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UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

POST-WAR PROBLEMS OF TURKEY

1918-1925

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

Of the Graduate School

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In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Of Master of Arts

Department of History

By

Francis Marion Rust

1932

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POST-WAR PROBLEMS OF TURKEY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. The End of the World War in the Near East	1
The Armistice of Mudros.....	1
The Treaty of Sevres.....	6
II. The Advent of Mustapha Kemal.....	11
Early Life.....	11
The Rise of the Nationalists.....	16
The Erzerum Meeting and the National Pact.....	19
The Congress of Sivas.....	23
A State within a State.....	26
The Sultan and the Nationalists Agree.....	27
The New National Headquarters.....	29
The New Constantinople Parliament...	30
The Turkish Grand National Assembly.	33
The Allied Dagger and the Turkish Valley Forge.....	34
War with Armenia.....	36
Russo-Turkish Relations.....	37
III. The Greeco-Turkish War.....	40
The First Stage of the War.....	41
The Battle of Sakaria.....	45
East and West.....	45
French Recognition.....	47
British Enmity.....	48
The Greek Debacle.....	50
IV. The Lausanne Conference and Treaty.....	54
General Statement.....	54
The Story of the Conference and Treaty.....	56
V. Deposition of the Sultan and the Establishment of the Republic.....	63
Abolition of the Sultanate.....	63
The Republic at Last.....	65
The Kurdish Rebellion.....	69

CONTENTS

VI. The New Turkey.....	74
Domestic Changes.....	74
The Goal Is Reached.....	76
Appendices.....	80
Chronology of Events, 1918-1923	
Inclusive.....	80
The Mudros Armistice.....	94
Declaration of the Congress of	
Sivas.....	97
Turkish National Pact.....	100
The Treaty of Sevres.....	102
Bibliography.....	106

CHAPTER I

THE END OF THE WORLD WAR IN THE NEAR EAST

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THE END OF THE WORLD WAR IN THE NEAR EAST

The Armistice of Mudros

The World War ended for the Ottoman Empire, October 30, 1918, when the Armistice was granted her by the British Admiral Calthorpe at the mouth of the Dardanelles. The conditions of the instrument drawn up for this occasion required that the Empire hand over its navy but did not require her either to disband or disarm her armies. Neither was she required to surrender accumulated munitions of war. The only stipulated regulation regarding the army was that it be demobilized as quickly as possible, with the exception of such troops as would be needed to protect the frontiers and maintain internal order.

This mild treatment of the Turkish Army has been ascribed by some to the fact that Admiral Calthorpe, being a sailor, did not properly appreciate the possible significance of the army situation. Others point to the fact that the far-seeing and cautious group always to be found at Downing Street, may have had some inkling of eventual allied disagreement over the remains of the Ottoman Empire and that she might ultimately be able to use possible results from this provision to attain desired aims for herself.

The great British Fleet stationed just outside of the Dardanelles moved into the Bosphorus anchoring before Constantinople. A few days later the French Army under General Franchet d'Esperey, marched across the Galata Bridge and up the long hill and on through the Grand Rue Pera, the Christian Section of the ancient city, clad in gala attire for the festive occasion. It was a great day for France's acclamation in the

Near East even though the British had so hurriedly forestalled her.

Turkish Stamboul, lying west of the Bridge, usually so animated, lay in prostration. All was quiet in the streets. All business was discontinued and the very needs of daily life were not to be had. The peculiar dress of the Turkish throng was replaced by the khaki of the squads of British soldiers as they marched about guarding the streets and public buildings.

The Greeks declared that the city was to be handed over to them; the Armenians wildly cheered the Allies and put their hope in America to insure them a national area somewhere within the Turkish domain.

The Turkish situation seemed indeed hopeless. Their great armies of young men had been all but annihilated during the past eight years of almost continuous fighting. The population had been cut to pieces. Their villages and the entire countryside had been drained of grain and live stock to the point where actual hunger appeared among the people and starvation was felt in all districts. One half of the Empire had been swept away.¹ Asia Minor and a small corner of Europe now only was left to them. All strategic positions were held by foreigners. The Allies, sure of shackled Turkey's subjection, took their time to settle the German and Austrian problems. Two years passed before they agreed to final terms.

¹ Francis Marion Rust - Persian Financial Official Report, submitted Jan. 1926 to the Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

The population of the entire country including Constantinople sank into a deep somnambulance. They had heard their country called the "Sick man of Europe" for so long that they finally had begun to think it true. Their oriental fatalism led them to accept defeat and to reject any thought leading to resurrection - for was it not destiny - "Kismet" - "The Will of Allah".

The Triumvirate, Talaat, Enver, and Djemal, Unionist leaders that had led them into the War on the side of the Central Powers, at once escaped to German ships. It was hoped by the Sultan's group either to hang them or turn them over to the Allies as the War guilty ones and thus curry favor and accordingly gain some leniency in the pending final settlement.

The Sultan soon quarreled with Isset Pasha, Grand Visier, who being a man of high type resigned, and Tewfik Pasha was named to fill his place. He was former Ambassador to England and had won great favor there. With some opposition his appointment was ratified by the Turkish Parliament. The Sultan then issued an Imperial Irade dissolving the Chamber without naming a date for a new election. This of course was illegal. Thus the Sultan assumed all power. He then replaced the aged Tewfik Pasha, the Grand Visier, by his brother-in-law, Damad Ferid, the so-called English Gentleman.

The Allies were well disposed in the matter of Turkish politics and requested Damad Ferid to arrest all dangerous Unionist leaders. This he did. The reaction from this high-handed tyranny suggested by the Allies caused the Turkish commonalty to cast longingly about for some layman in whom they might find able leadership. All lines

soon began to point to a prominent but absolutely inscrutable General.

However, many thought this general to be the one behind the scenes, and perhaps responsible for the present outrage. Others thought him awaiting a chance to seize the Government by use of the army which had great faith in him. The Sultan even thought him to be in full agreement with himself and his party; that he believed in placating the Allies with the hope of gaining a better and more lenient peace for Turkey. He was besought by the many associations and individuals with plans and plots to take care of the immediate Turkish needs and future outlook. While he listened to all and sundry, he took no part in any of these ventures. All thinking Turks felt that he had definite plans for his country but that he would not divulge them.

The Allies at the time began each to plan not for the entire group but to gain national advantage. The Turks tried hard to play into the hands of the various High Commissioners. The United States alone was not planning to grab a portion of the passing Ottoman Empire. Accordingly many Turks hoped the United States would assume a mandate over their country.

At this juncture some prominent Indian Mohammedans warned Great Britain not to remove the Sultan-Caliph from Constantinople on pain of displeasing their fellow religionists in India, Egypt, and lower Arabia. Inasmuch as Great Britain had already so many Mohammedan subjects, many of the Turks put their faith in her. The society known as, The Friends of England, came into existence. It

was supported by the Turkish Government and supplied with funds from English sources. Its leaders later became the implacable foes of the Nationalists.

The Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire saw their chance for nationhood at the expense of their former masters. They accordingly organized to advance their interests. The Greeks set up committees in Thrace and other near-by points. The Armenians lying around Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, and in the eastern part of Anatolia, as well as in Cilicia, began their pressure at the Paris Peace Conference for nationhood.

The Turks naturally organized to overcome this threatened splitting up of their country. Such a defense organization developed among the Turks in the East to overcome the Armenian plan for a national area. This seemed to be necessary as the Grand Visier, Damad Ferid, seemed willing to concede a New Armenia to the Allies in order to save Constantinople. This attitude on the part of the Grand Visier so enraged the Turks of Erzerum Trebizond, Bitlis, and Van that the defense spirit rose to such a pitch that the Nationalist movement here later found its first chance to lead on in the fight for the New Turkey.

All Turkish plans at the Sublime Porte came to naught, as they were based on individual desire rather than on reality. The disagreement between the Allies upon which the Turks counted so much did not arrive at this time. In fact Great Britain could not afford to have final and irrevocable disagreement among the Allies as her second proposed bridge to India was involved.

The Treaty of Sevres

In November and December 1919, while the Allied Supreme Peace Council was yet functioning, the Turkish settlement was discussed by representatives of England, France, and Italy, in special conferences. February 16, 1920, in one of these conferences in London, it was announced that Constantinople was to be left under Turkish Suzerainty. April 24, 1921, at the San Remo Conference, the main outlines of the settlement were completed. Mandates for Syria, Cilicia, and the Lebanon were granted to the French; Adalia and Rhodes to Italy; Palestine and Mesopotamia, including Mosul, were given to Great Britain. Armenia was offered to the League of Nations and then to the United States, both refused to accept.

On May 11, 1921, the preliminary draft was handed to the Turkish delegates. It acted as a bombshell in Turkey. Every loyal citizen at once joined Kemal in spirit, if not in person, in defying the Allies. During May and June the Nationalists drove the French out of Cilicia and then began to threaten the Straits Zone. So menacing did this situation become that Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Greece, in conference at Boulogne, authorized the Greeks to begin military operation against the Nationalists. At a later date at a conference of this group at Spa, Turkish requests for modification of terms were rejected and an ultimatum was issued to the Constantinople government existing only at the Sublime Porte. This government had but little power in the capital city on account of the Allied occupation. The Allies continued to ignore the real

defacto government at Angora.

The Treaty of Sevres was signed August 10, 1920, by the powers named above and Turkey. Simultaneously a secret treaty was signed between Great Britain, France, and Italy. Also Italy and Greece signed a special agreement regarding the spoils of the Ottoman Empire.

The terms of this Sevres settlement consummated the century long dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. It was reduced from an area of 710,000 square miles, covering the whole of Asia Minor, to less than 100,000 square miles of territory, lying in the central high mountainous region of inner Anatolia. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Transjordan, Hedjaz, and Palestine were cut off from Turkey but left under British mandate. Syria and Cilicia were also taken and placed under the care of France. Southern Anatolia, including the fine port of Adalia, became subject to Italy. Smyrna and its hinterland, Thrace, Adrianople, Gallipoli, and the islands of Thenedos and Imbros were transferred to Greece. Armenia became a free Christian republic, her boundary with Turkey to be arbitrated by President Wilson. By special agreement the Dodecanese Islands, all except two, held by Italy since 1912, were transferred to Greece. Great Britain was to hold Cyprus. Her claim to Egypt and the Sudan was validated as well as the claim of France to Tunisia and Morocco.

The coast of the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus became an International Zone of the Straits under The League of Nations with a commission of English, French, Italian, Japanese,

Rumanian, and Turkish members.

The Capitulations abrogated in 1914 by the Sultan were revived and emphasized. Turkey was made responsible for the cost of the military occupation and her own army was reduced to 50,000 soldiers. An Allied financial commission was to supervise taxation, customs, loans, currency, control the Turkish Budget, and ratify and reject Turkish economic concessions. All this was to be done in the language of the Tripartite agreement "to help Turkey to develop her resources and to avoid the international rivalries which had obstructed these objects in the past."

Though the Treaty of Sevres was accepted by the Constantinople Government, it was immediately rejected by the Grand National Assembly at Angora. The situation caused by the various and divergent interests of the Allies led at once to serious consequences. By a series of brilliant military campaigns, Mustapha Kemal had by October 1920, obliterated the Armenian Republic; rendered the French position in Cilicia untenable; forced the British Army of Occupation back into the Ismid Peninsula and compelled the Italian forces to retreat back into the port of Adalia.

France, menaced by an Arab rebellion in Syria, unable to hold Cilicia, unwilling to add to her army of 100,000 soldiers already in the Near East, dissatisfied with the share allotted to her from the spoils, and in fear of the advance of British interests in the mid-east, decided to scrap the Treaty of Sevres and make peace with the Nationalists. Therefore, on March 9, 1921, in London, a treaty

was signed by these parties. This instrument provided that the Nationalists should recognize the special social and cultural interests of France in Turkey; confirmed French interests in the Bagdad Railway and promised them concessions in Cilicia and in southern Armenia. On the other hand, France was to evacuate Cilicia; readjust the Turko-Syrian border and adopt a more benevolent attitude toward the Grand National Assembly at Angora.

The Italians holding on to Adalia by the skin of their teeth, already detesting the Treaty of Sevres because it turned over to the hated Greeks lands formerly assigned to them, on March 13, also signed a treaty with the Nationalists. It provided that she withdraw her troops from Turkish soil and support the demands of the Nationalists for all lands named in the Sivas National Pact, including Smyrna and Thrace. Thus Italy in scrapping the Treaty of Sevres took the opportunity to strike a blow at her Levantine rival, Greece.

On March 16, the Nationalists were overjoyed to learn that their representatives had signed a treaty in Moscow with the U.S.S.R. Russia refused to recognize the Treaty of Sevres and disclaimed imperialistic designs in Turkey; ceded Kars and Ardahan outright to Turkey and declared the capitulations to be null and void.

On October 20, 1921, France confirmed and elaborated her March 9th agreement with the Nationalists. This open siding with the enemy led to active opposition on the part of Great Britain.

In the two years' struggle between Greece and Turkey, she aided the former, while both France and Italy aided in every way possible the Nationalists, who after crushing the Greeks at EskiShehr and at Smyrna pushed on to Chanak. The Armistice of Mudania followed. This agreement left Smyrna and eastern Thrace to the Turks and also gave them the administrative control of Constantinople pending the formulation of a new Peace treaty to replace the discarded Treaty of Sevres.

CHAPTER II

THE ADVENT OF MUSTAPHA KEMAL

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THE ADVENT OF MUSTAPHA KEMALEarly Life

Mustapha Kemal was born in Saloniki in 1880 of a family of considerable political importance, though of limited finances. His mother insisted that his first school be that of the Mohammedan clerical order but his father, a modern and progressive individual, soon transferred him to an up-to-date school patterned after western standards. From this institution, while still in his youth, he was sent to the National Turkish Cadet Training school. He took naturally to military training and here immediately showed himself to be the natural leader of his fellow students.

He grew up to be slender but strong, and six feet in height. He had blue eyes and light hair and though not of extreme type was of light complexion. These physical attributes, coupled with his serious inscrutable countenance and his taciturnity, marked him at once as an unusual individual. His immaculate appearance and sober bearing set him apart immediately as one to command.

He fought in the Young Turk struggle in 1907-8. Even at this early age he saw quite clearly the difficulties confronting his country and tried to aid in working out these problems. At the outbreak of the Turko-Italian troubles in 1911 at Tripoli in North Africa, he hurried to the scene via Syria, Suaz and across the north end of Egypt, eluding capture by British Agents by the clever ruse of causing a friendly Egyptian officer to arrest another blonde Turk

for himself, thus enabling him to pass over the border and into the War Zone.

Here he fought under Enver Bey, then in the bright glory of his first rapid rise to power. The sober, painstaking, matter-of-fact Kemal did not agree with Enver Bey on several fundamentals. In consequence an enmity developed between these two men that never healed. The war ended in favor of Italy and Kemal returned to Turkey, where he as usual was soon in difficulties with the authorities because of his disagreements about political trends and situations.

In the World War he distinguished himself in two ways. First, he did not believe in the German Alliance and when on a mission to that country with Vahededdin, the Turkish Crown Prince, just before the last great German effort to break through on the western front in France, asked so many detailed and pointed questions of Ludendorf, Von Hindenburg, and even the Kaiser that he gave national offense. He pointed out to Vahededdin that the Central Powers could not succeed in the West and could not and would not in the end properly safeguard Turkey.

Secondly, at Gallipoli it was Kemal who really won the battle against the Allies. Here refusing to follow German official direction in the battle, he proved that he was more than their equal in point of generalship and as a technician and strategist in war.

Therefore, Mustapha Kemal was by no means unknown at the close of the World War. The rank and file of the Turkish soldiery had the

utmost faith in him. His close mouthed reticence and his manner of non-discussion of public questions left him at all times to others as a possible enemy or friend. All parties seemed to feel that he was either with them or perhaps against them. Because of this inscrutability, he finally secured authoritative command from both the Sultan and the Allied General Staff in Constantinople in 1919 to go to the interior to quell disturbances and restore order. He proceeded to the eastern provinces of Turkey and there at once began the organization of his fellow countrymen for the fight to the last ditch to free his nation of foreign influence and troops and to make Turkey a land for the Turks. He thus finally broke open the fetters laid upon his nation by the Allied Powers at the close of the War.

