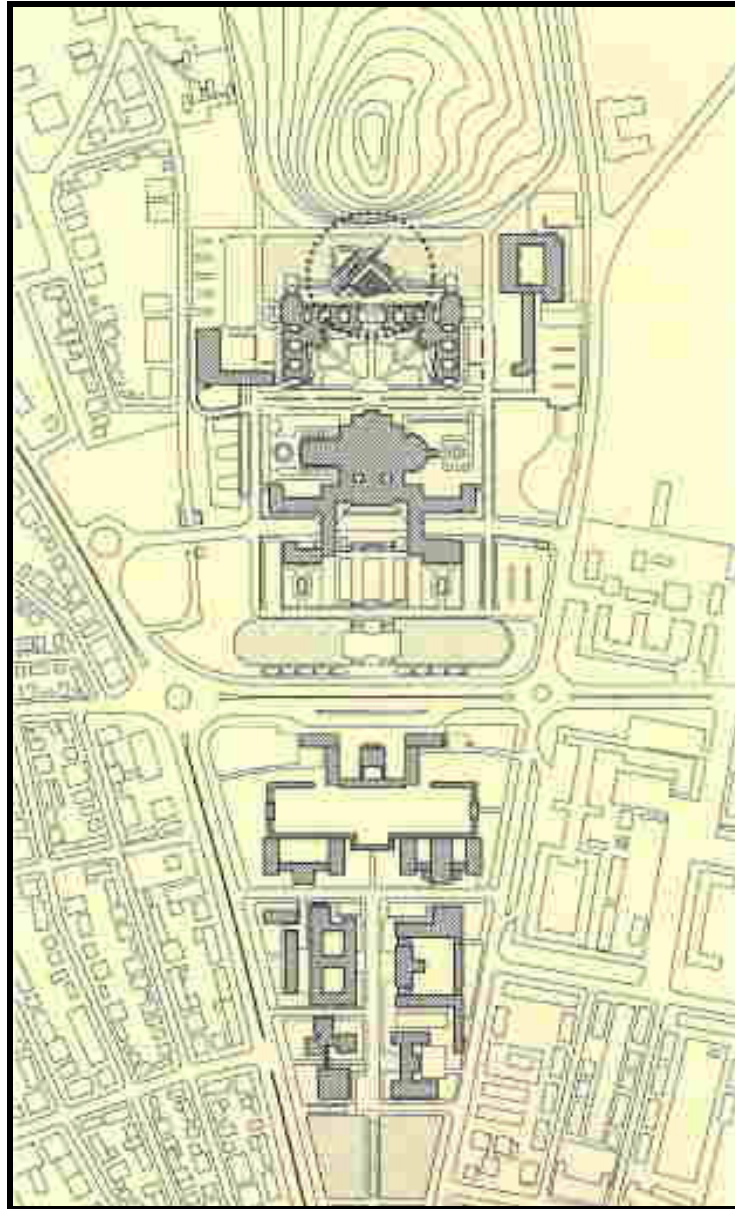
Figure 4. 15The plan showing the place of the Mosque in the Govermental District, as realized
(Çinici; 1999: 92)

Figure 4. 16 TGNA Mosque by B.Çinici and C. Çinici
(personal archieve)

4.2.2 Restoration of the General Council Hall

One of the most significant events in the history of the Assembly Building is the restoration of the General Council Hall. In 1995 a national contest for the renovation of the hall was announced after the Speaker Divan decision when Hüsamettin Cindoruk was the speaker. The jury members were Gönül Tankut (president), Mustafa A. Aslaner, Sezar Aygen, Işılay Saygın, and Yıldırım Yavuz. The project by İlhami Ural and Adnan Ural was chosen. One of the underlying reasons of the renovation is that, as stated in the competition booklet, the sitting layout of the debate hall was found not contemporary. Some deficiencies in the technological equipment and furnishing, and old technology in voting and inspection systems were other reasons. The aim of the competition was the re-organization of the hall which is elaborated in a monumental and authoritarian manner according to contemporary democracy principles, especially answering these in seating arrangements and spatial organization.[65]
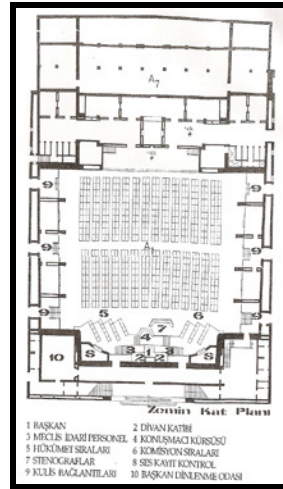
Figure 4. 17 Ground Floor Plan of Original General Council Hall
(Booklet for the National Competition of Restoration of the General Council Hall, 1995)

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[65] Anon. "T.B.M.M Binasının Tarihsel Geçmişine ait Rapor" in TBMM Genel Kurulunun Yeniden Düzenlemesi Proje Yarışması Şartnamesi.p.12
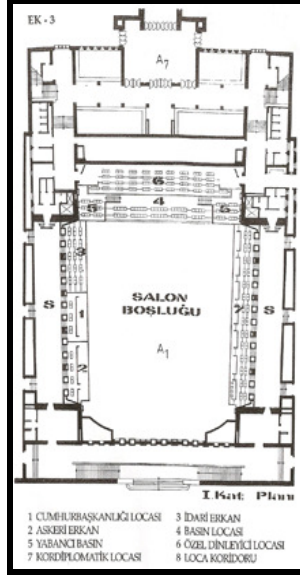
Figure 4. 18 Upper Floor Plan of Original General Council Hall
(Booklet for the National Competition of the Restoration of the General Council Hall, 1995)

In Holzmeister's original design the seating arrangement was composed of an arrayed organization of desks and seats. The directionality of these rows was towards an elevated platform where the Speaker's Desk and the Speaker and the Clerks were axially, and the Council of Ministers and Committee members were diagonally placed. In Ural's project, the seats of the members were arranged in the form of an amphitheater so that the members could see and hear each other accurately. The height of the Speaker's Desk was also reduced and it was designed in a circular form, which was surrounded by the circular arrangement of the seats of the members. The Council of Ministers and the Commission members were seated in a similar way to the previous layout, as rows of seats placed in a diagonal manner, but this time they were not elevated. The same situation is valid for the seats of the Speaker and the Clerks, and they were only four or five steps elevated from the seats of the members. The translation rooms and the stage management room for broadcasting the meetings, which were later added as a technical necessity, were re-arranged behind the hall just under the press lodge. The front side of the Speaker desk was coated with marble and at the background there was a concave marble panel, which covered the width of the hall. The floor was laid with carpet and the sidewalls were wooden to a certain height, and the upper parts were gypsum plaster. On the suspended ceiling at 14-meters, there were nine domes and 16 original chandeliers of Holzmeister design. The original armchairs were changed with red leather comfortable armchairs. According to Güzer (1995: 30-31), the architectural meaning in this type of handling

inescapably depended on some of the architectural elements rather than the space itself. For example the redesigned Speaker's Desk, the background panel and the suspended ceiling have turned into elements (other than their own function) giving meaning to space.
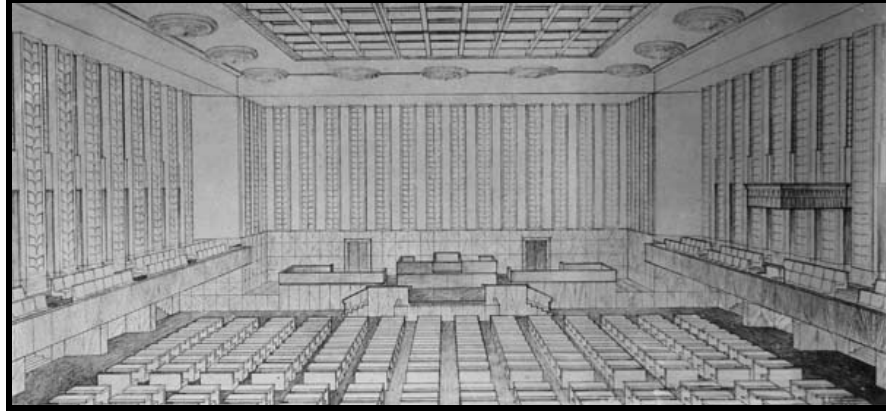
Figure 4. 19 The General Council Hall by Holzmeister, 1946
(METU, Faculty of Architecture, Documentary for
Republican Period of Turkish Architecture)

Tankut (1995) finds the fore-middle space very encouraging for social contact. The weakest side of the project for her is the seating rows for ministers, and commissions were placed across the rows of members in an oppositional manner. Aygen (1995) also finds the creation of a podium or a stage an act of breaking the unity and equality in the hall as getting far away from the realization of equality principle. Like the first project and many others, the second prize winning project also prefered a circular form. For Tankut (1995), Semra and Özcan Uygur's project that won the second prize was the best example amongst the circular form halls in terms of a democratic seating arrangement. What is good for Tankut in this project was not only the use of simple and sedate background behind the Divan, but also the integration of the seats of the Presidency with the Council of Ministers, and the Commission members with the members. The Presidency was placed at the most modest position and the parapets of the balconies were made transparent enabling more visual access.
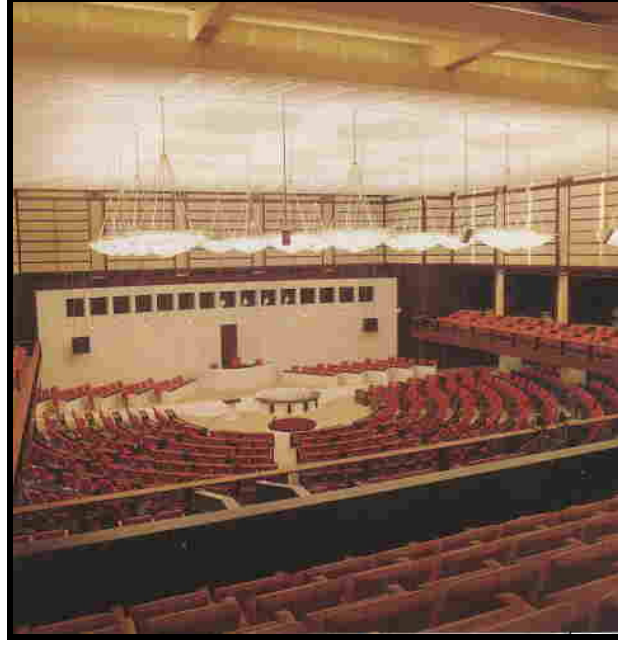
Figure 4. 20 Present Condition of Renovated General Council Hall
(TBMM Website)
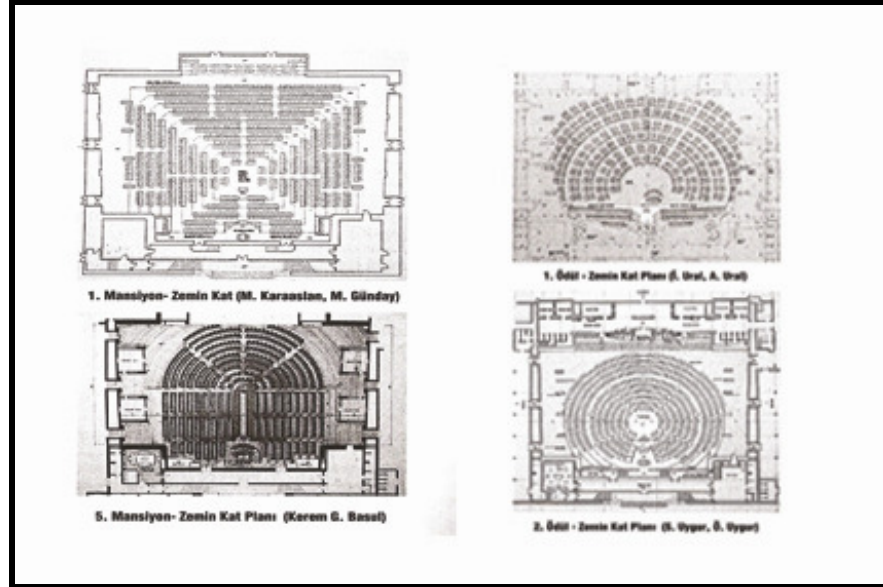
Figure 4. 21 Variety of Submissions[66]
(Mimarlık, 95/264.pp.30-31)

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[66] Güzer, C. Abdi (1995) "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Yarışması Üzerine Notlar-2" in Mimarlık, 95/264.pp.30-31

For Saygın (1995), the proposal of the ceiling taking natural light inside, the peripheral circulation underneath the balconies, the decreasing of the number of the Presidency entrances to one, and the air conditioning beneath the floor are some other endeavors of the second project. But all of the jury members found the structural interventions in the floor and the balconies over-designed. For the authors of the project the main goal was to guarantee the people's representatives' legislative in a well illuminated and transparent "arena". For them the general hall was the focus point of the parliament which was the symbol of contemporary and pluralist democracy. The gloomy and oppressive atmosphere which occured after a long time use in Holzmeister's hall, was now to be changed into a clean and spare, luminous and joyful atmosphere with the materials chosen. Wood, natural stone and glass were used in the floor, on the ceiling and at the periphery. (*Mimarlık*, 95/264)

The third prize winning project by Bünyamin and Dilek Derman preferred to conserve the inner facade of the General Hall, which they thought would work as a continuation of the hall to the other sides of the assembly. They gave importance to the preservation of the centralized government understanding of the new born republic of yesterday and the historical and semantic values of the state monument by preserving architectural unity, and to the maintenance of the seating arrangement according to today's technological facilities and pattern of today's government. It is understood that they separated the work in two. Leaving the architectural space as it was, they developed the arena type hall enabling a more equalitarian and unitarian seating arrangement. As Aygen states, all the general council members had the facilities for equal and democratic participation here. (*Mimarlık*, 95/264)Not proposing continuous circular seating this project enabled a good solution for meetings which did not pass 30-50 % participation. And also it enabled large and small groups to sit together. However, as Tankut stated, the accelerated Presidency with two entrances could create confusion. (*Mimarlık*, 95/264)

A square shaped hall was proposed by Merih Karaaslan and Mürşit Günday. They reported that the origins of their seating arrangement were from Priene Bouleterion. They explained this shift as turning away from the circular arrangements of the Roman period which was copied by Western parliaments to origins of Anatolian civilizations, which was unique for the Turkish Republic. (*Mimarlık*, 95/264)

For Güzer (1995) the competition process for the restoration was a success in each phase from the way the projects were exhibited to the colloquium organized, and to the representation of the Assembly in every phase of the process. However for him it was the architects that could be criticized here. First of all the participation was very limited when compared with other important competitions. Secondly the submissions were reduced to two typologies and it was not possible to observe an extraordinary approach, which the subject's uniqueness deserves, by looking at the quality of the submissions. However, for Güzer, the conditions of the competition were effective in blocking the interest of more participants. First of all, limits of intervention foreseen for the end product transmuted the project into a graphic search emphasizing the organization scheme. Limitations originated as not an issue of mere conservation but as the desire to have an instant solution with less effort and investment. All of the solutions were rather schematic and they could be alternatives to each other only in the arrangement of the seating arrangements. This might be a conclusion of the fact that the architectural property of the General Hall did not mean more than a physical restraint. Güzer marked this feature as an alienation of the inner structure with the framework of the general hall structure. The radial arrangement in circular form could not find a proper place in the rectangular hall. The geometric solution to the defined number of seats could not cope with the physical boundaries in one-way search. It was the requirements of the competition which did not let any structural intervention or a decrease in the number of seats so the submissions compelling with the requirements were not approved. (*Mimarlık*, 95/264)

The restoration process was severely criticized by the media. The criticism went on so hard that the process was brought in front of justice in October 9, 1998. There were accusations on Mustafa Kalemli, the Speaker, five old high-degree managers, Emlak Konut Company, and Ural Architecture and City Planning Limited Corporation because there might be an abuse of the public treasury. These issues were discussed in the court.

Although the new project aimed to ease the discussion platform in the hall, there were many parliament members who claimed that the old one was better than the new arrangement. One important complaint about the new hall was the reduced height of the Speaker Desk. Although for the project it was a sign of democracy to equate the heights of members' and speaker desks, most members thought this arrangement decreased the visual and audio contact between the speaker and listeners. In an article published in the daily newspaper *Sabah* in 2001, Bülent Ecevit, the president of the Social Democrat Party

(*Demokratik Sol Parti*) commented on an affray in the hall when some members from the two right-wing parties (*Doğru Yol Partisi* and *Fazilet Partisi*) conquered the Speaker Desk.[67] He said that he had witnessed for the first time such an event when the opposition group damaged the Speaker Desk and the Presidency Divan. The legislation work should be abandoned after that incident. Then Ecevit thought that it would be better if this hall had not been changed because, in the original scheme, the Speaker Desk was unreachable. Ecevit argued that the architects of the hall's restoration prevented others' future study on the space but it was them who used the place and who should have the right to decide on how it would function. Ecevit found it very weird to see some legs passing in front of the camera while a speaker was making his or her speech on television. Ecevit also added that the acoustical properties were also not good so that he could not hear properly. In order to understand the discussion he sometimes preferred to watch the session from television in his room. But this was also not preferable because sometimes it was found very rude to leave the session.

The transformation in the general council hall damaged the commemorative value associated with it. The national symbolism in the original idea is changed with a new identity, "emulation to contemporary parliament halls" which was welcomed as an exigency for more democratic debates. Actually the national symbolism in the original idea was the essence of its architecture, which was durable, and modern according to the Republican regime. This kind of shift in defining the modern and progressed was also issues of the nation state. However the opening for modern nation now implied open, accessible and technologically progressed. Though for parliaments with long history and tradition, the preservation of the original parliament hall is an issue of representation. For nations with identity crises as usual the new is favored against old. I would say multinational identity is favored against the national identity for the representation of the state for the international audience. And for a parliament in evolution, or not yet traditionalized, the issue of conservation as a method of representation is not yet an issue of concern.

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67 Published in http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2001/02/03/p05.html and quted from an interview by Fatik Atik with the title "Veliahtım yok" in Sabah Newspaper

4.2.3 The Members Working Office Building

In 1997 another competition was held for a parliament members' working office building. The jury members consisted of Gönül Tankut, Mustafa A.Aslaner, Yıldırım Yavuz, Affan Yatman and Oral Vural. The exact date of opening of the competition was December 20, 1996. In the competition specifications booklet it was stated that the project was found necessary for a solution for the intense traffic problem that was caused by an approximate number of 6000 visitors to the assembly each day (listeners, electors, business followers, protocol people and so on). One important specification was that the visitor should visit the building directly from outside, without interrupting the inner traffic of the work environment. The building should be equipped with technological devices and it should be encouraging for visitors to leave the building just after their meeting with the parliament members. The working offices should be in an official building, which should be very well illuminated, and they should be comfortable enough to encourage working.

There were 57 entries in the competition. The winner project belonged to Semra and Özcan Uygur. The second prize was given to Bilal Yakut, Faruk Eşim, and Hayri Anamurluoğlu. And the third project belonged to Haldun Sunal. The first and second projects had a backbone structure parallel to the Güvenlik Street and have vertical extensions to the street border. The third project consisted of two parallel linear blocks connected with vertical extensions forming three courtyards inside.   The narrow and linear parcel given to the competitors started with the Presidential Guard and ended with the National Sovereignty Park border. The parcel was also adjacent to the Public Relations Building by Çinici. Most of the projects preferred to take the pedestrian approach from inside the National Sovereignty Park.

The winning project was composed of eight blocks hold by a linear backbone structure laid on the space between the Güvenlik Street and the Public Relations Building. In order to do that, the Presidential Guard would be replaced in another spot in the campus. The project formulated two platforms in between areas. The outdoor space in between the street and the backbone forms a public plateau.   The outdoor space in between the backbone and the Public Relations Building is a members plateau. And the two areas were visually connected since the building was elevated on columns. The public plateau was the public face of the project and the back facade of the building was arranged to give the privacy to the members, however their working was made transparent via glass facades of

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the office blocks. The project area was a total of 71.500-meter square closed space. There would be 41-meter square office area for every parliament member including 22-meter square space for the member, 8-meter square space for the advisor, and 11-meter square space for the secretary. The project also included meeting halls, a restaurant, a post-office, banks, and closed and open garages. The people would enter the building from the Güvenlik Street. There would be one protocol and two public gates in the visitor halls that were designed for member-public meetings. In the entrance hall there would be identity-security banks, a small mosque, a newspaper kiosk and a bookstore, tea-coffee services, an emergency unit, coiffeurs and toilets. A visitor, who would take an ID card at the entrance, would be oriented via this card's directions.
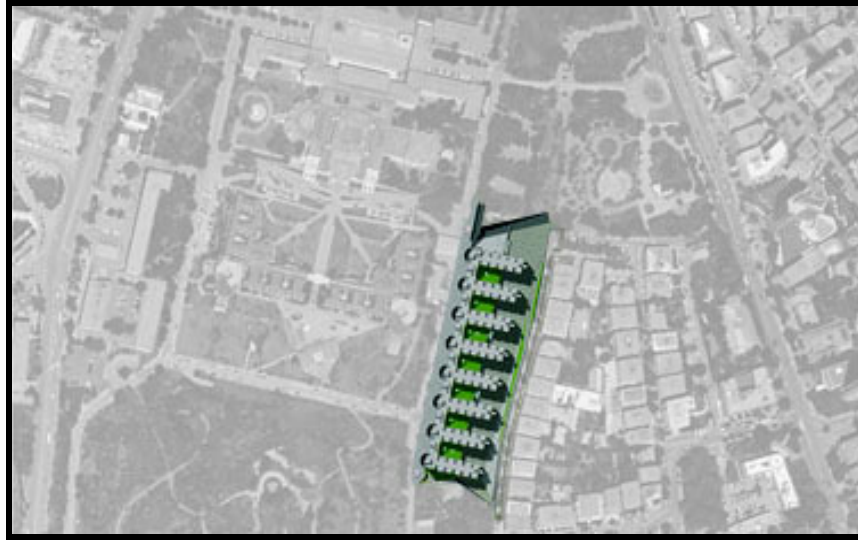
Figure 4. 22 Aerial view drawing of the Uygurs' Project
(Semra and Özcan Uygur archive)

As a result of this competition for the first time the project chosen to be built in the Parliamentary Complex proposed to take out an element of the original scheme, the Armed Guard Battalion Building. This is however from the fact that the given parcel for the competition was suggesting to do so. In the competition for the Republican Senate building the jury members had not favored projects which considered the service buildings as temporary that can be abolished in the future, for example. S. Uygur interrogates the existence of a military building in the Parliamentary Complex and believes that in such a democratic institution the existence of Presidential Guard and police or military surveillance in the outdoor spaces should be questioned in the public opinion. In fact

taking the Presidential Guard out of the assembly setting is opened to discussion previously by Öztan and was reported in the project report of his design as he thought that this particular element ruined the architectural quality of the main building and prevented a total perception of the building from the Güvenlik Street.[68]

Figure 4. 23 Site plan of Uygur's project, the Public Plateau adjacent to Güvenlik Street and Parlamentarian Plateau ajacent to the Public relations Building, separation of inside and outside via the Working Offices Block
(Semra and Özcan Uygur archive)

Figure 4. 24 The Ground Floor Reception Area
(Semra and Özcan Uygur archive)

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[68] See Personal interview with S.Uygur and Ö. Uygur in Appendix A.4

However, the chosen project was not realized. In an article that was published in *Radikal* newspaper in November 11, 2003, it was stated that the parliament Vice President İsmail Alptekin told that studies on new offices for members continued. Alptekin stated that they focused on a building out of the complex. In this article there were complaints of the members on various issues. A parliament member from *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)*, the social democrat opposition party, Ali Kemal Deveciler stated: "Our rooms are full of citizens. People come to Ankara for every small problem. This should be avoided. Members should work for three weeks a month. The last week they should go to their regions." Another member from *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, the conservative party in power, Ali Osman Sali complained about the security requirements at the entrances. Sali stated: "I do not want any security. I also do not want a room but the rooms that are spared for us are even smaller than that of a small bureaucrat's or a tea servant's". Alaattin Büyükkaya from the same *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* said: "The Parliament is very crowded. They should organize the entrances to the parliament". Another member from the same party, Musa Uzunkaya also complained about the size of the rooms. Uzunkaya stated that "the visitors do not fit into the offices, and they wait at the corridors. Because of this reason corridors are not suitable for even walking. A new building in or out of the campus must be utilized".[69]

In 2004 parliament members wanted larger rooms and qualified assistants from the new parliament President Bülent Arınç. Bülent Arınç called a committee of technocrats and 44 parliament members, who were architects and engineers, in order to re-evaluate the competition held in 1997 that cost 2 million YTLs. They invited the architects of the winning project for the members' working offices, Semra and Özcan Uygur. The architects made a presentation of their project and the committee decided that they should form different work groups evaluating the project. After the presentation the architects were asked to add committee meeting rooms and extra parking space underground in the program. And also the office clusters for the assembly members were re-arranged according to the wishes of the assembly members. It seems that the application of the project depends on the move of the Presidential Guard building. Another setback in the application of the project is the change offs in the Bureau of the Assembly due to the change in government. This issue will be discussed in the following sections.

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69 For further information, see "Vekillere THY torpili başlatıldı", in Radikal Newspaper http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=93971, (accessed in 01/11/2003)

S. Uygur related the starting point for their project to the fact that politicians and people in general were very inclined to face-to-face interaction in Turkey. And the political environment was very suitable for this kind of interaction. People just could enter in the General Council Hall, and even to the coulisses, and meet some assembly members at their rooms and eat lunch with them at the member restaurant. This habit or behavior was obstructive to the working atmosphere of the members. Uygurs notified that their project was shaped around the concept of controlled circulation in the Complex and their main effort was to arrange the heavy visitor traffic. The member rooms were arranged on the upper floors of a public plateau opening to the Güvenlik Street. This platform in a way takes the pedestrian circulation in between the front facade of their building and the Güvenlik Street. It promised an open urban space with a very small distance to the Assembly building. The platform also continued in the ground floor of the building taking the people inside from controlled gates. However without any appointment with the Assembly member, the people were not allowed to pass to upper floors. To arrange this selective permeability, the architects will get use of technological security system in the vertical cores of the building.[70]

The colloquium for the Parliament Members Office opened a very important discussion on the evaluation of the projects. Demirtaş & Çinici (1997) stated that the working report of the jury agreed on the following values to be achieved in the competition :"harmony with the existing environment", "integration with the park areas, maintenance of sufficient exterior and interior spaces", "comfort of the arrivals, marking of in and out approaches"," balance of inner and outer spaces in the extremely scarce buildable area", "luminance", "architectural and structural solution of working units for legislators", "appropriateness to program" and "architectural quality and easiness of future expansion". The most important question asked to the jury was on the concept of harmony that was said to be reduced to "the height of the building" and creating "analogy" with the existing structure. And the "balance of inner and outer spaces" was found an extremely limited argument. The participants of the colloquium commented that the jury should look for this balance not only in the limits of the buildable area but also in the city. And lastly they criticized the jury on accepting "architectural quality" and "architectural solution of working units for legislators" as a selection criterion since those should be accepted indispensable to architecture.

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[70] See Personal interview with S.Uygur and Ö. Uygur in Appendix A.4
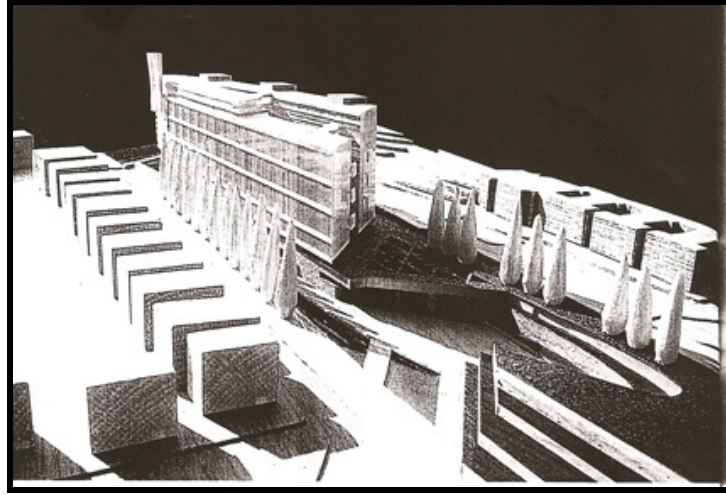
Figure 4. 25 The Submission by C. Cinici and A. Demirtaş
(Demirtaş & Çinici (1997) in Mimarlık 275/1997.p.38)

The buildable area in the Assembly Complex was given to the participants of the competition. By these means the Parliamentary setting was not at all evaluated and the products could only be developed within the boundaries of this buildable area. It is understood that not only the participants evaluated the project not as a whole but as a fragment in the setting but also the jury members made their evaluations within a limited argument. Limited argument may be explained as a critique for the presence of functional requirements of an office building but functional requirements did not help the essentials of a parliament architecture, such as that it should be distinguishable, it should be a landmark for the city, it should promote the use of outdoor spaces, and it should signify the dignity of the Turkish Grand National Assembly with its character. The argument for the political power is to separate the visitor traffic from the private spaces of the parliament. By this way the public encounter will be on the periphery of the Assembly setting increasing the power of the private domain. However it may also imply that for the parliament members that the dialogue with the parliament members is limited with elected and elector relations that will be carried in office spaces rather than active participation or monitoring the parliamentary debates in the public galleries of the general council hall..