The Turks saw that the Allies intended to divide up their country; that a mandate meant their inability to manage for themselves; that the end for them as a people had come. Mustapha Kemal saw more than his fellows. He clearly saw that the Ottoman Empire could not be saved; that it should not be saved; that it was dead already; that the Sultan-Caliph, like the Pan-Islamic idea, was but a shadow. He saw that a clean break with the past must be made and that but one reality remained, namely, that of a sound undivided Turkish body politic running from the Caucasus Mountains west to the Mediterranean and from the Black Sea south to Syrian Arabia. He caught the meaning implied in the word, nation and nationality as promulgated by the western powers; that there would finally arise a

mighty host declaring that Turkey should be a land for the Turks. Its government must be of, by, and for the people as a whole and in it there would finally be no place for either Sultan or Caliph.

But how could such a nation of Turks be established? The poor but faithful people at large could not think of even disturbing their relations to their temporal and spiritual ruler, the Sultan-Caliph. Then, too, the great Powers of the Entente whose armies had forced capitulation from mighty Germany and Austria held fast to the Turkish Capitol and guarded all important cities and towns of the whole country. What chance could even a most determined Turkish group have? Was not their land ruined? Were not the people worn entirely out by the war just closed? But one man saw the great Turkish chance. He alone saw that the World War had profoundly hurt the victors and that the conquering nations of Europe were hurt so badly that their people would refuse to fight an imperialistic campaign even though commanded to do so. He knew, too, that he could by a national effort, sustained by all of the Turkish people, gain concessions from these conquering nations which hoped to swallow up his country, when disagreements provoked by himself appeared among them.

At the beginning this matchless leader told his associates that the Sultan was virtually a prisoner in Constantinople, and that he could only do the bidding of the Allies. "Therefore," said he, "if the National Government could be shifted to the

interior, the people might rally to it in the interest of the Padishah."¹ In this way national pressure, not hostility to the Allies, might be brought on the Allies in such a way as to show the inherent strength of Turkey and prove that she should not be dismembered. The whole people must assist in such an effort. All was to be peaceful. No good word could be said for Damad Ferid's Government for was he not willing to grant actual Turkish lands to the Greeks and Armenians. But the Padishah should be saved at all costs.

Following this Mustapha Kemal, through his friend, Djavid, secured a Command sanctioned by the Allies to go to the eastern provinces to control the situation where there had been much trouble among the Armenians, Kurds, and Turks. He requested definite authoritative command with special powers and secured them as he was regarded as a friend of the Sultan. His instructions were drawn up by the Allied General Staff, but he soon changed them to suit himself. However, the Allied General Staff sent copies of these altered orders to all control officers in Asia Minor. These instructions made him Governor General of the Eastern Vilayets. He left Constantinople, May 15, 1919, for Samsun.

1

'Padishah' as used by the Mohammedan World before the Turkish Revolution meant something like the words 'Holy Father' to the Catholic World.

The Rise of the Nationalists

On May 19, 1919, Mustapha Kemal Pasha landed in Samsun, a center for national organization work for both the Armenians and Greeks; the former for a Greater Armenia lying east and south; the latter for the establishment of the New Pontus. The Turks were to be left to subjection or to emigration. Here as elsewhere in the nation the Turks were greatly dejected. They were worn almost to the point of submission. In fact they were so fatigued both physically and mentally that they would not have objected to Allied Occupation of Smyrna or any other city. Being of traditional military stock, the Turks took such procedure as the natural right of the conqueror. But to have the hated Greeks lord it over them within their own house was too much. They had not been at war with Greece. They at once saw that the occupation was scheduled to be permanent and that actual dissolution of their nation had begun. They saw at last the real aim of the Allies.

The fagged and jaded spirit of the entire nation rose immediately in a spirit of desperation. The Allies had unintentionally given Mustapha Kemal his chance and he quickly seized it. They had played right into his hands when they listened to the plea of Venizelos to occupy Smyrna in the name of the Allies. In Paris the imperialistic nations had overstepped themselves. Selfishness here destroyed itself.

Mustapha Kemal's first concern upon arriving in the Eastern Provinces was to make sure of the Turkish Army in Asia Minor. There

were six army corps consisting of twenty or thirty regiments which had perhaps in all twenty thousand men - almost one division of actual fighting strength. This army was scattered all over the vast territory. There were no roads other than the ancient ox-cart trails. As for railroads there were none. The Allies controlled the Berlin to Bagdad Railway line, at this time only partially builded.

He had but two of the six Army Corps directly under his control, but he at once contacted the other four. The Commandant at Konia could not agree to his demands and asked to go on leave to Constantinople from which place he did not return. His place was filled by an officer favorable to this spirited Brigadier General, Mustapha Kemal.

In order to be free from Allied interference, he established his headquarters at Anasia directly inland from Samsun which was held by British troops. While he had both civil and military authority only in the two eastern provinces, he soon extended this authority over the entire nation through the military commanders which had come to acknowledge his leadership. He also misled them and other important Turkish leaders by causing them to think that the movement he was inaugurating had the secret approval of the Sultan. This coupled with the fact that his orders bore the stamp of the Allied General Staff, disarmed all suspicion. He saw to it that the Smyrna affair was broadcast in details and ordered all commandants and governors to hold demonstrations of national character and that telegrams be sent representing Turkish national interests to all

the great powers represented at Constantinople and to the Sublime Porte itself.

All Vilayets responded except Trebizond which was occupied by foreign troops. Thus the Turkish nation began to rise. The foreign representatives stationed throughout the country at once discerned who was leading and directing this great national activity and reported promptly to their chiefs, the Allied Commissioners in Constantinople, who immediately saw their mistake in this General and demanded that Damad Ferid recall him at once.

France, not too friendly to England, took the Grand Visier, Damad Ferid, accompanied by a Turkish delegation on a special cruiser to Paris. England to check-mate this move caused the old English sympathizer, Tewfik Pasha, to pretend illness at the departure of the French cruiser, only later to be carried to the Peace Conference on an English cruiser. The only fly in the ointment, so thought the Turkish delegation, was the obstinate General in inner Anatolia.

The Erzerum Meeting and the National Pact

Mustapha Kemal accordingly received orders from the Grand Visier to come to Constantinople at once and report his progress in the work undertaken. He at once wired in return: "I shall remain in Anatolia until the nation has won its independence."¹ Thus the die was cast. Kemal had crossed his Rubicon.

He secured the Army in a month but he did not propose to head a military revolution. While he certainly did not need nor wish local official squabbling, yet his plan so thoroughly thought out during the years consisted in a national insurrection which would necessarily be wrought by the people themselves.

No great movement of the sort he had in mind could be carried out except by a mandate given by the people themselves. The principles of a modern democracy must apply. The majority must in this case rule. No one leader, not even Mustapha Kemal, could act in his own name but he must act in the name of all the people.

The Greek occupation aroused all Turkey and Mustapha Kemal issued a call via the military controlled telegraph lines for a general conference to be held in Sivas, in inaccessible central Anatolia. The message ran: "The country is in danger. The Central Government is no longer capable of performing its functions. The independence of our land can only be preserved by the will and energy

1

Von Mikusch - Mustapha Kemal, p. 198.

of the nation. It has been resolved to hold a general conference in Sivas. Each district may send three delegates. This project must be kept secret."¹

Of course Constantinople learned of this movement and ordered all commandants and governors to pay no attention to it. While these governmental counterorders held back the movement somewhat, the conference idea continued to develop.

Since the Armenian movement to establish nationality at Erzerum continued to advance something had to be done immediately. The Turkish leaders of that district called a conference to be held there early in 1919. Here Mustapha Kemal was contacted by wire by the Central Government and begged to comply. Upon his stern refusal he was removed from command and the fact communicated to all commanders in the nation. These officers were further told that intercourse with Kemal would be considered as high treason. Thus reduced to an individual status, he called together all his intimates and associates and explained clearly the dangers that lay ahead. He pointed out that but one man must lead and that those who thought him not the proper one should drop out of the movement he now headed. All agreed to remain with him but with the expressed condition that no action should be taken against the Sultan and Caliph.²

¹

Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 200.

²

Ibid., pp. 201-202.

On July 23, 1919, a few of the faithful met in a school-house at Erzerum and inaugurated the first actual legal step toward a new Turkey. The congress lasted fourteen days in direct opposition to the Central Government in Constantinople. Mustapha Kemal was elected President of the Conference.¹

At this stage the sagging revolution received great impetus again from the Peace Conference in Paris. First, Turkey saw what was handed to Germany. Second, Clemenceau's sarcastic caustic reply to Damad Ferid's plea for Turkey and, third, the courteous request for the Turkish delegation to leave Paris, aroused all Turkey. When this information reached the conference at Erzerum, the following resolution was passed: "The Nation is an indivisible unity. With one accord the entire East will resist the occupation and the interference of the foreigners. If the Constantinople government refuses to do this, then a provisional government will undertake to administer the affairs of state." This resolution finally became the basis of the National Pact, the Magna Charta of New Turkey.²

The findings of this first Nationalist Assembly or Conference were written out in a manifesto, copies of which were sent to the Sublime Porte and to all members of the Entente. It clearly showed

1

Mears, "Modern Turkey", p. 560, and Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 207.

2

Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 209, The nation is an indivisible unity. With one accord the entire East will resist the occupation and the interference of the foreigner. If the Constantinople Government refuses to do this, then a provisional government will undertake the administration of affairs.

Mears, Select Document, No. 18, pp. 629-630. Modern Turkey.

that the movement had no connection whatever with the former Young Turk movement. It portrayed the defense slogan as against the Greeks and Armenians only but could easily when necessary take in the Allied nations. It expressed loyalty to the Central Government at Constantinople. This did not deceive the Sultan who wished to crush the movement by proper and energetic military operations. The Allies, however, would not hear his pleas for permission to organize the army and thus again unconsciously played into the hands of the Nationalists.

The Sultan then sent emissaries to the hinterland areas to stir up risings against the Christian populations. The Nationalists counteracted this as much as possible. The Allies still would not listen to the Sultan's plea for permission to organize his army. Vahededdin wished to arm new troops but the Armistice terms called for demobilization of troops and thus the Allies insisted on the 'letter of the law' even though it did finally mean their undoing! They did strengthen all garrisons in the areas affected. The Nationalists' troops were ordered to molest neither these foreign troops nor the Christian population. Mustapha Kemal did not think the time had come for crushing either the foreigners or the local opposing Christian population. The time finally came when both were ejected from the New Turkey.

The Congress of Sivas

While the revolutionary tendencies were shown at the Erzerum Conference, the rulings only applied to the eastern provinces. It remained for the coming Sivas gathering to extend the cause to all Turkey.

It met September 4, 1919. Mustapha Kemal against the will of many demanded the sole leadership. He again stated that history proved that no great movement succeeded except through the leadership of a single individual. He was chosen chairman of the Congress, and the usual address of loyalty to the Sultan was delivered.

The question of the American Mandate over Turkey was discussed. All leaders except Kemal were favorable to it. None but he dreamed that poor broken Turkey could out-match or out-fight the victorious Allies. The general cry was, "Turkey cannot exist without outside assistance. In the twentieth century it is impossible for a nation with a debt of fifty million pounds, with its possessions devastated, a soil that is scantily productive, and sources of revenue scarcely worth mentioning to live without the support of foreign nations." "A Mandate does not exclude independence."¹ "We avoid in this way the protectorate of England, that reduces communities to slavery." "What else can we do without money, without an army, and with our disunited population?"

1

D. Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 214.

Had the motion passed the great General with his eyes fixed on the new democratic republic of Turkey would have been unhorsed. But he cleverly sidetracked the American Mandate question and secured a request for the American Government to send a commission to Turkey to inquire into the conditions of the country.

While such debates were going on, it was learned that the Sultan's efforts to crush the Nationalists gathered at Sivas was taking actual form at Malatia, a Kurdish stronghold. The Nationalist Commandant at this city wired Sivas that he was too weak to withstand their troops headed by the Governor, Ali Galib, who was loyal to Constantinople. Action had to be hastily taken and the conference brought to an end. The Nationalist Pact was again passed but therein was declared hostility against the Allied Powers as well as against the Greeks and Armenians. The exact area destined for New Turkey was at this Congress definitely outlined. It was clearly stated in the document that this area would be defended at all costs. The territory claimed was all that lying north of a line running from Alexandretta on the Mediterranean to Mosul, the City of Constantinople and the province of Thrace.

The Kurds were easily driven back to their mountains. Ali Galib escaped but left behind his Constantinople correspondence which showed that the Sultan, Damad Ferid, and the Allied Powers had planned the attack on Sivas. Kemal omitted the part played by the Sultan and used the information against the Central Government under the Grand Visier, Damad Ferid, and the Allied General Staff

to stir up the people against them. The people, still loyal to the Sultan-Caliph, declared that he had been deceived and would in time, when he learned the facts, retaliate against them. The presence of an English Officer in Malatia also strengthened the belief of the people in foreign interference with their natural rights.

The shielding of the Sultan was an absolute necessity as no Turkish soldier would have joined the movement otherwise. An attack was made at once on Damad Ferid. Many telegrams were sent to the Sultan, demanding his dismissal. The Grand Visier refused to pass these telegrams to the Sultan, upon which the Nationalists issued to him an ultimatum. They stated that unless he would allow free communication with the Palace, all communications would be cut off. Only an hour's time was granted for a reply. No reply being received within this time, all relations between the Nationalists and Constantinople were severed. Those officials not willing to carry out the will of the Nationalists were arrested and replaced with the proper personnel. Other lines not so easily controlled were cut. Thus the general public were literally forced into a revolution through the weakness of the Central Government. From Sivas came the word that the Nationalists Conference would carry on the government for the entire country.

While able leaders feared Mustapha Kemal might repeat the exploits of Enver Bey, yet they were forced to abide by the decisions of the Nationalists' Executive Committee which was, of course, dominated by the General.

A State within a State

The Sultan deserted by his English friends as well as the other Allied Commissioners, begged the Nationalists for peace. Constantinople had become a head without a body. Kemal demanded the dismissal of Damad Ferid as Grand Visier and the calling of a Parliament as the price of cooperation. Damad Ferid resigned and Ali Kisa Pasha became Grand Visier. Mustapha Kemal thanked the Sultan in the name of the nation (the Sultan only had the right to speak for the nation) and resumed the communication with Constantinople. But the Sivas National Committee continued to work even more strongly than before. It soon became a government within a government.

Heading toward a Republic, Mustapha Kemal could not afford to give up this so-called second government. By one pretext and another he kept this group together. Friction soon developed. The Nationalists gained steadily even in Constantinople. The old fatalism and dejection began to give way to hope and action in the heart of every true Turk. Soon Kemal was honored in the Capitol itself. The Allies sealed their future loss in the Capitol and in all Turkey by their high-handed treatment of the Turks in Constantinople. As an occasion of this treatment, the following incident was related to the writer by an eye witness. A big burly Captain leading a group of British soldiers struck a poor Turkish officer with his riding crop, calling out to him as he did so, "Don't you ever fail again to salute a British officer."

The Turkish officer rubbed the mark made on his face, stepped back, pulled his army pistol, killed the Captain, and then placing the pistol to his temple, blew out his own brains.

The Sultan and the Nationalists Agree

The people of Constantinople losing all hope in the Allied Powers came to demand the same thing as the Nationalists: that all of Turkey must remain Turkish; that the Allies could not have an inch of that territory named in the Pact. The Powers sensed the rising strength in Sivas and sent representatives there. The General left this matter clear in their minds. Turkey was to be a land for the Turks. No Turkish territory was for sale or gift. These representatives returned to their masters declaring that the man was impossible. He could not be treated with nor reasoned with at all.

It became evident to Mustapha Kemal that the strong words of the Nationalists must be backed up by actual strength. Therefore the Turkish army was reorganized and supplies stored wherever possible. The peculiar thing was that this was done under both the eyes and nose of the Allies. They did nothing to stop this new, and to them, dangerous movement. The facts are the Allied Powers, seeing the new power rising, tried to placate Mustapha Kemal. Each of the Powers tried to gain her own advantage at the expense of the others. They did not work in harmony. In this they demonstrated that they failed utterly to properly gauge the situation.

Russia, under the Bolsheviks, was gaining ground daily. Great

Britain had virtually been kicked out of the Caucasus and the Baku oil fields. Troubles arose in Afghanistan. Thus the British Lion and the Russian Bear again faced each other with menacing snarls. It was even rumored that Angora had actually made a treaty with her sister outlaw, Moscow. This really aroused the Allies. At last the home governments and the Peace Conference began to listen to their High Commissioners in Constantinople. But upon the most august and mature governmental examination of the situation, the Allies declared that it was absurd to think that the Turkish Rabble - the so-called Nationalists - could actually affect the great Allies Powers - the conquerors in the World War.

On November 8, 1919, Lloyd George outlined the general plan of the Peace Conference, relative to the Ottoman Empire. The Arabs, Greeks, and Armenians were to have lands given them under Allied controlled mandates; France was to receive Cilicia and Syria, and England was to have all Arabia including the Tigris and Euphrates vallies and the oil fields of Mosul. The Straits with Constantinople were to be held on an international basis and were not to be turned back to the Turks.