4.2.4 The Library, the Archive and the General Secretary Service Building

In September 22, 2006 there was a colloquim for another competition held for the library, the archive and the General Secretary Service Building complex in the campus, including a visitor entrance hall that had long before been discussed a lot in the mid 1980's. The jury members were Mustafa Aslaner (president), Yıldırım Yavuz, Abdi Güzer, Mustafa Aytöre and Lale Balas. The Speaker, Bülent Arınç, declared in an interview that they wanted to take all the functions other than the legislation and inspection out of the main building.[71] This competition was also an attempt to save the main building from intense traffic so as to let the members of the parliament work efficiently in the complex. The competition was also a search for a way to return to the original scheme of the main building. In years there had been many revisions in order to find spaces for the increasing number of service personnel in the campus. In these revisions, of course, there was much neglect in terms of user satisfaction. One important requirement for the proposal for a General Secretary Service Building was to reply the spatial needs for the personnel in the campus.
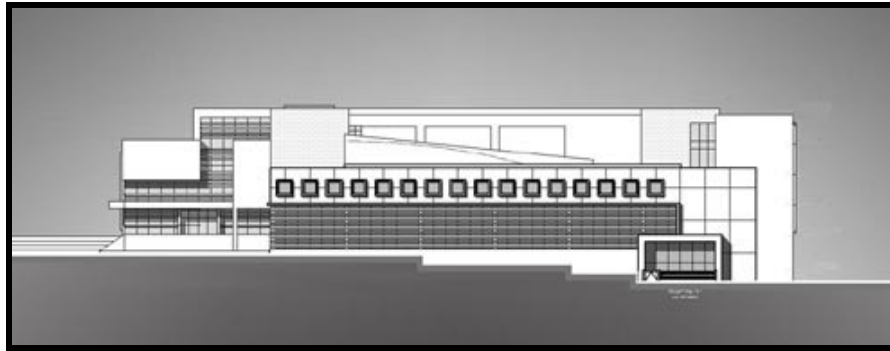
Figure 4. 26 Facade drawing by Cem Açıkkol and Kaan Özer
(Arkitera Archive)

The competition sought for a new building complex, which would be harmonious with the main building and with the existing green areas, and respectful to the environment, and would not compete with the existing built environment. In relation with the above criteria,

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[71] "TBMM Başkanı Arınç, 3. yasama yılı bilgilendirme toplantısı düzenledi" in http://www.TBMM.info web site, (accessed in January 1, 2004)

the assembly walls, entrances, access routes should have also been evaluated in the project. The competition resulted in December 24, 2006.[72]

The project by Cem Açıkkol and Kaan Özer got the first project and it is one of the projects that developed around an inner street concept. The site of the competition is a narrow rectangular piece parallel to the Dikmen Street. Most of the entries developed a linear organization starting with a welcoming square or courtyard at the Dikmen Gate. The long linear facades were divided by bridge blocks vertically connecting the front and back linear blocks. The spaces between them were designed as courtyards. Just a few of the entries developed central organizations, but because of the narrow site they had to use repetition of units.
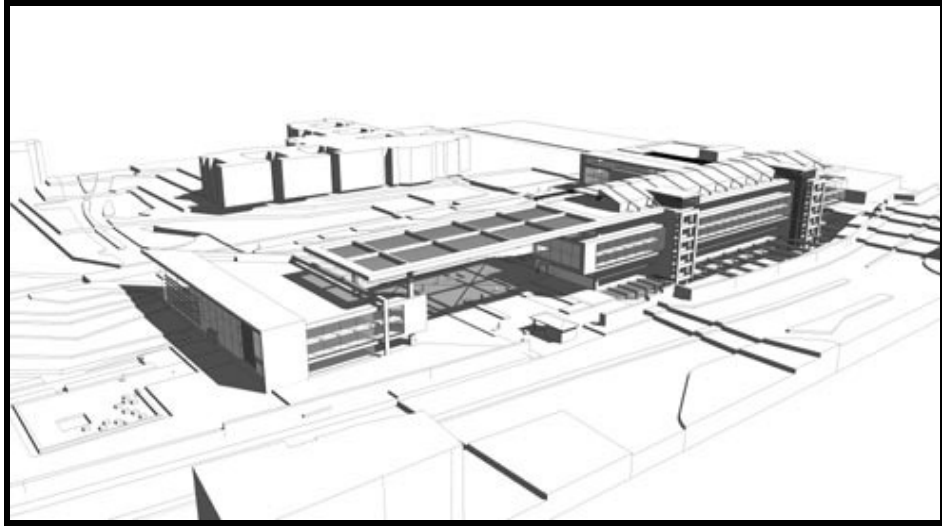
Figure 4. 27 Second Prize winning project by Rıfat Gökhan Koçyiğit and Bilge Bulut Aksal
(Arkitera Archive)

The visitor entrance block as the first phase of construction was finished in 2008 and it is opened to service. The future of the second stage was out of concern. Two or three possibilities were presented to the architects. One of them was to add member working offices in the program. Although the competition opened also for the General Secretary

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[72] The second prize were given to Rıfat Gökhan Koçyiğit and Bilge Bulut Aksal. Some of the jury members of this competition voted for this project's selection. For further information, see Appendices A.2 and A.3. The third prize winning project belonged to S. Bozkurt Gürsoytrak, Derya Güleç and Hilal Ayaz.

Building, the Bureau of the Assembly under Köksal Toptan would want to place the parliament member rooms in this building. When the General Secretary Units were transferred to the ex-Forest Ministry temporarily, the Bureau of the Assembly had the idea that they had solved the spatial crisis. So the program of this new competition could be turned into another. The other option is to continue the exact program. And a third option was to build the building by Uygurs on the Güvenlik Street so that the administrative units and members' working office building would envelope the main building and the Public Relations Building by Çinici. This last option was the one mostly favored by the jury president. Cem Açıkkol explained that the Bureau of the Assembly abrogated their contract. And there would be a future consideration after the local elections in March 29, 2009. Similar to the previous competition, the parliamentary spaces are not thought as parts of a whole. The lack of a definite future development plan is most probably the reason for the issues of fragmentation and eclectic expression in togetherness of different styles. The spatial exigencies are solved via quick decisions. And the changing governments do not follow the products of previous governments. The planning of future development should be solved under state sponsorship with the contribution of local and central governments, heritage councils, civil organizations. The shared space of the parliament should be definitely shared by civil and governmental actors as well as the citizens.

Figure 4. 28 The Completed Section of Açıkkol and Özer's project started service in 2008
(Cem Açıkkol Archive)

4.2.5 Public Arts in the Complex: Artifacts and Monuments

The last part of the Parliament's landscape design was the National Sovereignty Park again designed by Yüksel Öztan, to the west of the Assembly Building on a rectangular parcel neighboring the Atatürk Boulevard. The project started in 1985 and was completed in October 28, 1986. Its opening ceremony was for the commemoration of the World Peace Year in 1986.

When approaching from the Atatürk Boulevard, the Assembly Park provides a public use on the edges limited with sidewalk at the north and west sides. The park has a round shaped amphitheater, a gathering space for social and cultural events, a monument for the National Sovereignty, thematic landscape elements and sitting areas for people. It is a huge and surprisingly relaxing area despite the presence of the heavy traffic on the boulevard. In day time you can see a lot of people resting on the grassy areas. At the West Gate of the Assembly Campus near the park, there is an indented half-circle road for the cars that stop by at the protocol entrance. It is a piece of well sloped asphalt road and the young people on their skateboards come and skate there. It is kind of a meeting place for skaters that on internet forums skaters talk and give appointment to each other at the National Sovereignty Park. Albeit the proximity of the Parliamentary buildings, their ability to turn the space into a space of skaters give us the clue that if the north garden was open to public, it would surely be widely used by the citizens with or without the civic forum.

Figure 4. 29 Logo for the 85th Anniversary of the foundation of the Grand National Assembly
(TGNA Brochure, 2005)

Recently there have been many construction activities for new monuments in the Parliamentary Complex. There are a number of new artifacts and monumental spots in the Assembly Park. The 85th Anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Grand National Assembly was celebrated via a series of events, conferences, civic education activities and celebrations throughout the year with a program of "the Year of National Sovereignty" in 2005. It was an attempt of the Assembly to bring as many people as possible inside the Assembly and the Assembly Park. Bülent Arınç, the Speaker of the 22nd period of the Turkish Legislature, explains the year of National Sovereignty as a program of twelve months aimed to confirm the meaning of National Sovereignty and Independence to the public. The 85th year events were publicized as "the biggest communication campaign" at the "Assembly Bulletin", the monthly periodical of the Turkish legislature, in December 2005.[73] To be more specific, the Assembly organized marathon races ending at the outdoor space in front of the Prestige Hall, public ceremonies on the week of April 23, 2005 in the north garden of the Assembly where Holzmeister's civic forum would be, scout camps for children in the National Sovereignty Park and youth concerts, youth assemblies in the parliament, etc. These were all efforts to be more visible and to some extent "touchable", and gave the support for the Parliament to have more communication with the people. "

The Turkish Grand National Assembly Speaker's Park and the Torch of National Sovereignty were the monuments that were opened to public by the Turkish Grand National Assembly as part of the anniversary celebrations in April 23, 2005. Both projects were produced at the Directorate for Construction and Management, and the Directorate for Parks and Gardens in the Assembly. They were not obtained via competitions. And even sponsorships were found for the management of the monuments.

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73 anon. Meclis Bülteni. Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Aylık Yayın Organı. No: 121. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi. December 2005. 21

Figure 4. 30 The Torch of National Sovereignty
(TGNA Media Service)

The Torch of National Sovereignty was thought as a national emblem in the landscape of the Assembly Park at the highest point on the Kabatepe Park. This monument can be seen from many points in Ankara, since it has a total height of 13 meters. The starting idea for this torch was to celebrate the Year of National Sovereignty by bringing in the city a landmark. There are a number of symbolic interpretations in the monument. Mainly the National Sovereignty is symbolized via the torch element. The base was made of a marble platform on which a motif, an ear of grain in bell metal was nailed representing the wealthy land. The cup of the torch was again from bell metal and 16 moons and stars were situated on the periphery of the cup representing the 16 Turkish states so far existed. The cylindrical tube of the torch was surrounded with a creeper branch of olive tree. On every leaf of the olive tree a national patriot's name was carved. The wall structure in the form of a paper leaf was again of marble, and on this marble wall there is a famous proverb by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, "Sovereignty belongs to the nation without any restriction or condition", and there are the names of the 437 founding members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1920. The view terrace on which the torch was placed looks toward the backside of the Parliament Building. There is a magnificent Ankara view from the terrace. The axis coming from the governmental district finds the Ankara Castle on the opposite side.

Figure 4. 31 Model for the TGNA Speaker's Park
(TGNA Media Service)

The Turkish Grand National Assembly Speaker's Park was situated on the small hill neighboring the residential district on the Assembly border to the south. It was thought to commemorate the 22 Speakers of the Assembly starting with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The idea was to create a memory forest for the Speakers. The park area could be reached via a ramp from the inner street of the Complex. On this slope there took place a flowerbed on which a Turkish moon and star was represented. There were trees erected in a circular orbit. Each Speaker was represented by a tree and an introductory sheet standing in front of each tree, and on this metal sheet short biographies and pictures of the Speakers were located. For Atatürk there is a blue cedar tree, which is very rare to find.

At the middle of the circular orbit, a small pool was situated in which there were three black cubes symbolizing the division of forces in the authorities of legislative, executive and judgment. This monument was the first example of monuments in which the structure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly was pictured and it was also significant in its efforts to co-memorize the Speakers and their personalities. It works for the memory of people in the Turkish parliamentary culture. On one side it gives emphasis to the parliamentary past and the parliamentarians on the other side. The quality of the aesthetical expression and use of excessive number of different elements in symbolism together was open to criticism. The maintenance of the projects without competition or any selection which is not open or announced to public is a very rare situation in the history of the Parliamentary Complex. The site selection of these monuments as they were built on sites in the complex which were not directly accessible to the public is another point to be emphasized. However, it is also a matter of consideration that to build on a site

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highly symbolic for the Turkish nation should bring intricate responsibilities in property rights for the architect Holzmeister and the landscape architect Öztan. It is also necessary to remember that the age of the grass in the Assembly gardens and the park is nearly fifty years old, which needs to be protected as a cultivated heritage of landscape.

Figure 4. 32 Opening for the Monument for the Turkish Anthem in 2007
(TGNA Media Service)

Following these thematic spots in the Assembly Park, a new monument for the Turkish anthem, the so-called Independence March, "İstiklal Marşı" by Mehmet Akif Ersoy was opened to public service in April 23, 2007. Prof. Ferit Özşen designed the monument. It was placed at the north border of the Assembly Park on the sidewalk directly facing the İnönü Boulevard and the Governmental Blocks. The monument was composed of a long strip of marble sculpture on which the first two verses of the Independence March were relieved between two groups of relief work. In these relieves, at one side the gain of national sovereignty was depicted with figures of young people holding the Turkish flag near Atatürk on his horse and on the other side there were men and women figures giving their votes to symbolize the civic responsibility of the family as the center of the nation. Because of the site decision of this monument, it had the highest probability of public access. In an ironical manner it represents the national sovereignty via giving literal reference to vote giving people.

A recent case to finally mention is the little square for Atatürk designed by the landscape architect Selami Onuralp on the Akay Junction, which was opened in April 23, 2001. This project can be seen as an example of a counter-iconoclasm as Forty (2001) in *The Art of Forgetting* explains to exist in "remaking something in order to forget its absence. The

quality of the urban space provided in this square in the middle of a busy boulevard is questionable, and the monumentality of the sculpture only turns into an image. Reminding us the once existing idea of a square here in between the ministries and the parliament, the square calls for further questions and thoughts on the place and role of the Parliamentary Complex in a rapidly changing Ankara.
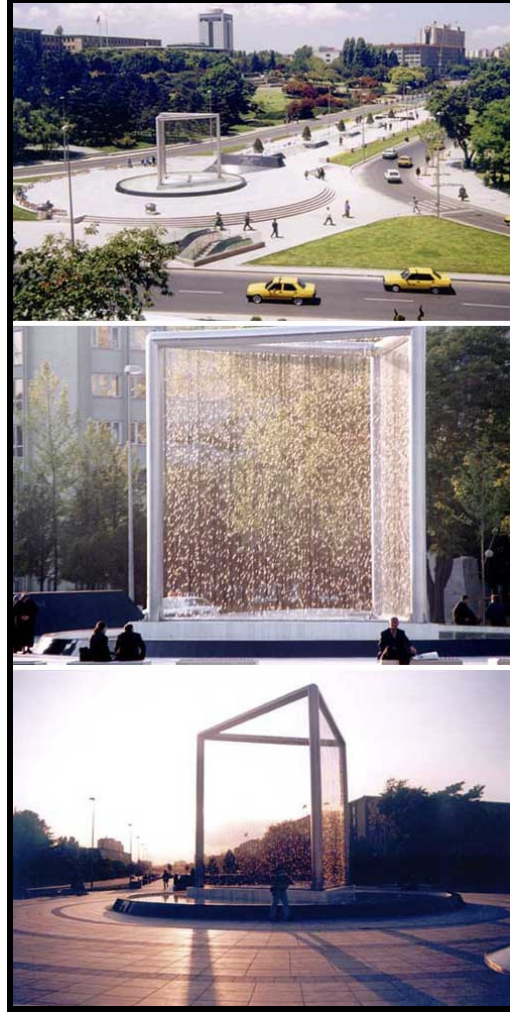
Figure 4. 33 Atatürk Square, 2001, Selami Onuralp
(Selami Onuralp archive)

4.3 Continuity and Change in the Parliamentary Complex in Ankara

The political aim of the Republican period especially in civic and public buildings, public and ceremonial spaces, green areas, parks and recreation areas were to construct spaces of the Republic to nourish national identity. For the Turkish nation state it was the political aim as the generator of motivation. The architectural product inevitably depended on wills of the architect and the client. The parliament building in a designed capital inevitably reflected the political structure of the state. The nation had to find its weakened strength from the works it produced. So the construction ideals of the founders were to maintain visible and permanent architecture and green urban spaces in the way Europe elaborated.

The political iconography of the state has been affected by a number of reasons. Producing public architecture or city planning was newly experienced starting from the late Ottoman Period. Building public architecture of the Republican regime has been experienced in terms of sustainability of the regime in the governmental district. The inner and external motivations affect the continuity of the political ideology first in the physical environment. These were mainly major planning decisions, change in socio-political structure and modes of production, the synergy weakened due to the loss of its leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, change in economic conditions due to during and after war conditions (World War II) and due to the inefficiency in such sectors of contractors and construction, and diluted statist principles in building public works.

After the great project of the governmental district had been inhabited and the parliament building had been built, in other words after the political aims was realized and experienced in the capital city and in the monumental civic architecture, the ideology behind such endeavors might not have matched with the everyday practices and the changing objectives of those having the political power. This may be related to the move away from the original ideas that made the building realized in the first place; but also as a result of the changing physical context of fast growing capital city. This pointed the start of the resolution of the strategy even before it could be perceived by the public.

The same kind of resolution in the strategy is also significant for the Turkish Grand National Assembly complex. The first scheme of the parliamentary complex as originated in 1938 was never realized but it continued to appear in the working drawings of

Holzmeister and Payzın when the political power was willing to create a public center in between the executive and legislative between 1938 and 1946. The second scheme, which was used and perceived between 1960 and 1984, involved all objectives except the prime ministry, external affairs ministry and civic forum in the enclosure of the main building squeezed between the İnönü Boulevard and Çankaya hills and the boulevard separated the parliament from the governmental district. Whatever done in the physical environment of the parliamentary complex did not change the shared space of the parliament; the landscape only worked for monumentalizing the architecture, and the Atatürk monument and the ceremonial courtyard served for the National Assembly, but not the capital city since the front garden was not open to public. This period is an evolution period of parliamentary culture experiencing higly dynamic political experience due to general elections, as the lack of symbolic responsiveness of the parliament seems to be reflected in the physical environment.

The third scheme is between 1984 and 2008. The committee halls and parliament members are taken from the main house inside the Public Relations Building. The praying space is added to the complex closing the axial development of the original Holzmeister scheme, although the placement of the mosque at the highest place of hierarchy was criticized by many people. However at the back garden of the assembly there is an inner outdoor space which is quite positive for the use of the parliament members. Yet, the main coercive point for the members in this scheme is to be dependent for the common spaces inside the main building such as the restaurant, which is a highly social place for elected-elector dialogues. And the public approach from the west is between the Public Relations Building and the parliament, the members and the people use the route when entering the buildings.

In recent years the General Secretary is placed out of the Parliamentary Complex to the building across the square that used to be the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. In addition to that there are efforts in taking out the library and the archive outside the main building to a new building taking the place of the General Secretary. However the local elections affect the climate of decision making in the government. The aim of the government of the last period is to take out all the functions out of the main building except the legislative.

Behruz Çinici and Yüksel Öztan followed Holzmeister and built on his architecture. Çinici continued the axis with the Public Relations Building but closed it with the Assembly mosque. There were efforts for the Members Working Office Building to separate the visitor traffic from the main building but it could not be realized mostly because it necessitated relocating the Presidential Guard building. And as Özcan Uygur stated, the most important lack of the Parliamentary Complex still seems to be the absence of a master plan.

The buildable area that is given in competitions is a normalization of its fragmentation. The history of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex has witnessed a number of competitions. The space requirements for the National Assembly are increasing with each competition. On the other hand, the Bureau of the Assembly is seeking ways to keep other functions than the legislative out of the main building.

The transformations in the function and the meaning of the complex may seem inevitable yet they should certainly be publicly discussed in detail. Çinici and Demirtaş stated that the search for a second Public Relations Building as in the competition for the Members Working Office Building, for example, may imply that the campus understanding, which is introverted and designed according to the Beaux-Arts principles, has been changing, and this may symbolize that it is loosing its validity. As the jury member of the last competition Güzer mentioned, architects significantly seem to have lost their interest in the competitions for the Turkish Grand National Assembly, necessitating the questioning of further transformations in the Complex.
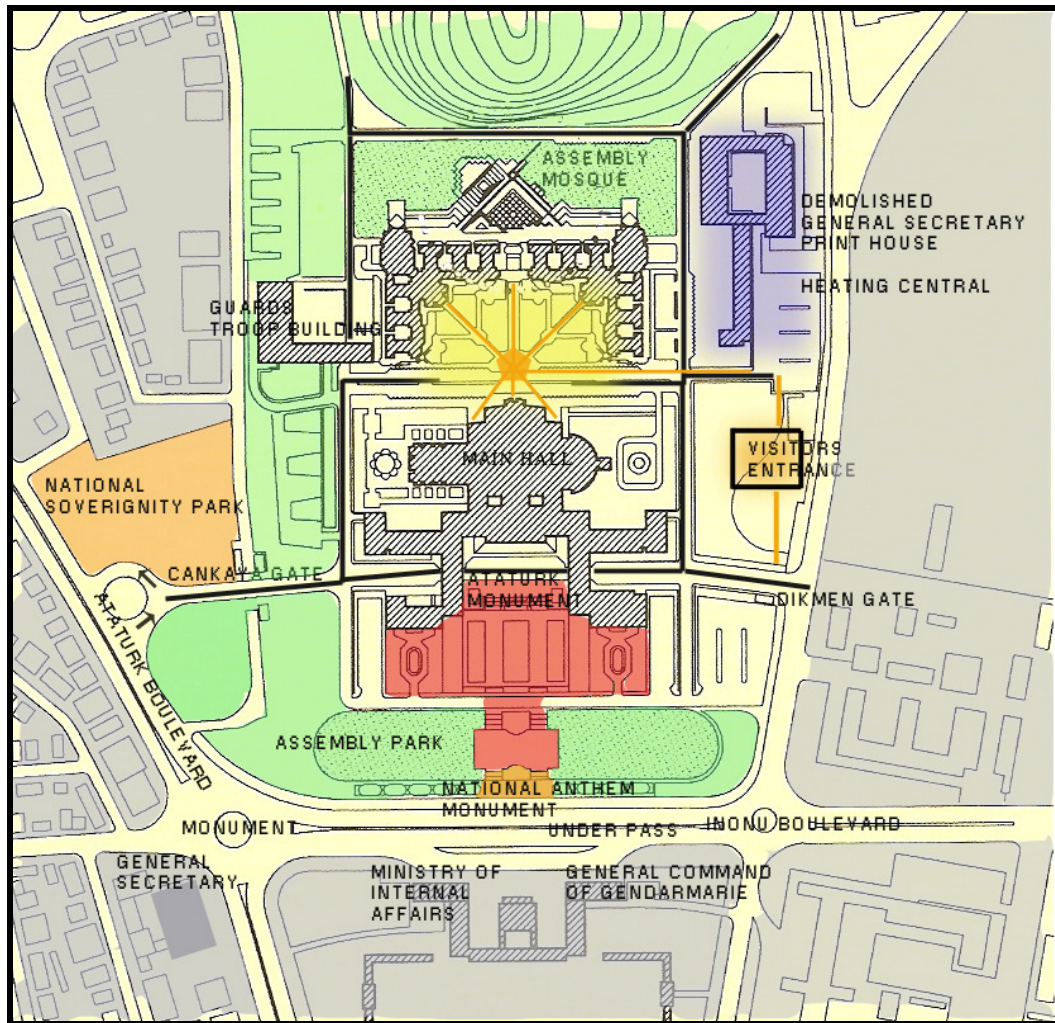
Figure 4. 34 Site Analysis of the Parliamentary Complex with the monuments, parks and buildings that connects the parliament with the city
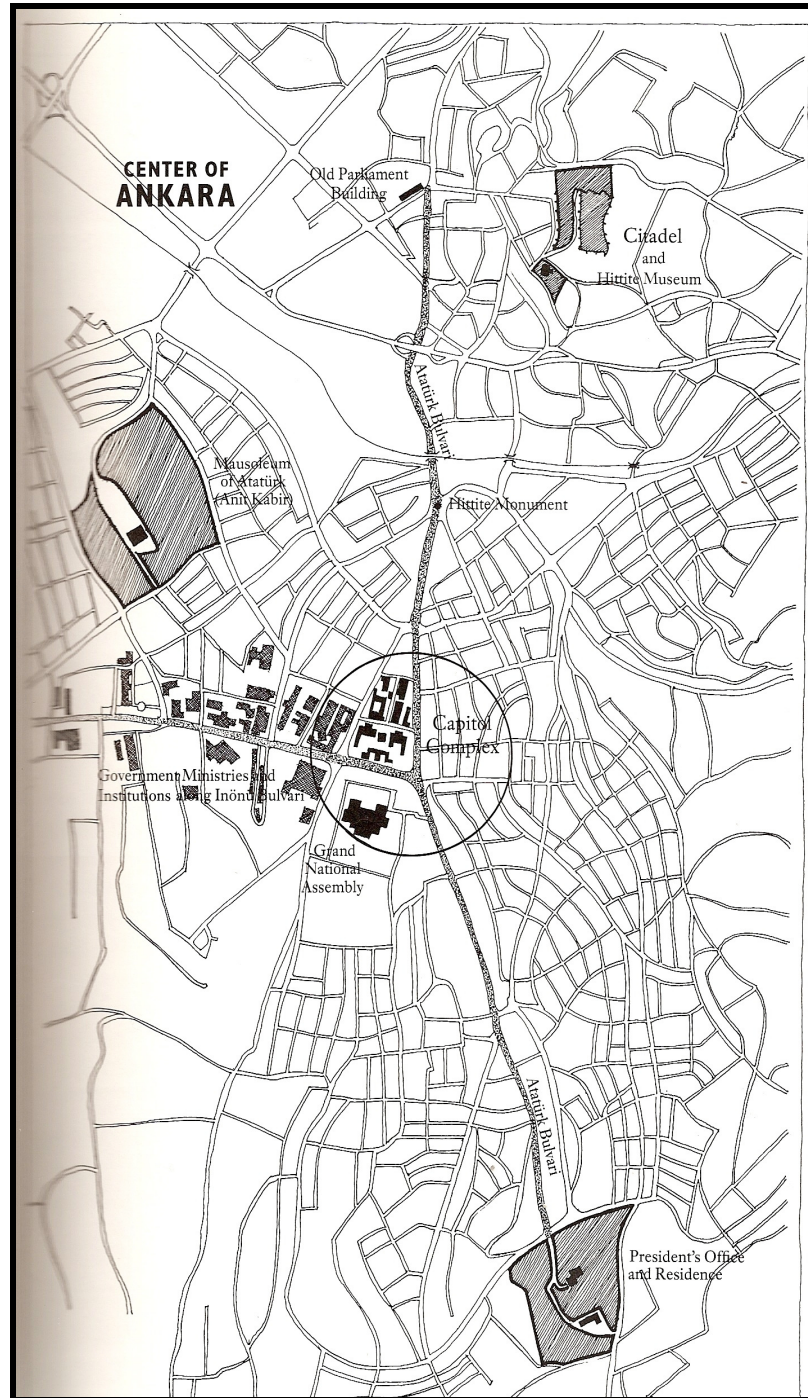
Figure 4. 35 The Place of the Governmental District is interpreted as "Capitol Complex" and the shift of the ministries from the governmental district to the sides of the Eskişehir Road (Vale; 1992: 101)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 The Evolution of the Parliamentary Spaces in Turkey

This study has analyzed the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces of the Turkish Republic, focusing on the parliamentary complex of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the capital city of Ankara. In studying the parliamentary complex, its original design and the later alterations and renovations were examined in detail. For that purpose, an investigation was undertaken to find out how the idea of the complex developed, the design was selected and the architectural works were realized in the first place. In addition to such examination about the built works, the study also incorporated the investigation of what happened to them after the Assembly had started to use the complex and what kind of transformations were realized due to new exigencies and motivations such as political decisions, changing governments, changes in the inner organization of the assembly structure, urban transformations due to central and local governments, etc.

All these findings were evaluated according to the acceptance that parliament architecture is born out of symbolic and practical reasons, and any decision about them and its realization are highly political. The selection of the capital city as Ankara is a political decision in the first place. Similarly, the idea for designing a parliamentary complex for the Turkish Republic was founded on the aim to better symbolize the dominant political ideology of the early Republican period, i.e. the principle of national sovereignty. Both of them developed with the "political aim" of the founders of the Republic to create and construct the new political center in the context of the new capital. Therefore the parliament was designated in the governmental district and given a special place in the capital city planning of Ankara. The study aimed to evaluate the formation of parliamentary spaces in Turkey in such a context of nation state formation. However, the complexity of the study also lied in tracing the transformation of these spaces by the changes in use and the addition of new works of architecture in the complex throughout

the twentieth century. Therefore determining time periods to base the analysis became significant in order to evaluate the function and the meaning of parliamentary spaces as designed, constructed, and evolved.

The findings of the study also prove that the parliamentary spaces are also evolving due to the evolution of the parliamentary culture. Those findings were analyzed according to the parliament houses of the Turkish Republic in the context of the national capital and their architectural components.

The parliamentary culture in the late Ottoman Period provided a background to see different elaborations of parliamentary space in the capital of the Empire and in the national capital of Turkish Republic. First of all, as it is concluded previously, the Turkish parliamentary experience started in late Ottoman years. The unsuccessful attempts in this period were resulted from the problems in the share of authority between the Sultan and the Chamber of Deputies. As a consequential reality, the parliamentary experiments did not last long enough to talk about a persistent parliamentary culture. This was also reflected in the lack of a definite representative space for the members to assemble. They were all converted buildings from either a university building or residential palaces of the royal family members. First they used the historical peninsula as the sites of power and with the introduction of the Ottoman Assembly, the parliament houses moved to the Anatolian side of the capital, even at the last decade of the Ottoman reign, the Empire was governed from the District of Beyoğlu. The move away from the site of Ottoman palace can be thought both as a distance put between the two powers, however scattering of the power organs could well be accepted as a signal for dissolution of the power structure. It is understood from the observations of the German journalist and comparisons made between the parliaments that the schemes for sitting layouts and the placement of speaker's desk in the plenary halls are emulated from European examples, most possible from the german parliament as the most recent example. As for the part of the Ottoman Parliamentary spaces in the city and the plenary halls, a more detailed study should be made for to assess the validity of the suppositions I have here put forward.

According to the findings on these two early houses, it is possible to trace some continuity in the elaboration of parliamentary spaces in the architecture and the city. First of all they were placed in the same district so that the urban context that shapes the communication of the architecture is the same. With the parliamentary culture evolving when passing

from the previous to the latter house, the urban context was also evolving in parallel and similarly. In terms of outdoor spaces of the parliament and connections to the city, both houses opened to the same street, the Station Street. In the first house the urbanity of Taşhan square shaped the environment of the parliament and the Municipality Garden were also the place for outdoor gatherings. On the other side when moved to the second house, the Nation Street (partial of the Station Street) became the ceremonial forecourt of the Grand National Assembly and the Parliament garden became operative for public gatherings and concerts. The urban context of the first house reflected spontaneity and the residing, functioning and governing functions of the Grand National Assembly are maintained in the existing building quota of an Anatolian city with a population of nearly 40 000. However there were studies on the representations of a political center in the context of the second house. The parliamentary culture started to shape the urban context according to its necessities. Between 1924 and 1928 Ankara Palace Hotel was built just across the new building of Grand National Assembly. The Nation Street became the ceremonial forecourt of the parliament with the parliament and hotel at its two sides. Actually the small scale of the center of Ulus with Taşhan, Nation Garden, Parliament, train station, Ankara Palace and İşbank and other bank buildings, ministries later Vakıf apartments turned into an administrative district enabling a new social and political life for the newcomers. In this means the Nation Street became the ceremonial forecourt of the Grand National Assembly especially at national holidays and during the visits of international guests such as ambassadors, leaders, soldiers.

After Ankara was chosen as the new seat of the government, Ulus, where the train station and the Taşhan Square had already existed, became the political and economic center of the capital city, with the proliferating state buildings designed in the first national style. The war government (1920-1923) depended on solidarity and executed with extraordinary power, and was engaged with foundational issues. The place for gatherings of the Grand National Assembly was also inevitably in Ulus, just at one of the corners of the Taşhan Square, and the building selected was the earlier party headquarters of the late Ottoman years, which was amongst the presentable buildings of the district built in first national style. It was a spontaneous decision of necessity, and there was no time and money for thinking about elaborate representational issues. In a short time, the Grand National Assembly moved in 1925 to another building built again for another purpose, as the headquarters of the founding Party of the Republic.

According to the findings on these two early houses, it is possible to trace some continuity in the elaboration of parliamentary spaces in architectural and urban issues. First of all, both of the early houses of the Parliament were placed in the same district, Ulus, so that the urban context that shaped the communication of architecture was the same. With the parliamentary culture evolving from the previous to the latter house, the urban context was also evolving in parallel. In terms of outdoor spaces of the parliament and connections to the city, both houses were opened to the same street, the Station Street. In the first house the urban character of the Taşhan Square shaped the environment of the parliament, and the Municipality Garden opposite the building were also the place for outdoor gatherings. When the Assembly was moved to the second house, the Nation Street (part of the Station Street) became the ceremonial forecourt of the Grand National Assembly and the Parliament Garden became an important center for public gatherings and concerts. The urban context of the first house reflected spontaneity, and the residing, functioning and governing functions of the Grand National Assembly are maintained in the existing building of a small Anatolian town. As for the context of the second house, the parliamentary culture started to shape the urban context according to its necessities. Between 1924 and 1928, the Ankara Palace Hotel was built just across the new building of Grand National Assembly. With the parliament and hotel at its two sides, the Nation Street became the ceremonial forecourt of contemporary political life especially at national holidays and during the visits of international guests such as ambassadors, political leaders, and soldiers. Actually the small scale of the center of Ulus, with Taşhan, the Nation Garden, the Parliament, the train station, the Ankara Palace and many ministry and bank buildings, turned in time into an administrative district enabling a new social and political life for the newcomers.

5.2. An Evaluation of the Function and the Meaning of the Parliamentary Spaces in Turkey

Having examined the earlier experince in parliamentary spaces, the study evaluated the designing phase of the Grand National Assembly complex as providing the existential characteristics of parliamentary architecture in Turkey. However, it was no simple work without deciphering the actors of the design process as, simply, the nation state, the planner and the architect for the governmental district in Ankara. The process started with the law that defined how a certain design would be chosen for the Turkish parliament, and consequently an international competition was announced in 1937 and concluded in 1938.

The climax of the competition proved that the representation of the "permanence of the Republic", "hygiene", "clarity" and "representation of twentieth century architecture" necessitated in stylistic terms a civic architecture in between neo-classicism and international style, as observed in the ceremonial forecourts, clear facades without ornamentation, promenades, colonnades and massive architecture of selected projects. In the commissioning process of Clemens Holzmeister, his reputation for designing some other state buildings in Ankara and his proposal for a bi-chamber parliament seem to have affected the selection. Although the competition was fairly fast concluded, the construction of the parliament could not be realized until the 1960s for several reasons discussed in the study. The time lag between the construction of the ministry buildings and the parliament, the economic problems due to the Second World War conditions, unforeseen city growth and developments in the postwar decades, changing public policies of later governments were all determining factors in the discontinuities of the original design and the separation of the parts of the whole. The discontinuity of the original design could make an opening for the decrease or the extinction of symbolic communication. In the second chapter, it is discussed that a transformation in the parliamentary spaces or how the parliament is perceived in the city can derive from inner and external sources.

The main alteration in the symbolism of the parliament in the city causing a discontinuity is the separation of the parliament building from the governmental district. The minor road between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Parliament site, initially designed as a public open space, a civic forum in the original design's terminology, had gradually developed into a main road for city transportation in Ankara, especially after the 1957 Uybadin-Yücel plan.[74] The plan had to handle the great problems of a capital city rapidly growing in population due to the excess migration and its previous boundaries lacked flexibility. At this instance the proposed solutions treated and damaged the human scale of neighbourhoods and streets, the wholeness of the governmental district and the quality of urban spaces so as to solve main problems such as traffic, housing for growing population, and expansion corridors for the city and their connections with the city. The enlargement

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[74] For further information on the plan, see Cengizkan, (2002) "Nihat Yücel: Bir Mimar Plancı, Bir Otobiyografi"; "Nihat Yücel ile 1957 Ankara İmar Planı Üzerine",; Günay (1988) "Our Generation of Planners, The Hopes, The Fears, The Facts: Case Study Ankara", Scupad SS, 20th Anniversary Congress, 6-9 May 1988, Salzburg; R. Uybadin, & N. Yücel, "Ankara Nazım İmar Planı Raporu", unpublished report; and N. Yücel, (1992) "1957 Ankara İmar Planı", *Ankara Dergisi*, v.1, n.4, pp.7-38.

of this minor road to wider dimensions of the İnönü Boulevard further continued in recent decades as its size was increased to that of a highway with the currently existing underground pass. As an external source of transformation, the alteration in the axial development of the city affected the symbolic communication, which was produced with placing the civic forum between the executive and legislative organs, to such a great degree that the parliament is separated from the whole and left alone.
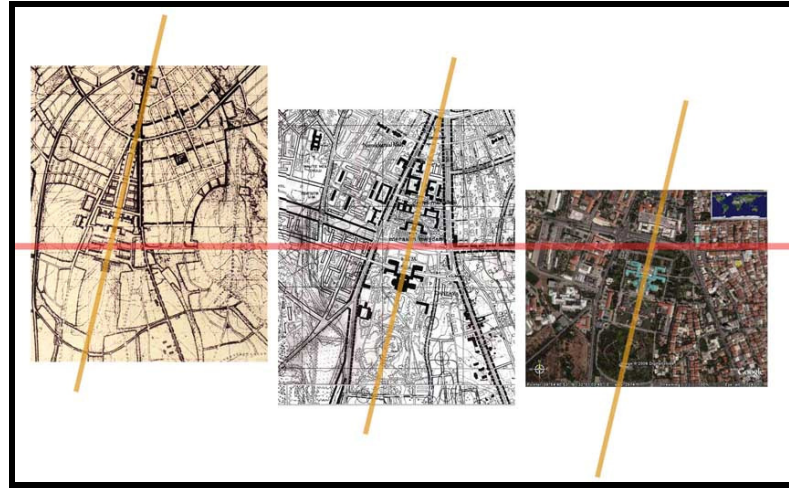
Figure 5.1 Google Earth Satellite View, 2006. The disappearance of the monumental axis (abstracted with the tilted line) as appeared in the Jansen Plan of 1932, was de-emphasized in years with the formation of the Inonu Boulevard after Uybadin-Yücel Plan in 1957, and the construction at the Akay Junction an underground pass around the 1990s.

Although Holzmeister designed the Assembly complex as part of an urban whole together with some ministry buildings, the first and the main alteration in the original plan within the boundaries of the campus of the parliament was observed in the separation of the parts of a whole when governmental district was realized because the idea of constructing the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of External Affairs in today's front garden of the parliament, was completely given up, and conclusively the the idea of the enclosure of the civic forum between these buildings and the triangle of governmental buildings was ruined. The increased distance between the parliament and the ministries may also indicate a decreased quality of urban life since squares, of which boundaries are defined with the buildings around and human scale, add to the quality of urban life. In addition to that, open spaces that the architect had designed as active parts of the whole, could not be perceived in the current situation as civic elements to enhance the quality of the urban

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environment and enable public gatherings by the Ministry of Public Works. On the contrary, they have been taken as vacant areas to be filled with new governmental buildings, used as parking areas or crippled with decreasing the width of the sidewalks or forecourts spared for pedestrians as threshold areas between the vehicle road and the built environment.

As a matter of fact, the Bureau of the Assembly aimed to complete the project under the guidance of the architect Holzmeister from the date the parliament building started to be used until the 1980s. The actors of this enlargement process were the Bureau of the Assembly, the Monuments and Arts Common Commission of the Bureau of the Assembly and the Bureau of the Republican Senate, the General Secretariat, Ziya Payzın (the responsible architect and the Technical Advisor to the General Secretary), Behruz Çinici (the architect and the Arts Advisor to the Bureau of the Assembly), Yüksel Öztan (the landscape architect) and Clemens Holzmeister (the architect). The issues of campus enlargement and monuments in the parliament complex discussed in the common meeting of two Bureaus were the most time taking efforts that the documents of the preliminary projects produced in detail would prove.[75]

According to the findings on the realized projects until the mid-1980s, which are the landscape design in the Assembly Park, the Atatürk Monument and the Public Relations Building, it is assessed that the applications in the campus of the period could be named as "building on the original design". The landscape project grew on the idea of producing the front, back and lateral gardens as related with position of the main building in the campus. In the place of the not-realized Prime Ministry and Ministry of External Affairs, a front garden was arranged to present the front facade of the parliament. The back garden was interpreted as public open areas of the campus if the Public Relations Building had not been built instead. The Çankaya and Dikmen gates were interpreted as city thresholds of the parliament. The Çankaya gate was thought as the protocol entrance since along the Boulevard were placed the embassies and the President's Residence, whereas the Dikmen gate was evaluated as the public entrance. The lateral gardens at the Atatürk Boulevard side thought to be used extensively by the public so that there should be public

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75 See Payzın (1976) and *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası ve Bahçesinde Kurulacak Anıtlar ve Sanat Yapıtları Ön Fikir Araştırması* (1975) and *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Anıtlar Komitesi Çalışmaları Tutanakları* (1976)

monuments here and the area would be arranged according to a cultural program. The lateral garden at the Dikmen Street side was conceived as a visual barrier concealing the Ministry Buildings on the other side of the street with high evergreen elements. The landscape architect also proposed the position of a monument for Atatürk in front of the hall of honor at the ceremonial forecourt. Before the two-stepped competition for the Atatürk Monument in 1979, Holzmeister's opinions were asked and he also proposed that the monument should take place in the ceremonial forecourt. And he reminded the Bureau of the Assembly that he always dreamed of a civic forum in front of the parliament facade. As he advised, the Atatürk Monument designed by Hüseyin Gezer was erected in the ceremonial forecourt and opened to service in 1981 by the President Kenan Evren for the 100th anniversary of Atatürk's birthday.

New requirements due to the changing working patterns of the parliament forced changes in the parliament building just before the 1980s. And these new requirements were born out of new working patterns (introduction of parties system due to the elections and bicameral system) that called for an increased elected-elector dialogue and thus necessitated member-people meeting spaces in the parliament and working spaces for the Members of the Assembly and Republican Senators. The idea of the enlargement of the parliament campus was grown out of these concerns. As a result of a long debated process, despite the fact that the consent of the Bureau of the Republican Senate was not taken, and in spite of the reactions from the Chambers of Professionals and Chamber of Architects, the method for obtaining the building via national competition was not applied. In fact it is understood from the findings that the method of the competition was not debated but handing over the management of construction to the Ministry of Public Works while opening a competition was contested. The Bureau of the Republican Senate was doubtful whether the application would be legally correct. And they had the idea that the Bureau of the Assembly was behaving superior despite the balance of power between the two organs. However, for the Bureau of the Assembly, as advised by technical assistants and students of Holzmeister, the issue was the quality of the work that would be managed by the Public Works Ministry. In these circumstances it was decided to commission the project to one of Holzmeister's students. As a result, the Public Relations Building was designed by Altuğ-Behruz Çinici and finalized between 1979 and 1984. In addition to the landscape design and the Atatürk Monument, there were also continuities in the Public Relations Building so that, similar to the main building, it was also composed of two blocks symmetrically placed on the trace of the monumental axis. Holzmeister found the

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new building successful from the point of being in harmony with the main building. Also the connection of the two buildings via a well-defined open space and easy access between them and the circulation in the new building designed as an inner street were evaluated as positive parts of the project. The building was born out of spatial exigencies of the parliament members in terms of working spaces, which was a long term discussion starting from the 1960s. The construction was finalized and the building was opened to service in 1984. The democratic process started once again after the 1983 elections, and the main building was converted to the bi-cameral system and the Senate Hall was given to the party group with the largest number of members in the Assembly.

1980 hence became a breakpoint in Turkish cultural, economic and political life. The constitution of 1982 restrained active participation of non-governmental organizations, universities and labor unions. That meant that there was no more an assessment factor in terms of an outer eye or public opinion that would be effective in decision processes of the Bureau of the Assembly. For these means the method of opening competitions for projects in the Assembly supported by the civil organizations and down taken by the Public Works Ministry was not followed now in commissioning Behruz Çinici for the plan of the mosque when the construction phase of the Public Relations Building was started in 1979. With this started a new period in the function and the meaning of the Parliamentary Complex. The mosque, which was thought as a spatial exigency by some of the parliament members, introduced a transformation in the original idea that had shaped the site of the parliamentary complex as the shared space of a national and secular state. The hierarchy in the sequential development of power structures, in which the parliament or the people as represented was at the top, was criticized by some to have been demolished with the placement of the mosque terminating the axis. However some of the public debates also focused on the lack of a minaret in the modern mosque of Çinici. [76]

Actually the 1980s started with the military coup of 1980 and are stamped as the starting period for liberalization of economy. The military intervention to democracy symbolizes a withdrawal from democracy and resulted with suppressions of political parties and disempowerment of civil organizations. The first election for members of the parliament was held on 6 November 1983 with the participation of the newly established Nationalist Democracy Party, the Populist Party and the Motherland Party, and without the political

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[76] For further information on the public debate on the Assembly Mosque, see Appendix A.1

parties, which had previously been closed after the coup. The democratic process started once again with this election. Despite some changes, the construction activities of the 1980s in the parliamentary complex were mainly a belated implementation of ideals cultivated in the 1960s, and generated in the 1970s. The military government supported the continuation of the constructions, such as the landscape design (1965-1985), the Atatürk Monument (1979-1981) and the Public Relations Building (1979-1984), started in the late 1970s that could only be completed at the end of the mid-1980s.

The 1990s, on the other hand, presented important attempts for the parliamentary spaces of Turkey including those for obtaining new buildings via national competitions to re-define the Turkish parliamentary space and to answer the needs of increasing parliamentary activities. In 1995 the Grand National Assembly was searching for a plenary hall as modern and technological as the halls of contemporary parliaments in some other countries. Another attempt for an additional building during the 1990s was for the Members Working Office Building. Although the Public Relations Building started to serve the parliament after 1984, in 1997 another competition was announced for a new office building including a visitor entrance. Apparently, a decade later, the spaces for member use became insufficient because of the dense visitor traffic. Another problem was found in the spatial organization of the Assembly Complex which could not organize the privacy of the members. For that reason a parcel in the West side of the main building, where the Presidential Guard building was situated, was chosen for the construction of a new office building. The lack of a comprehensive plan for the Assembly complex was mostly felt in the competition opened for this building since the architects had to work only within the boundaries of the pre-determined buildable area. The winner project by Semra and Özcan Uygur could not be applied; however, from 1997 to 2004, the search for answering the spatial requirement of working offices for the members continued. The discussion on the office building turned finally into finding a solution for the organization of private and shared spaces of the parliament. This also meant that the legislative function should remain in the main building but the other functions should be taken out.

At about this time, the Assembly felt that it was very important to preserve the historical documents in the Assembly archive and the library. Constructing another building for such purposes could also provide extra space in the main building for other purposes. Hence the Bureau of the Assembly opened the competition for the General Secretary, the Library and the Archive Building in 2006, which was won by Cem Açıkkol and Kaan

Özer. The construction was planned to be finished in November 2007; however, the first phase could only be completed in 2008. The Bureau of the Assembly decided not to start the construction for the second phase but to re-evaluate the decision about all new additions after the local elections in March, 2009.

With reference to the competition requirements, the main problem of the parliament in the main building in this period seems to have been determined as the excessive visitor traffic in between parliamentary spaces. This situation is accepted as a drawback for a productive working environment for the Members of the Parliament especially found as an obstacle for legislative function. The visitor traffic is an issue to be solved in the spatial organization of parliamentary spaces in the buildings (the Parliament Building, the Public Relations Building, and the Building for Personnel) and in the connections between these buildings and thus the spatial settings for these buildings in the campus. The underlying reason for the excessive visitor is the uncontrolled visitor traffic in the circulation between the parliamentary spaces in the main building such as the General Assembly Hall, meeting halls for political party groups, General Secretariat, standing committees, the speaker's office, office of the members of the Bureau of the Assembly, TGNA Television, hall of ceremonies, Directorate of Press and Public Relations and room for press meetings. Especially in order to reach the restaurant, which is at the block placed at the end of the west wing, a person entering from the entry for press (before public entrance) or gates numbered 3 and 4 should pass from the galleries of the coulisses at the two sides of the General Assembly Hall and take the corridor surrounded by meeting rooms for Standing Committees at the shortest distance. This means that the circulation for the excessively used areas of the Parliament by the members and the visitors should be re-arranged. In order to solve this complexity, the Bureau of the Assembly, when the Speaker of the Assembly was Bülent Arınç, tried to find a solution and foresaw that the spaces spared for other functions except for the legislative function should be taken out of the main building as it was in the original scheme.

In the light of the efforts of the Bureau of the Assembly on organizing the privacy of the members in the main building, a similar approach was followed for taking away the building for the personnel out of the campus to the earlier building of the Ministry for Forestry and Agriculture, which was rented by the Grand National Assembly to house the administrative, technical and budgetary departments. From the findings collected from the interviews with the jury members and award winning architects of the competitions, it is

also learned that the load of the parliament complex is also increased with the departments of the General Secretariat having duties varying from administrative and technical to giving health and nursery service to the members and personnel in the parliament complex. As concluded from the national competition for the General Secretary, a second problem is stated as the excessive load of the General Secretariat accepted as obstructive to the well-functioning of the legislative.

The requirements of the last two competitions symbolized a decision of scattering of parliamentary functions in the assembly complex especially with the aims of defining private spaces of the parliament as concretized with the requirement of the separation of the visitor traffic from the main function of legislation and building separate buildings for the General Secretariat, library and archives that are already placed in the main building. The spatial exigency calling for a visitor traffic arrangement in the campus is obvious. However the method of obtaining a site for a new building by pulling down architectural components is quite a new application notwithstanding the restoration of the General Assembly Hall. In order to build the winning project of the General Secretariat Service Building, the Building for Personnel, Printing Press and Power Station are decided to be pulled down, which could be also referring to a possible finding that conservative approach of the previous Bureaus of the Assembly, General Secretariat and the governments towards the products of original architecture in the campus is given up during the period of contemporary government. This new tendency is also concretized with the applications of the contemporary Bureau of the Assembly in examples such as the attainment of public monuments produced in the technical departments of the Assembly and without opening national competitions but commissioning some professionals for this purpose. This attitude is quite contradictory to the previous applications remembering the Bureaus of the Assembly and Republican Senate had common meetings from 1975 to 1979 on to decide where to build what and they obtained the monument for Atatürk in the campus as well as the landscape of the Assembly Park after national competitions. Another recent application that took public interest was an attempt of changing the stone pavements on the sidewalks in the campus without considering the commemorative value associated with the originality of the material. Luckily the Chamber of Architects emphasized its importance and the press media publicized the wrong application and hence the original pavements were paved back at their places.

The formations and transformations of the recent decades have derived from inner and external motivations affecting the communicative aspects of the Assembly Complex. The separation of the parliament from the governmental district and not completing all parts of the project decreased the communication of symbolism in Holzmeister's projection. This ould also going to be reflected as moving away from a comprehensive approach in the parliament setting in terms of the buildable area proposed for new buildings in national competitions and the treatment of outdoor spaces after the mid-1980s. The symbolic materiality of the existence of the main building was then left aside; and the main building was monumentalized without giving necessary concern for its continuing life. The Parliamentary Complex seems to have become an enclosed garden whereby the boundaries are determined by the vehicle traffic and as if the main building is rather a sculpture, not having an architectural presence. According to the findings, after the 1990s a transformation phase could be realized with changes in the original design in terms of its architectural components and the relations between the campus and the city.

One important transformation in the spatial function and the meaning of the original design is in the hierarchic representation of national sovereignty with the parliament house terminating the monumental axis. An important discontinuity is observed with the blockage of the future development of sequential open spaces enabling vistas from the parliament and to the parliament. Actually the Assembly mosque leans towards the Kabatepe hill, where exists a vista terrace enabling this hierarchical setting from the parliament to the old citadel.

A second important transformation is the fragmentation in the Assembly setting due to the buildable area given to the architects in the competitions, which disabled an organization of parts as a whole. The buildable area application in fact starts with the proposal for the place of the future senate building in the back garden. However Holzmeister already spared this place for the use of the Bureau of the Assembly house and at the terminus of the axis he envisaged a Republican palace in the original scheme. The idea that the visual terminus of the axis is the parliament building itself is the most powerful side of the symbolization of "national sovereignty". Hence, a proposal such as "the terminus of the axis will be the mosque" is quite unacceptable for national symbolism searched by the founders of the Republic. Moreover, a proposal in the international competition of 1938 was not favored since there was a domed roof and towers at the corners of the mass organization, taken to have resembled mosque architecture.

Figure 5. 2 The Public Entrance of the Main Building, the grand mass in the middle houses the General Council Hall, and the group meeting halls are at its two sides.

Figure 5. 3 Monumental axis points to the Public Relations Building, from the public entrance of the main building to the middle forecourt.
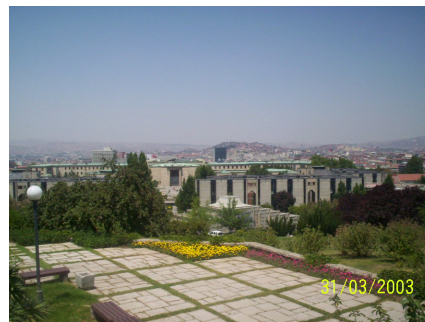
Figure 5. 4 The view of the monumental axis from the Kabatepe view terrace through the Mosque, the Public Relations Building, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and the Old Citadel at the Ankara ridges.

The fragmentation due to defining buildable area for each competition and the discussions for site determination at each architectural program preparation prove the lack of a comprehensive approach in the assembly campus. This situation may imply that the comprehensive approach followed by the planner Jansen and the architect Holzmeister have not continued due to the separation of the parliament from the governmental district.

The spatial exigencies in the parliamentary spaces have been motivated by the inner motivations of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The physical changes in the Parliamentary Complex are rather symptoms of the change in the inner organization of the institution. However the parliamentary culture of the Turkish Grand National Assembly is also in evolution. For that reason, it is not possible to state at the present that these symptoms will be symbols of the organizational change in the future. The architectural additions due to spatial exigencies or to complete parts of the project in the Assembly complex were several times handled in detail but could not be realized by its starters as the studies for the enlargement of the campus and monuments in the assembly complex in 1976 exhibit. The underlying reasons can be deduced from repeating history of similar events. Several committee handlings, long meetings and time taking bureaucratic requirements may be one reason. The disinterest in the works of previous Assembly projects may be another.

5.3. Proposals for the Better Communication of the Parliamentary Spaces in the Architectural and Urban Context

So far in this study the findings on the discontinuities and continuities in the function and meaning of parliamentary spaces in the Grand National Assembly Complex and their possible reasoning have been presented. According to the assessment of preparations and applications of the Grand National Assembly for solving spatial inefficiencies in the components of the architecture and in the relations with the capital city and the parliament, it is understood that for the parliament at the moment it is an issue of defining its private spaces. However, as discussed in the second chapter, the representative function of the parliament inevitably calls for an expression of a shared space between the actors in the nation, the city and the parliament. It is assessed that the architects in the competitions produced solutions for arrangements that have temporal validities since they are given a buildable parcel, which limits the area of their work. The given buildable height is another limitation. If the height of the General Assembly Hall should not be exceeded from the

point of hierarchy, it is no longer a valid requirement since many buildings, including the closer buildings of the Ministry of Finance built around 1990s and the Great Ankara Hotel built around 1960s (today the Rixos Great Ankara Hotel) have already dwarfed the parliament. Parliament buildings are meant to be monumental because of their commemorative value. And their architecture should be visible and define the center of the nation. Rather than escalating between the remnants of the Holzmeister scheme and the new arrangements in the campus tried to be solved with temporary validity, a new comprehensive plan for the Parliamentary Complex should be prepared, taking today's capital city of Ankara and its urban context into consideration.

The capital city of Ankara was in the process of metropolitanization in the 1980s, and today it faces all the problems that metropolitan cities have, and the city center, Kızılay, has lost its past significance as stated by many authors (Görmez 2004). The city is rapidly moving towards the south and the west, the directions of Çankaya and the Eskişehir Road, the continuation of the İnönü Boulevard passing in front of the parliament. A significant number of state institutions have abandoned the Governmental District and settled on the Eskişehir Road. The gathering of the new party headquarter buildings and some governmental buildings along this road, and in western Balgat and Söğütözü districts of Ankara, is parallel to the tendency of the commercial centers, state buildings, banks, Ankara Commerce Center, health and education institutions and shopping centers to come together along this direction. Besides the urban saturation of Kızılay and its environment, and the fascination for the Eskişehir Road as the developing urban area, the growth in the organizations of the political parties and the economic power of the political parties have been also quite influential in their move away from the center, thus from the governmental district and the parliament. Despite the fact that the public spaces of Ankara need enormous concern as part for their preservation and development, this dispersion and fragmentation of public spaces in Ankara will affect the political spaces of Ankara as well.

In this respect, the fragmentation in the urban space will interrupt the collectiveness of the public from the point of citizen rights of coming together in meetings and making democratic protests. Hence, in order to reactivate the city center, some precautions against loss of interest in the public and shift of the civic buildings nearer to a new business center around Söğütözü should be taken. One of them would be the pedestrianization of the city center especially. This necessitates a number of acts of urban design that includes the regaining the squares of the Republican period, which inevitably would add to the civic

quality of the urban spaces around the parliament building and the ministries and this would develop a civic interest for the democratic rights and institutions.

The communicative aspect of the parliament building largely depends on the role of the parliament as an institution in the national capital. The monument of Atatürk in 1978, the National Sovereignty Park in 1985 and the monuments designed as parts of the National Sovereignty year activities were all efforts to confirm the meaning of national sovereignty. However in order to get closer to the parliament, the literal distance of the Assembly to the city should be re-evaluated in terms of public accessibility in the front garden and enabling vista points via decreasing the speed of the traffic due to the highway road at the front.

In reality the distance between parliamentary and civic culture matters more than what the architecture of the parliament means. As stated by Akgün (2007), the creation of representational institutions that are functional in assembling organic relations between the society and the government is very important to sustain a healthy democratic system. Thus the shortening or getting rid of the distance necessitates functional evolution of the legislature with the involvement in participatory democracies and civic interest and sensibility of the public. Democratic stability can be read as the stability of its founding institutions. In this respect, the political experience of Turkey may not prove this acceptation since the necessary requirements do not exist. The absence of the requirements is a result of the political culture formed between intervals of political and military interventions. It is also important to note that, as Turan (1994: 105-28) states, the parliamentary culture in Turkey is in evolution and it has succeeded to overcome the suspensions of democracy. Governments, the parliament and the political parties should strike into the subject of interaction with the public in concrete terms such as finding solutions in the physical environment. Besides, in developing the future architectural and urban politics, those in power have to produce politics that can be read and developed along the line of the rights of citizens in their political representations.