Wise old England accordingly turned over Cilicia and Syria to the French and withdrew her troops from Anatolia but of course kept watch over the Sublime Porte as here only she still retained an actual interest.

The French, not having sufficient troops to hold Cilicia, organized from local sources an Armenian Legion. This move brought

hope to many of this group of the Turkish Minority and they returned from Syria and other points to the area joining the French Garrisons. They, of course, took over much property formerly belonging to them but now having been in Turkish hands for several years. This so incensed the Turks that real battles all over Cilicia began at once.

The Nationalists, fully realizing the weakness of the French, advanced into Cilicia and attacked them in force. It was actual war. All France was electrified. This new Turkish General, Mustapha Kemal, had even dared to attack a great Power and at that immediately after Allied unity had been internationally declared. He must surely be insane. He certainly would have to pay dearly for this affront.

The New National Headquarters

The Nationalist success in the eastern provinces gradually extended westward and in December, 1919, Mustapha Kemal established his headquarters at Angora. This ancient Turkish capitol was chosen because of its impregnability and for its valuable central location. There was perhaps also a bit of sentiment involved. Angora lies between two high mountains just up from the great central Anatolian plain, and was still protected by great, high, thick walls. The one railroad of the city is a branch of the great central Turkish line. It runs westward from Angora to Eskishehr to join the main line. Thus the National leaders could study and watch events in the West and South as well as in Constantinople.

The Country eastward was already safe.¹

The New Constantinople Parliament

The new parliamentary election, true to the new force in Turkey, chose a large majority of Nationalists. Mustapha Kemal was elected a member but he cannily refused to go to Constantinople. Damad Ferid's Party was scarcely represented at all.

Kemal held a preliminary meeting of the Nationalists group in Angora and instructed them to elect him president in his absence. The Parliament opened, January 11, 1920, in Constantinople. Now that an actual Turkish Congress had convened, it should have, of course, become the real government of the nation. But at the suggestion of Rauf Bey, always a secret opponent of Kemal, a nonentity was chosen instead of Kemal. This attitude towards the great leader was prompted by the general fear that he wished, like Enver Bey, to become a dictator. The Parliament did, however, adopt the National Pact as promulgated at Erzerum and Sivas.

It began to look like the restoration of the Sultan-Caliph power as Great Britain notified the Parliament that Constantinople was to be left under his rule. The Allies could not agree as to the disposition of this important city. This attitude on the part of the Allies spoke well for the accomplishments of the Nationalists. Many felt that it was well to keep the good will of the Allies at all costs. For was not the peace possibilities the one important

¹

Mears, Modern Turkey; Passim; Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, pp. 231-265.

matter?

While this group of Turkish legislators permitted much Allied interference, they finally yielded to the strong Ankara admonitions of Kemal. Men, money, and equipment were continually sent to the interior. Instead of the cessation of hostilities the fighting in the Smyrna region and in Cilicia continued. Foreign troops had been pushed out of east Cilicia where a French garrison had been granted permission to leave but when outside their fortification they were massacred. These successes of the Nationalists aroused and elated the Constantinople Parliament, resulting in Nationalist dominance.

The Allies saw that they were being openly flouted and that something would have to be done at once. The Prime Ministers of the Allies in conference in London declared that things had to be changed in Turkey. On March 16, 1920, military control in Constantinople was tightened in disciplinary manner. English troops overcame all Turkish Guards and took over all public offices and local police powers. Many prominent Turks were arrested and sent to Malta where they were kept for two years.

This action instead of improving the Allied position in Turkey infinitely reduced it. It put into Mustafa Kemal's hands the exact instrument he needed - martial law in Constantinople - to bring the nation as a whole to his cause. The Turks lost all belief and hope in English justice and found its one hope in the new Nationalists movement. Sultan Vaheddin still clung to England.

Many of the Nationalist Parliament delegates in Constantinople escaped to Anatolia and again joined Mustapha Kemal in the committee meetings in Angora which again assumed governing powers. This Allied blunder thus again put the great Turkish leader in power in Turkey.

Being informed by wire of the condition of Constantinople, Mustapha Kemal attacked the English and Italian garrisons and drove them out of Anatolia. He then ordered a new election. The new parliament was to have no connection whatever with that congress so ruthlessly closed by the Allies in Constantinople or with any previous Assembly. Angora was to be the new capitol. At last Mustapha Kemal, thanks to Allied interference, had succeeded in bringing the capitol and government for continuous and an undetermined period to the center of the new Turkish nation. Here his word was eventually to be the wish of all. His decisions would become the law of the land. He saw to it that all foreigners were banished from the interior. There was no room for Greeks or Armenians as well.

For the three following years these staunch Turks remained in Angora cut off from Constantinople. Here hardship, scanty fare, and uncomfortable quarters well fitted these patriots for the fierce battles ahead of them. The usual romantic ease and fatalism faded away, and hard, fearless, realistic characteristics became the attributes of all.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly

The Assembly met, April 23, 1920, on Friday, the Mohammedan Sunday, and proceeded to a Mosque. Two sheep were slaughtered on its threshold as of ancient custom. A Mollah, Mohammedan Priest, offered the usual prayer for the Sultan-Caliph. Such religious meetings were ordered over all the land. Kemal still needed the piety of his countrymen. Had he omitted it at this time, utter ruin would have attended.

It was declared that inasmuch as the Sultan-Caliph was in the power of the Allies, the Assembly would assume all power of government. This, in fact, established a Republic as the leader desired. He was elected president of both the Assembly and its Ministry, which gave him both executive and legislative authority. Everything culminated in him. There was of course much resistance and he established the Courts of Independence which had power to declare mere opposition as high treason. This institution did not exceed reason and in no way resembled the Checks of Russia.

All state revenues were taken by this Nationalists group and soon the Sultan and his government entourage at Constantinople were helpless. Still with British gold and the final official permission of the Allies, an effort was to be made to crush the Nationalists. This effort at first succeeded as many were still loyal to the Padishah. One whole division of Nationalist troops was captured, and the Sultan's army at one time came close to Angora. It began to look like the end of the Nationalist cause.

But at this point (near the end of May, 1920) the Peace Terms were made known and the situation changed over night. All Turks saw that it really meant the end of the Ottoman Empire and their complete subjection; that their one hope could only be in the Angora Group of stalwarts. All soldiers at once left the Sultan's army and entered the Nationalist army. Thus again the Allied powers had played into Kemal's hands. The Sultan's army was easily beaten and even Constantinople was threatened. The British forces placed at Ismid to protect the neutral area only checked them after a hard two days' struggle. Another Nationalist Army ready for battle came up from Thrace on the west side of the city. The Allied High Commissioners packed up and otherwise made ready for flight.

Lloyd George and Lord Curzon realized that the end was approaching. They saw the hand of Moscow, the ancient enemy of England. Already unrest was obtaining in India and war with Turkey might possibly mean the marching south through the Caucasus and Persia as well as Anatolia of the Russian Legions.

The French were also in a serious situation. The Turks had beaten them in Cilicia. In addition to this Syria was in an uproar and they were in trouble both on the Rhine and in North Africa. What was to be done?

The Allied Dagger and the Turkish Valley Forge

Venezelos came forward at this point begging to be the Allied Dagger. He explained that Greece could be paid in Anatolian territory. At the Conference of Hythe, attended by General Foch and

other Allied military experts, Greece was given this permission. They were allowed to occupy all of Thrace, thus cleaning up the back door of Constantinople and the Straits. France urged dispatch that Turkish pressure in Cilicia might be lessened. The whole British fleet in the Mediterranean took position in the Bosphorus. On June 22, 1920, the Greek army left Smyrna for the interior.

While Angora tried to strengthen her western front, it was impossible to do much as too many of her troops were in the eastern provinces. This western Turkish army did not have the appearance of one. The soldiers were barefoot and ragged beyond belief. Their rifles were of all makes from the ancient blunderbus to the modern Remington. Farm and shop-trained boys stood along-side professional thieves and caravan robbers. They all had one thing in common - the short spoken staccato military language of the ancient conqueror Turks.

Facing this rabble were the Greeks. They outnumbered them three to one. Each Greek soldier, armed in the most modern fashion, and thoroughly trained stood ready to go forward. Beside these advantages the Greek officers were accompanied by experienced English officers as advisers. As a result of this inequality, the Turks were beaten. The Greeks then pushed on taking all towns, cities, and the one great north and south railway line.

Another Greek army in Thrace completely wiped out the Turkish force behind Constantinople in Europe, even capturing the Turkish

General in command. It thus began to appear that Mustapha Kemal had been bluffing the entire world and that after all the Nationalists cause was slipping into oblivion. At the Assembly in Angora he had much trouble to pacify those who wished to try, and if found guilty, hang the officers of the beaten Turkish army. He shrewdly accused the Sultan of being the one responsible for the National military collapse. He pointed out that this army was worn out from its efforts to crush the Sultan-Caliph's onset and the putting down of the insurrection instigated by the Grand Visier, Damad Ferid. He declared that the leaders had done all they could.

The so-called Moderate Party in the Assembly took advantage of the situation to press their plea for coming to terms with the Government in Constantinople, hoping thus to ameliorate final peace terms of the Allies.

Kemal, however, would not hear of anything less than an absolutely free Turkey. The general poverty and dejection of the people grew rapidly more intense and Kemal saw that something had to be done to revive the spirit of the country.

War with Armenia

The Armenian Republic under the protectorate of England had been formed with Kars as its capitol. It hoped to extend its territory from Batum and Trebizond on the Black Sea southward to Persia taking in Erzerum, Van, and Bitlis. This had been granted in the Treaty of Sevres but England had been practically forced out of the Caucasus by the Soviets. Armenia had nothing but this treaty on paper to

back up her claims. Constant fighting between them and the Turks of this area gave Kemal a chance to issue an ultimatum to the Armenian Republic which was followed by an immediate declaration of war. The Armenians proved unable to withstand the Turks and their capitol was taken. Poor Armenia was forced to give up all territory except that of Erivan in the south Caucasus. This, too, would have been forfeited to the Nationalists had not the Bolsheviks hurriedly taken it over via the usual insurrection route. Russia also retook Batum but agreed to recognize the Armenian-Turkish Treaty of Giumri. Thus Turkey had secured territory lost to the Russian Empire in 1877.¹

Russo-Turkish Relations

This successful campaign in the east restored the flagging spirit of the people; freed Angora from possible rear attack; and brought direct boundary-line contact with Soviet Russia. This last item meant much. Both countries were unrecognized by western nations. They soon saw eye to eye relative to their struggles to exist. Russia realized that the National Pact of Turkey declared for unconditional possession of Constantinople and the Straits, which now in control of the British Fleet, menaced the new Russian regime. This Russian friendship brought to Turkey money, munitions, equipment that later enabled her to triumph. Of course communistic propaganda came along as well but the wily General always managed to keep it

¹ Report on the Near East and the Armenian Claims. (p. 665-684. Readings in European International Relations, by Cooke & Stickney)

well in hand. It is a sustained fact that Mohammedans and southern Asiatic peoples have always found hard moneys to their liking. They are high individualists on all occasions in the matter of economic progress.

Naturally many volunteer groups sprang up in Turkey but all were finally brought under the National military control. The strict discipline and training of the army soon brought into existence a fairly excellent fighting machine. The forces were consolidated and enlarged with feverish haste. The entire country became a camp. All citizens were taken into the fight for existence. Each family was asked for materials for the army.

The Allied Powers secured the signature of the Constantinople Government to the Sevres Treaty and then gave this government six months to secure the country's acquiescence. This six months respite enabled Mustapha Kemal to prepare to crush this treaty. The Grand Visier at Constantinople tried, of course, every phase of persuasion but all failed before the stern outlawed General of Inner Anatolia. The Sultan on the other hand spent his time with a new wife to the growing disgust of his poverty-stricken subjects rapidly becoming most Puritanic in habits of life.

France did not like the Treaty of Sevres as it gave the lion's share of the Near East to England backed up by the Greek Dagger. England also refused to aid France in her claim for a Rhine frontier. Thus for the first time, a real disagreement

appeared between the Allied Powers. France began to play into the hands of the Nationalists.

Italy also greatly resented the British support of the Greeks in Asia Minor which might finally result in Greek predominance in the Levant. The Greeks had actually occupied lands which would have been under Italy but for the Russian Revolution and later refusal of the Soviets to sign the treaty made by the former Empire.

The Allied breach was further widened by the return of King Constantine who had favored Germany in the World War, to Greece. His reigning son died and another son refused the crown at the hand of Venizelos. The public cried out for King Constantine and he was chosen. The Allied Powers objected at the fall of Venizelos but could do nothing. This gave France and Italy a good excuse to steal over to Turkey in spirit.

CHAPTER III

THE GREEKO-TURKISH WAR

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In April, 1919, Italy occupied Adalia on the southern coast as per her 1915 agreement with the Allies. She would have at the same time taken over Smyrna but for the fact that Russia had not signed the treaty along with France and England. The new Bolshevik Government had declared against annexations of any sort. This gave France and England a fine loop-hole which both employed later to permit the Greeks led by Venizelos to thwart the Italians. This was made possible by the feeling aroused by the Fiume episode when Orlando withdrew from the Versailles Peace Conference. Venizelos caused to be sent from Smyrna a sheaf of telegrams declaring Turkish atrocities were being perpetrated in that city. In this way he gained permission for the Greek army to occupy Smyrna in the name of the Allies.¹

Under Article VI of the Armistice the Allies had the right to occupy every territory where disturbances threatened.² The Allied General Staff accordingly notified the Turkish Grand Visier, Damad Ferid, that Smyrna would be so occupied. Damad Ferid then notified the Vali of Smyrna to keep all Turkish troops in barracks and to prevent any demonstrations on the part of the public. No mention had been made of the Greeks and all expected Allied troops.

1

Edward W. Turlington, The American Treaty of Lausanne in The World Peace Foundation, Vol. VII, No. 10, 1924.

2

See The Mudros Armistice in Appendix.

On May 14, 1919, the English Admiral Calthorpe appeared in the harbor of Smyrna and informed the Governor that the Greeks were to occupy the town. With tears in his eyes, the Governor begged for two hundred or three hundred British sailors to keep down the idea among the Turks of the finality of the Greek occupation.¹ Not a single soldier was granted for this occasion. The result was three hundred Turks killed and two hundred more seriously wounded. Twenty thousand Turks were taken prisoner and all were transported to Greece. Thus began a three years most ruthless and ferocious war after the War.

The First Stage of the War

Soon after Constantine returned to the throne of Greece, the Allied Powers called a conference in London for the purpose of trying to find some solution of the Eastern problem. Not only was Athens and Constantinople to be present but wonder of wonders, Angora was also to be invited. Constantinople received the notice. She then explained to Angora that the Nationalists were also to send a delegation. Kemal declared that the Allies had made a mistake for there was no Constantinople Government. The Allies thereupon were forced to contact Angora specifically. Defacto recognition had been won from his great adversaries. The so-called Greek Dagger was not only making a hole in Turkey, it was threatening to make one in the Entente.

¹ Told to writer by a prominent Turk of Smyrna.

Angora explained to Tewfik Pasha, Grand Visier at Constantinople, that if the Sultan would recognise the Nationalist Assembly at Angora in due form, the problem of the Turkish dual government would naturally be solved. He added for the first time openly that if the Sultan refused his throne would be shattered for said he, "Hereafter the whole responsibility will rest directly upon the Sultan."¹

In reality a new Constitution had been adopted at Angora. The one hinderance was the existence of the Sultan-Caliph. The members of the Assembly for the most part felt that when actual peace came a Constitutional Monarchy would be established on the order of that of the British Empire. This fact showed the difficult work to be done by the far-seeing Turkish patriot if he were to lead his people into political and religious freedom.

At London both Turkish delegations sat together and the aged Tewfik, Grand Visier, gave way to the Nationalist Representative. English, French, and Italian Premiers explained that the purpose of the present conference was to work out the Greeko-Turkish troubles and signified their willingness to slightly modify the Treaty of Sevres at the expense of Greece, if a Commission so found after examining the population situation in the Smyrna region.

The Turks agreed to the appointment of a Commission but did not reply regarding the Treaty modification. The Greeks flatly

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Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 268.

rejected the Commission as they had been granted the territory by a solemn treaty. The Conference then proposed that no reply was to be given by either Greece or Turkey until four weeks had passed. This proposal was for the sole purpose of saving the face of the Conference. It had now been definitely established that the London Conference of February, 1921, was a complete failure.