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A.1 Interview with Behruz Çinici, March 20, 2006, İstanbul

Holzmeister projesinde iki yana açılan parlamento binasının kanatları ile "Halka bana geliniz" mesajını iletmesini amaçlamıştır. Behruz Çinici Holzmeister'in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk hayranı olduğunu, Salzburg'daki evinin bir katının Atatürk ile ilgili anılarına, fotoğraflarına, Türkiye'de bulunduğu sürede edindiği hatıra eşyalara ayrıldığını söyler. Holzmeister'in Atatürk ile ilgili anılarından birini anlatır Çinici. Holzmeister Çankaya'daki inşa edilecek olan Atatürk Köşkünün yapımıyla görevlendirilir. Atatürk'ün de bir çizer olduğunu söyler Çinici. Biri kalın uçlu kurşun kalem ve bir de tükenmez kalem taşır yanında. Behruz Çinici'nin ofisinin alt katında yer alan atölyesinde Atatürk'ün savaşlarında kroki halinde ve oklarla anlattığı eskizlerinin tabloları yer alır. Çankaya köşkü için Holzmeister Atatürk ile biraraya geldiğinde Atatürk bir kağıda bir büyük ve de bir küçük kare çizer. Büyük kareyi işaret ederek işte burası benim kütüphanem, diğeri ise yatak odam, arasını siz doldurun der. Birçok yönüyle Atatürk Holzmeister'in Türkiye anılarında büyük ve önemli bir yer işgal eder.

Halkla ilişkiler binasının kimin tarafından yapılacağı belirlenirken Holzmeister'in üç öğrencisinin ismi zikredilir. Bunlar Behruz Çinici, Ziya Payzın ve Muhittin Güreli'dir. Çinici Improvisation kitabında da anlattığı gibi Holzmeister hayatta olduğu üzere proje için öncelikle ona danışılması hususunda diretir. Bunun üzerine Holzmeister Türkiye'ye davet edilir. Holzmeister bu proje için yaşlı olduğunu ifade eder, ve bahsedilen üç mimarın çözümler sunmasını, aralarından seçimi kendisinin yapabileceğini söyler. Fakat Avusturya'ya projeleri götüren kütüphane müdürünün anlattığına göre, Holzmeister çizimleri incelerken bunlar Çinici'nin çizimleri diye ifade buyurmuştur. Sonrasında devam eden bilgi alışverişi ve iletişimden dolayı Altuğ- Behruz Çinici'nin projelerinde danışman Profesör olarak Holzmeister'in ismi yazılmıştır. Projenin Çinici'ye verilişinden dolayı bir takım tartışmalar oluşmuş, Mimarlar odası ayağa kalkmıştır. Behruz Çinici odaların küçüklüğü konusunda gelen eleştirilere karşı bu durumu şöyle anlatır. Ülkenin ekonomisi ve yapabilecekleri bellidir. İhtiyaç programında Karakaş tarafından milletvekili odalarının 10,5 metrekare olması belirtilmiştir. Köşe odaları 11 metrekare olmak kaydıyla programa cevap verecek şekilde odaları tasarladığını söyler Çinici. Aslında bu yeni bina cumhuriyet senatosu ve meclis şeklinde iki kanat olarak tasarlanır. Holzmeister binasının halk girişi aksını karşılayacak şekilde açık alanda bir geçiş yolu yapılmak kaydıyla iki yanlara ikili meclis sistemine göre simetrik iki L formunda bina inşa edilir.

Bu dönemde yine bir başka konu gündeme gelir, Meclis'te Atatürk heykeli yoktur. Atatürk heykeli için açılan yarışmayı Hüseyin Gezer kazanır. Behruz Çinici'nin anlattığı üzere bu heykelin yaptırılması için Macaristan, Avusturya ve İtalya'daki heykel atölyeleri gezilir. Bu çalışmalarda bizzat Çinici yer alır. Hüzeyin Gezer heykelin inşaası için 125 milyon isterken Macaristanda bir atölyeden 19 milyar fiyat verilir. Atilla Arpat (karpat?)

ve eşi Türk asıllı Azeri sanatçılardır. Afet İnan, Enver Tiye Karan heyet olarak kabule giderler. Kabulde Hüzeyin Gezer'in 1/1 alçı modeli karşılarına çıkar. Çinici bugün keşke Mehmet Aksoy kazanmış olsaydı der. Jüride Kenan Paşa vardır, açılışı da ona nasip olur. Cahit Karakaş ise 80 ihtilalinde gider. Heykel tam bir yılda tamamlanır. Afet İnan heykelin kompozisyonunda yer alan genç kızın göğüslerinin çıplak olmasına itiraz edecek olur, Hüseyin Karakaş ise saldırır, bu ne demek oluyor böyle diye, Çinici ise latifeli bir biçimde bronz dökülür sutyen olur diyerek durumu yumuşatır. Meclis kompleksinde yer alan Halkla ilişkiler ve Atatürk anıtından bu yana meclis içinde yapılması istenen cami binası içinde Salzburg'da toplanılır. Çinici'nin ifade ettiği üzere meclis içine yapılması düşünülen cami hususunda Holzmeister olumludur.

Çinici'nin ifade ettiği üzere Holzmeister Türkiye'yi en fazla resmeden ressamdır. Özellikle suluboya çalışmalarından Çinici övgüyle bahseder. Teknik Üniversitede verdiği derslerde onca çabalarla öğrencilerin günlerdir çizdiği perspektiflerin üzerine attığı suluboya darbelerle başta öğrencileri hüsrana uğratsa da kısa sürede çok güzel çalışmalar ortaya çıkarırmış. Ceplerinde kozalaklarla derse giren hocasını Çinici hayranlık ve özlemle anar. Yaşadığı Salzburg kentinde yer alan KK restoranında her daim Holzmeister için boş tutulan masadan bahseder.

Çinici bu sırada Holzmeister'in tasarladığı güzelim genel kurul salonunun nasıl bir şekilde bu tasarımı hiçe sayacak şekilde tamamlandığından bahseder. Kendisi bu yarışmaya iştirak etmez. Aslında yarışma bir sistem yenilenmesi şeklinde algılanır. Siemens firmasına akustik düzenlemeler yaptırılacak, bozulan ya da eskiyen koltuklar değiştirilecek, keskin biten koltuk sınırı belki de biraz kıvrımlandırılacaktır. Oysa yapılan tamamen genel kurul salonunun iç mekânının değiştirilmesi yönünde olmuştur. Salonda hissedilen hiyerarşik düzeni hafifletecek şekilde koltuklar yeniden seviyelendirilir. Konuşma kürsüsü önüne konulan Atatürk çiçekliği ise hareketi azaltır.

Halkla ilişkiler binasına yeniden dönecek olursak, bu yapı temelde altı kare ve aralarındaki avlulardan oluşur. Prefabrike olarak tasarlanan bina 4 ayda bitirilir. Yapılan bunca eleştiriye rağmen binanın ülkede uygulanan yeni teknolojiler açısından dillendirilmemesine Çinici içerler. Aslında bina sadece sol kanat olarak düşünülmüştür. Sırrı Atalay Başkanlığı döneminde Senato için ise ayrı bir konkur yapılır. Hozmeister'in binasının arkasında kalan alanda birbirinden farklı binaların yanyana bulunmasına karşın Çinici ve Karakaş meclis için yapılması düşünülen binanın simetriğinin senato için kullanılması fikrini ortaya atar. Çağlayangil ayrı partiden olmasına rağmen Karakaş'a katılır, neden simetrik yapılmasın? der. Bu şekilde halkla ilişkiler binası iki diyagonal giriş ve akan havuzlar etrafında biçimlenir. Bu binada 4 büyük "Atatürk Avlusu" yer alır. Karaduman dönemi.

Cami yaptırma fikri Karakaş döneminde ortaya atılır. Aslında meclis'te ibadet bu döneme kadar oldukça sorunludur. Halk girişi ve etrafı genel salonu saracak şekildeki alanlarda bir büyük ayakkabılık halini almıştır. İbadet ise meclis koridorlarına kadar yayılmıştır. Bu durumda esas soru: ana meclisten ibadeti nasıl çıkarırız? olmuştur. Çinici cami konusunu şöyle anlatır. Holzmeister Hoca ile eskizlere başlanıldı. Dikmen kapısında olması hususunda ikna etmeye çalışıyordum, halka da açılır, tepenin arkasında olsun diyordum. İhtilal sonrası Karaduman yapıları sevdi. Dönemde asker mühendislerin de ilgisi çok oldu. Askerler geleceğin milletvekilleri için yapının en kaliteli olması hususunda çok çalıştılar. Bir taraftan milletvekilleri sitesi yapılıyor. Bu dönemde Karaduman: "Camiyi sen yapmalısın" dedi. Çinici ise, "bu iş Dikmen tarafında olmalıdır, ben jüride görev yaparım." "Hem Atatürk'ün GüvenPark'tan Çankaya'ya çizdiği bir aks üzerinde cami yapmak çok zor birşey". "Cami demiyelim, ibadet yeri diyelim." Bunun üzerine

Karaduman sorar, "Tepe'de annex, connection tarzı bir şey istesek ne diyeceksin" diye sorar. Çinici," meydan, ibadethane, kitaplık yapabilirim", der.

Bunun üzerine baba-oğul Behruz ve Can Çinici eskizlere başlarlar. Çinici anlatır: "Can bir kare yapıyor, Sedat Hakkı gidip geliyor, hakemlik yapar gibi. Ancak ikimizde de gömülme fikri var. O esnada Kanadalı Quebec talebeleri gelirdi. 24 kişi bizim stüdyoda. Buna biz başladık, Karaduman ortaya çıkan şeye "nerde bunun minaresi? diye takıldı. Büyük bir maket yapıldı, büroda kızılca kıyamet koptu. Milli Savunma Bakanlığından mimarlar, tespihli mimarlar geldi, minareyi savundular. Atatürk'ün Çankaya aksında minare sizsiniz, yücelme meclis'in ruhundan gelir" diyerek projeyi savundum. Karaduman ikinci görüşmede "cami bize bastırmamalı, namaza geç kalırız git-gel" diyerek yer hususunda ikna oldular. Erhan Akyıldız Cumhuriyet gazetesinde röportaj yaptı. "Meclis Camii'ne minare aranıyor". Vedat Dalokay sonuna kadar arkandayım dedi. Etilerdeki atölyedeyim, Karaduman aradı, ne hakla gazeteye bildiriyorsun dedi. Ben bu toplumun mimarıyım, haber etmekle yükümlüyüm dedim. Büyük projeler Avrupa'da meydanlarda halka sergilenir. Komunistsin sen dedi. Çinici bu durumu şöyle izah eder: kubbe mimarlığının geçmişte kullanılan bir method olduğunu, günümüzde karşılığını space frame ile bulabileceğini, minareyi ise suriye haç kiliselerinden aldığımızı söyler. Yaşar Nuri gibi bir çok din bilgini de aynı dönemde Camii toplum demektir görüşünü savunur.

A.2 Interview with Prof. Dr. Yıldırım Yavuz in June 5, 2008, Ankara

Yavuz:
Meclis kampüsünde yapılaşma süreci aslında benim bildiğim kadarıyla, ufak tefek gerekli olanlar hizmet yapıları dışında çicek seraları vesaire dışında Halkla İlişkiler Binası ile başladı. Bu yapılaşmada Behruz Bey'i destekleyen meclis binasının kendisi oldu. Zaten Behruz Bey'de zamanında Holzmeister'in öğrencisi olmuş. O bakımdan gerçekten meclisin Jansen planını da sayarsak, Kızılay'da Güven Anıtından başlayarak bakanlıklara oradan meclis binasına hatta kampusteki tepeye kadar giden bir aksın genel düşüncesini bozmadan yapılmış bir bina olarak görüyorum. Bu aks Behruz Bey'in yapmış olduğu meclis üyelerinin odalarının bulunduğu Halkla İlişkiler Binasını simetrik bir şekilde ikiye bölmüş durumda ve ortada oluşan deliğin içinden bu aks geçmekte. Mescit benim kanıma göre Türkiye'de yapılmış en uygar, çağdaş dini yapıdır. Behruz Bey bu eseriyle Can Çinici ile beraber Ağa Han ödülünü almıştır. Orada bir Kavak ağacı vardır, minare görevini çok güzel yansıtır. Bu mescitin en önemli detayı kıble duvarının tamamen şeffaf olmasıdır. Arkadaki çok güzel planlanmış bir göçük bahçeye bakmaktadır. Orada sular akmaktadır, çiçekler görünmektedir. Böylece Tanrı'nın evreni yaratma gücünü izleyebildiğiniz bir mekân oluşur. Biliyorsunuz camilerde ön saf en uzun sıra olarak tasarlanır. Bu ön sıranın baktığı duvarın tamamen şeffaf olması Tanrı'ya yakarış sırasında dışarıyı izleyerek hayat ile ilgili farkındalıklar sunar. Doğanın içinde şeffaf biçimde yer alması özellikle olumludur. Bunun dışında camilerin geleneksel ve simgesel birimlerinden mesela minare gibi yoksun olması, yine kubbenin olmaması, Ankara yerel mimarisinin özelliklerinden yararlanıp çıkmaları cephede kullanıyor olması, tavan döşemeleri olumludur. Binanın içinde geleneksel mimariye göndermeler yapan bir takım şeyler de vardır. Mesela camilerin avlu duvarlarını çevreleyen pencerelerin bir iki örneğini günümüzde görebiliyoruz ama avlu olmadığı için genelde uygulanmıyor. Bu pencereleri göndermeler yapan boşlukları görebiliyoruz. Veyahut son cemaat yerinde revakların taşıyıcılarının olmadığını görürüz, onların yerinde birer çiçek saksısı durur. Ölçülendirmesi vesairesi de ona göre. Bu yapıyı bu özellikleri ile en çağdaş ibadet yeri

olarak görüyorum, çağdaşlığa yakışan bir mimari olarak buluyorum. Biçimsel ve plansal olarak şu anda 15. ve 16.yüzyıl camilerinden kopyalanarak yapılan örneklerden de çok farklı bir şekilde yorumlanmış bir ibadet mekânı. Bu yapının bir tek dezavantajı var. Bir az önce bahsettiğimiz aksın önünü tıkıyor. Mesela Jansen planında, Holzmeister şemasında Başbakanlık birimi bu aksın en sonunda yer alır. O yapılamıyor.

Günseli:
 Holzmeister eskizlerinde Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sarayı olarak gösteriliyor.

Yavuz:
Benim bildiğim Başbakanlık ama çünkü Pembe Köşkü zaten kendisi yapıyor Çankaya'da. Belki çalışma mekânı olarak kurgulanmış olabilir. Ben başbakanlık dairesi olarak biliyorum ama olabilir. Bu yapıların, Behruz Bey'in yapılarının gerçekleşmesi ile birlikte mevcut arazi içinde yeni yapılaşmalara yer bu ön bölümde pek kalmıyor. Güvenlik'ten başlayan bu aks öyle ayarlanmıştır ki Güven Anıtı'na sırtınızı dayadığınız zaman, şimdiki ağaçlar ve yapılar yoktu, İçişleri Bakanlığının altındaki delikten de geçerekten Meclis'in girşinin tam ortasındaki kapıyı görürdünüz. Ben kendim öğrenciliğim zamanında bizzat deneyimlemiştim. İşte maalesef bu konuya verilen önem olmadığı ve Bakanlıklar bölgesinde pek çok müdahale ve değişiklikler olduğu için şimdi bu özellik kayboldu. Ama o zamanlar bu arazi ona göre düzenlenmişti görsel bir ilişki kurardı bu aks. Bu aks o kapıdan da geçtikten sonra Meclis salonundan geçerekten arka kapıya oradan da ileride yapılması düşünülen başbakanlık dairesi ya da cumhurbaşkanlığı birimine kadar uzanırdı. Bu aksın sağ ve sol tarafında tepenin arkasında ve yanlarında kullanabilecek yer potansiyeli var. Buralarda belirli hizmet yapıları, askerlerin kullandığı lojman birimleri var. Meclis in yapılaşma sürecinde Genel Kurul salonunun düzenlenmesi işi var. Çağdaş toplumlara yaraşır bir oturma düzeni arayışı var. Daha sonrası meclis üyelerinin çalışma mekanı eksikliği üzerine açılmış bir Milletvekili Çalışma Binası yarışması var. Birinci olan yapı o jüride bütün projeler arasında en bütüncül çözümlenmiş projelerden birisiydi. Yani onunla diğer projeler arasında çok büyük fark vardı. Özcan Bey ve Semra Hanım'ın projesiydi. Yalnız bu projede bulvara bakan tarafta meclis binasının arkasında Meclis koruma birimlerine ait olan binanın kaldırılması sözkonusuydu. Bu Muhafız Taburu binası Ankara taşıyla kaplanmış bir kışla yapısıdır. Altından geçen bir yolla arka duvara kadar giden bir yan aksın uzandığı bir yerdir. Ana aks var, iki tane de yan aks var, bir tanesi bu bahsettiğim şey onlardan da meclisin yan arka kapılarına ulaşılır. İkincisi de tepenin arkasına kadar giden bir yan aks var. Biz o zaman jüri üyeleri olarak bu projeyi çıkartırken burada yapılacak yerin en iyi çözümünün meclisin içinde çalışmayı önleyecek kadar kalabalık olan ziyaretçi trafiğini önleyecek ve meclis içinde cadde ile önemli bir ilişkisi olan bina ile beraber bir bariyer teşkil edecek şekilde projenin elde edilmesiydi. Bunda Özcan Bey'lerin projesi gerçekten çok başarılıydı. Ve bu arada otopark çözümleri, giriş çıkışlar, lokantalar gibi birimleri çözmesi ve de her bir milletvekiline rahat çalışma ortamı sağlayacak birimler vardı. Fakat en başarılı özelliği o önünden geçen Güvenlik Caddesinin başını teşkil eden o dar sokağın binanın alt tarafında çok geniş bir ön alan yaratarak, kalabalığı binanın alt tarafına alıyordu ve kontrolü yine orada yapıyor, böylece sokak mekânını da görsel olarak yansıtan bir projeydi. Ama bunun için Holzmeister'in o yapmış olduğu Muhafız Taburu Biriminin yıkılması gerekmekteydi. Genel Kurmaydan bunun için izin çıkmadı onun için gerçekleşemedi. Gerçi keşke gerçekleşse idi çünkü daha sonra oluşacak tüm sorunlara çözüm olacaktı. Bundan sonra yapılan yarışma Genel Sekreterlik, Arşiv ve Kütüphane binası için yer seçimi hususunda çok uzun tartışmalar oldu. Bizim önerdiğimiz çeşitli yerler vardı. Bunlardan bir tanesi meclisin arka köşesinde şimdi spor sahalarının olduğu yer vardı. Olmaz dediler meclis buraya çok uzak dediler. Sonra içinde seraların olduğu bir alan vardı. Hatta bu proje meclisin içine kadar gidebilen bir alt geçitle

çözümlenebilirdi. Buna karşılık Isı santralinin olduğu yeri önerdiler. Bu binanın karkas iki katının üstüne betonarme kat çıkıldığı için yıkılabilir dendi. Bu binanın içinde hala işleyen İsviçre'den gelmiş kazanlar yeralmaktaydı. Korunması gereken bir endüstri mirası sayılabilirdi. Hatta bu kazanlar sergilenmek üzere Odtü'ye verilmek istendi. Bu binanın yıkılması sözkonusu edildiğinden Gül Asatekin jüri görevinden istifa etti. Sonunda jüri üyeleriyle projeler üzerinde çok konuşuldu, bir miktar sonuç üzerinde jüri üyeleri bölündü. Abdi Bey ve ben bir proje üzerinde duruyorduk, belli miktar bölündük projeler üzerinde, tabii mimari beğeni sonuç olarak subjektif. Ancak bu daha önce yoktu, milletvekili çalışma binası ve genel kurul salonu yarışmalarında. Ve sonunda 2 proje üzerinde çok tartışıldı, 1. ve 2. seçilen projeler arasında çok tartışıldı. 2. proje çok çağdaş bir görünüme sahipti, tabii bu meslis binası yapısıyla ne kadar uyuşur, o konuda tartışılabilir. 2. projede çok fazla cam yüzey vardı, ama batıya doğru iyi bir kapalılığı vardı. Sonuçta Cem Açıkkol'lar yarışmayı kazandı. Yalnız bu yarışma süreci bittikten sonra ben birşey öğrendim. Bu arada Meclis çalışanları inşaat sırasında barındırabilmek için Orman Bakanlığına ait taş bina satın alınmış. İlk önce Ankara Büyük Otel'i almak istiyorlardı. Sonradan öğreniyorum ki genel sekreterlik birimleri oraya taşınmış, yarışma ile elde edilen Genel Sekreterlik binasına gerek kalmamış, onun yerine meclis başkanlığı tamam bu sorun çözüldü yerine milletvekili çalışma birimlerini yapalım demiş. Proje müellifleri de bunu kabul etmiş. Tabii bu çok ters bir durum... Fakat benim en rahatsız olduğum şey bu sefer jüri üyelerine hiç haber vermediler. Diğer jüri üyelerinde Mustafa Aytöre bir dilekçe yazmış bu durumun tersliği ile ilgili. Mustafa Beyi bir süre danışman olarak tutmuşlar, o da durum ile ilgili bu yazıyı yazmış. Şu anda nasıl yürüyor bilmiyorum ama oradaki en önemli şey meclis arşivlerinin korunmasıydı, o birim duruyor ama öbüründe ne oluyor ne bitiyor bilemiyorum. Bir diğer olay Genel Kurul Salonunun düzenlenmesinde yaşanan ceylan derisi olayı idi. Yansıtılanlar gibi bir durum yoktu. İlhami Bey inanılmaz kibar bir mimardı. Eski genel kurul salonunda oturma düzeni çok yüksekte olan kürsüdeki konuşmacının sınıf düzeninde meclis üyelerine seslendiği bir sistemdi. Bakanlar kurulu ve Başkanlık divanı da yüksekti. Halkın egemenliğinden çok bir hukuk devleti havasındaydı. Renkler çok ağırdı. Şimdi genel kurul salonu çok iyi durumda, daha demokratik düzenlendi. Kürsü alçaltıldı. Ve bu düzende bir parti gruplaşması olmadan isteyen kişinin istediği yere oturma olasılığı var. Yani kişisel özgürlüğün öne çıktığı bu günlerde bu düzen bu durumu destekleyici konumda. Elektronik sistemler de değiştirildi.

Her yarışmanın danışmanları ve yöneticilerinin kendilerine özgü mimari görüşleri vardır. Ta Hitler'den Mussolini'ye, mekânı inceleyen, mimarlık hayali kuran yöneticiler vardır. Onun için yöneticilerin tepkileri ne olursa olsun jüri üyeleri kişisel mimari görüşleriyle kendi farklı mimari görüşlere sahip olabiliyor. Ama bunlar zamanla jüri üyeleri gibi bir baskı unsuru gibi gelmiyor. Bir tek yer seçiminde etkili oldular.

A.3 Interview with Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abdi Güzer in May 16, 2008, Ankara

Güzer:
Şimdi bu meclis için aslında bir kaç tane yarışma bu güne kadar yapıldı. Ve hepsinde benzer yöntemler izlendi. O yöntemlerin belki sürekliliğinde bu son benim jüri üyesi olduğum yarışma çıkarıldı. Şimdi mecliste ciddi bir yer sıkıntısı var. İki nedenle: Bir tanesi Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi sadece bir yasama organı gibi çalışmıyor. Bünyesinde birçok ek etkinliği barındırıyor. Bunların içerisinde protokol etkinlikleri, bir kısmı arşiv ve belgeleme etkinlikleri. Ağırlık olarak halkla ilişkiler var. Bir de sayısal olarak tabii kalabalık bir temsilciler grubu var ve bunların da bir takım gereksinimleri var.

Emekliler yoğun bir şekilde meclisten yararlanıyorlar. Bu çok önemli bir konu... Yemekhanesini kullanıyorlar, sağlık hizmetlerinden yararlanıyorlar. Çok sayıda giriş çıkış oluyor meclise, ziyaretçiler, basın mensupları, dinleyiciler oturumlardaki. Vekillerin kendi illerindeki iş takipleri için gelen birçok kişi var. Dolayısıyla bu trafik yükünün de getirdiği belli ihtiyaçlar var. Zaman içinde bunlar giderilememiş ve çok sıkışık çalıştıklarını söylüyorlar. Meclis merkezi bir alanda Ankara'da ve artık etrafında büyüyebileceği alan yok. Dolayısıyla sürekli kendi içinde bir şeyler yiyor. Öte yandan tabii meclisin bir anıt değeri var. Yapıları çok özel yapılar, yarışma ile elde edilmiş yapılar ve simgeleşmiş zaman içinde, belli bir kültürel temsiliyet değeri olan yapılar. Bunun için hem bunların önünü bir yandan fazla kapatmamak, baskınlıklarını azaltmamak, öte yandan giderek azalan yeşil alandan yememek için yer seçiminde çoklu bir ölçüt kullanıldı. Bu ölçüt işte bir yandan giriş çıkışı organize edecek şekilde dış sınıra yakın olması. Öte yandan yeşil alanı kateltmeyecek şekilde mümkünse eski yapılardan bir kısmının kaldırılarak yerine yapılması şeklindeydi. Buna uygun olarak da eski ısı merkezinin olduğu alan seçildi bizim yarışmamızda. Burada çünkü devre dışı kalmış bir yapı vardı. Bir tek şeyde tereddüt ettik İçindeki endüstriyel arkeoloji sayılabilecek belki sayılabilecek kazanlar vesaire çok değerli bulunduğu için bununla ilgili uzun uzun tartışmalar yapıldı. Uzman değerlendirmeleri alındı. Bunun sonucunda bu karar oluşturuldu. Mümkün olduğu kadar açık ve boş yeşil alanları tahrip etmeyen bir yer seçimine gidildi. Burada yapılacak şeylerin programları biz gelmeden önce meclis tarafından belirlenmişti. Ama bu bir teknik, mimari bir program şeklinde değil de onların neye ihtiyacı oldukları ve talepleri doğrultusunda belirlenmiş bir programdı. Biz bu programı gözden geçirdik. Hem büyüklük olarak hem de içerik olarak bir yarışma programı haline getirdik. Bunu yaparken de bazı değişiklikler, eklemeler, çıkarmalar oldu. Hepsinde görüş aldık. Ama diyebilirim ki nihai karar jürinin oldu. Bu yarışmaya özel başka bir konu daha var. Bu programda yer alan yapıların bazıları biz yarışmaya çıkmadan hemen önce ihaleye çıkarılmış ve en düşük fiyatı veren ya da kamu ihale yasasına göre uygun fiyat veren bir firmaya verilmişti. Ama bu firma iş birikimi, vesairesi nedeniyle veya baştan sunduğu bir proje nedeniyle meclis bağlamında yapı yapma yetkinliği olup olmadığı henüz belli olmayan bir firmaydı. Onun için biraz meclisin de talebiyle biz yarışma programını geliştirip bu ihtiyaçları da, ki bunlar ağırlıklı olarak bir giriş çıkış yapısı ve bazı servisleri içeren otoprak gibi yapılardı. Bunları da yarışmaya dâhil ettik. Şimdi burada çok önemli parçası otoparktı, o yeraltında çözüldü. Ve bu da bir miktar yarışma sürecinin uzamasını gerektirdi ama daha sağlıklı oldu. Jüri üyeleri bence baştan sona çok etkili oldular. Çünkü mecliste iki tane aktör var temelde. Bunlardan bir tanesi gelip geçici olan, belli sürelerle milletvekillleri ve onların atadığı, seçtiği yöneticileri, komisyonlar vesaire. Ama onun dışında bir süreklilik gösteren teknik kadro var. Bunlar da işte hem eveliyatını biliyorlar hem de gerçek ihtiyaçları biliyorlar. Artı bu süreç özelinde meclis başkanının tercihi ile konu ile ilgili olabileceğini düşündüğü milletvekilleri. Bundan şunu kastediyorum. Mimarlık eğitimi, mühendislik eğitimi almış bu konu ile ilgileneceğini varsaydığı milletvekillerini de olabildiğince katmaya çalıştı. Ama bunlar daha çok belirleyici bölümde değilde danışman gibi jüriye fikirlerini söyleyerek katıldılar.

Şimdi burası özelinde şöyle bir durum var. Bu önemli... Tabii her ne kadar bir program olsa da meclisteki asıl hassasiyet varolan yapılaşmış çevre ile bütünleşmek veya kurulan ilişki. Sonuçta çıkan yapının hem yeni bir mimari olduğunu, çalışan bir mimari olduğunu kanıtlarken öte yandan da mevcut yapı stoğu ile yarışmacı bir tutum içine girmemesi. Bu kolay bir denge değil. Dolayısı ile bu kotlarda etkili oldu, cephe dilinde etkili oldu, malzeme seçiminde etkili oldu. Binalar arasında bırakılan mesafeler de etkili oldu. Mesela meclis duvarı özel bir duvardır, önündeki koruma kulübeleri vesairesi ile. Giriş çıkış için bile jüri çok belirgin bir aralık belirledi. Onun dışından bir yerden giriş çıkış imkânı vermedi. Dolayısı ile yapı bir anlamda zor bir projeydi. Ama bu zorluk sadece program

yükü ve karmaşasından değil bunun yanısıra bu dil, yaklaşma mesafesi, sınırlar gibi konularda da oluştu. Artı yapının yeri için de çok belirgin bir dış hat, bir yaklaşma mesafesi, yani bir anlamda bir imar yönetmeliği oluşturuldu, birçok yarışmada yapılmaya bir şey. O sınırlar içerisinde kalarak yarışmacılar bir şeyler yaptılar.

Yarışma süreci ise belki bütün bu zorluklarında sonucunda beklendiği kadar birincisi ilgi görmedi. Yani insan bu kadar önemli bir yarışmada daha çok sayıda katılımın olmasını bekliyor. Bu anlam da ben sayısal ilgide beklenilenin altında kalındığını düşünüyorum. Belki diğer yarışmalarla da karşılaştırdığım zaman. İkincisi de bunun ötesinde gelen projelere baktığımızda tipolojik olarak bu özellikle çağdaşlık boyutunu zorlayan örneklere çok rastlamadık. İyi örnekler vardı ama daha çok sayıda ve daha araştırmacı şeyler olabilirdi. Bunu şu anlamda söylüyorum. Meclis bu anlamda en iyi işverenlerden bir tanesi... Bütçesi, şehir içindeki konumu, oluşmuş teknik kadrosu ve bir işi yapmada sahip oldukları esneklikler itibariyle. Bu iyi bir zemin ve daha iyi kullanılabilirdi diye düşünüyorum yarışmacılar açısından.

Değerlendirme sürecine gelince danışman kadro toplantılara sürekli katılmasına rağmen yönlendirici olmayı tercih etmedi. Dolayısıyla buradaki karar tamamen jürinin seçimidir. Belli aralarla biz yöneticileri davet ettik. Özellikle başkanı ve genel sekreteri... Tabii onların mimari ile kurdukları bağlar nedeniyle beğenileri jüri üyelerinden farklı olabiliyor. Başka ölçütlerle değerlendiriyorlar. Öne aldıkları şeyler ve kişisel alışkanlıkları farklı olabiliyor. Fakat ben şunu gördüm, jüri bazı şeyleri anlattığı zaman da bunları anlamaya çok açık bir grup ve yönetici kesim vardı önümüzde. Ve o sayede de hem kendileri ile ilgili herhangi bir şeyi dayatmadılar, hem de jürinin değer ve ölçütlerini anlamaya çalıştılar. Zannediyorum bu nedenle de hemen bu iş sonuçlandı, gerçekleşme aşamasına geldi. Aslında daha önce mecliste bu programların bir kısmını da içeren ve yapılan bir kaç tane yarışma var. Seçilen hatta uygulama projeleri var. Ve bunların bir kısmı gerçekleşti, bir kısmı gerçekleşmedi; bu da doğal. Yani meclis gibi bir yerde tereddütlü olarak iş yapılması, kolay karar verilememesi. Yani çok sıkışık bir arsa, çok merkezi bir yer. Tarihi, kültürel değerlerin olduğu bir yer. Onun için çok garip karşılamıyorum açıkçası. Yani burada bu önemli bir şey... Aslında o yapı mevcut stoğunun standartları altında kalmış askeriyeye ait bloklar var, askerin kışla gibi kullandığı, muhazın taburunun kendi alanı gibi. Bunlar geçici yapılmış, sonra kalmış son derece basit yapılar. Bir şekilde onların güncel bir yenilenmesinin olması gerekiyor. Onun bir boyutu bu ne kadar, hangi sayıda asker orada konuşlanacak kadrolu olarak. Sayısal bir takım değerlendirmeler var. Onları zannediyorum azaltmaya ve ya başka şekillerde modernize etmeye çalışıyorlar. Bunların da yerleşke içinde mevcudiyeti etkili oluyor.

Seçim ölçütlerine gelince bizim için ihtiyaç programı önemli bir girdi idi. Zaten raportörlük müessesesi bunların ne kadar yerine getirildiğine bakıyor. Ama özellikle bu tür yarışmalarda ki yarışmanın geneline bakınca jüri bu konuda çok katı değil. Çünkü biz artık biliyoruz ki ihtiyaç programı dediğimiz şey yapıları çok kesin şekillendiren bir şey değil iki nedenle. Bir tanesi bu zaman içinde değişmeye açık. İşte on yirmi sene önce Odtü'de computer için ayrılan yerlere ve bugün ayrılan yerlere baktığımızda çok ciddi değişimler görüyoruz. Eğitim sistemleri değişiyor. Öğrenciler daha çok gezmeye başlıyor, stüdyolarda bile bizim masaların büyüklükleri değişti, grupların bölünme biçimleri değişti. Bu esnekliği birincil kademede düşündüğünüz zaman şu anın gerekleri giderilmeli ama bir birincil belirleyici olarak alınmamalı diye düşünüyorum. İkinci konu da programla ilgili olarak şu; burda bazı ihtiyaçla ilgili değişimler olabiliyor, daha önce yapılan milletvekili çalışma odalarında mesela bir sürü değişiklikler yapılmış. Onun için esneklik kavramının olması önemli zaman içinde gelebilecek, hem teknolojik gelişmelerden ötürü ilk söylediğim hem de bu ihtiyaç ve gereksinim değişikliklerinden dolayı. Bunların hepsine

adapte olabilecek bir yapı olması önemli. Bu bir temel ölçüttü. Dolayısıyla öne çıkan yapıların hepsinde aslında bir tür ana hacim oluşturma ondan sonra onun içinde birden fazla şekilde bölünebilme kurgusu vardı. Bir de çok önemli bir başka konu bu meclis özelinde dış mekânlar konusu. Bir kaç anlamda. Bir tanesi dışarıdan gelen ziyaretçilerin meclisle ilk yüzleştikleri nokta bu yapı olacak ziyaretçi yapısı olduğu için. Giriş alanı, meydanı, onun düzenlemesi, yapıyla kurulan ilişki. İkincisi ölçekle ilgili olarak gerek dış duvar ile kalan mesafe gerek diğer yapılarla bırakılan mesafe ve açık alanların nasıl kullanıldığı önemliydi. Üçüncüsü gene açık alanların buradaki dolaşım da bir belirleyiciliği vardı. Birden fazla tür kullanıcı aynı anda birbirleriyle kesişmeden kullanabilmeli. Emekliler geliyor, bir kısmı denetlenerek içeri alınıyor, bir kısmı başka kapıdan giriyor. Bir de kendi çalışanları var. Bu nedenle bina öncesinde bir ayrışmaya tabi tutuluyor, mecliste bu çok önemli, bize anlattıkları şey buydu. Zaman zaman böyle binlere, onbinlere varan rakamlarla ziyaretçi geliyor. Bu durumda bunların denetlenmesi ve yönlendirilmesi önemli oluyor. Son olarak gene açık alanla ilgili bir değerlendirme var. Meclisin bir karakteri var ve yeşil alanları önemli, binaları kadar yeşilleri de tescillenmiş durumda. Tabi onların ne kadar korunduğu meselesi önemli oluyor. İkinci konu ölçek ve dil meselesiydi ve diğer yapılarla kurduğu uyum vesaire. Hem diğer yapılarla yarışmayacak bir yandan hem de kendi kimliğini ve ifadesini koyacak diye. Bu anlamda da çok aslında aradığımızı gene kişisel olarak söylüyorum pek bulduğumuzu söyleyemeyeceğim. Kendi içinde iyi bir öneri seçtiğimizi düşünüyorum. *Ve tabii burada bu yapı ister istemez bir sembolik değer kazanıyor. Ankara'nın önemli bir aksına cephe veriyor.* Bu açıdan çok dengeli, hem arka planda kalmayan hem diğer binaların önüne çıkmayan bu proje seçildi diye düşünüyorum kendi baktığım zaman. Şunu gördük biz, tabi yarışmalar bir ön projedir, kavram projesidir. Ama özellikle bu önerinin, birçok başka önerinin de vardı. Uygulama aşamasında incelmeye yönelik potansiyeli ve imkânları vardı. Eminim onların birçoğu kullanılmıştır diye varsayıyorum.

Günseli**:**
Günümüzdeki mimari ortam içerisinde, açılan yarışmalar arasında çıkan ürünler bakımından bu yarışmada üretilen projeler nasıl bir yerde duruyor sizce?

Güzer:
Bence Türkiye'nin ve yarışmalar ortamının dinamiklerini temsil etmiyor. Daha iyi, daha iyi derken birinci seçilen projeyi kastetmiyorum, genel olarak yarışmaya katılan projeler için, mimari olarak zorladıkları araştırma sınırları anlamında bugünkü yarışmalar ortamında daha geniş bir yelpaze görüyorum. O anlamda bize sunulan ürünlerin yelpazesi bire bir o genişliği temsil etmiyordu diye düşünüyorum.

Günseli:
 Baştan ilgi azdı diye bir yorum yaptınız. Bu onunla ilgili olabilir mi? Sayısal ilginin azlığı neden olabilir?

Güzer:
Onunla da ilgili olabilir. Aynı anda başka yarışma olup olmaması ile ilgili, ödülün çekiciliği ile ilgili, ihtiyaç programı ile ilgili. Büyük program. Genellikle büyük programlar korkutuyor. Büyük emek ve masraf gerektiriyor. Çok büyük organizasyon gerektiriyor. Birçok ölçütü var ama sonuç itibari ile enteresan bir şey ilgi azdı diye düşünüyorum.

Günseli:
 Peki böyle bir yarışmanın önceden bir fikir projesi şeklinde açılıyor olması, sonra ikinci etapta detaylandırılması daha iyi olur muydu?

Güzer:
Bunu tartıştık biz jüride. Aslında bu bina üzerinde belki değil. Bu bina çok mekanik çözümleri olan bir servis yapısıdır. Girişiyle çıkışı ile otoparkı ile servis verecek bir yapı. Çok özel yaratıcılık gerektiren bir yapı değil. Neredeyse programa baktığınız zaman bütün sınırlara dayanıyorsunuz. O açıdan çok da fazla iki etaplı bir yarışmaya uygun değil. İkincisi birincil derecede bir prestij yapısı değil. Bu bir servis binasıydı.

Günseli:
Fakat projenin bir de şehir yüzü var, Dikmen caddesi tarafında. O açıdan sanki daha değerli.

Güzer:
Genelde bina dilinden çok, o ilk etapta zaten genelde belli oluyor, ikinci etapta çok da fazla değişmiyor. Fikirlerin inceltilmesi konusunda genelde ikinci etap yarışmalara başvurulur. Şahsi kanatim gerek yoktu.

Günseli:
Son bir soru. Yapım sürecinde çok müdahale olduğu söyleniyor. Şu an çalışma ofislerinin de o binanın içine katmaya çalıştıkları söyleniyor. Program değişikliklerine müelliflerin de uyum gösterdiği söyeniyor. Bu konu hakkında neler diyebilirsiniz?

Güzer:
Ben başta söyledim. Bu bir servis yapısı, esnek olması zaman içinde hatta baştan program içinde değişiklikler olabilir. Buna adapte olmak gerekli. Ama ben bunun boyutlarını bilmiyorum. Bu yapının seçiminde öne alınan ölçütleri değiştirecek ve dışlayacak boyutta olmamalı diye düşünüyorum. Ama biz jüri olarak yapım sürecinde yer almadık. Bazen oluyor, çağırıyorlar, değişiklikleri danışıyorlar. Bu süreç içerisinde öyle bir şey olmadı. Dolayısıyla çok haberim yok. Ben de sizin gibi duyuyorum. Tesadüf olarak öğreniyorum. Ama bunun dışında bunun usulune olarak uygun yapılmasında insan şeyi tercih ediyor. Bu tür büyük kararların alınmasında sürecin başından beri içinde olmuş kişilerin bir araya çağırılarak danışılması, toplanması. Hatta bazı yarışmalarda değişiklik olmasa bile jüri inşaat bitene kadar danışman gibi işin içinde oluyor. Meclis gibi özel projelerde bu çok önemli olabilirdi diye düşünüyorum. Ama bunu istemediler.

Günseli:
Meclis içinde tüm yapılaşmada yapılanlar, yapılmayanlar, yanlış yapılanlar nelerdi?

Güzer:
Ben yoğunluğu fazla buluyorum genel olarak baktığımız zaman kampüsle ilgili olarak. Çok eklektik buluyorum, yani dönemsel, tip olarak vesaire. Bir de tabii, parlamento aslında bir ulusal durumu da temsil ediyor galiba şeyle ilgili olarak, yönetime yaklaşma biçimi, demokrasi ile ilişki kurma biçimi falan filan. Genel olarak yüksek duvarlar arkasında kapısında askerler, hatta duvara yaklaştığınızda birisi ıslık çalıyor yaklaşma diye. Bu Türkiye'ye özgü bir şey... Bu askeri yapılarda oluyor. Meclis'te oluyor. Bazı resmi yapılarda oluyor. Olmasa iyi olur. Ama nasıl olacak bilmiyorum çünkü bizim kültürümüzde bir tür resmi yapı anlayışı var. Onun bir resmiliği, asık yüzlülüğü... Aşırı güvenlikle ilgili bir vurgu var. Bir tür hiyerarşi ve bürokrasi kokan bir şeyi var. Meclis'te de öyle... Özellikle bu tür yapılarda güvenlik çok önemlidir. Bunu aksatmadan nasıl olabilir? Ama örnekleri var, uluslarası örnekleri var. En azından belli bölümleri daha kolay açık yapılabilir. Ama bunların hepsi bu eklektik düzende, zaman içinde gelişerek oluşmuş bir yapılaşmada kolay değil. 1930 lardan bugune gelen bir süreçten bahsediyoruz.

O süreç içinde farklı dönemler, farklı anlayışlar biraraya gelerek bir yapılaşma oluşturmuş. Bu hakikaten eklektik bir yapılaşma... Sonuçta şunu seziyorum ben; o ilk yapılaşma beklentileri, o bakanlıklar aksı, meclisle bitişi, sanki orası daha bir public alan, kentle bütünleşmiş bir alan gibi öngörmüş, varsaymış gibi. Onların bir kısmı gerçek olabilse çok iyi olur. Onun dışında meclisin yapı konusunda hassasiyetini bir şekilde anlıyorum. Ama onun da doğru yönlenmesi lazım. Holzmeister'den sonra Behruz Bey'in yapıları var. Onların içinde cami iyi bir yapı, zaten ödül aldı. Ama halkla ilişkiler binası çok sıkışık, çok karanlık. Belki programdan kaynaklanan sıkıntılar itibari ile. Yani bir yandan böyle modern bir dili var ama o ister istemez Holzmeister'in geometrik kurgusunu ve planını sürdürmeye çalışıyor.

Belki bir elli sene sonra yeni bir meclis yapılacak değişen yönetim anlayışları ile de birlikte... Avrupa Parlamentosu çok önemli bir odak ve biz ona dâhil olacak mıyız? Olacak isek bu meclis nasıl bir işlev görecek? Ve o zaman belki daha katılımcı ve açık, belki başka bir yerde yapılmış bir yapıdan mı bahsediyor olacağız? Çünkü ben bu sürecin içindeyken şunu anladım. Meclis'in bize günlük hayatta o popüler yasalaşma, yasa yapma vesaire erkinin ve etkinliğinin de ötesinde gündelik hayattaki pek çok şeye çok katkısı olabildiğini görüyorum. Yani bir açık meclis kavramı, vatandaşın kütüphanesine girebildiği, yöneticilere daha kolay derdini anlatabildiği, iletişim kurduğu bir ortam çok şeyi değiştirebilir. Bu süreçte ben bunu gördüm. O açıdan mesela meclis yemekhanesi aslında bir dert anlatma mekânı, memleketinden gelenleri bir ağırlama mekânı, herhangi bir yemekhane gibi değil. İşte kütüphanesi öyle... Milletvekillerinin rahat rahat insanları toplayacakları ve belki atölyeler kurup çalışmalar yapacakları büyük mekânlara ihtiyaçları var. Belki bunları parçalamak mümkün olabilir. O tabii daha genel, biz şu anda hep varolan duvarlar içinde durumu kurtarmaya çalışıyoruz. Gündelik yaklaşımla içten bakarak sorunu yeni baştan tanımlayamıyoruz. Yani rakamsal değişiklikler de oluyor. Seçimlerle durumlar değişiyor. Bir zaman senato vardı, o kapandı. Tek meclise düştü, bir ara tekrar gündeme geldi. Bunlar tabii radikal değişimler...

A.4 Interview with Semra-Özcan Uygur in May 15, 2008

Günseli:
Meclis kampüsündeki yapılaşma nasıl bir süreç?

Ö. Uygur:
Meclis kampüsünün nasıl gelişeceğine dair bir master plan yok. Bir ihtiyaçları oluyor. Tamam, bir jüri oluyor. Jüri enine boyuna tartışıyor. Yönetimle görüş alışverişinde bulunuyor. En uygun yer burasıdır diye belirleniyor. Biraz süreç böyle işliyor.

S. Uygur:
Ama bir kurgusu var. Yani meclis genel kurul salonunun yer alınışı baz alınarak oluşturulmuş genel bir düşünce var. Bu düşüncelerin çevresinde yapılanlar, yapılmayanlar ya da yanlış yapılanlar var. Mesela Behruz Bey Holzmeister ile görüşüp Halkla İlişkiler Binasını yapıyor. Ama arkasından acaba caminin yeri orası mı olmalı? Meclis yerleşkesinin arkasında Ayrancı'ya doğru giden o kocaman park acaba cami ile kapatılmalı mı? Demokratik bir mecliste, laik bir yerde cami yapılaşmanın sonu mu olmalı? Bu aslında bir soru işareti bence...

Ö. Uygur:
Behruz Bey zaten ona cami demiyor. İbadet yeri diyor...

Günseli: Külliye

Ö. Uygur:
Ha, evet.

S. Uygur:
Bu bir soru işareti. Ama bizim başladığımız yerden bakarsak işe bizdeki esas amaç biz deki siyasi ortamda milletvekilleri ile vatandaş bire bir ilişkiye çok meyilli ve siyasal ortam da buna zemin hazırlar bir durumda, bu zeminde ziyaretçi genel kurul salonlarına kadar giriyor. Ve genel kurulun çalışmasını engelleyici bir ortam oluşturuyor. Bu bizim 1997 senesindeki belgelerde de yazar, 6000 ila 10000 arasında günlük ziyaretçi sayısı o zamanki. Hemen belirteyim bu artmış olabilir. Şimdi mesela bizim milletvekili çalışma binasının yarışma şartnamesinde yazan temel amaç meclis çalışmasını sağlıklı bir ortamda, dingin bir ortamda milletvekillerince kıyasıya bir tartışma ortamı sağlanarak yapılması ama vatandaşın meclisine dokunabilmesi fakat vatandaşın bu çalışmayı hiç rahatsız etmemesi, yani meclis yerleşkesinin genel kurul salonu dışındaki kısımlarına vatandaşın girmemesi. Ama vatandaş meclisine gelmeli ve de milletvekilleri ile de görüşebilmeli. Milletvekili çalışma Binası yarışmasının temel amacı bu. Yer seçiminde de yöneticiler jüri üyeleri ile beraber enine boyuna tartışıyorlar. Ve şu anda taburun olduğu yerde, Güvenlik caddesi boyunca uzanan alanı uygun görüyorlar. Bu alan bizce de doğru bir seçim çünkü kot farklılığı var. Yani Güvenlik Caddesi ile meclis yerleşkesi arasındaki bu on metrelik kot farkı sadece şartnamede meclisin çalışması adına arttırmak istenilenleri sağlamasının yanında bizim hedeflerimize de uyuyor. Net olarak çözümünü sağlıyor.

Günseli:
Bir nevi kontrol mekanizması mı yaratıyor bu kot farkı?

S. Uygur:
Mesela vatandaş grup halinde gelebiliyor ya da tek tek görüşebiliyor. İşte millet meclisi üyesi ile yemek yiyor mecliste. Milletvekili ile yemek yemek önemli bir durum mecliste. Bunu bu binada yapabiliyor. Ama bütün bunlar çağdaş kontrol sistemleri ile yapılıyor. Fakat vatandaş milletvekili ile görüştükten sonra meclis içerisine geçemiyor. Oraya milletvekilleri geçiyor. Yani yapının ana kurgusu bunun üzerinde. Bunun için bundan sonra bu arşiv kütüphane binasında milletvekillerini yine oraya koymuş olmaları olsa olsa halkla ilişkiler binasında oda yetmeyen milletvekillerine oda tahsis etmenin ötesine geçemez. Çünkü milletvekillerinin 97 şartnamesinde istediği çalışma niteliklerine uyumunu sağlayamaz. Önemli olan vatandaşın o alana, çalışma alanına girmesini engellemek. Ama vatandaş demokratik bir ülkede meclisine dokunmalı, görmeli.

Ö.Uygur:
Şimdi yıllardır zaten bu durum sürüyor. Önceden de talepler geldi. Milletvekilinin seçim bölgesinden otobüsle grup halinde seçmeni geliyor. Milletvekili seçmeninin mecliste yemek yemek isteğini kıramıyor. Delegesi vesairesi. Orada yemek yediriyor. Bu defa milletvekiline yemek kalmıyor. Yemek kalmayınca kavga gürültü oluyor. Kulislere kadar halk giriyor. Çünkü orası bir çalışma ortamı. Yani bütün bu kurgunun temelinde yatan şey ziyaretçi ve milletvekili trafiğidir. Biz bunu her iki meclise de anlatmaya çalıştık. İstedikleri kadar yapılaşmayı çoğaltsınlar, bu kurguyu oluşturamadıktan sonra milletvekilleri orada rahat bir çalışma ortamı edinemezler. Yani bu yarışmanın çkış nedeni de odur zaten.

S. Uygur:

Mesela öyle bir kurgu içerisinde düzenlenmiştir ki o zaman bizim yaptığımız proje, vatandaş ziyaret edeceği milletvekiline gidebilir. Mesela A partisinin B milletvekili ile görüştük, C Partisinin D milletvekili ile görüşmesi mümkün değildir. Çünkü bloklardan bloklara geçişlerde de güvenlik var. Aşağıdan randevu gelebiliyorlar, çünkü milletvekilinin zamanı çok önemli. Vatandaş için çalışırken tekil vatandaş için hizmetini ayırması gayri demokratik... Bu yapının sistemi aslında milletvekillerini bütün Türkiye için çalışabilirlikleri için yeterli zamanı ayırabilmesi için zaman ve mekânları vatandaş tarafından işgal edilmemeli. Bir kişi tarafından işgal edilmesi onun yapacağı işi aksatıyor. Mantık bu. A ben geldim milletvekilime, ona baktım buna da bakayım diye bencil bir düşünce olabilir ama aslında milletvekilinin görevi herkese hizmet etmektir. Bu mantık içerisinde bakınca başka bir yapının içinde bunu çözmeleri aslında meclisin yerleşim koşulları açısından da olanaklı değil. Bu yapının avantajları bu. Çıkış noktası bu.

Ö. Uygur:

Yani aslında bir kesişim noktası. Milletvekili ile halkın kesişim noktası. Milletvekili çıkıp genel kurul salonuna geçebiliyor. Çalışma ortamını zedelemeden milletvekilini ziyaret eden vatandaşı ayrı bir kapıdan tahliye ediyorsunuz.

S. Uygur:

Aslında o zaman jüri üyelerinin de çok emekleri var. Şartnamenin hazırlanmasında, milletvekillerinin bu şartlarının belirlenmesinde ve algılanılır biçimde anlatılmasında.

Günseli:

Bu binaya yaklaşım meclis parkı yönünden öyle değil mi?

S. Uygur:

Yok, Milli Egemenlik Parkı ve Güvenlik Caddesi... Vatandaş Güvenlik caddesinden geliyor. Bu vatandaş açık bir platoya geliyor. Burası herkese açık bir halk meydanı aslında...

Günseli:

Yani meclise girmek istemeyen biri de orada bulunabilir mi?

S. Uygur:

Tabi tabii. Meclise girmek istemeyen Güvenlik caddesinin kaldırımından değil, ya da Ayrancı'ya gitmek isteyen burada yürüyebilir. Ayakkabı boyatayım isteyen burada güvenlik kontrolünden geçip binanın alt kotlarındaki galeride bulunan dükkânlara ulaşabilir. Ama buradan üste çıktığı andan itibaren artık randevusunu almış, rezervasyonunu yaptırmış, üstte milletvekili ile görüşmeye gidebilir. Ara kata kadar aslında şehre ve halka açık bir şeffaf meclis olması gereken bir yapıda.

Günseli:

Binaya tek giriş mi var?

S. Uygur:

Tek giriş değil aslında... Burada şartnamede tek giriş değil tek yönden giriş olarak şartnameyi biz kendimiz yorumladık, çünkü günde 6000 minimum ziyaretçi o zamanki rakamlarla gireceği bir kapı olamaz. Burada iki yerden girer, iki yerden çıkar. Ayrıca milletvekili giriş çıkışları var. Şurası açık alan... Vatandaşın kontrolden sonra rahatlıkla kullanabileceği alan... Ama üst katlara çıktıkça kontrollü bir kullanım öneriyoruz.

Ö. Uygur:
Şuradan yukarıdan araç girer. Milletvekillerinden rahatsız olan olursa ambülâns da girebiliyor. Ambülânsla sağlık merkezinden hastaneye götürebiliyor.

Günseli:
Aynı zamanda bu gizli bir geçiş, ya da kaçış yolu olarak kullanılabilir mi milletvekilleri için?

S. Uygur:
Yok, milletvekilinin oradan kaçmasına gerek yok.

Ö. Uygur:
Bu direk dışarıdan gelecek bir yardım ya da servisle ilintili.

S. Uygur:
Mesela milletvekili asansörle inecek, sedye asansörü buraya yanaşıyor. Ambülâns bu yoldan ulaşıyor. Aynı şekilde vatandaş için... Mutfağa servis buradan gidiyor.

Günseli:
Bir iç yol gibi...

S. Uygur:
Servis evet. Aslında alt katta vatandaş için bir otopark var, üst kotta da milletvekili için. Bu halk otoparkı alt katta... Üst otoparka meclisin içinden girer.

Ö. Uygur:
Meclis caddesi küçük bir yol olduğu için trafiği meclisin Çankaya tarafından girişte alttan geçen bir kapatılmış yol vardır.

S. Uygur:
Alttan halk otosu üstten milletvekili girer...

Günseli:
Peki, burada kontrol nerede?

S. Uygur:
İçeride. Otoparkın girişinde. Güvenlik noktasından geçip kartlarını alan vatandaşlar yukarı çıkabiliyorlar. Şu kapılardan sadece milletvekilleri geçebiliyor. Milletvekili alt kata girmeden geldiği halde buradan geldiği an meclis yerleşkesi içerisinde.

Ö. Uygur:
Giriş üzerinde özellikle tek kişilik turnikeler yaptık.

S. Uygur:
Milletvekili birimleri milletvekili, çalışanı ve danışmanına ait üç bölümden oluşur. Tuvaletleri sonra 2004 yılında Meclis Başkanı Arınç'ın döneminde mimar ve mühendis milletvekilleri ile bir sunuş yaptık. Orada milletvekillerimizin odalarının içine birer lavabo istendi. Sonra o bize şöyle mantıklı geldi, bu blokta vatandaş da blok başlarındaki tuvalete gidiyor. Tuvaletleri de sonra ilave ettik ama bu çalışmalar kaldı.

Günseli:
Peki, 2004 toplantısında eklenen önerilen şeyler nelerdi?

S. Uygur:
Yapının şekli bu yani bu yapı genelde şeffaflık üzerine kurulu. Zemin katlarda yukarı çıkılıyor, üst katlarda ise birbirlerine köprüler ile bağlanıyor. Alt katta bina bütün olarak devam ediyor. Üst katlarda bloklaşıyor.

Ö. Uygur:
Yanındaki mevcut yerleşke halkla ilişkiler. Bu yanında bir allé var.
S. Uygur:

Üst katlara çıkan vatandaş maximum 10 milletvekilinin odasına ulaşabiliyor. Çünkü bloklar arasında yine kartlı geçişler var.

Ö. Uygur:
Hatta o zaman bir fikir olarak asansörlerde de seçici geçirgen bir sistem önermiştik. Vatandaşlara verilen kartlar sadece gidecekleri katlarda iniş ve çıkışa göre programlanabilirdi.

S. Uygur:
Halk otoparkından binaya bağlantı tünelleri var. Bu çıkışlar insanları orta platforma yönlendiriyor.

Günseli:
Milletvekili çalışma birimleri tamamen kişiselleştirilmiş alanlar o zaman.

S. Uygur:
Daha doğrusu çalışmalarını arttıracak. Güvenlik caddesi tarafında ara yeşil platolar var, bunlar ana platoların üst kotları. Güvenlik girişten alt girişte halk platosu yer alıyor. Burasını bir kolon tarlası olmaması açısından mantar kolonlarla geçtik. Her milletvekilinin odası ışık alıyor. Meclis tarafında olan alleden cephedeki şeffaf asansörler vista sağlıyor. Mesela aslında projenin ruhunu anlayacak ve sahiplenecek bürokratların olmasında. Bir de aslında tabur binası meselesi var. Bu binanın yapılabilmesi için tabur binasının oradan kalkması gerekiyor. Meclisten kalkması ya da meclis içinde sembolik bir yerde olması demokratik ülkeler için gerekli. Ama bizde ise askerin hala orada durması kabul görüyor.

Ö. Uygur:
Aslında çok da kabul görüyor gibi değil. Ama üzerine gidemiyorlar herhalde. Özellikle bugünkü iktidarın askere olan bir tepkisi gibi mi algılanır diye korkuyorlar.

S. Uygur:
Ama ben askerin de ben buna çok soğuk baktığını zannetmiyorum. Bir de gündem devamlı değişiyor. Eksikleri giderecek günlük çözümler asıl çözümü erteleyip yapmamaya doğru götürüyor.

Günseli:
Bundan sonrası için meclis dışında bir bina kiralamayı düşünüyorlar.

S. Uygur:
Hatta şu anda eski Orman Bakanlığı binasını genel sekreterlik olarak kiraladılar ya da aldılar. Orada bir düzenleme yaptılar ve de kullanıyorlar zaten. Çünkü aşamalı yapacaklardı yeni aşamayı.

Ö. Uygur:
Mesela öbür yarışmada giriş kontrol ya da ziyaretçi giriş binası koyuyorlar. Ama bizim proje uygulansa böyle bir binaya ihtiyaç olmayacaktı.

Günseli:
Halkla ilişkiler binasına doğru çıkan allede bir kontrolsüzlük oluyor. Ben mesela bir kaç kez zorlandım ama her yere gidebildim. Sadece önemli genel kurul toplantılarında ana girişten ziyaretçileri ya da vatandaşı içeri almıyorlar.