France signed a treaty with the Nationalist delegate to evacuate Cilicia for commercial predominance in Turkey but Kemal rejected it saying the delegate had exceeded his authority. This affair did, however, show that the Allied ring had been broken as regarding the Eastern question.

The Greeks did not await the passing of the stipulated four weeks but marched eastward from Smyrna at once. They took Dumlupinar and Afium Karahissar, a railroad junction point. Their northern force, not so successful as this southern effort, was beaten twice by the wily General, Ismet Pasha, at Inu Kuyu.

Both sides then settled down to dig in and await developments. England tacitly supported the Greeks, France and Italy the Turks. All three, however, remained in semblance neutral spectators. The Greeks were at least agreed among themselves but the so-called Moderates in the Nationalist Assembly at Angora cried loudly for peace, declaring the continued opposition to be madness. Still Russian aid was coming in and France was at least favorable. Kemal was as determined as ever that Turkey, all of it, was to be for his fellow countrymen. Some of his leading generals

feared he had his eyes on the Sultanate himself. He purposely misled these generals and the great mass of the people regarding his ultimate aims, a Turkish Republic. He was forced to do this.

The second struggle came in July, 1921, at Kutahai, just south of Eski-Shehr. The battle lasted ten days. Ismet Pasha lost to General Papoulas. The Greeks had also taken Afium Karahissar to the south and were marching north to strike the Turkish army on the left flank. The situation became desperate for the Turks. Kemal himself, coming from Angora, appeared on the scene and after studying the situation ordered a general retreat for he clearly foresaw catastrophe for the Turkish army otherwise.

Along with the retreating army went the civilian population. Great distress of mind and body was in evidence on every hand. It seemed that the whole Turkish nation was again passing with their herds back into inner Asia from which they had originally come. All were dejected. The army leaders, not understanding the surrender of the railroad position, considered all lost.

The National Assembly sat in great consternation and confusion. Opponents of Kemal declared he himself should assume personal command. Even his friends finally could see no other way out. He then suddenly came before the Assembly and declared that he would assume all responsibility if he were given complete power for three months. This was granted him.

He then issued decrees. "Every dwelling without exception

has to supply a kit consisting of a parcel of underwear, a pair of socks, and a pair of shoes"¹ ran one of these terse orders. The entire nation then was brought into the four weeks preparation for the final struggle with the Greek army now lying but a few miles westward.

The Battle of Sakaria

The battle of Sakaria began August 24, 1921. The Greeks attacked the left flank of the Turkish army in order to cut off its retreat to Angora. At Garadagh (Black Mountain) the second point of the struggle, there runs a low pass traversed by the railroad on its eastward course to Angora. The Greeks took the pass and fought on to the main Turkish positions on the opposite hill. The Turkish reserves were all used up and it began to look like a debacle for the Asiatics. Finally, at midnight, the Greek line hesitated, stopped and was then slowly beaten back step by step. At last the Greeks lost the ancient Gordium Bridge and retreated across the Sakaria. They held out for six days longer but could not again press forward. The Turks had won the battle.²

Both armies, too tired for further effort, dug into the soil for safety and rest. A stalemate had arrived.

East and West

Turkey and Greece stood facing each other. The two armies lay in their trenches waiting and still waiting. This inaction well

¹

From description given to the writer by a participating Turkish officer.

² Ibid.

suited the fatalistic patient folk of the East. It appalled on the more mentally and physically alert Greeks. General Papoulas, realizing that a Greek victory was impossible, resigned. General Hadjanesti was chosen to head this army. This new commandant spent most of his time in the most comfortable quarters in Smyrna. All Greek army officers followed his leadership and tried to find as much physical comfort as possible. Naturally the common soldiery did the same thing. This sense of personal well being led naturally to a division. Politics did the rest. The line between partisans of King Constantine and Venizelos ran entirely through the military organization. They were their own worst foes.

In Turkish camps tranquility prevailed. A common poverty led to a most democratic atmosphere not only between the soldiers but also to the officers as well. All seemed to catch the spirit of their intrepid leader. Their wants and needs were simple and few. Their very hardships burned out the dross of selfishness leaving pure patriotism backed by a strong determination to endure to the end.

The Greek Premier, Gounaris, frantically called to the Allies for help, but was refused. Had not the Entente declared a neutrality in the matter of the Eastern Problem? France reminded him of the return to power in Greece of the Kaiser loving Constantine. England asked him to be patient until after the coming Paris Conference which would examine the Eastern question.

In the meantime during the hard fought battles in the field and in diplomatic halls, Angora had actually constructed a new Capitol building. Great development and activity in every way in this inland new center was the order of the day. On the other hand, Constantinople sank into somnambulism. Its best in art, business, etc., passed eastward to the new Turkish capitol. Angora was always overrun by visitors both governmental and private from Russia, Afghanistan, India, Arabia, Egypt, North Africa, and other Mohammedan countries. In addition free lances and adventurers flocked to Angora from all over the world. Many came to see personally those who had finally accomplished the impossible.

French Recognition

The success of the Turkish army at Sakaria caused France to make a separate treaty with the Kemalists in which no commercial advantages were named.

This treaty signed October 20, 1921, was the first actual recognition of the Nationalists with no mention made of the Constantinople Government. It also clearly portrayed the division between the Allied Powers. It also set free the Turkish forces contending against the French in Cilicia to strengthen the great line facing the Greek army stretched along the Berlin to Bagdad railway.

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I was stationed in Aleppo, Syria, for the Near East Relief at the time of the signing of the treaty by France and the Turkish Nationalists. The Encyclopedia Britannica mentions that the latter mysteriously received munitions of war immediately following the evacuation of Cilicia by the French. One of my colleagues in relief work, stationed at Diabekir, told me a few months after the evacuation that he personally saw and counted sixty-three camels heavily laden with munitions including rifles, in the early dawn one morning, pass directly from the French camp to that of the Kemalists. He was certain that many more camel caravans transporting war materials had passed in the same direction and that these supplies had been turned over to the Nationalists Army by the French.

British Enmity

Great Britain steadily opposed Mustapha Kemal and the Nationalist Revolution. She realized that Egypt, Arabia, Persia or India might pattern after this new rising power. She also observed the changing or awakening in all Asia and feared it. She felt it altogether possible that Mustapha Kemal may have an unappeasible ambition and become like Attila, Ghengis Khan, Nadir of Persia, or Timur Lame. If so he could easily head the so-called Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turanian group in a war to the death with all Europe.

It is true that many Turkish emisaries were feverishly working for just such movements both at home and in affected lands and peoples. Kemal, however, had but one aim, that of a free Turkey. He had great difficulty in convincing Russia of his non-connection with the Pan-Turanian movement and a still more difficult time making English statesmen believe he did not espouse the Pan-Islamic cause. Could England have understood Kemal from the beginning, much bloodshed and suffering would have been avoided. It was all but impossible for Englishmen to understand that "The Ghazi, who had conquered the Infidels," "The man sent by Allah", of the whole Mohammedan world and all Asia, could only want freedom and peace for his some twelve million fellow countrymen. It was unbelievable in Downing Street.¹

¹ International Law Documents, Naval War College, 1917, p. 219.

Kemal had real work to keep back the efforts of those of his countrymen who espoused these far-flung dreams. He also had constantly to fight against a strong group in the National Assembly itself, who feared he was seeking autocratic power and who accordingly wanted an early peace with the Allies. He also wanted peace but that peace which would guarantee a free Turkey.

London, finally, agreed to further changes in the Treaty of Sevres, if Turkey would agree to an Armistice to be followed by peace negotiations. Kemal replied that he would agree to an armistice but that the Greeks must evacuate Anatolia at the same time and not after the conclusion of the peace. Many of his countrymen did not understand him. Did he think he could beat the great British Empire? They did not see that had he accepted the offer, Nationalist Turkey would have been manoeuvred into a losing position. He sent a delegate to each of the Allied capitals to explain that he only wanted a free Turkey. But no one of them believed him.

England had exchanged her Turkish prisoners in Malta for English prisoners held by Turkey and thus Rauf Bey returned to Angora. He secretly led a movement in the Assembly to refuse Mustapha Kemal the chief command. (It had to be regranted every three months.) This move was successful at first but Kemal by a most strenuous effort changed the final vote. He was then chosen for this position for an indefinite period. Rauf Bey was easily his most powerful local opponent and his opposition was certainly

prompted by his fear that the General was seeking personal gain and because he wished to see Turkey emerge as a limited monarchy patterned after the English system. He was unalterably opposed to a republican form of government. He with all other early contemporaries of Kemal was finally ejected from the country and to this day is still in exile.

The Greek Debacle

Greece looked about to find a way gracefully to get out of Anatolia, without losing face. She announced to the Allies that she intended to take Constantinople and began to march northward through Thrace at once. England would have given permission but France and Italy refused in most emphatic manner. This action had caused the removal from the Turkish front to Thrace of two of the best fighting divisions of the Greek army. This, of course, added to the Turkish chance of success in the coming struggle.

Mustapha Kemal sent another ambassador to the Allies with the message, "Give us peace. Allow the Turks to live."¹ But while Rome and Paris gladly talked with this agent, he was told the decision could only be made in London. The Foreign Office in London would not hear him at all. He then wired Kemal who at once secretly organized the Turkish attack on the Greek army.

He caused the Greeks to be threatened at Eski-Shehr and they did the natural thing of strengthening this point. He then

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Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 314.

on August 26, 1922, nearly a year since Sakaria struck further south at Afium Karahissar. His orders were, "Soldiers, your goal is the Mediterranean. On it it."¹ The Turks crushed the waiting Greeks, cutting their line. The Greek army was routed and fled pell-mell the one hundred ninety miles to Smyrna. They butchered and burned as they went. The retreat lasted a week. All Christians, fearing the oncoming of Turks, fled with them. The troops were hastily transported to Thrace and there reorganized. But all of the Christians could not find transportation and many were murdered by the Turkish soldiery who could not forget the scenes of rapine, death, and destruction observed while enroute across the plains of western Anatolia.

The minority problem was thus solved. There were now but few Turks left in the entire Turkish area. All Greeks and Armenians for the most part had been killed or driven out, or were a little later exchanged for Turkish inhabitants of Greece and other Balkan countries.

This victorious army then marched northward hoping to cross the Dardanelles and crush the Greek army and so regain the Turkish lands claimed by the Nationalists in Europe. The Allies saw this and sent troops to hold the neutral strip along the entire length of the Straits. The Turkish army massed at Chanak opposite Gallipoli, the gateway to Adrianople, and there met the Allied troops. Kemal

¹ Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 315.

demanded free passage and General Harrington, Commander in Chief of the Allied troops refused, pointing out the recent former refusal to the Greeks when they wished to take Constantinople. He saw that if the Turks forced the Dardanelles that Constantinople would be cut off. The war might pass on into the Balkans and that Russia might be constrained to retake Bessarabia with a possible general European conflict.

Lloyd George finally brought France and Italy into agreement relative to the refusal to cross neutral lands and the three nations together notified the Turkish leader. He paid no attention to their order. Nationalist soldiers poured on into neutral territory. At this bold step, both France and Italy withdrew their troops. The English troops backed by the English fleet both under the direct command of General Harrington awaited the oncoming Turkish army. It appeared before them at Chanak. Both armies stood ready to fire. An accidental gunshot might have here changed world history.

M. Franklin-Bouillon, the French representative, hurried personally to Mustapha Kemal's headquarters and proposed a conference for the discussion of an armistice. He said that the Allies were united in agreeing that the Greeks should retire at once from eastern Thrace. Kemal yielded and agreed to send General Ismet Pasha to represent the National Assembly. At this conference Ismet Pasha also demanded the withdrawal from Constantinople. This, declared General Harrington, called for political decisions he was unable to give an accordingly wired Downing Street. During

the ten days the conference awaited for a reply, the Turkish army drew still closer to the Straits and Constantinople. Finally the answer came. It ran, "Evacuation of Thrace, yes. Constantinople, no." Harrington then added, "We shall quit Pasha, but we shall withdraw with honor." When Kemal received these significant words, he saw at once that English prestige was involved and he, on October 10, 1922, wired Ismet Pasha the one word, "Accept."¹

The Greeks had to evacuate Thrace as far as the Maritsa River. The civilian administration of Constantinople was turned over to Angora and the foreign troops in the ancient city were to be withdrawn as soon as possible. The Turkish soldiers were to evacuate the neutral zone. Turkey had secured the lands Mustapha Kemal had demanded as her right. The Peace Conference that followed at the instigation of the Allies was opened at Lausanne, Switzerland, November 20, 1922, and lasted nine months, carrying out in regular treaty forms the establishment of the new Turkey.

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Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, pp. 322-323.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE AND TREATY

CHAPTER IV

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE AND TREATYGeneral Statement

The Lausanne Conference convened November 20, 1922, and remained in session for eleven weeks. It broke down February 4, 1923, because of the categorical refusal of the Turks to accept a treaty drafted by the Allied leaders. All hope of destroying Turkish power by fostering Greek imperialism in Asia Minor was lost. However, Great Britain was determined to hold out for control of Mesopotamia, especially Mosul, and the neutralization of the Straits. While the French supported the Turks against these British designs, yet they aroused the suspicion of the Turks by their insistence on retaining the capitulations and the confirmation of all Allied concessions in Turkey. The Chester Concessions followed April 10th in defiance of these tripartite claims and thus served the very good purpose of challenging the Allied Powers at the opportune time.

The breach between France and Turkey widened and at the reopening of the Conference April 22nd, France began to lose ground as she was too busy in the Ruhr to force proper recognition of her Near East claims. On May 15th, it was learned that British interests had purchased the controlling stock in the Baghdad Railway.

The Lausanne Treaty was signed July 24, 1923, by representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey. Jugo Slavia alone refused to sign on account of her

disapproval of the Ottoman Debt settlement. The contents of the Treaty showed a drastic revision of the whole Near Eastern settlement as outlined in the former Treaty of Sevres.

Turkey resigned all claims to Hedjaz, Palestine, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, and Syria, but retained all of Anatolia, Turkish Armenia, Cilicia, Adalia, Smyrna, Constantinople, Gallipoli, Adrianople and eastern Thrace to the Maritza River. Along all European boundaries a neutral demilitarized strip of land sixty kilometer wide was established to prevent possible conflicts.

For a very different purpose, however, the Gallipoli Peninsula and the shores of the Straits were demilitarized. The Straits themselves were placed under an international commission supervised by the League of Nations. The "freedom of the Straits" for which Curzon had battled was assured by a separate convention having every appearance of compromise. This agreement provided that a limited number of war vessels and all merchant vessels might pass in peace and war periods unless Turkey was one of the belligerents. The Mosul difficulty was remanded to the two contending nations to settle between themselves and in event of failure it was to pass to the League of Nations from which neither nation could appeal.

Not only the fetters which the Allied Powers attempted to place on Turkish finances, army and navy were eliminated but all reparations were cancelled and the Allies also recognized the abolition of the capitulations, stipulating only that Turkey should

appoint a commission of four members from neutral nations for a period of five years to observe the operation of the Turkish Courts.

Thus the New Turkey won a remarkable diplomatic victory against the seemingly overwhelming preponderance of the Allies. Their hated rivals in the Near East, the Greeks, were thoroughly humiliated. They were forced to surrender to Turkey all claims to Smyrna, Gallipoli, and eastern Thrace and to return to Italy the Greek speaking Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean and to receive some 600,000 of their people from Asia Minor in exchange for such Turks as were found within their own territory.

. The Story of the Conference and Treaty

The Lausanne Conference convened as stated above, November 20, 1922, with delegates from twelve nations. The consideration of the Eastern question began. The Versailles Treaty had been dictated by the Allies. This Lausanne Treaty was to be negotiated. Quite a difference and not at all to the liking of the autocratic giant, Lord Curzon, the English diplomat of the old school who presided. Poincare and Masolini, who were in the opening spotlight, went home leaving Curzon the leadership of the Conference. He was irritable and nervous. He could not quite assimilate the situation where the dwarf Turkish nation had an equal right with the world Empire he represented. He accordingly stated at the beginning that the Treaty of Sevres would serve as the basis of the Conference, though the Allies were willing to concede certain alterations. But

the slightly deaf crafty little General, Ismet Pasha, who negotiated the Mudania Armistice for Turkey, failed to assimilate this statement. Paying no attention to it, he declared that the Conference would proceed on even terms or there would be no conference. Consternation and alarm followed in the Allied camp. But peace must be had for the rank and file of their respective countries were insisting on it. Therefore the discussions began. This first great point was gained by the Turks because they knew exactly what they wanted. The Allies did not. They did know that their constituencies at home wanted peace. Ismet Pasha had no support. Chicherin and Vorosky, later assassinated during the Conference, instead of supporting Turkish claims, took the situation as an opportunity to voice a noisy world propaganda for communism and Russian interests.

The Ruhr incident being imminent, France denied her Angora secret treaty and, regretting her friendship with the Nationalists, hurried to the support of England who had steadily opposed the Revolutionists in Turkey. Reuter's News Agency, always serving British diplomatic interests, so reported the news of the Near East as to create anti-Turkish feeling in Paris.

Poincare loudly proclaimed actual Allied unity in spite of the fact that it was at the instigation of France that Mustapha Kemal had with great difficulty from his officers stopped the march on Constantinople. He did so with full reliance upon French support.

But Britain had stolen her away. In the end France paid too. It was she and not England who lost in this battle for some of the spoils of the Ottoman Empire.

Lord Curzon scolded, declared, and proclaimed in loud tones. Ismet Pasha sat tight and would not give in on a single point.

Among the many problems dating from antiquity was that of the capitulations. These agreements were tied up in treaties and all proposed changes rested on the agreement of both parties. Ismet Pasha at the expressed instructions from his chief demanded immediate and complete abrogation of all such treaties. Lord Curzon pointed out that the status of Turkish independence did not warrant such a measure. He also showed that no modern administration of justice or commercial law was in operation in Turkey. But Ismet Pasha declared that they would soon be established. Curzon declared, "This man haggles like a man selling carpets." When Ismet Pasha declared, "Turkey would rather continue the war than have any fundamental national rights curtailed," Curzon tried bluffing. He, in high dudgeon, left the Conference and waited at his special train to see the Turks come a begging. They did not come. The Conference then, February, 1923, broke up without agreement of any sort. The Turks left for their new capitol, Angora, the city in the steppes.

The dream of Mustapha Kemal for a republic in the New Turkey became more obvious to that strong group of constitutional monarchists in the nation. Rauf Bey, the astute leader of this group, seeing

clearly the cutting off of actual power of the Caliph, drew into his party the powerful clericals who from ancient times possessed not only great power but the confidence and loyalty of the great mass of Islamic subjects in all mid-eastern countries.

This group of the Turkish intelligentsia then began to spread the rumor that Mustapha Kemal intended to eventually usurp the position of the Sultan-Caliph, for had not the first Sultan of the House of Osman been a tribal chieftan? Had not only recently Risa Khan, a successful Cossack soldier, become the Shah of Persia? This story laid firm hold upon the clergy - the mollahs who controlled male education and were in turn controlled by the Ulema and the Sheiks.

Constantinople, as a city seeing Angora assume power, began to fear for its future importance. The former government cliques soon joined Rauf Bey. He had been appointed by Kemal as the civil governor of Constantinople at Mudania. He was joined by Dr. Adnan Bey and his famous wife, the authoress, Halide Hamm. While this group worked incessantly and successfully for both the ancient city and the National cause, yet they had reservations and did not give unequivocal support to Mustapha Kemal. They, of course, found the full backing of all disgruntled former office holders and the former nobility. Refet Pasha of this opposition group even tried to win the Sultan. He sent him a fine stallion, calling him, His Majesty, the Shadow of Allah.¹ Such actions and attitudes were greatly

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Francis Marion Rust, Manuscript Compiled for the Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

resented by the Puritanic group at Angora.

But in the National Assembly Kemal continued to lose prestige. Many had not forgotten his dethronement of the Sultan. His policy at Lausanne had apparently failed. He was reminded of how he stopped the march on Constantinople and his accompanying words, "With the help of France, we shall conclude a Peace. I have her word for it."¹

Rauf Bey being Premier could take no part in the attack on the government. His group at once, however, began to batter Ismet Pasha who failed to gain peace at Lausanne. This meant, of course, that if he fell, his chief must also fall. This battle of words in the National Assembly lasted nine days. The opposition, badly led, did not work together and as a result nothing was really accomplished.

This failure of the opposition gave Kemal the tools he needed. It enabled him to cause the dissolution of the Assembly as it was unable to carry out its work. His plan was drawn up at midnight and put into execution next day. Therefore the First National Assembly that had sat continuously since 1920 came to a close April 2, 1923.

Previously Kemal had come to the conclusion that in order to carry out his dangerous intention to establish a Turkish Republic, he must arrange for less opposition in the Assembly. He accordingly

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Miksch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 340.

organized what was at first called the Peoples Party. This consisted of a well disciplined group with a strong hub in every city, town, and community. He used the "Association for the Rights of Anatolia and Roumelia" which he had originally formed in every Vilayet as the basis of this new party. While this Association at first in Checka-like fashion took care of foreign interventionists and malcontent minority efforts against the government, it now became an instrument in his hands for Turkish progress.

Of course this party received the majority of mandates to the new National Assembly. This procedure was analogous to that followed by the Young Turk movement but the difference lay in the fact that a single man, Mustapha Kemal, instead of a committee was at the head of it.

Meanwhile, the Lausanne Conference reconvened April 9, 1923. Sir Horace Rumbold, former British Commissioner at Constantinople, replaced Lord Curzon as Chairman. This showed the change in the British view concerning the new Turkey. France labored hard to save the money she had invested in Turkey and to save also her former cultural and commercial predominance but to no avail. England as usual gained her wishes. Turkey received her stipulated territory and the Straits with slight modifications. She dropped Russia in this act of granting passage to merchant and war ships upon certain conditions and occasions. This led to some friction

with Moscow and as a result all communistic associations in Turkey were ruthlessly suppressed. Many of the leaders were hanged. Chicherin, taking advantage of the Mosul difficulty between England and Turkey, succeeded in making a treaty of friendship and neutrality with Angora December 17, 1925.

The Mosul question was finally settled privately between England and Turkey. England could not give it up on account of its strategic position touching Irak, Palestine, Egypt, and India. She agreed, however, to give Turkey an interest in all oil production. Turkey gave it up to England for her proper aid regarding the Straits, Constantinople and possible further Russian interference.

The concessions and capitulations were abolished. Turkish military defense limitations were not mentioned and all Christians in Turkey were to be exchanged for Turks in near-by lands. About two million people were affected in this exchange.¹

The Lausanne Treaty signed by twelve nations became in reality a new charter for Turkey. For the first time in modern history the Orient had overcome and beaten the Occident. The drift of authority from Europe to Asia had been forced to halt.

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Public Records of The Council of the League of Nations, Greek Refugee Settlements, Geneva, 1926. pp. 1-6.

CHAPTER V

DEPOSITION OF THE SULTAN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

CHAPTER V

DEPOSITION OF THE SULTAN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLICAbolition of the Sultanate

But what of the form of government in this new Oriental nation? Many felt that the Sultan should be continued and that the National Government should appoint Mustapha Kemal Premier for life as in the case of Mussolini. At any rate the dual government must be stopped for had not Constantinople now come under the sway of the Angora Grand National Assembly? The Allied invitation to the coming conference had been sent to both Constantinople and to Angora. Something must be done. But Kemal meant to stop the formation of the so-often proposed limited monarchy.

He therefore allowed the deputies to debate the question at great length in the Assembly. All became wrought up as they proclaimed, "The Sultan's spineless yielding to the foreigner was more than national treason, etc." He then moved, "That all sovereign power had passed into the nation's hands. That the Sultanate therefore was to be abolished but the Caliphate retained." This motion¹ passed.

This question then passed to a triple commission of lawyers, religionists, and Constitutionals. Kemal met with this committee. He listened to the debaters. These sessions of course did nothing

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Nikiasch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 327.

but talk. He finally begged permission to speak. He declared "That the Sovereign power had been taken from the Sultanate by conquest. Originally the House of Osman had won it. Now the nation had gained it. The question now is of recognizing an actual fact."¹ He further declared that it was his opinion that the Commission and the National Assembly take this course. Said he, "If that refuses, the actual state of things will take shape in the manner proposed. But in such case a few heads may easily fall."²

This speech of the great leader settled it. All knew exactly what he meant. Next day the bill deposing the Sultan was jammed through the National Assembly in approved modern democratic style. The opposition had no chance to oppose. They who would arise to speak against it were drowned out by cries of Unanimous. Thus ended the seven hundred years reign of the House of Osman. All Turkish ministers of the Constantinople Government immediately resigned. The Sultan clung to his Throne and escaped to a British warship and on it went to Malta. A few years later he died at San Remo. The Grand National Assembly conferred the now empty Caliphate to Prince Abdul Medjid, the lawful heir apparent, a son of the cousin of Vaheddin.

¹ Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 327.

² Ibid.

The Republic at Last

Now that peace had finally come, the Turkish nation had the greater problem of organizing for its general progress. The natural sequence of the nine years of individualistic national struggle was the declaration of a republican form of government. But this process was not easily taken. Fethi Bey, President of the National Assembly, and all his Ministers were induced to resign as a part of the plan. The new lists submitted were purposely not of such strength as could be accepted. The discussion ran on with no point when Kemal was called as Chairman of the Peoples Party. He declared in this Party's Caucus that the trouble of the Assembly in choosing a new Premier and Cabinet lay in the present system of government. At this juncture he drew the previously written bill from his pocket and read it to the legislators. It designated that a President should be elected for four years by the National Assembly with eligibility for re-election. The President was to nominate the President of the Ministry, who was to appoint his own ministers with the approval of the National Assembly. The Party Caucus approved the bill at 6:00 p.m. The National Assembly was immediately convened. The Bill was resubmitted to a committee for consideration which made one addition: That Islam should be the State Religion. (This was canceled a year later.) The First, Second, and Third reading followed and at 9:30 p.m. the Bill was passed. At 9:45 p.m. Mustapha Kemal was elected President of the new Turkish Republic

and the news was immediately broadcast.

Rauf Bey and the great Pashas, Kaizim Karabekir, Ali Fuad, Refet, and Mureddin, the advocates of a Constitutional Government, men who had worked so hard and fought so long for the freedom of Turkey, had no voice in this movement.

The establishment of a republic at once led to consideration of the Caliph. The Mohammedan world could not understand the occidental idea of a Caliph being at the head of the church only. To them he must be both religious and secular ruler. Mustapha Kemal saw at once that the Caliph at Constantinople would soon be the center of those who were opposed to the Republic. Therefore the Caliph, Abdul Medjid, a pleasant and cultured man, through no fault of his own, soon became the last and only hope of the group wishing to establish a constitutional monarchy. Also, those objecting to the constantly increasing power of Mustapha Kemal and all disgruntled people began to rally around the Caliph. Constantinople, resenting the rise of Angora, soon became the headquarters of strong opposition to the new Republic.

Rauf Bey, Dr. Adnan Bey, Refet Pasha, Kaizim Karabekir Pasha, and Ali Fuad Pasha, at once broke completely with Kemal and immediately went to Abdul Medjid offering him their devotion and letting the news of their act pass on to all the world. They caused an open letter from Agha Khan, an Indian Mohammedan Potentate, to Ismet Pasha, demanding that the Caliph be retained, to be published.

The editor of the paper printing this letter was accused of high treason by the National Assembly and sent to prison.

Kemal saw the Caliphate would have to be abolished at once before the religious and monarchial feeling submerged him and his group of radical progressives.

The Caliph had recently requested from the National Assembly more allowance. Kemal at once replied, "The demand of the Caliph that the Government should enter into an alliance with him is a flagrant infringement of the independence of the Republic. The office of Caliph has neither material nor political significance and has no justification for its existence." This letter was mailed January 1, 1924. On March 1st, the National Assembly re-opened and on March 2nd, the Caliphate was abolished. He and his entourage were given ten days in which to leave the country. They left March 4th.

Measures were also passed for complete separation of church and state. All church property became state holdings and all education was turned over to the Ministry for Education. Thus in a few days a leap in progress was made that had cost various European countries a hundred years of war and struggle.

It must not be forgotten that the international phase of Islam caused some three hundred million people to regard the Caliph as Lord. A group now tried to cause Mustapha Kemal to become Caliph. Delegates came from all Moslem countries for this purpose. He of course rejected all such suggestions. He pointed out that

it would be impossible for him to have as his subjects kings, kaisers, and other foreign officials. He declared that Turkey could only take care of herself and could not nor would not attempt the giving of aid to any group beyond her own borders. "If," said he, "the various Mohammedan peoples should work out their local problems as had Turkey, then and not till then could a Caliph be properly chosen. Such a situation lies hundreds of years ahead if at all,"¹ declared the dauntless Asiatic leader.

The Turkish Revolution was not a national drift or development. It came from above. Mustapha Kemal, like Peter the Great, reformed his people with a club. Centuries of development were overleaped. Time had to be saved if this nation was not to be out off from the earth by the principle of the survival of the fittest. Therefore, Mustapha Kemal often fell back on his dictatorship. He can be excused for this as it was absolutely necessary. But this was exactly what aroused the ten per cent - of the people - the intelligentsia - against him. The great rank and file of the Turkish nation, the peasantry, could not read or write. They trusted Kemal. They felt that he was the man sent by Allah and that what he did was for their good. They, therefore, followed him faithfully and cheerfully.

He took pains to create through the Peoples Party, which

¹ Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 376.

he headed, a good majority. He declared that there must be no other party as all knew that he and this party stood always for the best interests of Turkey.

This declaration caused a large number to leave the party. They joined the Constantinople group in the formation of a new Party of Republican Progress. They all feared a dictatorship. The Constantinople newspapers printed the details of this movement and its cause openly. All the Young Turks and other disreputable would-be politicians and malcontents joined this new party.

When the National Assembly met, November 24, 1925, this new Party of Republican Progress was beaten with great difficulty. Had not it been for the pending Mosul question and other important foreign matters, this opposition group would have won. As it was, Ismet Pasha resigned and Fehti Bey became President of the Chamber.

In this session revolvers were often brandished. An actual fight at Chankaya, Kemal's suburban home, took place. It began to look like the new republic was to die aborning, from the fighting cliques of the upper stratum of Turkish society, when the rising of the Kurds finally saved the tottering government.

The Kurdish Rebellion

Kurdistan lies in the mountainous country in the upper branches of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The Kurds are a band of robber tribes loosely bound together. Their daily work is that of thieving from or robbing their neighbors. They are

were closely related to the Arabs, Persians, and Armenians, among whom they have always lived, than to the Turks. Their language is akin to the old Pharcie, called the French of the East. Like all mountain people, they are most independent. The former Sultan had found it expedient at least to leave them pretty much alone. The one bond between them and the Turks was the Mohammedan religion.

The Treaty of Sevres gave some prospects for an independent Kurdistan, but the Peace of Lausanne banished this hope. The Kurds of course saw that the success of the Nationalists had interfered with their realization of an autonomous commonwealth. The southern part of this region was given to Irak but the larger and more populous area in the north was included in modern Turkey.

There was no trouble, however, until Angora deposed the Caliph and the Islamic law was thrust aside. These incidents furnished the great Kurdish leader, Sheikh Said, the situation necessary to arouse his entire people in a revolution against the new Turkish Republic.

He summoned all Kurdistan to Diabekir, the ancient Kurdish capitol. When there all could read printed on the black basalt city wall his proclamation, "The reestablishment of the law of the Sheria and the reinstatement of Selim Effendi, a son of Abdul Hamid, as Sultan-Caliph". From this proclamation of the Kurdish leader, the reason for revolting against the Turkish Republic one can see.

It was not so much a fight for the independence of Kurdistan as an attack on the new and modern ideas of the Turkish Nationalists. It was an effort at resisting the Europeanization of Asiatic peoples.

New Turkey had had little time to consolidate her gains and was thus not in good condition to withstand the hostility of the ancient and deep-seated power of the Mohammedan clergy. It was soon seen that the Kurds and Constantinople kept in close touch with each other. The Nationalists declared that England also aided in this rising of the Kurds owing to the pending Mosul question. While the news of the rebellion possibly gave interest to England, yet no direct evidence has been definitely established to warrant the accusation.

The larger cities of southeastern Turkey, Harpoot, Bitlis, and Marash, fell easily to Sheikh Said. It began to appear that the end was in sight for the valiant group at Angora. The government did, however, organize immediately some five divisions and sent them against the Kurds. The deep snow, the inaccessibility of the region, and, it must be said, the general feeling for the religious situation caused this first Nationalist attempt to suppress the uprising to fail.