Ö. Uygur:
Mesela genel kurul toplantılarından sonra milletvekilleri kulislerde tartışacaklar konuşacaklar. O anda vatandaş geliyor, milletvekili onun derdiyle uğraşıyor. Çalışma ortamını zedeliyor. Bundan çok rahatsızlar.

S. Uygur:
Şu anki mecliste nasıl çalışıyorlar? Bir kaç kişi salonda tartışıyor. Oylamaya geldiğinde telefonlar ediliyor. Hemen Halkla İlişkiler Binasından koşarak geliyorlar. Parmak kaldırıyorlar. Neyin tartışıldığını bilemiyorlar. Aslında milletvekilleri birebir katkıda ve yorumda bulunmadan ne onayladıklarını pek bildiklerini zannetmiyorlar. Bizim projemizdeki sistemde bir kere milletvekilinin zamanı organize... Dolayısıyla Genel Kurul zamanlarında milletvekiline aşağıdan randevu verilecekti. Şimdi yaptıkları gibi odalarından izleyip koşup gelmelerine yol açmayacak. Gelen vatandaşı kıramama gibi bir duruma bu sistem izin vermiyor. 2004 yapılan fikir projeleri var. Yine Bülent Arınç ile olan toplantıda komisyon odaları için bir ilave yaptık. Mecliste komisyon odaları yok ya da yeterli değil. Mesela bazı komisyon toplantıları, özellikle Bütçe komisyonu çok kalabalık oluyor. Diğer komisyonları az kişi ile yapıyorlar. Üç katta 18 küçük ya da 9 büyük toplantı odası ilave edelim diye bir fikir ürettik. Yer olarak da binanın üst sonuna eklemlenecekti. Üst kabul platosunun ara katının devamına yerleştirilecekti, lojmanlara yaklaşan uca. Aslında bu lojmanlar da buradan kalkmalı. Bizim yaptığımız yarışma 1997'de çıktığı zaman hat bu yapının yapılması için ayrılmış ayrı bir parsel gibi verildi. Ayrı parsel gibi verilince bizim diğer binalar için çözümümüz olamadı. Bir de otopark mevzusu vardı. Mevcut yerleşke içinde açıkta araç olmaması için ilave otopark da yapalım dendi. Biz buraya ilave iki kat daha milletvekili otoparkının arkasına bir o kadar daha otopark ilavesi yaptık. Bu ilave mevcut Halkla İlişkiler ile Genel Kurul altında yer alan alt geçitle de ilişkili olarak planlandı.

Ö. Uygur:
Eskiden yol Güvenlik caddesinden devam ederdi. Biz kapatılan yolu açıp bu yolu otopark girişi için kullanmayı düşünüyoruz. Bu yolu sonradan park yapılınca kapattılar çimlendirdiler.

Günseli:
Aslında protokol yolundan eskiden halk otobüsleri geçermiş.

S. Uygur:
Ne güzel. Aslında doğrusu bu...

Günseli:
Genel Kurul salonun girişi güneyde. Holzmeister in ilk şemasında halk ve basın bu kapıdan girer şeklinde tasarlanmış ve kullanılmış. Şimdi şu an ki kurgu bunu kullanmadığı için insanlar dolaşıma bu kadar çok karışıyorlar. Onun bu taraftan ne zaman alındığını henüz çözemedim.

Ö. Uygur:
Şimdi meclis toplantılarında halk kontrollü olarak o kapıdan geçirilebilir. Burda şu an genel kurul olsun olmasın insanlar girip çıkabiliyor her yere.

Günseli:
Aslında Holzmeister in kurgusunda şeref girişi tarafının aksine acaba giriş için binanın güney girişi kurgulanmış olabilir mi diye düşünüyorum. Çünkü buradaki peyzaj yokken, halkla ilişkiler binası yokken çekilmiş eski fotoğraflara baktığımızda milletvekilleri ve ziyaretçi arabaları güney girişinde park edilmiş gözüküyor. Bana hep öyle geliyor ki bu bina aslında bu taraftan çalışması gerekiyor.

S. Uygur:
Şimdi meclis şöyle işliyor. Yanda milletvekili çalışma binası, Dikmen tarafında arşiv binası ve kütüphane. Aslında halkla ilişkiler binasına da gerek yok. Caminin yeri sorgulanabilir bence. Ve bu meclis bakanlıklar yönüne doğru da halka akmalı. Cami çok güzel bir cami....Aslında bu cami tam orta aksı tutacak şekilde değil de yanından tutacak şekilde yerleştirilmesi ve ortanın ufku açık, gelişmeye açık, yönü Çankaya'ya doğru bakmalı.

Günseli:
Şimdi oradaki Kabatepe nin arkasına Meclis başkanları Anıtı yaptılar. Kabatepe'ye bir Milli Egemenlik Meşalesi koydular. Burada bir meşale duruyor kocaman ama yeterli yükseklikte değil, Ankara'nın heryerinden görülmesi isteniyor aslında. Ama asıl benim demek istediğim bu caminin yeri eskiden Dikmen girişi yanında düşünülmüş. Burda denmiş ki yola çok yakın, halkın meclise ilk yaklaştığı yerde cami. Bu olmaz denmiş. Bir de hemen Genel Kurmay'ın karşısına cami, bu da olmaz.

Ö. Uygur:
O zaman tabii bu kadar milletvekili yok.

Günseli:
Senato zamanında sadece senatörlere oda varmış ve de milletvekillerine oda yokmuş. Onlar da iki üç kişi aynı odayı paylaşırmış. Daha Holzmeister zamanında zaten milletvekilleri için çalışma odaları planlanmamış. Çalışma parlamentosu gibi değil daha sembolik ve genel kurul çalışması üzerine kurgulanmış bir parlamento binası.

Ö. Uygur:
Çalışan, protokol herkes bu kapıdan girerken halk güneyden girmiş. Yani halka açılmış o zaman.

S. Uygur:
Vatandaşın doğrudan milletvekili ile konuşması konusunda eskiden bir tartışma gündeme gelmiş. Milletvekillerinin temsil ettikleri yerlerde çalışma ofisleri olsun, buralarda çalışma yapsınlar. Meclisin çalışmalarına geldiğinde de zamanını meclis çalışmalarına ayırsın. Bu ama gerçekleşememiş, gerçekleşememesinin sebebi şu olarak söylediler tabii ne kadar doğru bilmiyoruz. İl parti teşkilatları bunlara karşı çıkmış çünkü milletvekili gittiklerinde il başkanlarının önemi daha azalacağı sebebiyle bu fikir olmamış. Vatandaş Muş'tan kalkıyor geliyor milletvekilini görmeye. Milletvekili onu yatırıyor, yediriyor, içiriyor, harcıyor. Bu sistem vatandaş milletvekilinin ayağına geliyor sistemi olunca bunlar yaşanıyor. 1980'lerde yapılıyor Halkla İlişkiler Binası. Bununla başlayan bir durum söz konusu...

Günseli:
Bu sistemin görüldüğü başka ülkeler var mı? Mesela Almanya'da ikili sistem var, bir idari meclis bir de parlamento, eyalet sisteminde gerçekleşebilecek bir duruma benziyor. Uygulanabilmesi için sistemin de değişmesi gerekiyor.

Ö. Uygur:
Bizde sistem merkezi olduğu için bunlar yaşanıyor.

Günseli
Problem orda, her mecliste olan bir problem bu... Yoksa milletvekilleri başkentlerde çalışır, ofisleri oradadır.

S. Uygur:
Almanya'daki örnekte eyaletlerde de parlamento olduğu için vatandaş gidiyor ise oraya gidiyor.

Günseli
Bu tartışmalar belki de Senato olduğu zaman yapılmış olabilir. Senatörler kalıcı, milletvekilleri gidip gelen bir formatta.

S. Uygur:
Hatta bir dönem Türkiye Meclisi konuşuldu 1990'ların sonunda. O da seçim bölgesine bağlı olmayan milletvekilleri olacaktı. Vatandaşlarla birebir ilişkileri daha az. Tabii ki vatandaş politikacıyla konuşacak ama burda mesela çalışma zamanlarını arttırabilmek.

Günseli
Peki, siz projeyi hazırlarken şartname dışında bir bilgi, bir yardım aldınız mı? Danışmanlık gibi?

S. Uygur:
Projelerin yapımında meclis adına Odtü Vakfı teknik olarak müşade yaptı. Bunun dışında danışmanlık almadık.

Ö. Uygur:
Onun dışında zaten şartname çok açıktı. Bu yerin seçimi konusunda yönetim ve jüri en az bir ay süre ile tartıştı.

S. Uygur:
Çok değerli jüri üyeleri var. Gönül Tankut, Yıldırım Yavuz, Mustafa Aslaner, Ural Vural, Affan Yatman. Gönül Hanım, Yıldırım Bey ve Mustafa Hoca mesela Genel Kurul Yarışmasında da jüri üyesiydiler.

Ö. Uygur:
Yani şey bile tartışılmış o zaman. Bu projeyi burda yapalım. Yani Halkla İlişkiler Binasını arkasına. Yürüyen bantlar ile milletvekilleri ulaşsın. Sonuç olarak en uygun burası olarak belirlenmiş.

Günseli:
Bir de yapılı bir peyzaj var. Anıt değeri var. Yapı teknik daire bu Kabatepe parkına meşale koyarken park ve bahçeler müdürlüğünden eleştiriler almışlar, çünkü buradaki peyzaj, hatta çimenler bile en az elli yıllık. İnsanlar duygusal anlamda da bağlanıyorlar.

S. Uygur:
Bu meclis yarışmasında Genel Kurul yarışmasında Fulya İbiş rapörtörlük yapmıştı. Buraları iyi bilen, eski elemanlarından Meclis in.

Ö. Uygur:
Aslında Meclis in Şeref girişi nin önünde yer alan Atatürk Anıtı için aslında arkadaki parkın içerisinde bir yer düşünülmüş. Park içinde halk kullansın bu anıtın önündeki alanı diye.

Günseli:
Aslında meclisin ön bahçesi de halka açık tasarlanmış bakanlıkların avlusu gibi ama hiç bir zaman uygulanamamış. Burası şimdi bir gösteri bahçesi gibi...

S. Uygur:
Aslında Genel Kurul salonunu özüne uygun olarak korunup buraya daha şeffaf bir parlamento, bir genel kurul salonu yapılabilirdi diye düşünüyorum. Halkın en azından görsel olarak ulaşabildiği meclisi izlediği bir salon yapılabilirdi. Bunun örneği tabii Bonn Parlamentosunda var.

Günseli:
Bonn çok özel bir örnek gerçekten... İlk yapıldığında insanlar cama yapışıp neler oluyor diye bakıyorlar mesela. Ben de hep şeyi hayal ediyorum. İnönü Bulvarı bir gün tamamen aşağıya alınacak ve bakanlıklar ile meclis arası tamamen yayalara açık bir toplanma alanına dönüşecek. Burada insanlar oturacak, toplanacak.

S. Uygur:
Bu hat tabii aslında Güvenpark a kadar gidiyor. Zamanında bir de burda Bakanlıklar Binaları için bir yarışma vardı. Benim öğrenciliğim zamanında. Ama hiç olmadı.

Ö. Uygur:
Eskişehir Bulvarından bir alle alıp iki tarafına Bakanlıklar Binaları yerleşecek ve bu aks Dikmen kapısından meclise uzanacaktı. Bu yarışmanın birincisi Sezar Aygendi.
Dergilerden bulmak mümkün. Maliye bakanlığı o zaman yoktu. O alanı tümüyle alıp 3–5 km giden bir bakanlıklar kompleksi önerdi. Bunun ortasından giden yaya yolu da meclise saplanıyordu. Ve askerlerden bir bölge de alıp Eskişehir yoluna paralel o alanda TEK binasına kadar tamamiyle bir Bakanlıklar allesi oluşacaktı.

Günseli:
Benim baştan beri incelediğim alan halka açık kamusal binalar oldu. Meclis ama tam da anlamıyla bir kamu binası da değil. Açıklığın yanında güvenlik de gerektiren bir bina.

Ö. Uygur:
Milletvekili vatandaşla çakışmaya başladığı zaman çalışma ortamı zedeleniyor.

S. Uygur:
(Yarışmalar Dizinine bakıyoruz bir yandan) Tamam işte. Başbakanlık ve Bağlı Kuruluşlar Yarışması. İçişleri ve İmar İskân Sınırlı Yarışma. Birinci ödül Sezar Aygen...

Günseli:
Şimdi zaten Bakanlıklar yavaş yavaş Eskişehir yolunun etrafına toplanıyorlar.

Bir de sembolik ve temsiliyet anlamında tartışmalar oldu mu diye merak ediyorum yarışma öncesi ve sürecinde.

S. Uygur:
Örneğin burada bizim yaptığımız işte meclisin bu anlamda bir beklentisi yoktu ama genel kurulun yerleşkedeki önemine özen gösterdik. Yapı yapılmaz anlamında değil bu yerleşke içinde başat alan bu genel kurul salonu olduğu düşüncesiydi. Ama bizden daha çok bu işleyişe yönelik çözümlemeler istendi. Ama bu meclis yapısının vakur içinde duruşunu şartnamede anlatıyordu. Onlara özen gösterdik. Zaten yapıya yaklaşımımız da onunla örtüşüyor zaten. Projenin geleceği ile ilgili Köksal Toptan'a da gittik konuştuk Şubat ayı içerisinde. Projeyi anlattık. İlgilendiğini ifade etti. Ama aradan üç ay geçti, herhangi bir gelişme olmadı. Uygun zamanı beklediklerini ifade etti.

Günseli:
Yeni proje hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? O var bir de...

S. Uygur:
Yeni yarışmanın çıkış amacı doğru bir adım. Meclisin arşiv ve dökümantasyon merkezi olarak ve genel sekreterlik olarak ihtiyaçları var. Meclisin doğu tarafında milletvekilleri çalışma binası, batı tarafında arşiv, kütüphanesi olduğu zaman meclis tamamlanabilirdi. Konsept olarak bakınca da daha önce de söylediğim gibi meclis iki yanında toparlanabilir. Güneye doğru parka, kuzeye doğru halkla birlikte bakanlıklara açılan bir bütünlük arzedecek. O anlamda doğru o tarafta yapılaşma yapılması ama sonradan bizim duyumlarımız onun içerisine milletvekili çalışma binalarını katıyor olmak hem yarışmanın etiğine aykırı çünkü o zaman başka yarışmacılara haksızlık oluyor. Hem de meclis yerleşkesinin genel düzeni açısından sakıncaları ifade ediyor. Bunun meclisin de farkında olması gerek. Bunu yapan mimarlarında bunun farkında olması gerek. Yapan mimarlar da eğer böyleyse bunu yanlış yapıyor demektir. Yani kavram olarak yarışmayı kazanıyor, milletvekilleri binasını o binanın içerisine koyuyorlar ise mimarlık başka anlamlara, ticari platformlara daha fazla kaymaya başlıyor. Mimarlık kamuoyuna da yanlış yansıyacak bir durum.

Ö. Uygur:
Milletvekilleri siyasiler üzerinde mekân eksikliği konusunda baskı kuruyor.
Meclis kampüsünün master plan eksikliği var. Yapılan yeni yapılaşmalar meclisin önceliklerinin gözetildiği bir master plan anlayışı içinde yürümüyor.

S. Uygur:
Yeni yapılan Genel Sekreterlik, Arşiv ve Kütüphane binasının batıda konumlanmasını olumlu buluyorum. Proje de yine gereksinimler üzerine üretilmiş bir proje. Ancak proje müelliflerinin hatalı bir şekilde gündelik çözümler üzerinden siyasilerin müdahelelerine açık olduğunu duyumluyoruz Eğer ki çalışma ofisleri bu bina içinde çözümleniyor ise söylenildiği gibi, bu müdahale arşiv ve kütüphane alanından alacaktır. Bu da olumsuz bir durum...

Ö. Uygur:
Aslında buradaki en büyük problem yöneticiler daha önceki yöneticilerin aldığı kararlar doğrultusunda hareket etmek ya da geliştirmek yerine müdahale ve değiştirme yoluna gidiyor. Meclis kampüsünün bir master planı olsa, bölge bölge genişleme alanları tanımlanmış olsa hem genel işleyiş ve kurgu sağlıklı olur hem de şemalar netleşir.

S. Uygur:
Meclisin yaptığı doğru şey her projeyi yarışma ile elde etmek olmuştur. Bir tek son dönemde ısı santrali ihale ile yapıldı. Yanısıra yarışma ile elde edilmeyen ne kadar proje var ise yanlıştır. Memlekette kendi ifadesini ifade ederek mimarların üreteceği kamuoyu meclisinin kamunun tartışmasına açık olması gerekir.

Ö. Uygur:
Basında tanıtılmalı, kamuoyunda tartışılmalı tabii yine uzmanlar karar verecektir.

S. Uygur:
Halka maletmek de böyle bir şey...

Günseli:
Genel kurul salonunun yenilenmesi yarışmasında Semra-Özcan Uygur ikincilik ödülünün sahipleri oldunuz. Bu konuda neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

S. Uygur:
İlk olarak eski genel kurulunu ziyaret ettiğimde gerçekten mobilyaların ve ahşap dekorasyonun çok eskimiş olduğunu gördüm. Genel kurul küf kokulu, karanlık bir salondu. Şimdiki genel kurul salonu kendi fikrimce geçicilik ifade eden bir mekân. Bir devlet meclisinin olması gerektiği gibi ağırbaşlı ve vakur bir havada değil. Belki de bu kullanılan turuncu ve kırmızı renklerle, seçilen malzeme ile alakalı. Fakat eski genel kurulunun hakikaten teknolojisi çok eskiydi.

Eski kurulun kurgusu teatral bir yapıya sahipti. Düz bir şekilde sıralanan koltuklarda oturanların konuşanların el ve mimik hareketlerini görmeleri mümkün değildi. Bizim projemizde de birinci olan proje gibi oturma grupları dairesel olarak yerleştirilmiştir. Şu anki kurguda oturma grupları iki kişilik bankolar olarak tasarlanmıştır. Bizim projede milletvekillerinin bankoları bütüncül sıralar olarak projelendirilmiştir.Temelde daha demokratik anlayışta merkezi salonlar kurgulanır. Biz de kendi projemizde merkezi bir salon tasarladık. Holzmeister'in orijinal şemasında tavanda doğal ışık alınmasını sağlayan camlar vardır. Bu projede biz de doğal ışık alabilecek bir grid tavan tasarladık. Projede döşemeyi kırıp havalandırma olayını çözdük. Fakat proje birinciliğe giderken rapor yazıcı Hasan Özbay soru cevap kısmında sütrüktürel bir değişim yapılamaz cevabını verdikleri için bu proje yapıya müdahale ediyor şeklinde jüriyi haberdar etmiştir. Bu şekilde ikincilik aldık.

Günseli:
Muhafız Taburu'nun meclis içinde konumlanması hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

S. Uygur:
Meclis'in bekçiye hiç ihtiyacı yoktur. Meclisin koruyucusu, güvencesi halktır.

Ö. Uygur:
Askerler Yunan parlamentosunun önünde de vardır. Aslında bekçi gibi değil belki ama şov amaçlı, yani askeri bir meclisin kuruculuğunda kurulmuş bir cumhuriyetin anısına olabilir. Ama muhafız taburunda eğitim yapılması gerekmiyor. Başka bir yerde eğitimlerini yapabilirler.

S. Uygur:
Meclis bahçesinde de askerler olmamalıdır, ne asker ne polis...

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A.5 Interview with Cem Açıkkol in June 15, 2008, Ankara

Ben Cem Açıkkol. Şimdi efendim ilk meclisle tanışmam bundan 6–7 yıl önceki Parlamenter Çalışma Binası yarışmaya çıkmıştı, Uygur' ların kazandığı yarışma. Bu yarışmaya da katılmıştık. Bu yarışma nedeniyle ilk defa mimar olarak parlamento yerleşkesini görme fırsatı edindim. Daha sonra Genel Kurul Salonu Yarışması. O yarışmaya da katılmıştım. O sırada Genel Kurul Salonunu görme fırsatım oldu. Yani Parlamento ile ilişkilerim bu iki yarışma ile başladı. Ne yazık ki her ikisinde de ödül alamamıştık. Daha sonra Uygur' lar kazandığı projenin uygulama etabını hazırladılar, fakat çeşitli nedenlerden inşaat başlamadı. Daha sonra Giriş Kabul Binası, Genel Sekreterlik ve Kütüphane binası yarışmaya çıktı. Esas yarışmaya kütüphane diye başlamışlar. Bülent Bey'in, o zaman ki meclis başkanımızın arzusu "dünya çapında bir meclis kütüphanesi yapalım" şeklinde, bu düşünceyle yarışmaya çıkmışlar. Jüri ilk toplantısını yapıyor.. Mevcut Giriş Kabul Binası derme çatma bir yapıdır biliyorsunuz, o nedenle, hadi Giriş Kabul Binasını da yarışma içine alalım ve o sırada Genel Sekreterlik Binasını ihale etmişler. Bunu Mustafa Aslaner Hocamız fark ediyor, çok düşük bir fiyata bir mühendislik firmasına ihale edildiğini, hemen diyorlar ki bu kepaze bir şey, bu olmaz, hepsini birleştirelim bir yarışma açalım. Dolayısı ile "Giriş Kabul Binası, Kütüphane Arşiv Binası Araştırma merkezi ve de Genel Sekreterlik" olarak bildiğimiz program yarışmaya çıkıyor. Şimdi kütüphane arzusunun altında yatan asıl neden, de kütüphaneden çok meclis binasının depo ve arşivleri inanılmaz korkunç durumda. Bunları bir kez görünce insan fark ediyor, bir yangın tehlikesi söz konusu ve yangına karşı hiç bir teknik tesisat donanım yok. İstanbul'dan hocalarımız geliyor, bakıyorlar, araştırıyorlar, fakat buraya bir sistem kurmak mümkün değil, ben de gezince fark ettim, bir kere kat yükseklikleri müsait değil, sonradan yapılmış bir çelik yapı var. İnanın kanallar yerden geçiyor, bir bölümden diğer bölüme geçmek için kanalın altından sürünerek geçiyorsunuz. Ve hala daha ahşap raflar var. Orayı bir görmenizi isterim, keşke mümkün olsa, acınacak halde. Yani koskoca bir parlamentonun altında her an bir yangın çıkabilir. Esas bu riske karşı kütüphane ve arşiv binası yapmayı istiyorlar. Mesela İstiklal Mahkemesi mahkeme tutanakları var. Onlar çok kıymetli, yani Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin hafızası diyebileceğimiz inanılmaz kaliteli kaynaklar var. İş böyle başlıyor. Tabi yarışma alanı çok problemli bir yer, zaten orada eski bir Isı Merkezi var, o yıkılsın mı? Yıkılmasın mı? Üzerine birçok tartışmalar yapılıyor. Sonunda tabi yıkıyorlar, tabi bu alanda bir de eski matbaa var, şu an kullanılan eski Genel Sekreterlik Binası var. Yani hep eski binaların olduğu bir alan. Aslında parlamento içindeki tek bina yapılabilecek alan bana kalırsa burası, başka yer yok bence. Semra hanım'ların kazandığı proje alanı peyzaj açısından çok kıymetli biliyorsunuz. Güvenlik Caddesinden alana giriş de çok dar. 120 bin metrekare inşaat yapmak o alanda… Biz bile çok zorluk çektik. Dikmen Caddesinde ki küçük nizamiye binası orijinaldir. Holzmeister oraya işareti koymuş zaten… Bir nevi bu kapıyı kullanarak yerleşkeyi genişleteceksiniz, diyor. Biz de öyle yaptık. Kapının yanındaki sonradan yapılan duvarı kaldırarak şantiye kapısını açtık. Yani ben böyle yorumluyorum. Ve bir buçuk sene de kimse bizim inşaat yaptığımızı fark etmedi. Çünkü o kadar müsait ki… Arkada hazır bir avlu var, biz avludan çalıştık ve de özel bir şantiye kapımız var, ona rağmen çok cezalar ödendi, kamyon giriş çıkışlarında. Çünkü efendim inanılmaz bir hafriyat, sizin gördüğünüz binanın bir o kadarı da toprak altında var.

Tekrar başa dönüyorum, yarışmaya katıldık, birinci olduk. Herhalde bizim kısmetimizmiş, ya da öğrendik bu işleri yarışmalara girerek. İlk bizi tanıştırmaya çağırdılar, işte Genel Sekreter, Genel Sekreter Yardımcısı, bir baktık ki durumlar karışık. "Ya çocuklar.." dediler, "biz Orman Bakanlığını kiraladık, Genel Sekreterliği oraya taşıyoruz. Bizim genel sekreterliğe ihtiyacımız kalmadı, bizim en büyük ihtiyacımız parlamenter çalışma odaları." Mevcut odalar çok dar, 9 metrekarelik, zamanında Behruz Bey tarafından

yapılmış. Tabi ki o günün şartları öyleydi… Biz kalakaldık toplantıda, açıkçası, belki de Yıldırım Bey bahsetmiştir, jüri biraz da biliyormuş, yani Genel Sekreterliğin buradan Orman Bakanlığına taşınacağını, bu binanın biraz da parlamenter çalışma binasına dönüştürme potansiyeline de bakmışlar. Jüri bunu bizden saklamış. Fakat kendileri biliyorlarmış. Ya da belki bir tek jüri başkanı biliyor. Şimdi bir başka programla yarışmaya çıkıyorsunuz, program değişiyor, değişen programa uygun proje arıyorsunuz..Eğer bu durum gerçekse, tuhaf bişey.. Uzatmayayım.. Dediler ki "bunu dönüştürebilir misiniz?" Ne istiyorsunuz? "Biz 40 metrekare net, içinde sekreter ve danışmanın bulunacağı açık ofis şeklinde, bir birim istiyoruz." Bundan kaç tane istiyorsunuz? Tabi o dönemde jüri gabari vermiş. Meclis toplantı salonunun, yani genel kurul salonunun saçak kotunu aşmayın diye. Daha doğrusu Anıtlar Kuruluna sormuşlar, Anıtlar kurulu da 50 metre çekin, saçak kotunu da aşmayın diye yazı vermiş. Bu arada meclis tescilli değil, sormuşlar cevabını almışlar. Gabari yi geçemediğiniz sürece sadece 230 tane oda sığıyor. Fakat istedikleri en az 515 hatta 520 olabilir. Üç ay bunun kavgasını yaptık. En son kavga dövüş.. "kat verin kot verin yapayım" dedim. Doğru Bülent Bey'e gittik. Ben ne yapabilirim ki? Neyse Başkanlık Divanı toplandı. İşte proje, işte hesap, işte kitap... "300 olmaz mı"? Benimle oda pazarlığı yapıyorlar. Bülent Bey dedim, "parlamenter sayısını 250'ye düşürseniz olmaz mı?" Beyefendinin hoşuna gitti..."Ne kadar da dertlerimiz azalır" dedi. O arada, işte ortam yumuşadı, peki dedi, bu arada ısrarla her odaya tuvalet ve duş istiyorlar. Efendim istiyorsanız biz yaparız. Bülent Bey de dedi ki "bu şekilde yapmayın. Biz buna bakamayız. Bu duş ve tuvaletlerin bakımını biz yapamayız." Biz de kurtulduk o gün, tuvaletler kalktı. Bir de 230 odaya razı oldular. Fakat Bülent Bey'in dışında hiç kimse mutlu memnun olmadı, olmaz böyle şey dediler. Parlamenterlerin Yarısı orada, yarısı öbür binada mümkün değil. Çünkü öyle hikâyeler anlatıyorlar ki, mevcut binada köşe odalar vardır. 11 metrekaredir, diğerleri 9 metrekaredir. Köşe oda için silah çekiyorlarmış birbirlerine, ne kavgalar anlattılar.. Dolayısı ile böyle sorunları olan mecliste, 230 oda yeni binada, gerisi eski binada.. olur mu? Efendim kura çekersiniz, iki buçuk yıl orada oturur, iki buçuk yıl burada otururlar. Nasılsa her şey devletin malı, sekreterini alır gider o tarafa. Biraz tabi buruldular. Tabi böyle bir karar yazısı gelince biz projeyi değiştirdik, yani açıkçası biliyorsunuz Genel Sekreterlik programı biraz daha farklıydı, büro da olsa, açık ofisler vardı, farklı birimler vardı. Birçok şey kalktı, parlamenterlerin hizmetinde olan bazı birimler var, onlar kaldı. Mesela hizmet birimlerinden ulaşım müdürlüğü kaldı, temizlik birimleri kaldı, yerleşkenin içinde bulunması gerekenler kaldı diğerleri çıktı, Orman Bakanlığına gitti. Ve de 230 adet 40 metrekare ve duş tuvaleti olmayan odaları barındıran bir bina tasarladık. Bu arada öğreniyoruz ki parlamenter çalışma binasının işleyiş sistemi çay servisi üzerine kuruluyormuş. Yani çaylar gelsin, çaylar gitsin, her katta 6 tane çay odası yaptık. Bu çok önemli bir şeymiş, ben önce gülüyordum, dalga geçiyordum. Orada yaşamaya başlayınca anladım. Düşünce şu: misafir gelecek, arkasından hemen çaylar gelecek, içecek ve gidecek oturmayacak. Bu çay servisi en önemli dolaşım meselesiymiş. Her yere yaptık çay ocaklarını. Ama haklılar, çünkü vakit kıymetli, çay gelmeden kimseyi gönderemiyorsunuz. Ve dünyanın hiçbir ülkesinde bizim kadar ziyaretçi akınına uğrayan bir parlamento yok. Günde 6000 kişi girip çıkıyor efendim giriş kabul binasından. Sonuç olarak proje bitti, ancak sözleşmemizde şöyle bir madde var, biz önce A bloğunun uygulama projelerini bitirip ihaleye hazır hale getirmek zorundayız. Ve verdiğimiz sözde de durduk günü gününe ve A bloğun projeleri bitti, zemin iksa ve hafriyat işini ihale ettik. Ve o zaman işte hızlı bir süreç başladı. Temel atma törenleri derken, kaba inşaat, ince inşaat, bina bitti. Geçici kabul yapıldı. Şu anda temizlik yapılıyor, basamakların kaymaz kauçukları takılıyor, ufak tefek eksiklikler var. Orası patlıyor, burası çatlıyor. Tabi o kadar hızlı yapıldığı için normaldir böyle şeyler, Türk yüklenici sektöründe, taşeron sistemi nin durumunu biliyorsunuz. Bu kadar paraya bu kadar yapılıyor. En ucuz işçilik, en ucuz malzeme…

Derken bir gün şantiyeye yeni meclis başkanı geliyor…"Kaç oda var bu yapıda" diyor. Alelacele çağırdılar beni bir pazar günü şantiyeye. 230 deyince Köksal Bey hop oturup hop kalkmış. "Nasıl olur böyle bir şey demiş...". Efendim gabari var demişler. Ne gabarisi demiş? Olur mu öyle şey? Gidin izin alın... Ondan sonra apar topar beni çağırdılar, yeniden oturduk proje yaptık. Tabi bina üç kat daha çıkınca bütün kütüphanenin sistemi değişiyor, kuzeye doğru 4 aks açtık binayı, yani projenin konsepti aynı fakat iç avlularımız vardı, avluları genişlettik, mecburet bina 3 kat yükseliyor. Toplantı salonlarını değiştirdik, kütüphane tasarımı külliyen değişti. Çünkü neden? Kütüphanenin kapısı da problemdi, ziyaretçi çıkışı ile parlamenter girişi arasında kütüphane kapısı var. Bütün sirkülâsyonlar kesişmeye başladı. Biz de değiştirdik tabi, hemen avan proje yaptık çok kısa bir süre içerisinde ve Anıtlar Kuruluna götürdük gayri resmi olarak. Projeye baktılar, şöyle yapın böyle yapın. Tekrar çalıştık, tamam dediler bize bunu verin, biz bunu tasdik edelim. Biz binayı üç kat yükselttik ama parlamentoya bakan cephelerde değil, Dikmen caddesine bakan bloklarında yükselttik. Ben örnek olarak, batı yönündeki Maliye Binasını, doğu yönündeki Ankara Otelini, işte yeni yapılan Ticaret odası Binasını gösteriyorum… Biz binayı 50 metre çekmiş miyiz? Behruz Bey'in Halkla İlişkiler Binası ile binalarımız aynı yükseklikte, Dikmen caddesine bakan bloklara üç kat ekledik. Bence proje müellifi olarak hiç bir sakıncası yok. Beş kat da ekleyebiliriz yani. Bu arada yeni bina, parlamentodan çok uzakta ve çaprazında duruyor, hiçbir yerden görünmüyor, algılanmıyor da. Mesela Ankara Oteli çok daha fazla sırıtıyor, arkadaki ATO keza. Çok fazla kent siluetini değerlendirecek olursanız, acaba parlamento yerleşkesinde nedir durum? Bence çok uzakta olduğu için olabilir, bir sıkıntı görmüyorum.