Something had to be done and at once. While even Ismet Bey supported Fethi Bey, President of the Ministry, in his efforts to suppress the Kurds, many attacked him without mercy in the Assembly as being altogether too weak-kneed. He was accused of lacking energy in the affair and of even trying to work out a compromise

with the Kurdish leaders in such a way as would bring them to the support of the new Turkey upon the suppression of the local rebellion. At this juncture, Mustapha Kemal appeared in the Assembly and joined in the attack on his own Ministry. Fethi Bey was forced to resign but was sent to Paris as Ambassador. Ismet Pasha again became President of the Ministry and formed a new cabinet of radicals who were in full agreement with Kemal. He thus used the Kurdish Revolution to put the cap sheaf on his life's effort, a successful Turkish Revolution and the final establishment of a Turkish Republic. He saw that his fight was not only against the constitutionalist monarchial party but also against those of his own Peoples Party that wished to find a middle ground and an easy way out as was so often evidenced in both the French and Russian Revolutions.

The Constitution was suspended and martial law declared over all Turkey. The Courts of Independence - Revolutionary Tribunals - were again put into motion. A dozen newspapers were suppressed. The one hundred fifty undesirables were banished from the country. All the old group at Constantinople who had done so much in the earlier stages of the Revolution had to leave the country. The danger to the Republic from the Kurdish Rebellion, coupled with the prompt actions taken by Mustapha Kemal, practically wiped out all opposition. All of the offices of the Party of Republican Progress were closed. There remained in the National Assembly none

other than the representatives of the Peoples Party. This group bowed always to Kemal, the head and founder of it. To this day there is no other party in Turkey. When a representative is not sufficiently active or is lacking in zealous work for the nation's cause as interpreted at Angora, he is left off the slate at the next election.

Ismet Pasha kept up great military pressure against the Kurds for two years. He crushed them in summary fashion. Sheikh Said and other leaders were captured, brought to Angora, and hanged in the great public square. While there has gradually developed more cooperation between the Turks and Kurds, yet much antagonism still survives.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW TURKEY

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW TURKEYDomestic Changes

Mustapha Kemal was finally left in complete supremacy in Angora and in a position to form public opinion. Now he would be able to begin the social reform of his people without the usual opposition. His success in this endeavor would, of course, gauge the real value of his strenuous labors. He began this reform with small things. He attacked the outlandish habits worn by men as well as those of women. In speeches he made to the people in the villages, he never failed to say the following: "Nations that persist in remaining at the intellectual stage of the Middle Ages are destined to disappear from the earth. The Turks must become affiliated with an international civilization and this fact must also be shown in his general external appearance. Civilized international garments are the only ones worthy of our nation. We shall wear lacing boots, trousers, jackets, collars, ties, and a head-gear with a rim or peak - I am naming the articles of clothing and I shall even utter an ominous word, this form of head-gear is called a hat."¹

Thus the hated hat of the gliaour was actually to be worn instead of the sacred fez which without rim did not interfere, when the Turk with his face toward Mecca five times daily touched his head to the earth and prayed to Allah. The eastern provinces

¹ Von Mikusch, Mustapha Kemal, p. 366.

that gave Kemal his first actual gain or start in the Revolution, arose in rebellion against this outrage. But the Revolutionary Tribunals of Trebizond, etc., soon put a stop to the rebellion and forced all to don the hated head-gear of the west. When Nureddin Pasha, a very great Nationalist General of the Revolution, now a member of the Assembly, moved in that body in due form against the compulsory wearing of the hat, it was construed as a counter Revolutionary effort and he lost his seat at once. Of course all was lost for the ancient Islamic Clergy. The leaders were practically all banished.¹

I was in Constantinople immediately prior to and during the forced removal of the fez as head-gear for the Turks. I talked the matter over with many before it arrived. The old men invariably declared that on no occasion would they abandon the fez for the hated hat of the gaiours. Said one substantial elderly Turk to me, "Am I crazy? Do you think it possible for me and others like me to obey this infidelic order of Kemal Pasha? Never. We shall continue to wear the fez, the one distinguishing mark of the true follower of Mohammed. The hat of the Gaiours! No, not so long as the faithful kneel with face toward Mecca and call 'God is great; God is great'. There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet. The sacred call of the missein shall still be heard from the holy minarets of the mosques of all Turkey in spite of Kemal, the usurper." But he was wrong. I, with Henry X. Durrler, European Field Agent for the International Harvester Company, stood in the lobby of the Pera Palace Hotel near Pettit Champ, Constantinople, on the morning of the forced removal of the fez. We saw this change as it came to this ancient city. The streets were lined by thousands upon thousands of people. Bands were playing as they accompanied the great military parade as it moved up the street. The order had gone out that no fez was to be worn. The multitude for the most part accordingly had donned the ordinary hat of the occidental world. Wagons of cheap Italian hats appeared at the street edges and near-by alleys adjacent to the great Broadway as if by magic. Young middle aged Turks besieged these hat depots buying feverishly. The hats were sold for from 25 to 50 cents each. This had been

Along with the fez went the veil. But aside from the most uncouth and those in the remote regions, the women were glad to be free from the unsightly and unsanitary charchaub. They went even further in a little while. They appeared in sleeveless dresses and bareheaded and even danced with men not of their own family. On the whole, however, modesty still governs the Turkish women.

The Goal Is Reached

The Orient in Turkey disappeared with the fez and veil and all that was best in Europe was immediately requisitioned. The Swiss Civil Code was taken over without change. It completely altered private relationships. Polygamy was automatically abolished

previously arranged by the sober pritanic Nationalists headed by the great Turkish Ghazi, Mustapha Kemal.

Presently we saw far down the line of the street side one fez bright red in the morning sun. It bobbed about as the wearer, a middle aged sturdy fellow, came steadily on up towards us. A slight ripple of applause from the dense crowd followed him as he fearlessly walked along. Some Turkish officers at hand observed him and kept sharp eyes constantly upon the approaching fez. As the man approached the army officers and policemen, they very quietly and orderly accosted him. The leaders said: "I see you are still wearing the fez. Will you please explain?" The fellow, brave enough up to this time, saw that something must be done. After some hesitation, he replied: "You see, Chief, I have been working all night and have not had time nor opportunity to exchange my fez for a hat." The officers then said, "Very well, we accept your excuse but take off your fez and carry it the remainder of the way to your home right there," and raising his left arm indicated that the fez must be carried in the armpit. It was clearly evident to all that there was no foolishness on the part of the rulers of the New Turkey in the matter of the removal of the fez.

and the position of women, marriage, contract, divorce, and civil life received the same status in Turkey as it has in all civilized countries.

The penal law of Italy, as well as the commercial law of Germany, was taken over in a similar manner. Thus in all phases of life the Turkish civilization now stands on the same foundation as that of all other peoples who pose as being modern and progressive. He is subject to the same rights, restrictions, etc.

Inasmuch as ninety per cent of the people were illiterate Mustapha Kemal, thinking that it was due to the Arabic alphabet, caused a commission to be named to introduce the Latin characters and script of the West. When after six months this commission had not completed its work, he in one night worked out the problem. He ordered all under twenty-four years of age to go to school again to learn this new phonetic Latin alphabet which of course was applied to the Turkish language.

Such great accomplishments only came about because the poor common people of Turkey had implicit faith in Mustapha Kemal, for was he not "The Savior sent by Allah?" They felt they could trust him in every way and that all he did was for their good at all times.

His difficulties arose from the literate men per cent who tried to remove him on many occasions. Always the plot was discovered in time. However, in 1929 a plot to assassinate him in

Smyrna came near succeeding. Three men were caught with the bombs in their hands. They confessed, implicating a member of the National Assembly who in turn confessed implicating a large number of the members of the former Republican Party of Progress. Even the redoubtable Kiasim Karabekir and Fuad Pashas were tried but were acquitted amid applause of the people. Fifteen were condemned and executed. Four weeks later still other men of former governmental favour were convicted and executed.¹

Since this effort there has been six years of peace. The reign of force gradually came to an end. Martial law and the Independence Tribunals have been abolished and the usual legitimate procedures of a normal republic now prevail. It is not likely that there will be any internal upheavals during the life time of the great Turkish reformer and by that time a generation of men and women will have grown up that will guard the heritage he leaves them.

A new Capitol has been constructed in Angora, the city in the steppes. The marsh lands near it have all been drained and the water from the mountains now supplies the city. Government buildings, banks, hotels, etc. as in all modern cities now adorn the streets. Thus the country, like its people, is putting on new clothes.²

1

Hadji Tazet Deen, Constantinople, in letter to writer, of Feb. 4, 1930.

2

From personal visit and inspection of blueprints by the writer.

Agriculture is making rapid strides. Turkey has bought more farming implements during the last five years than Canada. The people are gaining in wealth and education by leaps and bounds.¹

The so-called western civilization began spreading over the world at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This victorious intellectual advance of Europe continues still. But a slight arrestation may now be noticed. It will certainly in time stop altogether. At the close of the World War, England had her hands on the Caspian, Black, Mediterranean, and Red Seas and the Persian Gulf. Her dominance of the Near East seemed assured. But Sakaria and Lausanne broke her hold and changed her plans in many ways. This great Empire now is consolidating her holdings instead of extending them. Asia, the mother of us all, has begun to awake. The future will witness great and rapid progress not only in the Orient but also in the mid-East. It will also date its beginning from the work of the Nationalists of Angora.

I

Marion Rust, Manuscript, "The Near Future of the Near East", specially prepared for N. E. Section, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., December 1925.

APPENDICES

Chronology of Events, 1918-1923, Inclusive¹

Main Sources: American Journal of International Law, Annual Register, Current History, New York Times, Times (London).

1918

- January 5 British Premier defined war aims
(Select Document 11).
- January 8 President Wilson's basis for world peace.
- February 8 The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Neesimy Bey, expressed complete accord with
the Czernin and von Hertling replies to
President Wilson's address to Congress of
January 8, 1918.
- February 9 Peace treaty signed between Ukraina and
Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria
(New York Times, February 12).
- March 3 Brest-Litovsk Treaty between Soviet Russia
and Central Powers ratified by Soviet Russia
on March 14.
- April 2 German and Turkish ambassadors presented their
credentials to the Russian Soviet Republic.
- April 13 Armenia and Georgia refused to recognize
the cession of territory under the Brest-
Litovsk Treaty and fighting broke out in
Batumi, Kars, and Ardahan after the Turks
began military occupation.
- April 26 Dispatch from Vienna stated that Bulgaria
has agreed to cede Turkey the Karagatch
railway station at Adrianople and the left
bank of the River Maritza as far as Kuleli-
Burgas as compensation for Bulgaria's
acquisition of the Dobruja.
- May 10 Caucasus peace negotiations with Turkey.
- May 10 Announced that an accord had been signed
between France and Turkey relative to
repatriation of civilians of the two countries.
- June 7 Announced that Bulgaria and Turkey had become
parties to the Austro-German pact.
- July 3 Death of Mohammed V, Sultan of Turkey. The
following day Vahideddin proclaimed Sultan.
- July 13 Ratifications of Brest-Litovsk treaty exchanged
in Berlin.

¹Mears, Modern Turkey, pp. 594-607.

- July 26 Announced that the Fifth National Congress of Turkestan had proclaimed Turkestan a republic in alliance with Soviet Russia.
- July 28 By plebiscite, Kars, Batum, and Ardahan decided to unite with Turkey.
- July 31 Peace treaty ratified at Constantinople between Turkey and the Armenian independent republic of Ararat with its capitol at Erivan.
- August 19 Commercial treaty signed between Turkey and Azerbaijan.
- August 22 Exchange of ratifications of Brest-Litovsk treaty between Turkey and the Ukraine.
- September 5 When Tabriz was occupied in June the American consulate was sacked and the American hospital seized. Turkey disclaimed any intention of affronting the United States and orders were given to remove troops from the American hospitals and to respect American interests there.
- September 19-30 General Allenby's forces victorious in Palestine; capture Damascus (September 30).
- September 24 Bulgaria initiated a proposal for securing armistice and peace.
- September 29 Bulgaria surrenders.
- October 4 Allied governments formally recognize the belligerent status of Arab forces fighting with Allies against Turks in Palestine and Syria.
- October 5 Russian abrogated the treaty of peace with Turkey.
- October 8 Turkish emissaries sent to Allies from Smyrna to ask for peace.
- October 12 Peace note from Turkey.
- October 14 Emir Feisal entered Damascus and raised Arab flag (replaced by French tricolor, October 24).
- October (Middle of month) Talaat and Enver resigned.
- October 30 The United States notified Turkey that the request for armistice would be brought to the attention of nations at war with Turkey. Turkish armistice signed at Mudros to go into effect the next noon, local time, October 31. (Select Document 14).
- November 8 Anglo-France declaration with regard to Arab territories.
- November 9 British forces occupy forts along the Dardanelles.
- November 13 Allied fleets anchored off Constantinople.

1919

- January 18 The Paris Peace Conference (first plenary session) opened at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. M. George Clemenceau, Premier of France, was elected President on nomination by President Wilson.
- January 30 Secret treaty between Turkey and Germany discovered showing plan for dividing Russia (New York Tribune, January 31).
- April 1 Blockade against Turkey raised.
- April 22 The United States recognizes British protectorate in Egypt.
- April 24 Signor Orlando left Paris for Rome returning to Paris on May 5.
- April 29 Italian troops landed at Adalia.
- May 9 Ecumenical Patriarch at the Phanar broke off relations with the Ottoman Government.
- May 15 Greek forces landed at Smyrna in accordance with mandate received from the Allied and Associated Powers.
- May 21 M. Sterghiades arrived at Smyrna in capacity of High Commissioner.
- June - July American section of the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey (King-Crane Mission) studied conditions in Syria and Palestine (report contained in Editor and Publisher, New York, December 2, 1922).
- June 17 - July 4 Turkish delegates to Peace Conference ask to be heard on June 17. After exchange of notes the delegates were advised that nothing would be gained by a longer stay in Paris and on July 4, the mission left for Constantinople without a formal hearing.
- June 28 Treaty between Allied Powers and Germany signed.
- July Enver Pasha, Djemal Pasha, and Talaat Pasha tried by court martial and condemned to death. They had fled from the country prior to 1918.
- July 11 Mustafa Kemal Pasha outlawed by the Ottoman Government.
- July 23 Turkish Nationalists Congress at Erzerum.
- July 29 M. Venzelos and Signor Tittoni signed agreement respecting Greek and Italian interests in Rhodes, the Dodekanese and the Meander Valley.

- August - October** American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia, under command of Major General James G. Harbord, organized under authority of the President, investigated conditions in European Turkey, Asia Minor, and the Transcaucasus.
- August 8** Turks proclaimed jihad against Greeks landed at Panderma.
- August 9** Anglo-Persians agreement signed.
- August 24** First meeting of the Commission of Inquiry sent to Smyrna by the Governments of the principal Allied Powers and the United States.
- August 28** Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, U. S. N., appointed American High Commissioner at Constantinople.
- September 9** Declaration of the Congress of Sivas.
- September 9** General Allenby arrived in Paris.
- September 9** Statement by Colonel Lawrence regarding Syrian question.
- September 26** Announcement that an agreement had been reached between France and Great Britain relative to Syria.
- October 5** Damad Ferid Ministry replaced by an Ali Riza Ministry with a mandate from the Sultan to hold a general election.
- October 7** Mustafa Kemal Pasha telegraphed to the Ottoman Government the peace terms formulated at the Congresses of Erzerum and Sivas.
- October** Publication at Constantinople of summary report of the Allied Commission of Inquiry at Smyrna.
- November - December** British forces replaced by French forces in Cilicia, and in Syria, as far south as the Palestine frontier.
- November 23** Agreement between Soviet Armenia and Azerbaijan to cease hostilities and to settle all controversies by peaceful agreements.
- November 27** Treaty between Allied Powers and Bulgaria at Neuilly.

1920

- January 11** Session of Ottoman Parliament begins at Constantinople.
- January 28** Signatures by members of the Ottoman Parliament to the Turkish Nationalist pact.
(Special Document No. 3)
- February** Allied extradition list.

- February 9 French garrison evacuated Marash. Massacre of Armenian civilians.
- February 9 Secret memorandum of April 1917 from Lord Balfour, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to the French Government concerning final division of Asia Minor was made public.
- February 20 British Premier, in important speech announced that Allies had decided to have the Turks remain in Constantinople.
- March 2, 16, 22, 24 British Government refused to publish Report of the Allied Commission of Inquiry at Smyrna.
- March 11 Emir Feisal proclaimed himself at Damascus, King of Syria; he had assumed the title previously.
- March 16 The Allied occupation of Constantinople. Recall of allied patrol officers from the interior of Anatolia. Prominent Turks arrested March 15-16 by the British and deported to Malta. Many Turks escaped to Asia Minor.
- March 22 Lebanon independence proclaimed at Baalbek.
- April 1 - June 1 Armenian mandate offered to League of Nations by Supreme Council. Publicly discussed April 11. Council rejected mandate. Allied premiers decide to establish a free and independent republic. League of Nations Council in memorandum to Supreme Council insisted that that power should guard Armenia sharing financial risk. Senate rejected (June 1) President Wilson's recommendation to accept Armenian mandate. Vote 62 to 13.
- April 3 The Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia transmitted by President Wilson to the United States Senate.
- April 6 A second Damad Ferid Ministry came into power.
- April 10 French garrison at Urfa massacred.
- April 11 Sheikh-ul-Islam promulgated fetva denouncing nationalists as "rebels"; Grand Vizier issued decree condemning Nationalistic movement. The following day the Ottoman Parliament dissolved by order of the Sultan.
- April 18-27 Conference of San Remo. Appeal to the United States to take mandate for Armenia; failing that, President Wilson should be asked to arbitrate frontiers.
- April 23 Armenian Soviet Republic recognized as a defacto government by the United States. In January, recognition had been accorded

	by France, Great Britain, and Italy.
April 23	National Assembly met at Angora. Formal break between Angora and Constantinople.
	Law of Fundamental Organisation.
April 26	Palestine mandate accorded to Great Britain.
April 29	Cilician Christians, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Jacobites made collective protest to the Council of the League of Nations against return of their territory to Ottoman rule.
April	Military Convention concluded by Soviet Russia and Kemalists.
May 6	Peace delegation of the Porte arrived at Paris; given draft of peace treaty, May 11. Allowed one month for consideration; Sublime Porte envoys request delay until July 11.
May 15	Mesopotamian mandate offered to Great Britain.
June 1	Sir Herbert L. Samuel on his appointment as High Commissioner of Palestine announced the purpose of the British mandate.
June 19-21	Hythe Conference.
June 19-25	British naval forces occupy Mudania.
June 21-22	Conference of Allied Powers at Boulogne; Greek Prime Minister Venizelos announced that this Conference had sanctioned military action in Anatolia by Greece.
June	M. Venizelos, visiting England, is given permission to proceed against the Nationalist forces to the North of Smyrna in the direction of Brusa.
June 22	Greek offense against Turkish nationalist forces began.
June 30	Publication of Constantinople Government's proposals to the Allied Government's draft of the peace treaty.
June	Political understanding between Soviet Russia and Kemalists.
July 2	British and Greek naval forces occupied Panderma. Arab uprising in Mesopotamia began.
July 8	The Greek army entered Brusa.
July 9	British garrison evacuated Batum.
July 14-25	French commander in Syria sent an ultimatum to the Arab National Government of Damascus (July 14), and after fighting entered Damascus and overthrew the Arab National Government (July 25).
July (late)	Greeks occupied Thrace.

- August 10 Signature at Sevres of four treaties and one protocol.
- August 19 Draft agreement between Egypt and Great Britain signed at London recognizing independence and sovereign status of Egypt.
- September
 (middle) Italians evacuated the Dodekanese except Rhodes.
- September 17 Sir Percy Cox sent to Mesopotamia to create an Arab state; on October 20, the British War Office announced the completion of their main operations for the reestablishment of British Military control in Mesopotamia.
- September Turkish Nationalists forces invade Armenian Republic of Erivan.
- October 15 Turks capture Hajin, Cilicia, Many Armenians massacred.
- October 25 -
- December 19 King Alexander of Greece died (October 25). General elections in Greece strongly against M. Venizelos (November 14). Plebiscite recalled King Constantine (December 5) by almost a unanimous vote. King Constantine arrived at Athens (December 19).
- November 26 American official note of November 20 to Great Britain regarding mandate and oil in Mesopotamia made public.
- December 1 Offer of mediation to save Armenia made jointly by President Wilson, President Dato of Spain, and Foreign Minister Morquez of Brazil, placed before Council of League of Nations.
- December 3 Turko-Armenian peace treaty signed at Alexandropol, reducing Armenia to district of Erivan and Lake Gokcha (New York Times, December 10).
- December 4 A few days after an ultimatum from Soviet Russia to Turkish Nationalists forbidding them to advance further into Armenian territory, peace treaty was signed by the two governments.
- December 7 President Wilson asked Congress to authorize loan to Armenia.
- December 10 President Wilson's award concerning boundaries of Armenia delivered to French foreign offices.
- December 12 French decree issued creating body of controlling counselors to administer mandate in Syria and Lebanon.

December 22 Armenian Soviet Government repudiated all debts owed by any past Government.
 December 23 Franco-British Convention.
 December Unsuccessful negotiations between Nationalists at Angora and Government at Constantinople.

1921

January 16 Mission under Izzet Pasha from Constantinople Government arrived in Angora and announced shortly decision to remain in Angora until the Allies consented to modify the Sevres Treaty.
 January 22 Porte agreement signed establishing interallied control of all disbursements and revenues.
 January 30 Chamber of Deputies voted to ratify Sevres Treaty on January 30; Senate on December 23, 1920, had agreed to ratify.
 January 30 Mustafa Kemal Pasha notified the Constantinople Government that the Angora Government was the only one in Turkey.
 February 3-4 British mandate drafts for Mesopotamia and Palestine made public.
 February 8 Angora decided to send a separate mission to the London Conference.
 February 18 Two Turkish delegations arrive in London.
 February 21 Conference of the Allied Powers at London attended by delegations from Athens, Constantinople, and Angora.
 March 1 Treaty signed at Moscow between Afghanistan and Kemalists establishing diplomatic and consular relations, and providing for mutual assistance in event of attack by a third power.
 March 9 Secret agreement of London between the French and the Kemalists regarding immediate cessation of hostilities, evacuated of Cilicia, exchange of prisoners, protection of Armenians, etc. not ratified.
 March 12 Secret agreement of London between the Italians and the Kemalists signed at London regarding conditions of Italian zone of influence in Turkey and withdrawal of Italian troops from Ottoman territory. Not ratified.
 March 16 Kemalist-Soviet Russia treaty signed at Moscow.
 March 19 Franco-British convention on Asiatic mandates signed December 23, 1920, made public.
 March 31 Fighting broke out between French and Turks in Cilicia.

- April -
September Numerous military operations of which the most important was the notable counterattack of the Turks in September when they compelled the Greek army to recross the River Sakkaria.
- April 5 Correspondence between Great Britain and the United States in regard to economic rights in mandated territory made public. (British parliamentary papers, cmd. 1226)
- April Talaat Pasha assassinated at Berlin by an Armenian; latter exonerated by German Court.
- May 13 Government at Angora ratified treaty of March 16, 1921, with Soviet Russia.
- May 18 Proclamation of neutrality and designation of a neutral zone by the three Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople.
- June (early) M. Franklin-Bouillon, President of the Foreign Relations Committee of the French Senate, proceeded to Angora.
- June 19 Allied Powers sent offer to Greece to attempt mediation between Greeks and Turks, but offer refused on June 25.
- July (early) Mustafa Kemal Pasha requested General Harrington for a personal interview to which latter acceded. It did not take place, however.
- July 30 The Angora National Assembly ratified by 202 votes to 1 the Turko-Russian treaty concluded in March.
- August 10 Supreme War Council declared that Greece and Turkish Nationalists were engaged in a private war, and proclaimed neutrality of England, France, Italy, and Japan. (Current History, September, 1921).
- August 23 Emir Feisal ascended throne of Iraq.
- October 2 Soviet Russian-Turkish ratification of peace treaty of March 16, 1921, took place at Kars.
- October 4-9 Permanent mandates commission held first session at Geneva.
- October 13 Treaty of Kars between the Kemalist Government and the Caucasian Soviet Republics was signed.
- October 20 Franco-Turkish Nationalist agreement ratified by Kemalists, October 22; by France, October 30. France-British correspondence regarding same (November 6-18)
- November 18 Council of the League of Nations notified of conclusion of treaty between Iraq and the British Government.

December 30 Caucasus federation, consisting of a federation under Russian rule with political center at Baku, sponsored by the Russian Soviet Government..

1922

January 2 Treaty of friendship between Ukhrainia and the Kemalists. Ratified by the latter on January 10. (Text appears in Current History, February 1923)

January 12 Camies Conferences between the British representatives (Premier Lloyd George and Earl Curzon) and the Greek representatives (Messrs. Gounaris and Baltassis).

February 6 Yusuf Kemal Pasha left Anatolia on peace mission.

February 15 Greek Premier wrote Lord Curzon regarding desperate military situation in Asia Minor to which Lord Curzon replied that the Greek Government should await conclusions of the coming Allied conference. Letter from M. Gounaris circulated to the British Cabinet but not noted by the British Premier and other responsible officials. On November 28, executions at Athens took place.

February 28 British protectorate in Egypt terminated (cmd. 592)

March Fruitless Mission of Yuseuf Kemal to London. Mission from Constantinople Government in London simultaneously (assigned to same hotel).

March 9 Earl Montague of the Indian Office resigned following publication of Lord Readings plea against depriving Turkey of Smyrna and European territory.

March 31 Imperial Ottoman Government - Italian secret agreement.

March 22 - Foreign ministers of England, France, and Italy
April 15 met at Paris on March 22, to discuss the Greece-Turkish problems and demands of Turkish Nationalists for the revision of the Treaty of Sevres. On March 23 proposals for an armistice of three months was sent to Greek Government at Athens and to Turkish Governments at Angora and Constantinople. On March 25 the Greek Government accepted proposals with reservations. On March 26 the conference closed, with signing of terms for revision of Sevres Treaty. On April 25 Angora accepted armistice proposal with reservations regarding Anatolia. On April 8 Constantinople accepted with reservations regarding Thrace.

- Acceptance was handed to Allied High Commissioners. On April 15 Allied High Commissioners sent reply to Angora refusing to evacuate Anatolia.
- April 23 Angora Government informed Allies it would agree to preliminary discussion of peace terms.
- April 24 Agreement concluded between Italy and Russia concerning concessions for railways, mines, and public work in Asia Minor. (Times, May 5, 1922)
- May 9 Agreement between Great Britain and the United States reached in regard to Palestine mandate to be embodied in a treaty. (New York Times, May 10)
- May 9 At Geneva economic conference, King Feisal's representatives claimed independence for Syria and Lebanon, and decreed the organization of a powerful constitution assembly at Bagdad.
- June 26 Kemalist Government recognized by Persia.
- July 12 Angora Assembly elected new Commissars.
- July 24 Class A mandates, Syria to France and Palestine to Great Britain, approved by Council of League of Nations. On June 21, British House of Lords, had voted against Palestine mandate, 60 to 29; on July 4, House of Commons approved mandate, 292 to 35.
- July 25 Djemal Pasha killed by two Armenians at Tiflis.
- July 27-29 Greek forces threatened occupation of Constantinople (July 27), opposed by Allied Powers. Greeks acquiesced (July 29).
- July 30 M. Sterghiades proclaimed autonomy of Smyrna under Greek military protection.
- July (end) Allied attempt to call a conference in Venice for September prevented by renewed fighting.
- August 4 British Premier's speech in House of Commons. Other statements by Mr. Lloyd George were given on September 21, 23, and October 14.
- August 23 Fethi Bey, Minister of the Interior, failed to secure an audience with any cabinet minister regarding peace terms and left London in disgust. Before departure he telegraphed Angora to "Attack".
- August 28 Kemalist military operations launched, resulting in speedy and complete rout of Greek forces involving very heavy losses in men and materials.
- September 8 M. Sterghiades at Smyrna resigned. The advance Turkish troops entered Smyrna September 9, followed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha two days later.

- September 14 Tremendous Smyrna conflagration. Wholesale disagreement regarding the original incendiary. Apparently equally authentic parties charge the Armenians, Greeks, and Turks.
- September 16 British Prime Minister made a military appeal against the Turks to the Dominions and the Balkan States. Premier Poincare announced (September 19) that France was not prepared to use force and advised British withdrawal from Chanaq but the British refused (September 21).
- September 22 Ratifications exchanged for Turkish Nationalist-Soviet Russian treaty.
- September 23 France, Great Britain, and Italy requested an armistice. M. Franklin-Bouillon sent as special emissary.
- October 1 Turkish National Pact made widely public (New York Times, October 1, 1922).
- October 10 British-Iraq treaty announced.
- October 3-11 Deliberations at Mudania; armistice signed October 11.
- October 19 Reft Pasha, appointed by Angora as governor of Eastern Thrace, arrived at Constantinople.
- October 26 Invitations issued to Conference at Lausanne.
- October Enver Pasha killed fighting in Bokhara where he had raised a revolt against Soviet Russia in order to make himself dictator of Turkestan.
- November 1 Grand National Assembly made supreme in Turkey.
- November 2 Defensive alliance between Afghanistan and Turkey.
- November 5 Reft Pasha announced that Constantinople Government had ceased to exist. Archives of Sublime Porte transferred to Angora. Allied High Commissioners accept new conditions but refuse to evacuate the city.
- November 16 National Assembly accused Mohammed VI of treason and ordered him and his cabinet ministers to be placed on trial. The following day the former Sultan embarked for Malta on the British dreadnought Malaya. Britain stated that it had merely protected him from a personal danger and that Britain had been the traditional refuge of deposed sovereigns and that even Napoleon had been removed to safety on a British ship.
- November 19 Abdul Mejid Effendi, second son of the late Sultan Aziz and cousin of Mohammed VI, was elected Supreme Khalif of the Moslems. On November 24 the new Khalif was invested with the Sacred Mantle of the Prophet Mohammed in the Top Kapu Palace overlooking the Golden Horn.

For the first time in history the prayers were said in Turkish instead of Arabic to symbolize Turkish national unity and to indicate that the Arabs no longer formed a part of the Turkish state. No foreign government was officially represented at the ceremonies although congratulations were extended on November 27. Premier Lloyd George resigns. Lord Curzon remains secretary for foreign affairs.

November 20 First Lausanne Conference opens.

November 25 French evacuated Adrianople.

November 27 Reported that 250,000 non-Moslem inhabitants of northern Asia Minor were fleeing.

December 1 Allies agree to exchange of populations.

December 10 Sir Charles Harrington, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied military forces at the Straits, after an interview with the new Khalif reported that the latter's authority had been recognized, therefore the British Government wished to establish formal relations with him.

December (early) British High Commissioner in Iraq secured signature of Ibn Saud to treaty between Iraq and Nejd drawn up in the previous April.

1923

January 30 Greece-Turkish agreements signed at Lausanne incorporated in the Treaty of Peace (July 24).

February 5 First Lausanne Conference ends.

February 17 Turkish Economic Congress at Smyrna.
(See text in the General Introduction.)

March 6 The Grand National Assembly rejected the treaty draft but authorized the government to continue negotiations.

April 3 Protocol to British-Iraq treaty signed, published Iraq on May 5.

April 10 The Grand National Assembly approved the so-called Chester Concessions. Protests later from the French and British Governments. The American interests vested in the Ottoman America Development Company signed the agreement in New York City (June 9).

April 15 The ex-Sultan of Turkey issued a proclamation to the Islamic world to ignore the decision separating the Sultanate and the Khalifate. The following day the Grand National Assembly passed a law making an act of high treason all agitation in favor of restoring the former authority.

- April 20 Mrs. Hamilton Wright, American member of the Opium Commission of the League of Nations, announced that the Turkish Government was willing to restrict opium production to medical needs provided an assurance against loss of revenue was made.
- April 23 Second Lausanne Conference opened.
- May 2 Several Bolshevik agents arrested in Constantinople.
- July 8 Accord reached at Lausanne between Ismet Pasha and the Allies. The following day at a special meeting of the Angora Cabinet, Mustafa Kemal presiding authorized Ismet to sign peace terms.
- July 10 The Greek patriarch, Meletios Metaxakis, is forced to retire from Constantinople.
- July 24 Peace terms signed between Turks and Allies at Lausanne. Treaty of Peace between the Turks and the Greeks signed.
- July 25 The Aga Khan announced to Moslem world that the Khalifate movement was "out of date". Good relations should be cultivated with France and Great Britain, and Turkey should be assisted in every way possible.
- August 6 Supplementary treaties signed between representatives of the Turkish and American Governments.
- August 13 The recent elections gave sweeping victory for the Defense of Rights Party, and on August 13, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was unanimously elected President of the Grand National Assembly.
- October 6 Turkish troops occupy Constantinople.
- October 14 Angora is voted the Turkish capital by the assembly.
- October 29 Declaration of the Turkish Republic. Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha chosen the first President and General Ismet Pasha the first Premier.
- November 25 Syro-Palestine Congress petitions League of Nations to set aside mandates for Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine.
- December 11 Following the publication in Constantinople journals of the declaration regarding the Khalifate by the Aga Khan and Ameer Ali, the Government established an "anti-revolutionary" court which held secret sessions at Constantinople during the rest of the month.
- December 13 The New Ecumenical Patriarch, Gregorius VII, is enthroned at Phanar.
- December 18 The Turkish Minister of Public Works announced that the "Chester" concessions were annulled.