Tam projeyi Anıtlar kuruluna vereceğimiz sırada Genel Sekreter değişti. Eski genel sekreter geldi, o bütün süreci durdurdu. Çünkü o sorumludur teknik işlerden, Cengiz Bey. Yarışma şartnamesinde de adı var, çünkü yarışmayı çıkaran, hazırlayan, jüriye sunan kendisi, bu gabariyi alan kendisi. Kendisi seçim olunca seçime katılıyor, görevinden ayrılmak zorunda biliyorsunuz. Seçimi kazanamayınca göreve yeniden dönüyor. Fakat Bülent Bey yeniden aynı göreve vermiyor, danışman yapıyor. Danıştay'a mahkemeye gidiyor, 2 seneliğine koltuğuna geliyor, oturuyor. Şimdi Cengiz Bey teknik işlerden sorumlu genel sekreter yardımcısı. Bir türlü kendi verdiği kararı değiştirmek istemiyor. Bir kere karar verdi ya 230 oda olsun, devam edin dedi. Burada bence orada verilen kararda bir yanlışlık var. Orada Cengiz Bey'in üç kat daha alalım ya bunu bu şekilde yapalım ya da Genel Sekreterlik olarak kalsın demesi lazımdı ve Bülent Bey'i bu şekilde bilgilendirmesi gerekiyordu. Şimdi böyle yanlış bir karar verince geri adım atmak istemedi. Bu etapta tekrar Semra ve Özcan Uygur'ların proje gündeme geliyor. Toplantıya çağırıyorlar. İşte diyorlar, şöyle yapalım, böyle yapalım. O sırada gazeteye yansıdı olay. Köksal Bey Genel Kurmay Başkanına gitmiş demiş ki efendim sizin muhafız taburunu kaldıralım, çünkü proje taburun üstüne geliyor. Tabur kalkmadan proje yapılması mümkün değil, bir de taburun yanına 1,5 milyona matbaa ihale edilmiş. Genel Kurmay Başkanı demiş ki bana gelen haberlere göre, "hayhay demiş, bizi seraların olduğu alana alın." Yeni bina istiyor o da, çünkü tabur binası çok eski. O zaman işin faturası o kadar büyüyor ki, matbaaya verdiğiniz parayı attınız çöpe, önce muhafız taburunu yapacaksın. Meclis tabursuz olmaz, çünkü gece asker koruyor orayı. Polis yok, polis gidiyor. Spekülasyon yapıyorlar, işte ne işi var askerin mecliste? Ama o zaman başka bir birlik kurmak lazım, onlar muhafız alayına bağlı. Muhafız alayındaki taburun kadrosu pembe köşkte... Ama kim bekleyecek orayı? Polis beş altı deyince gidiyor. Gece her yerde asker bekliyor. Ya başka bir sistem kuracaksınız. Askerin bir kere oradan çıkması mümkün değil bizim ülkemizde. 50 sene mümkün değil. Doğru da bulmuyorum ben. İnanın bizim şantiyeyi asker koruyordu, gece sabaha kadar orada nöbet tutuyor, hiç bir şey çalınmadı şantiyeden. Bence askeri oradan çıkartırlarsa meclisin her şeyini oradan çalarlar. Meclis'in

altında hazineler var, çok gizli şeyler var. Dolayısı ile baktılar ki bir matbaa yapacaklar, bir de muhafız alayı yapacaklar. İşin içinden çıkamadılar. Geçen gün Genel Sekreter beni tekrar aradı. Cem Bey dedi ne kadar para istiyorsunuz yeni proje için? Şimdi tabiî ki biz projeyi bitirdiğimiz için, teknik, tesisat, strüktür olarak üç kat artan bir proje, aksları kaymış bir proje, projeyi revize etmek mümkün değil, bir kere strüktürü tamamen yeniden yapacağız. Teknik tesisat her şey çöpe gitti. Mimari olarak değişti proje. Detaylar değişti, konsept aynı, fakat iç mekânlardaki konsept değişti, özellikle kütüphanede.. Bir sürü şey değişti. Sıfırdan projeyi yapmak zorundayız. Bu da tabi ciddi bir para... Şimdi diyorlar ki ya biz size dünya kadar para verdik. "Kütüphaneyi biz değiştirmiyoruz ki" diyorlar, "kütüphaneyi kes, kütüphanenin bu tarafını üç kat yükselt, kütüphaneye para vermeyelim" demek istiyorlar. Bir insanı kesip diğer insana yapıştırabilir misiniz? İçeride bir sürü sistem var, kanallar var. Sonra kütüphane aynı şekilde kalırsa sığmıyor üç kata, daha biz üç kata izin almadık ayrıca, o zaman beş kat gerekiyor. Projenin içindeki kütlelerin dengesi bozulmaya başlıyor, olacak iş değil. Ben sonra dedim ki "kütüphaneden para vermeyin bari ben gene yapayım." Geçen gün zırhlı araba almışlar, almayın kardeşim. Projeye, mimara gelince para yok. Böyle enteresan bir zihniyet var. Meclisin bugüne kadar benim bildiğim yaptırdığı iki tane proje var. Bir tanesi genel kurul salonu, onunla ilgili biliyorsunuz halen mahkeme sürüyor. Uygur' ların projesi zaten bitti, onu da arşive koydular. Biz A Blok'u yapabildik Allahtan. Bizim proje de arşive girdi. Zaten orada anlayan insan yok. proje sürecinde sizi yönlendirecek, sizi konsept tasarım açısından biçimlendirecek, size artılar katacak teknik eleman yok, ne mimar olarak, ne mühendislik birimi olarak. Kimse yok mecliste açıkçası.

Günseli:
Peki şey doğru mu? Jüri üyelerine danışılmadığı? Bu değişiklik sürecine dâhil edilmedikleri?

Açıkkol:
Ettiler. Size orada yanlış bilgi gelmiş olabilir. Jüri Başkanı resmi danışman olarak atandı. Sözleşme imzalandı. Bütün toplantılarda jüri başkanı var, bunun da raporları vardır. Ancak bütün jüriyi danışman olarak alamadılar. Zaten jüri döneminde de Abdi Hoca ile Yıldırım Hocamız eksi oy vermişler. Artı oy vermedikleri proje de neden danışman olsunlar. Dolayısı ile beşini birden istihdam etmek kolay da değil zaten, onlara da para ödeniyor. Her şey paraya dayanıyor mecliste. Sonuç olarak Jüri Başkanımız Mustafa Aslaner tüm toplantılarda var. Şimdi bu dönüşüme o da ses çıkaramadı. 230'a da ses çıkaramadı, olmaz o da diyemedi. Çünkü karşıda bir Genel Sekreter var, karşıda bir Başkanlık ve Başkanlık Divanı var. Tüm kararlar Başkan'dan da çıkmıyor. Divan var, her partinin adamları var, başkan karar vermiş, yap diyor.

Günseli:
Bütün bunlara Divan Kurulu kararlardan bakabiliriz demek ki...

Açıkkol:
Tabi, orada kimse kafasından bir şeyi değiştiremez. Şimdi sonuç; beklemedeyiz. O işi Divan Kurulu'na sokacaklar. Para konusunu hallettik. Dedik ki kütüphane benim size hediyem olsun. Ama ben kütüphaneyi baştan yapacağım. Belki dekorasyon için bir karar çıkaracaklar, belki meslek kontrol için bir karar çıkartacaklar. Ama A blokta yaptım ben mesleki kontrolluk, baktım olay iyice sarpa sarıyor. İnanılmaz hatalar yapılıyor, çoğunu söktürdüm, kırdırdım, yani benim son 5 ayım çok zor geçti mecliste. Tehdit ettim yüklenici firmayı, "mahkemeye gideceğim, yakarım dedim". Ama efendim Allah mahkemeye düşürmesin, 2 seneden evvel bir şey çıkmıyor mahkemeden. Ben mahkeme kararını alana kadar adamlar geri kalanını da bitirirler. İşte en son Belediye Başkanı

yargıya gitmeden bitirdi ya kavşak projesini. Siz daha dava açana kadar adam kavşağı bitiriyor 25 günde. Şimdi belki o da kendi mantığında haklı. Ülkede iş yapmak çok zor... Şimdi beklemedeyiz bakalım ne olacak?

Günseli**:**
İdeali sizin için nasıl olurdu? Bu süreçte değiştirebileceğiniz bir şeyler olmasını ister miydiniz? Ben hep onu sordum jüri üyelerine siyasilerin ya da yöneticilerin size etkisi oldu mu? Ya da milletvekilleri ne kadar meraklı sonuçta onların kullanım mekânları yapılıyor?

Açıkkol:
Aslında şöyle söyleyeyim ben de hikâye çok, yani anlatacağım çok hikâye var. Şimdi biz temel atma töreninden önce güzel bir sergi açtık parlamentonun içerisinde. Sergi bakın çok enteresan. Sergi bizim sonumuz oldu. Bütün parlamenterler Genel Kurul Salonundan çıktı, Başbakan geldi. Oda perspektifleri falan var. İç dekorasyonunu işte bir miktar yaptık. Tuvalet, lavabo var mı?, demiş. Yok, demişler. Olmaz öyle şey demiş dönmüş gitmiş. Şu anda Danıştay yarışmasına hazırlanıyoruz, salı günü vereceğiz, bütün üyelerin odasında lavabo var, tuvalet var. Bakın duş da var. Kaç tane üye biliyor musunuz? 16 daireyi 6 ile çarpın, başkanın da var, 10 deyin, 160 tane duşlu oda yapıyoruz. Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde eğer hâkimlerin odasında lavabosu, duşu oluyorsa ve dinlenme odaları var, muazzam yani, parlamenterlerin de tuvaleti olsun. En büyük sıkıntı da rahat çalışma ortamı sağlanmasında, adamın tuvalete gidecek durumu yok. Ayrımcılık yapıyorsunuz diyorlar ama adamın odasında en azından bir tuvaleti olsun. En son duş olmasın, bir tuvaleti olsun dediler. Bu bir ihtiyaçtır. Çok büyüttüler bu işi, Genel Sekreterlik hep yanlış yönlendirdi, üç yüz tane sifon var, nasıl bunun bakımını yapacağız? Lavaboyu açık unuturlarsa su basar. Sonra efendim her şey elektronik bizim kullandığımız. Abuk sabuk şeyler yüzünden bu duruma geldik…

Günseli:
O zaman aslında bürokrasi biraz işi büyütüyor, yönetim aslında daha kararlı.

Açıkkol:
Bürokrasiden çok, işletim bakım müdürlüğü... Onların derdi en çabuk burayı nasıl temizler bakarız? Genel Sekreter'i bu konuda etkilediler. Bir de parlamentoda şoförler çok etkili bir grup. Şoförler ne diyorsa yaptık. Meclis başkanından, divana... Neden? Herkesin işi düşüyor onlara, çaycı bir, şoför iki. Zaten çaycıların çoğu üniversite mezunu... Bürokrasi değil işte orada yaşayan insanların bir güçleri var. Şimdi doktorluk binası başımıza bela oldu. Bu doktorluğu bir projenin içine koyuyoruz, bir çıkarıyoruz. En sonunda bu basına da yansıdı. Bülent Bey demiş ki bu kreşi kaldıralım ki biliyorsunuz, Güvenlik caddesinde meclisin kreşi var, anaokulu var. Dışarıda bir bina... Kreşi kaldıralım, hem de kampüs dışından çok fazla insan geliyor, emekli parlamenterler geliyor ve içeri giriyorlar zaten sıkıntı o… Herkes doktorluğa geliyor. Tamam demişler, kreşi kaldıralım. Ertesi gün gazeteye çıktı, kreş kapanıyor, bir sonraki gün bir kavga kıyamet. Bize yazı geldi, doktorluğu çıkarın, biz de tatbikat yapıyoruz artık, öyle çıkarın olmuyor. Bütün teknik tesisatı attık çöpe. Bütün program değişiyor, öyle bir acılar çektik ki..15 gün sonra Bülent Bey baskılara dayanamamış, ağlamışlar bizim çocuklarımızın kreşini kaldırmayın diye. Bana kalsa doktorluğu da atarım, kreşi de atarım. Bir sürü kreş var, bir sürü de hastane var, herkes istediği gibi evinin yakınında bir kreşe gider. Meclis bu durumdan zarar ediyor. Hasta, hasta insanlar geliyor meclise çocuğunu kapmış. Emekli parlamenter köydeki anneanesini kapmış, mecliste doktora getiriyor. Olmuyor, girmesi bir dert, çıkması bir dert. Zaten hizmet yeterli değil. Oraya niye getiriyorsun, en güzel hastaneye götür, zaten devlet ödüyor. Anlaşmalı hastaneler de var. Anlaşılır özel hastane

ve kreşlerle. Bülent Bey baskılara dayanamayıp yan çizdi. Tekrar doktorluğu getirip oraya koyduk, proje tabi revize oldu. Kısacası böyle olur olmaz ani program değişiklikleri yaşadık. Bunları aslında çok fazla da yadsımıyorum, orada da çalışan binlerce insan var. Esas sıkıntı 500 parlamenter var, 3000 kişi çalışıyor orada. 500 parlamenter, 500 danışman, 500 sekreter, 500 bahçıvan... İnanılmaz bir kadro sorunu, esas sıkıntı kadro meselesi. Zaten parlamento ülkeyi yansıtıyor. Yaya yolu kalkıyor, arabalar park ediyor. Türkiye nasılsa parlamento da öyle... Zaten 6000 ziyaretçi var… Şimdi en son ne yaptık?

Mevcut Ziyaretçi kabul binasının ucunu yıkmıştık zaten. Kalan kısmını da yıkalım dedim. Yeni binanın girişinde meydanımız vardı, güme gitti tabi. Yıktırmadılar, yıktırmıyor da şu an..."Biz orayı geçici olarak Doktorluk olarak kullanmayı düşünüyoruz" diyorlar. Siz bilirsiniz efendim dedim ama "binanın önünü kapatıyorsunuz". Ana binayı yapalım sonra yıkarız diyorlar. Şimdi halkla ilişkiler binasında ciddi bir sıkışıklık var. Bu sıkışıklığı nasıl nerelere dağıtırız derdindeler. Şimdi inşaata devam edersek genel sekreterliğin kalan kısımları ve matbaa taşınacak. Matbaa da geçici olarak yapıldı. Matbaa şu yeni binasına gidecek, askeriyenin arkasındaki yeni binasına... Orayı giderseniz görmenizi tavsiye ederim, enteresan o matbaa. Eski matbaa binasını da yıkacağız. Yıktığımız zaman oradaki personeli ve doktorluk birimini nereye koyacağız? Halen kullanılmakta olan giriş kabul binası doktorluk olacak. Öyle planlamışlar, geçici olarak tabi... Ana bina projelendirildiği zaman, o arada karar verecekler. Bizim yaptığımız son projede doktorluk yine parlamenter çalışma binasının içinde. Ve orada istemiyorlar doktorluğu, burada olmaz diyorlar. Siz bilirsiniz... Koyun diyorsunuz koyuyoruz, çıkarın diyorsunuz çıkarıyoruz. Ben orada karar verecek durumda değilim ki, bir karar verin… Kesin proje bazında bir sefer daha doktorluğu konuşacağız.

Günseli:
Sizin binada zaten doktorluk dışarıdan çalışmıyor muydu?

Açıkkol:
Ayrı çalışıyor. Şimdi şöyle bir şey var. Güvenliği çözemiyoruz. İki zemin var binada, bir alt zemin var, bir üst zemin var. Şimdi doktorluğa alt zeminden ayrı kapıdan giriyorlar, doktorluğa gelen insan bir üst kata çıksa parlamenter katına çıkıyor, çünkü bütün asansörler, şaftlar ve merdivenler yangın merdiveni gibi çalıştığı için birbirine bağlanıyor. Güvenliği sağlayamıyoruz. İşleyiş açısından belki bir problem yok, doktorluğun kapısı ayrı ama bir yoğunluk var. Üst katlara çıkma şansları var. Doktorluk kalır mı kalmaz mı başkanlık divanı karar verecek. En son şöyle bir şey söylendi, biz bütün parlamenterleri yeni binaya yerleştirirsek, şu anki Halkla İlişkiler binası boşalıyor. Orman Bakanlığı zaten 9 seneliğine kiralık, orada çalışan personel çok mutsuz uzak olmaları sebebiyle. Yapım, onarım dairesi orada, adamlar şantiyeye gidiyor, geliyorlar, inanılmaz sıkıntıdalar. Diyorlar ki şimdi kiramız bitince Orman Bakanlığı'ndaki personeli de, doktorluğu da Halkla İlişkiler Binasına alalım eğer Behruz Bey'de izin verirse içinde tadilat yapılmasına. Bu ne kadar olur olmaz onu da bilemiyorum.

Günseli:
Semra hanım'ların projesinde Güvenlik baya iyi çözülmüştü, o bina bir bariyer oluşturuyordu, kalabalığı göndermiyordu meclisin içerisine. O proje uygulansaydı ve Genel Sekreterlik Binası yarışma orijinalinde tamamlansaydı nasıl olurdu?

Açıkkol:
Şimdi jüri başkanı da hep aynı şeyi söylüyor. O ikisi birbirini tamamlayacak iki proje şeklinde düşünüyor. Ben hiç katılmıyorum. Semra hanım'ların projesinin şehircilik açısından çok yanlış olduğunu düşünüyorum. Oradaki o konutlarda yaşayan insanların

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olduğu caddeye inanılmaz bir yoğunluk gelecek. Sonra peyzaj olarak da orada çok önemli bir bitki örtüsü var. Semra hanım'ların projesi de 120 bin metrekarenin üstünde bir yapı, çok büyük bir yapı. Oraya girecek trafiği düşünün, ziyaretçi otoparkı var, 300 araçlık parlamenter otoparkı var. Onun yanında bir de orada Anayasa parkı var. Ben hiç katılmıyorum, açık açık da söyledim zaten toplantılarda. Ayrıca ben katılsam ne olacak, katılmasam ne olacak, mümkün değil yapamıyorlar o muhafız taburu yüzünden. Ben ce parlamento yerleşkesi içinde yapılacak inşaat için, tek uygun alanın bizim projenin alanı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Zaten yapmışlar, yeni ısı merkezi orada, biz de A Blok giriş kapısını yaptık, Isı merkezi ile A Blok arasındaki eski ısı santrali yıkıldı zaten, mevcut Genel sekreterlik çok eski bina zaten, çok dökülüyor. Bütün eski binaları tertemiz yapıp o bölgede inşaat yapmanın doğru olduğunu düşünüyorum, inşaat yapma açısından da trafik açısından da. Dikmen Caddesi hafriyat kamyonlarını ancak kaldırıyor, bu yaptığımız blok inşaatın ancak yüzde sekizi. Daha çok büyük inşaat var, muazzam bir hafriyat var. Güvenlik caddesinden kamyon bile girmez.

Günseli:
Güvenlik caddesinde bir trafik çalışması da var şu an.

Açıkkol:
O çalışmayı bilmiyorum, daha önce bir tretuvar çalışması yaptılar, bir şey yapıyorlar ama bizimle ilgisi yok. Acaba bir alt geçit çalışması mı yapılıyor? Başkan her yere alt geçit yapıyor. Tahminim bir alt geçit hazırlığı var tam o kavşakta, o köşede. Bizi ilgilendirmiyor. Ama bir alt geçit ne getirir, ne götürür, tabi o ayrı bir konu. Hikâyemiz böyle, bana başka bir sorunuz var mı?

Günseli:
Yarışma başta bir servis binası şeklinde açıldı, programdaki bu değişiklerden sonra parlamenter çalışma binası özelliği olacak, bu gerek uygulamada, gerek cephelerde farklı bir çalışmayı gerektirmez miydi?

Açıkkol:
Aslında çok değiştirmiyor. Zaten bizim konsept tasarımımız servis yapısı düşüncesi ile başladı. Mevcut avluyu koruyoruz, o üç çınar ağacını... Dış avlu ve iç avlunun kesişmesi Parlamento ve Dikmen Caddesi ile ilişkisini kurmak amacıyla kurgulandı. Ve bir servis yapısıydı, yani geri planda bir yapıydı. Çünkü parlamento orada duruyor, bizim orada çıkıp ta şov yapacak halimiz yok. Mesela ikinci proje bence tam bir şov projesi... İnanılmaz bir saçak var, yani ne olduğu belli değil, orası Parlamentonun ana kapısı değil ki o kadar gösterişli bir kapıya, avluyu da ezen bir saçağa ne gerek var. Bu bir servis binası... Şimdi parlamenter çalışma binası da olsa, bence yine servis binası, bizim orada parlamento binamız duruyor, Holzmeister Hocamız yapmış. Fevkalade bir bina bence, çocukluğumdan beri bayılırdım, o köprülere ölürdüm, ben şuradan bir geçecek miyim? Neyse çok geçtik Bülent Bey ile görüşmek için. Müthiş başarılı, o yıllarda yapılmış inanılmaz bir tasarım ama o günkü şartlarda yapılmış bir yapı, o dönemin imkanları ile..para yok... Hakikaten çok büyük bir ustalık var, Türkiye'de öyle bir mimarlık yok, yani işçilik olarak da öyle. Biz o seviyeye gelemedik zaten. Mesela yağmur iniş borularını o kadar güzel gizlemiş Hoca, travertenlerin arasında yollarını yapmış, izlerini yapmış, ben inanamıyorum nasıl yapmışlar o yıllarda. Ustalarda da iş varmış, şimdi eline malayı alan ben ustayım diye dolanıyor şantiyede. Taşeron kalitesi o kadar kötü ki inanamazsınız. Her yeri yamuk bizim binanın, asma tavanlar, sök tak, sök tak perişan olduk. Parlamento arkasına çıkıp da, isterseniz parlamenter çalışma binası, isterseniz kütüphane binası olsun fark etmez, arkasın da duran her bina servis binasıdır. Cephe karakteri olarak, dış yüzey olarak, A Blokta görmüşsünüzdür, son derece yalın, taş kapladık. Hatta camları renksizdir,

o arada kaçtı, biraz renkli cam seçtiler mavi tonu var, haber vermeden bana, ben renk kullanmadım çünkü üstteki camlar şeffaf, zaten camın bir rengi olur, sonra içi görünsün istiyordum. İçi görünmüyor binanın beni çok rahatsız ediyor açıkçası. Ziyaretçi kısmının asıl görünmesi lazım, alüminyum kullandık, taş kullandık. Ülkenin her kesiminden insan geliyor, iç mekândan etkilensinler istedik. Böyle bir duygu yoğunluğu ile girip Parlamento binasındaki muhteşem ihtişamı görüp etki dozu artsın istedik. Yükselerek turnikelerden çıkıp gidersiniz, böyle bir kurgusu vardır mekânın. Girdikten sonra bir metre çıkarsınız, bir metre daha çıkarsınız, sonra düzayak çıkarsınız parlamento kotuna, hiç fark yoktur yol kotuyla. Engelliler için rampalar yaptık. Yani kotu, katı çok iyi oturdu. Son derece basit bir mimarisi var. Zaten mimarlık bence bir iç mekân sanatıdır. Meclis binası çok yalın ve çok sade, tabi o zamanki o taşları bulamadık. Traverten biliyorsunuz yumuşak bir taş, zamanla kirleniyor, o ocaklar da yok zaten. Biz granit kullandık. Yurtdışından geldi o taşlarımız da, patineli granit kullandık, mat yüzeyler kullandık. Meclisin o yalın çizgilerini korumaya çalıştık. Ama iç mekânlarımız da çok iyi atraksiyonlar var ana bina da olduğu gibi… Şu an beklemedeyiz, Başkanlık Divanın'dan üç karar çıkabilir. Eski yarışma programına geri dönün denilebilir. 230 oda kalsın tamam, içine banyo koyun diyebilirler. Ya da üç katı ekleyip yeni bir parlamenter çalışma binası yapalım kararı çıkabilir. Benim tahminim üçüncü karar çıkacak. Bu çıkınca projemiz hazır, Anıtlar kuruluna projeyi resmi yazı ile teslim edeceğiz. Onayladıktan sonra sözleşme yapıp başlarız.

Günseli:
Sözleşme yapılınca işler çok çabuk ilerliyor sanırım.

Açıkkol:
Zaten Zemin iksa ve hafriyat ayrı bir proje, önceden yapılan bir ihale şekline dönüştürdük. Revizyonlar yapıldı. Önce zemin ve hafriyat için ihaleye çıkacağız, İhaleyi alan zemin firması, zaten kazıkları çakıp, bu alanın hafriyatını yapıncaya kadar, bir sene geçer, o bir sene içinde biz projeyi yaparız. Hafriyat biter bitmez de inşaat ihalesine çıkaracağız. O da üç sene sürse, bu parlamenterler bu binada oturamaz, eğer seçim meçim olmazsa.

WORKING CHRONOLOGY

B.1. Parliament in Turkish History

December 23, 1876

The first written constitution of Turkish History is effectuated. This Principal Law, (Kanun-i Esasi) was not an effort of public willpower but necessitated from the great impact of Young Ottoman on the Sultan. However Sovereignty belonged to the Ottoman Dynasty. The personality of Sultan was holistic. Executive and legislative authority was of Sultan.

March 20, 1877

The First Turkish Parliament, with the name "Meclis-i Umumi", General Assembly started its works due to a bicameral system in 20 March 1877. "Heyet-i Mebusan" or "Meclis-i Mebusan" members were composed of 115 people (69 Muslim and 46 non-Muslim), which were elected via two-round elections. "Heyet-i Ayan" or "Meclis-i Ayan" members were 26 people that were directly appointed by the Sultan.

April 23, 1877

The Ottoman- Russian War of 1877-1878 started.

June 28, 1877

Due to the great criticism on the government because of the failure in Ottoman-Russian War, the Sultan dissolved the "Heyet-i Mebusan".

December 13, 1877

As a result of the elections, the second "Heyet-i Mebusan" was chosen.

February 14, 1878

Because the Ottoman- Russian War was in a bad going process, the Sultan closed the second "Heyet-i Mebusan".

July 23, 1908

Sultan 2nd Abdulhamid called the members to assemble due to the increasing exterior developments and the opposition of the enlightened.

1909, 1912, 1914, 1916

The constitution was updated eight times during these years.

July 3, 1918

4TH Mehmet (Vahdettin) took the power.

October 30, 1918

The Armistice of Mondros (Moudhros) was signed at Lemnos Island, ending the World War One for the Ottoman Empire.