No. 1 The Mudros Armistice¹

October 30, 1918

FOLLOWING the surrender of Bulgaria, Turkey withdrew from the war several days before the capitulation of Germany. The armistice prepared by a Vice Admiral of the British Navy was signed on board the battleship Agamemnon stationed off Mudros, Island of Lemnos, October 30, 1918.

REFERENCE - International Law Documents, Naval War College, 1918.

Conditions of an armistice agreed to and concluded between Vice Admiral the Honorable Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe, British Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean station, acting under authority from the British Government, in agreement with their Allies, and His Excellency Bauf Bey, Ottoman minister of marine; His Excellency Richard Hikmet Bey, Ottoman under secretary for foreign affairs; Lieutenant-Colonel Saadullah Bey, Ottoman general staff, acting under authority from the Ottoman government.

1-Opening of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; access to the Black Sea; allied occupation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus forts.

2-The positions of all mine fields, torpedo tubes, and other obstructions in Turkish waters are to be indicated, and assistance is to be given to sweep and remove them as required.

3-All available information about mines in the Black Sea is to be communicated.

4-All allied prisoners of war as well as Armenian interned persons and prisoners are to be collected at Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies.

5-Immediate demobilisation of the Turkish army, except troops required for the surveillance of the frontiers and maintenance of internal order, the number of effectives and their disposition to be determined later by the Allies, after consultation with the Turkish Government.

¹ Mears, Modern Turkey, pp. 624-626.

6-Surrender of all war vessels in Turkish waters or in waters occupied by Turkey, these ships to be interned in such Turkish ports as, directed, except small vessels required for policy and similar purposes in Turkish territorial waters.

7-The Allies have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies.

8-Free use of the Allied ships of all ports and an anchorage now under Turkish occupation and denial of their use to the enemy; similar condition to apply to Turkish merchantile shipping in Turkish waters for purpose of trade and demobilization of the army.

9-Use by the Allies of all ship repair facilities at all Turkish ports and arsenals.

10-Allied occupation of the Taurus tunnel system.

11-Immediate withdrawal of the Turkish forces in north-western Persia behind the prewar frontier, already ordered, and part of Transcaucasus to be evacuated by Turkish troops as already ordered; the remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies, after they have studied the situation.

12-All wireless telegraph and cable stations to be controlled by the Allies, Turkish Government messages excepted.

13-Prohibition against destruction by the Turks of any naval, military, or commercial material.

14-Facilities are to be given for the purchase of coal, oil, fuel, and naval material from Turkish sources after the requirements of the country have been met and none of the above to be exported.

15-Allied control officers to be placed on all railways, including portions of the Transcaucasian railways under Turkish control, which must be placed at the free and complete disposal of the Allied authorities, due consideration being given the needs of the population. This clause to include Allied occupation of Baku by the Allies.

16-Surrender of all garrisons in Hejaz, Assyriemen, Syria, and Mesopotamia to the nearest Allied commander. Withdrawal of

the Turkish troops from Cilicia, except those necessary to maintain order to be determined under clause 5.

17-Surrender of all Turkish officers in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to the nearest Italian garrison, Turkey to guarantee to stop supplies to and communications with these officers if they do not obey the order to surrender.

18-Surrender of all ports occupied in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, including Misurata, to the nearest Allied garrison.

19-All Germans and Austrians, naval, military, and civilians, to be evacuated within one month from the Turkish dominions, those in the remote districts as soon after as possible.

20-Compliance with such orders as will be conveyed regarding the disposal of the equipment, arms, and ammunition, including the transport of the portion of the Turkish army to be demobilized under clause 5.

21-An allied representative attached to the Turkish ministry of supplies to safeguard Allied interests. This representative is to be furnished with all that is necessary for this purpose.

22-Turkish prisoners to be kept at the disposal of the Allied Powers, the release of Turkish civilian prisoners and prisoners over the military age to be considered.

23-In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets the Allies reserve for themselves the right to occupy any part of them.

24-Obligation on the part of Turkey to cease all relations with the Central Powers.

25-Hostilities between the Allies and Turkey to cease from noon, local time, Thursday, the 31st day of October (1918).

No. 2 - Declaration of the Congress of Sivas¹

September 9, 1919

WITH this Congress, which followed that of Erzerum we have the first formal declaration of the Kemalists, who were also known as the Nationalists in contradistinction to the Imperial Ottoman Government at Constantinople. This document was the predecessor of the Turkish National Pact (Special Document No. 3).

REFERENCE - Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia, by Major-General, James G. Harbord, Government Printing Office (1920), Washington.

In view of the exterior and interior perils which threaten our country, the national conscience has become awakened and gave birth to our Congress, which has reached the following decision:

- I. All of the Turkish territory within the frontier outlined 30 October 1334 (1918), between the Ottoman Government and the Allies, and inhabited by a preponderate majority of Turk population, will form an undivided and inseparable whole. All the Mussulman elements living in said territories are filled with mutual sentiments of respect and devotion for the social conditions of the country and form a veritable fraternity.
- II. In order to assure the integrity of our country and our national independence, as well as to assure the conservation of the Sultanate and supreme Khalifate, it is indispensable to the place in action the national forces and the absolute will of the people.
- III. Against all intermeddling or occupation of no matter what part of the Ottoman territory, and in particular against every movement tending toward the formation, at the expense of the mother country, of an independent Armenia and of an independent Greece on the Aidin, Magnesia, and Balikhisar fronts, we are absolutely resolved to resist and to defend our rights.

¹ Mears, Modern Turkey, pp. 627-629.

- IV. It is inadmissible that privileges be accorded to all non-Musulman elements who, for ages, have lived from the breast of the same country and who enjoy the same rights of equality; such privileges would tend to trouble our political government and break the social equilibrium.
- V. All methods and all means are taken with a view to safeguard the Sultanate, the supreme Khalifate, and the integrity of the country in the case where the Turkish Government, under foreign pressure, should be called upon to abandon no matter what part of our territory.
- VI. We await a decision which will conform with right and with such justice as will annul the initiatives that are contrary to our historic, ethnic, and religious rights; a decision relative to the annulling of the project of the separation of our territory situated within the line of demarcation traced by the armistice treaty, 30 October 1334, and inhabited by a preponderate majority of musulman population having an intellectual preponderance and economic superiority and forming an absolutely indivisible brotherhood which is inseparable of race and religion.
- VII. Our people honor and respect humanitarian and contemporary purposes and take in consideration our scientific, industrial, and economic needs; in consequence whereof, on condition that the interior and exterior independence of our people and of our State, and on condition that the territorial integrity of our country shall be conserved intact, we will accept with pleasure the scientific, industrial, and economic assistance of every State which will not set forth imperialistic tendencies with respect to our country and which will respect the principles of nationality within the limits indicated under Article VI. We await in the name of the preservation of humanity and universal peace the urgent signature of a peace based on the aforementioned equitable and humanitarian conditions which we consider to be our great national objective.
- VIII. In the course of historic events which fix the destinies of nations, it is indispensable that our central government shall submit itself to the national will, for the arbitrary decision, emanating from a government which

tr treats lightly of the supreme will of the people not only causes that government not to be respected but, again, it could not be taken into consideration; the history of our past is proof. In consequence, it is absolutely urgent that before taking the means to remedy the anguish which exists within the very breast of the nation, our Central Government shall proceed without delaying further to convene the Nationalist Assembly and submit all the decisions to be taken with a view to safeguarding the interests of the nation.

IX. The sufferings and the calamities of the nations have given birth to a federal assembly called "the assembly to defend the rights and the interests of the provinces of Anatolia and of Rumaili". That assembly abstracts all the tendencies of the political parties so that all our Mussulman compatriots as such can be considered as legitimate members of that assembly.

X. The Congress of that assembly, named, "the assembly to defend the rights and interests of the provinces of Anatolia and of Rumaili", which met at Sivas, 4 September, 1335 (1919), has chosen a representative corps charged to push on the proposed sacred cause and to direct such similar organizations as well in the smaller communities as in the larger centers of the vilayets.

The Congress.

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No. 3 - Turkish National Pact

January 28, 1920

The "Declaration of Independence" of the New Turkey was ratified by the lower house of the Ottoman Parliament on January 28, 1920. Its principals were implicitly followed by the Turkish delegates at the Lausanne Conference. Mustafa Kemal Pasha is reported to have stated early in 1922: "The pact represented our program when we were weak and now that we are strong, it still represents our program. We shall not stop fighting until we have given effect to every syllable of it, and we shall put up our swords as soon as we have realized the pact. We stand or fall on the National Pact."

REFERENCES - Current History, November, 1922; New York Times, October 1, 1922; Toynbee, A. J., "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey" (1922).

(Close translation from the Turkish, made independently of the French version, of the text of the National Pact as printed in the Proceedings of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies of February 17, 1920.)

The members of the Ottoman chamber of deputies recognize and affirm that the independence of the State and the future of the Nation can be assured by complete respect for the following principles, which represent the maximum of sacrifice which can be undertaken in order to achieve a just and lasting peace, and that the continued existence of a stable Ottoman Sultanate and society is impossible outside of the said principles:

FIRST ARTICLE. - Inasmuch as it is necessary that the destinies of the portions of the Turkish Empire which are populated exclusively by an Arab majority, and which on the conclusion of the armistice of the 30th October, 1918, were in the occupation of enemy forces, should be determined in accordance with the votes which shall be freely given by the inhabitants, the whole of those parts whether within or outside the said armistice line which are inhabited by an Ottoman Moslem majority, united in religion, in race, and in aim, imbued with sentiments of mutual respect for each other and of sacrifice, and wholly respectful of each others racial and social rights and surrounding conditions, form a whole which does not admit of division for any reason in truth or in ordinance.

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Nears, Modern Turkey, pp. 629-630.

SECOND ARTICLE. - We accept that, in the case of the three sanjaks which united themselves by a general vote to the mother country when they first were free, recourse should again be had, if necessary, to a free popular vote.

THIRD ARTICLE. - The determination of the juridical status of Western Thrace also, which has been made dependent on the Turkish peace, must be effected in accordance with the votes which shall be given by the inhabitants in complete freedom.

FOURTH ARTICLE. - The security of the city of Constantinople, which is the seat of the Khalifate of Islam, the capitol of the Sultanate, and the headquarters of the Ottoman Government, and of the Sea of Marmara must be protected from every danger. Provided this principal is maintained, whatever decision may be arrived at jointly by us and all other governments concerned, regarding the opening of the Bosphorus to the commerce and traffic of the world, is valid.

FIFTH ARTICLE. - The rights of Minorities as defined in the treaties concluded between the Entente Powers and their enemies and certain of their associates shall be confirmed and assured by us - in reliance on the belief that the Moslem minorities in neighboring countries also will have the benefit of the same rights.

SIXTH ARTICLE.- It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every other country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development, in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration.

For this reason we are opposed to restrictions inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial, and other matters.

The conditions of settlement of our proved debts shall likewise not be contrary to these principles.

No. 4 - The Treaty of Sevres¹

August 10, 1920

THE dictated Turkish treaty was signed at Sevres by representatives of the Constantinople Government but not by the revolutionary Kemalist Government at Angora. This abortive treaty is an excellent example of imperialism. A second agreement dated March 27, 1922, revised certain of the terms; significant economic clauses of the original treaty are cited.

REFERENCE - Great Britain foreign office, cmd. 964 (Treaty Series No. 11), 1920.

The provisions are grouped under thirteen divisions as follows: covenant of the League of Nations; frontiers of Turkey; political clauses; protection of minorities; military, naval, and air clauses; prisoners of war and graves; penalties; financial clauses; economic clauses; aerial navigation; ports, waterways, and railways; labour; miscellaneous provisions.

ARTICLE 231 - Turkey recognizes that by joining in the war of aggression which Germany and Austria-Hungary waged against the allied powers, she has caused to the latter losses and sacrifices of all kinds for which she ought to make complete reparation.

On the other hand, the allied powers recognize that the resources of Turkey are not sufficient to enable her to make complete reparation.

In these circumstances, and inasmuch as the territorial rearrangements resulting from the present treaty will leave to Turkey only a portion of the revenues of the former Turkish Empire, all claims against the Turkish Government for reparation are waived by the allied powers, subject only to the provisions of this part and of Part IX (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

The allied powers, desiring to afford some measure of relief and assistance to Turkey, agree with the Turkish Government that a Financial Commission shall be appointed consisting of one representative of each of the following allied

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Mears, Modern Turkey, pp. 634-637.

powers who are specially interested - France, the British Empire, and Italy - with whom there shall be associated a Turkish Commissioner in a consultative capacity. The powers and duties of this Commission are set forth in the following articles:

ARTICLE 232 - The Financial Commission shall take such steps as in its judgment are best adapted to conserve and increase the resources of Turkey.

The budget to be presented annually by the minister of finance to the Turkish Parliament shall be submitted, in the first instance, to the Financial Commission, and shall be presented to Parliament in the form approved by that commission. No modification introduced by Parliament shall be operative without the approval of the Financial Commission.

The Financial Commission shall supervise the execution of the budget and the financial laws and regulations of Turkey. This supervision shall be exercised through the medium of the Turkish inspectorate of finance, which shall be placed under the direct orders of the Financial Commission, and whose members will only be appointed with the approval of the Commission.

The Turkish Government undertakes to furnish to this inspectorate all facilities necessary for the fulfillment of its task and to take such action against unsuitable official in the financial departments of the Government as the Financial Commission may suggest.

ARTICLE 233 - The Financial Commission shall, in addition, in agreement with the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, undertake by such means as may be recognized to be opportune and equitable the regulation and improvement of the Turkish currency.

ARTICLE 234 - The Turkish Government undertakes not to contract any internal or external loan without the consent of the Financial Commission.

ARTICLE 236 - All the resources of Turkey, except revenues conceded or hypothecated to the service of the Ottoman public debt, shall be placed at the disposal of the Financial Commission.

ARTICLE 237 - Any hypothecation of Turkish revenues effected during the war in respect of obligations (including the internal debt) contracted by the Turkish Government during

the war is hereby annulled.

ARTICLE 238 - Turkey recognizes the transfer to the allied powers of any claims to payment or repayment which Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, or Hungary may have against her, in accordance with Article 261 of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles on June 28, 1919, with Germany and the corresponding articles of the treaties of peace with Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The allied powers agree not to require from Turkey any payment in respect of claims so transferred.

ARTICLE 239 - No new concession shall be granted by the Turkish Government either to a Turkish subject or otherwise without the consent of the Financial Commission.

ARTICLE 240 - States in whose favor territory is detached from Turkey shall acquire without payment all property and possessions situated therein registered in the name of the Turkish Empire or of the civil list.

ARTICLE 246 - The Turkish Government transfers to the Financial Commission all its rights under the provisions of the decree of Muharrem and subsequent decrees.

The Council of the Ottoman Public Debt shall consist of the British, French, and Italian delegates and of the representative of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and shall continue to operate as heretofore. It shall administer and levy all revenues conceded to it under the decree of Muharrem and all other revenues the management of which has been entrusted to it in accordance with any other loan contracts previous to November 1, 1914.

The allied powers authorize the council to give administrative assistance to the Turkish Ministry of Finance, under such conditions as may be determined by the Finance Commission with the object of realizing as far as possible the following program:

The system of direct levy of certain revenues by the existing administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, shall, within the limits to be prescribed by the Financial Commission, be extended as widely as possible and applied throughout the provinces remaining Turkish. On each new creation of revenue or of indirect taxes approved by the Financial Commission, the commissioner shall consider the

possibility of entrusting the administration thereof to the Council of the Debts for the account of the Turkish Government.

The administration of the customs shall be under a Direct General appointed by and revocable by the Financial Commission and answerable to it. No change in the schedule of the customs charges shall be made except with the approval of the Financial Commission.

The Governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy will decide, by a majority and after consulting the bondholders, whether the council should be maintained or replaced by the Financial Commission on the expiry of the present term of the council. The decision of the Government shall be taken at least six months before the date corresponding to the expiry of this period.

ARTICLE 260 - The legislative measures required in order to give effect to the provisions of this part will be enacted by the Turkish Government and by the powers concerned within a period which must not exceed six months from the signature of the present treaty.

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- a. Chronology of Events, 1918-1923.
- b. Mudros Armistice.
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NOTE: The writer spent five years, from 1921 to 1926, in the Near and Middle East. In writing his Thesis he drew on private notes made during this period for certain facts. He was also greatly helped because he was an eye witness of many events discussed in the Thesis, and because he was able to hold conversation with the various governmental officials who represented their nations in Asia Minor.