December 21, 1918

Vahdettin dissolved the Parliament

June 21/22, 1919

Amasya Circular was declared. This was in the form of a written plan for transition to National Sovereignty.

July 23, 1919

Erzurum Congress was realized. Later on in July and August three other congresses were held in Balıkesir, Nazilli and Alaşehir respectively. As a result of these congresses, the patriotic militia forces were established under the name of the National Forces; "Kuvayi Milliye" was founded.

September 4, 1919

On 4 September 1919 the *Sivas Congress* gathered, which was the basis for the founding of the new Turkish State based on the principle of national sovereignty. At the Congress the representatives of the people reached a mutual decision on the subject of the "homeland being an indivisible whole". All the local resistance organizations in the country united under the name of the "Anatolian and Rumelian Defense of Rights Association". Naturally, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was elected to the chairmanship of this organization. The "Committee of Representatives" that was formed as the result of the Congress, gained an attribute, which reflected the wishes of the people. However, the spiritual and emotional burden of the Istanbul Government was still continuing.

December 27, 1919

Atatürk came to Ankara on 27 December 1919

January 12, 1920

Vahdettin re-assembled the Parliament. The final Ottoman Parliament gathered on 12 January 1920 in compliance with the decision of the Sivas Congress. However, the patriots in the Parliament, in spite of all their efforts, could not do away with the atmosphere and the habits of the system based on the sovereignty of the sultan. In this situation, the final hopes connected to the Parliament were also destroyed.

January 28, 1920

An important decision of a constitutional nature could be made. This decision was the "National Pact" dated 28 January 1920. Every Parliament member, who was a supporter of the national forces, expended great efforts for this oath to be accomplished on behalf of the nation and finally the acceptance of this decision was realized.

March 16, 1920

Istanbul was officially occupied on 16 March 1920. The Ottoman state was de facto terminated on 16 March. The Parliament, which gathered two days later, was left no choice but to stop performing their activities for a while. The sultan dispersed it on 11 April 1920. The last Ottoman Chamber of Deputies had become a thing of the past. The national and legal basis of the principle of the "indivisibility of the Turkish homeland and the people" that is found in the current Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, is the spirit of the "National Pact" which is still alive.

April 23, 1920

Three days after the occupation of Istanbul, Atatürk published his famous 19 March 1920 announcement. It was established in definite and resolute expressions in the announcement that, "an Assembly would be gathered in Ankara that would possess extraordinary powers, how the members who would participate in the assembly would be elected and the need to undertake elections at the latest within fifteen days". Furthermore, the members of the dispersed Chamber of Deputies could also participate in the Assembly in Ankara. The Turkish Grand National Assembly, established on national sovereignty, held its first opening session with the participation of enthusiastic people on 23 April 1920.

In this opening speech, the name of the new Turkish parliament based on national sovereignty was determined as the "Grand National Assembly". Everyone accepted this name. Later, with its form taken in all of Atatürk's speeches and for the first time in writing in the Council of Ministers decision of 8 February 1921, the name gained permanence as the "Turkish Grand National Assembly" (TGNA).

The Constitution of 1921

The first discussions on the Constitution made by the TGNA started on 19 November 1920 and were accepted with a vote taken on 20 January 1921. In this way, the first Constitution was adopted based on the principle of national sovereignty.[77]

The Constitution of 1924

The TGNA's first constitution of 1921 was only able to remain in force for three years. It had remained behind the developments and there were significant deficiencies and it was inadequate. The preparations as a whole were undertaken for a new constitution. The republic period constitution was accepted in the General Assembly with a great majority vote on 20 April 1924. The new constitution was based on the principle of cooperation within a republican regime. It was composed of 105 articles. The Constitution of 1924 played an important role in the development of the Turkish political life. It was open to the establishment of political parties and consequently to democracy. The classic rights and freedoms were included. Some other basic principles were brought to the 1924 Constitution with the changes made in 1928, 1934 and 1937.[78]

1930

The economic crisis of 1930's in the capitalist world accelerated state intervention in Turkey, and this strengthened the development of mono-party system. (Feroz Ahmad)

1935

Party and State marriage was realized at Republican People's Party Congress.

1938

Atatürk dies.

May 29- June 3 1939

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[77] The Constitution of 1921 was a rather short text composed of 23 articles. The first nine articles enumerated the basic principles on which the State was based. The principles were expressed in the most definite and open manner that unconditional, unrestricted sovereignty belongs to the nation, that the legislative and executive powers were gathered in the TGNA, which is the only and real representative of the nation, and the principles of unity of powers, and a state based on the people. However, significant deficiencies of the Constitution of 1921 were the lack of a head of State, the fact that the rights and freedoms of the citizens were not established, and the lack of provisions related to the judiciary.

[78] The change of 10 April 1928 gave a secular character to the State. With the change of 5 December 1934, the complete right to vote and be elected was recognized for women. The change of 5 February 1937 was determining the attributes of "republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism and reformism".The Constitution of 1924, with its deficiencies and changes, was the text with the longest life-span in Turkish Constitutional history. It remained in force for 36 years, complete and uninterrupted.

Symbolizing a withdrawal or a loosening in the bounds between the state and the party was the allowance of a formation, an Independent Group (Müstakil Grup) in the party to from the basis for opposition at the fifth congress between 29 th of May and 3 rd of June in 1939.

November 1, 1945

In his speech İnönü stated that he was prepared to make major political adjustments in the monoparty system in order to bring it in line with the changed circumstances of the time. He agreed that the main deficiency in the system was the lack of an opposition party and he declared that 'in keeping with the needs of the country and in the proper functioning of the atmosphere of freedom and democracy. This was the sentence, which opened the pandora's box of competitive multiparty politics in Turkey. (feroz ahmad)

January 7, 1946

Democrat Party was officially announced.

July 21, 1946

The first election in the history of the Republic of Turkey in which more than one party participated was held on. (390/465 Republicans, 65/465 Democrats, 7/465 Independents)

May 14, 1950

Democrats won the elections with a 90 percent success.

May 22, 1950

New government was announced.

December 1957

Baghdat Pact was assembled in Ankara.

May 27, 1960

The Democrat Party government terminated with a military coup d'etat undertaken on 27 May 1960.

1961

According to the results of 1961 elections (173/465 RPP, 158/465 Justice Party, 65/465 New Turkey party, 54/465 Republican Villager Party) RPP and Justice party started a coalition government.

The Constitution of 1961

The military power, which seized the administration of the country with the 27 May revolution, formed a "Constituent Assembly" to make a new constitution. The new constitution, that was prepared within a year, was submitted to a referendum on 9 July 1961. The new constitution was accepted with a total of 61.5 percent "Yes" votes in a balloting in which 81 percent of the voters participated. In this way, for the first time in Turkish history, a constituent assembly prepared a constitution and this constitution was accepted with a referendum. Another one of the significant changes was the establishment of a "bicameral assembly" structure, composed of the "National Assembly" and the "Republic Senate". Furthermore, to determine whether or not the laws were contrary to the constitution, a "Constitutional Court" was established and emphasis was placed on

judiciary supervision. The Constitution of 1961 was a long and detailed text. It brought significant innovations. It contained a provision that national sovereignty "would be used by means of authoritative organs" and so the principle of a separation of powers. The legislative and supervision power would be carried out by the Assembly; along with the executive departing from the assembly, the executive was formed as a separate organ by the President and Council of Ministers; and the judiciary power would be carried out by independent courts. The basic rights and freedoms were established in a detailed manner, which had not been observed in any Turkish Constitution up until that time. Limits were also put on the limitations of basic rights and freedoms. In addition, the constitution gave the responsibility for many social obligations to the state. The constitution of 1961, together with the changes made in 1971, remained in force until the second military coup d'etat undertaken in 1980.

1965

In 1965 elections RPP lost votes.

1968

Student activities starting in France accelerate the existing crisis in economy and other fields in Turkey and made it widespread. University student activities in Turkey also accelerated and 1970's were a term of conflictions between the government and the students, later on jumping to a state of violence.

1969

Justice party started a one party government.

1970

As a result of the devaluation in 1970, one US Dollar increased from 9 Turkish Liras to 15 Turkish Liras. Justice party is split and a new formation; Democratic Party is founded in December 18, 1970.

March 12, 1971

There had been another military intervention. This was in the form of a military memorandum. As a result of this, Süleyman Demirel resigned from the Prime Ministry and a supra-parties government was formulated under the Presidency of Nihat Erim. Nihat Erim was a member of RPP and he was asked to resign from the party to accept the position.

May 5, 1972

In 5th Extraordinary Congress of RPP, Bülent Ecevit was chosen as the General President of the party.

October 14, 1973

RPP with its new leader gained the majority of the seats in the parliament.

1973-1977

The unsteadiness starting with the 1973 elections could not be eliminated with 1977 elections. Turkey was governed by disagreeable coalition politics.

1974-1976

Violence in politics and students accelerated. Student activities generated from the will for reforms in universities. Later the student activities, which took an anarchical dimension with the frustrations and obstructions, took a form based on ideological background.

September 12, 1980

Political and social instability paved the way to crises; as a result, the country was confronted with a second military coup d'etat on 12 September 1980. The Constitution was suspended and the political parties were closed. Political bans were brought to a large number of the politicians. The military power seized the government and just as in 1960, a "Constituent Assembly" was formed for a new constitution.

The Constitution of 1982

The new constitution was prepared within two years and was submitted to a referendum on 7 November 1982. The rate of participation in the referendum was 91.27 percent. As a result, the constitution of 1982 was accepted with 91.37 percent of the valid "yes" votes. The biggest innovation brought with the Constitution of 1982 was the unicameral system, which is a return to the Republic tradition. The executive was somewhat more strengthened. New and more severe measures were brought on the subject of limiting freedoms. New statutes were given to autonomous organizations. Excluding these, a large proportion of the Constitution of 1982 resembles the Constitution of 1961.

November 6, 1983

The first election for members of parliament was held on 6 November 1983 with the participation of the newly established Nationalist Democracy Party, the Populist Party and the Motherland party, and without the political parties, which had previously been closed. The Democratic process started once again. The Motherland party, of which Turgut Özal was the general president, formed the government.

1989

Turgut Özal was chosen as the President of the Turkish Republic.

October 20, 1991

The General Elections for the Members of the Parliament held on 20 October 1991, was realized with a large number of freely established political parties and with all the politicians, whose rights to engage in politics had been taken away previously, succeeding in getting their freedoms once again. The coalition government was formed of two parties, DYP (True Way Party) and SHP (Socialist Populist Party).

1993

Turgut Özal died suddenly and in place Süleyman Demirel was chosen as the President of the Turkish Republic.

June 25, 1993

With the death of Turgut Özal, the government resigned. Tansu Çiller was assigned to form the government. She formed a government with the coalition of two parties, DYP and SHP.

February 18, 1995

In 9th extraordinary congress of SHP, SHP moved to CHP.

September 20, 1995

Tansu Çiller resigned from prime ministry.

October 5, 1995

Tansu Çiller formed a minority government. She could not take vote of confidence.

October 30, 1995

Çiller formed a coalition government (DYP-CHP)

March 6, 1996

Mesut Yılmaz formed a minority government (ANAP-DYP)

June 28, 1996

After Mesut Yılmaz resigned from the prime ministry, Necmettin Erbakan is assigned to form the government. He formulated a RP-DYP coalition government on 28th June 1996. In order to leave the prime ministry to Tansu Çiller, Erbakan resigned.

June 30, 1997

Süleyman Demirel gave the mission to form the government to Mesut Yılmaz. He formed a minority government of ANAP, DSP and DTP on 30th June 1997. Since the general questioning about Mesut Yılmaz was accepted in 25th November 1998, the government was dropped.

January 11, 1999

Bülent Ecevit is assigned to form the government. When he could not succeed, he returned the mission. Independent member of Muğla, Yalım Erez also could not accomplish the mission. Ecevit again take upon himself the mission in 7th January 1999. Demirel accepted the minority government Ecevit proposed on 11th January 1999. However the government terminated due to the general elections on 18th April 1999.

May 28, 1999

Ecevit is assigned to form the government on 3rd May 1999. He formed a coalition government of DSP, MHP and ANAP on 28th May 1999.

November 3, 2002

AKP won the early general elections.

November 11, 2002

The 58th government of Turkish Republic was established by the prime ministry of Abdullah Gül. When Recep Tayyip Erdoğan entered the Assembly, 58th government resigned. The President of the Turkish Republic, Ahmet Necdet Sezer assigned Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to establish the new government.

March 14, 2003

59th government of Turkish Republic was founded on 14th March 2003.

B.2 Turkish Grand National Assembly, 3rd Building

January 11, 1937

On January 11, 1937, the Turkish Grand National Assembly issued a law about a project contest for the construction of a new parliament building of a "monumental quality that will be suitable to the permanence of the Turkish Republic and to the characteristics of the twentieth century". The building design was accepted to have a sober and lasting character, in a manner that would symbolize the strength and immortality of the Republic of Turkey.[79]

January 28, 1938

Three projects are chosen as the winner of the international competition for the new parliament building of Turkish Republic. The Cabinet and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk decide on the project proposed by Prof. Dr. Clemens Holzmeister.

October 26, 1939

The Speaker of the Grand National Assembly, Abdülhalik Renda starts the construction of the project.

1941

The building exceeds the capacity of Turkey in terms of technical, artistic, industrial and work force levels. The technical people and workers were coming from abroad and there was a lack of foreign currency. In addition to those, World War 2nd had quite negative effects on the economical situation. Because of these reasons the construction activity stops.

July 22, 1942

The construction of the building starts again.

1947

The management of the construction handed over the Public Works Ministry.

1949

In 1949 Ziya Payzın represented Holzmeister, and after this date he was commissioned as the head of construction.

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[79] Aslanoğlu, İnci (2000). "1928- 1946 Döneminde Ankara'da yapılan Resmi Yapılarının Mimarisinin Değerlendirilmesi" in Tükel, Yavuz, Ayşıl. (ed) 2000. Tarih İçinde Ankara. Odtü: Ankara.p.274

January 6, 1961

National Great Assembly of Turkey starts to assemble in the new parliament building

1965

In the period when Fuat Sirmen was the Speaker of the Assembly, it was decided to complete the unfinished parts in the project and to take a Republican Senate building in the program as the new constitution necessitated.

1965

A new project competition for the garden of the National Grand Assembly of Turkey is announced. This competition is the first landscape project competition in Turkey.

June 26, 1965

The jury announces the winner of the competition. Prof. Dr. Yüksel Öztan gets the first prize.

1968

The project of Yüksel Öztan is started.

1970

Starting from the 1970's, the Turkish Grand National Assembly began studies on a new parliament building for public relations and member offices.

July 2, 1975

In the common meeting of the Republican Senate and the Assembly Divans, they decided to complete the unfinished projects (Atatürk monuments, artefacts, unfinished parts, the programming of the new requirements of the Assembly and Republican Senate) According to this decision, the inquiry on the preliminary ideas of the monuments that are going to be built in and out spaces of the Assembly is started. In search for the themes of the monuments, the advices and know-how of the intellectuals, writers, litterateurs, historians, and artists of the nation are asked.

1976

A wide investment plan was made for the monuments and the new buildings in the Assembly Complex and the plan was realized after 1976.

1978

Behruz Çinici, the architect and the member of Assembly Artists is asked for advice by the speaker, Cahit Karakaş. The speaker demands for his help on issues such as a mosque for the members and the personel but mostly for working spaces for the parliament members. The extension would be called as the Public Relations building and give the parliament members special units for working. Çinici tells that it is not possible to build an

extension without the permission of the architect, Prof. Dr. Clemens Holzmeister residing in Salzburg.

1978

In 1978, as a part of the landscape architecture, a new competition was announced for a monument for Atatürk to be placed in front of the Hall of Honor. The Jury selected Hüseyin Gezer's project.

1979

Clemens Holzmeister is invited to Turkey. He had brought with him his old students, Ziya Payzın and Muhittin Güreli. Cahit Karakaş forms a commission for the new extension building. Mukbil Gökdoğan, Orhan Alsaç, Vedat Dalokay and Hayati Tabanlıoğlu are all invited. Çinici proposes that the three of the architects, Payzın, Güreli and Çinici draw the project of which Clemens Holzmeister sketches. But this idea does not find support. In return Holzmeister is asked for the project. Holzmeister tells that his age is not suitable for the mission and proposes that Payzın, Çinici and Güreli will draw the project and he will inspect the project and accept. There would be three projects and these projects would be sent to Salzburg with no names on. The three architects prepare projects and send them to Salzburg. Holzmeister forms a jury composed of Prof. Gutbrod and Prof. Hubaher from Swiss. The jury accepts the project drawn by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici.

April 5, 1979

Public relations Building is started construction by President Fahri S. Korutürk.

May 19, 1981

President Kenan Evren opens the monument of Atatürk to public service at the 100th year of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's birthday. Prof. Hüseyin Gezer was the winner of the two-step national competition.

1982

After 1982 the parliament was converted into mono-chamber system. The Senate Hall was given to the largest number party group in the Assembly.

January 25, 1984

The Speaker of the Assembly, Necmettin Karaduman, opens the building for Public Relations to public service.

April 23, 1985

Assembly Park is opened to public service.

April 23, 1986

National Sovereignty Park is opened to public service in 1986. This park is a public space in which the theme "national sovereignty" is depicted with relieves and the monument.

April 19, 1987

The Assembly mosque was started construction.

1995

In 1995 a national contest for the renovation of the hall was announced after Speaker Divan Decision when Hüsamettin Cindoruk was the speaker. The project by Ural Architecture and City Planning Limited Company was chosen. The underlying reason of the renovation is that the sitting layout of the hall was not found contemporary enough.

1997

Parliament members' office building competition was finalized. The winner project belongs to Semra and Özcan Uygur.

December 24, 2006

General Secretary Service Building competition was finalized. The winner project belongs to Cem Açıkkol and Kaan özer. The construction is planned to be finished at November 2007 however the first section could be completed in 2008.

APPENDIX C

HOLZMEISTER DOCUMENTS

C.1 Letter of Clemens Holzmeister to the Turkish Grand National Assembly

To the Turkish Grand National Assembly Ankara,
A letter written on the issues about the selection of architect to build the Public Relations Building delivered on the meeting of May 4, 1978. Holzmeister proposes that there should be a selection between his students Muhittin Güreli, Ziya Payzın and Behruz Çinici.

May 7, 1978
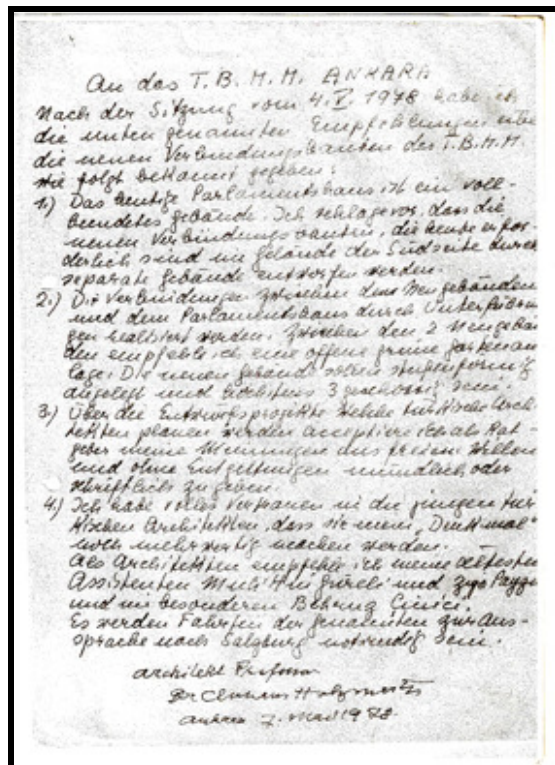Clemens Holzmeister, Ankara

Figure C. 1 Letter of Clemens Holzmeister to the Turkish Grand National Assembly
(Behruz Çinici personal archieve)

APPENDIX D

PARTIAL DRAWINGS OF MAJOR PLANNING STUDIES ON GOVERNMENTAL DISTRICT AND THE PARLIAMENT

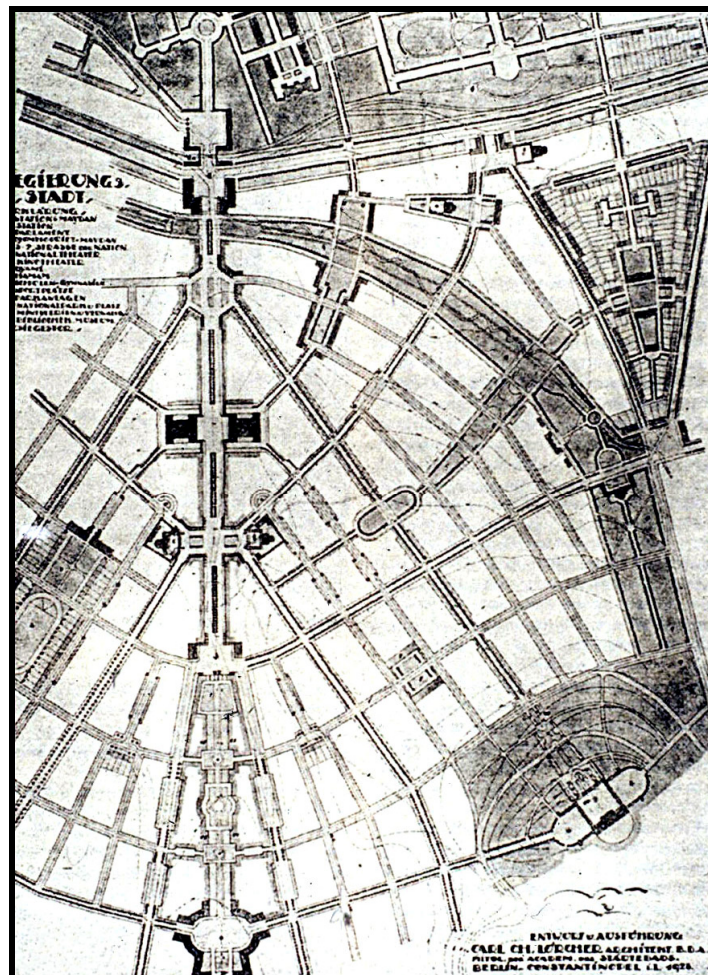## D.1 Partial Drawing, Lörcher Plan

Figure D. 1 Partial Drawing of Lörcher Plan

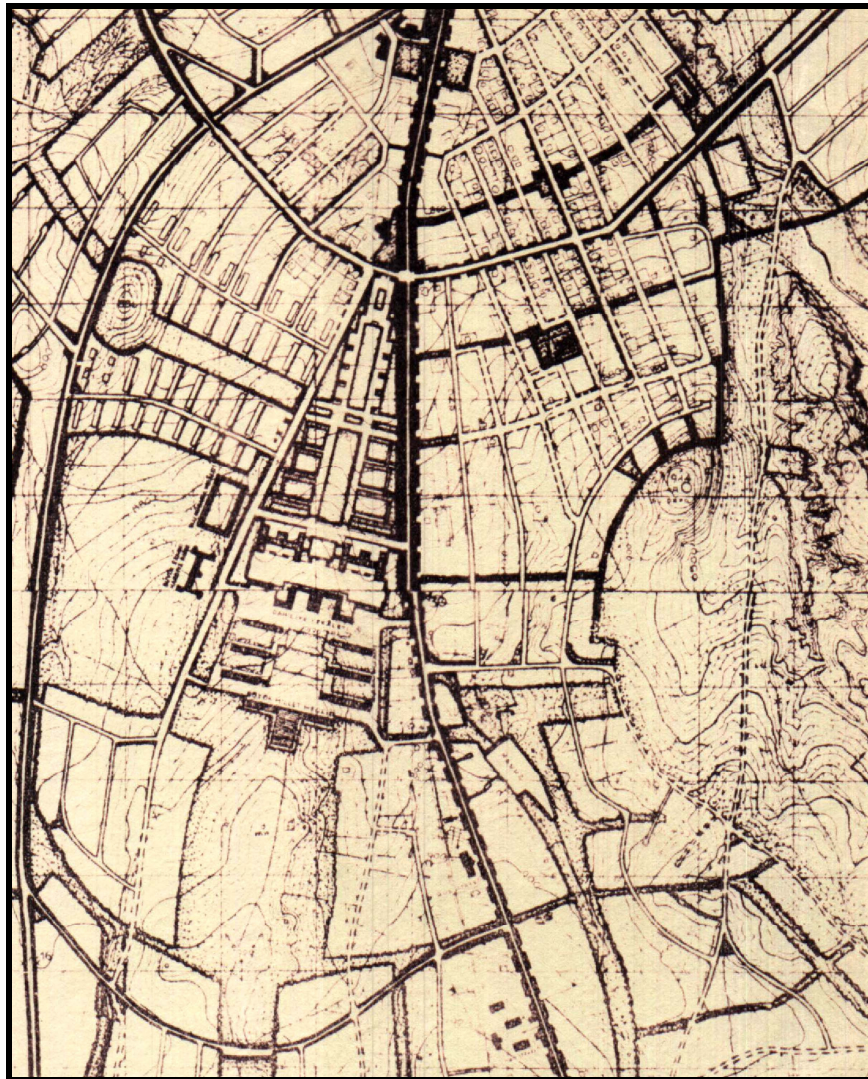**D.2 Partial Drawing, Governmental District, Jansen Plan 1932**

Figure D. 2 Partial Drawing, Governmental District, Jansen Plan 1932

D.3 Partial Drawing, Governmental District and Parliament, Yucel-Uybadin 1957
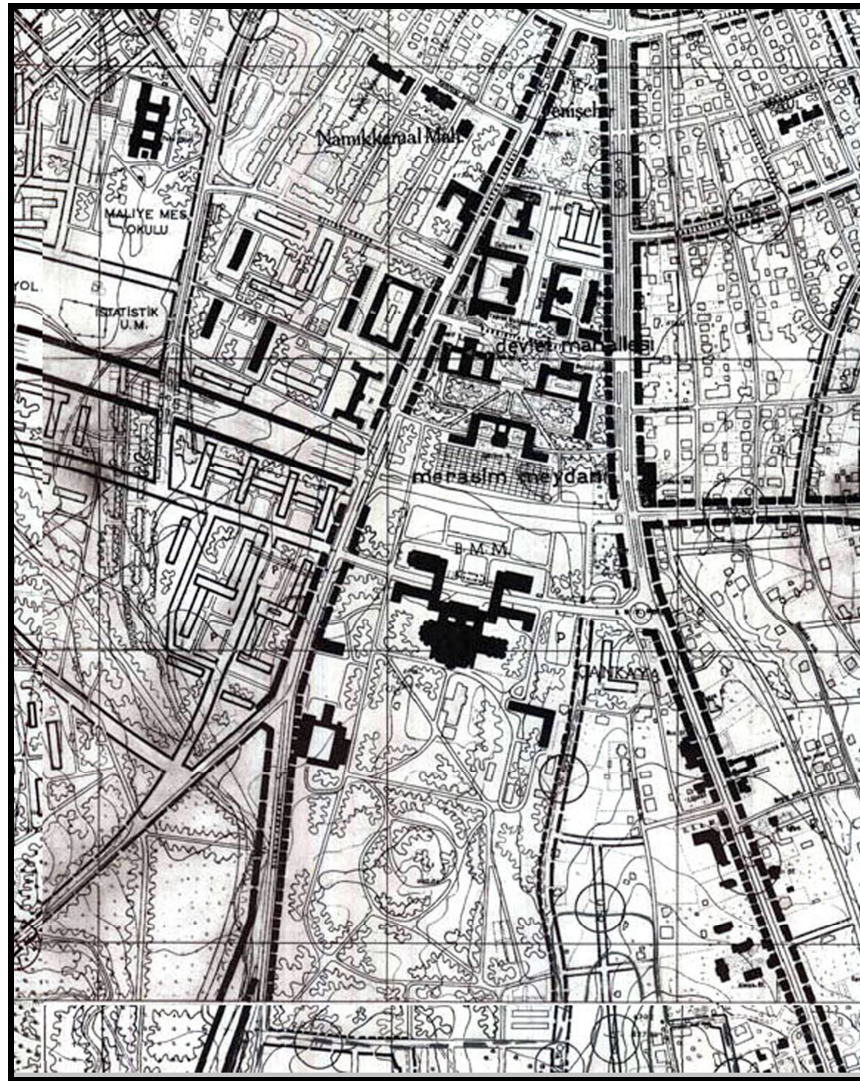

Figure D. 3 Partial Drawing, Governmental District And Parliament, Yucel-Uybadin 1957

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20. INTERNATIONAL BUILDING AND LIFE CONGRESS, "Power and Architecture", UCTEA Chamber of Architects, Bursa Section, Bursa, Turkey, 20-22 March 2008
Paper presented and published, Demirkol, H. G., "**Party Headquarters Buildings from the Viewpoint of Power and Architecture Relations**"

20. INTERNATIONAL BUILDING AND LIFE CONGRESS, "Power and Architecture", UCTEA Chamber of Architects, Bursa Section, Bursa, Turkey, 20-22 March 2008
Paper presented and published, Güneş, S. & Demirkol, H. G., "**Shopping Centers as a Tool for Economical Power in Organizing Consumption: the Effects on Urban Transportation System**"

XVII. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AESTHETICS, "Aesthetics Bridging Cultures", Sanart in Collaboration with International Association of Aesthetics, Ankara, Turkey, 9-13 July 2007.
Paper Presented, Abstract Published, "**Assembly Park: The Stage of the Parliament?**"

17. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PEOPLE ENVIRONMENT STUDIES, La Coruna, Spain, 21-28 July 2002.
Paper Presented, Abstract Published, "**Constructing the Enclosed Garden in Urban Context: Jean Nouvel's Foundation Cartier**"