



GHAZI MUSTAPHA KAMAL ATATURK

THE SPEECH

PREPARED FOR RELEASE:

HUSEYIN HAKKI KAHVECI

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INTRODUCTION

This book involves the speech of Ghazi Mustapha Kamal Ataturk, the founder and the first President of the Republic of Turkiye. He delivered this speech to the deputies and representatives of the “Republican Party” in Ankara between 15th - 20th October 1927.

In his unique speech, Ataturk talks about his activities from the time when he first felt himself called upon to take the leadership of Turkish nation into his own hands and guide it from shame and threatened ruin to freedom and power. This mission is one of the most remarkable events in many centuries of Turkish history. There has been a spiritual and unseen formation of Turkish nation since the ancient times of Mete Khan. When there is a danger of total ruin and extinction of Turkish nation, a leader is chosen and supported spiritually.

Mustapha Kamal Pasha tells his people how this new Turkey has been built up, on what foundations she is standing and what are the paths she must tread in future.

The speech was delivered before Turks by a Turk, by a man who from the beginning of his military career was intimately associated with the political events occurring in his country; before men who, like himself, have lived to witness or to share in the two critical decades of the modern history of his native land.

The Ottoman Empire, which at one time had made Europe tremble, came politically and economically by degrees more dependent upon the Great Powers. In the country, Abdulhamid’s interest was chiefly directed towards the suppression of any modern or independent movement, and every means was welcome for the attainment of this aim. Rigid control of religion, which was connected outwardly with Panislamic efforts, a system of espionage to an extent never previously experienced were among them. Exiles and executions increasing distrust, he considered to be such, were innumerable. But spiritual development could not be arrested, the counter-pressure against that exercised from Constantinople was slowly growing and expanding. In the nineties there arose in Macedonia, especially at Salonika, the “Committee of Union and Progress” in which undoubtedly important moral forces were at work.¹

Kemal Pasha, at that time a young officer on the General Staff, also belonged to this movement. The hour of deliverance arrived in 1908. In July open rebellion broke out against Tyranny. Later, in 1909, the Macedonian troops reappeared before Constantinople, even before the Sultan’s auxiliary troops from Anatolia could reach the spot. After a bitter fight, the garrison of Constantinople was defeated. Abdul Hamid lost his throne and his liberty, and Mehmed V was proclaimed Sultan in his stead.

1 *) From the name of the “Committee of Union and Progress”, its members and adherents are often referred to in this volume as “Unionists”, while they are often described also as the “Young Turks”. It must be observed, however, that these two expressions do not mean exactly the same thing, because not all of the “Young Turks” were intimately associated with the “Committee of Union and Progress”.

Revolutionary as the beginning of the regime of the Young Turks was, they still remained in their character a party seeking development and not revolution.

This is neither the place nor exactly the proper time in which to pronounce final judgment on the "Committee of Union and Progress." Their rule was short; lasting scarcely ten years, it was by no means free from attack within the country and was constantly threatened by violent storms from without. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary and the declaration of independence by Bulgaria introduced a chain of political catastrophes affecting foreign policy, and from the time of the Turco-Italian war and during the whole of the World War this decade was almost entirely filled with bitter warfare. Ideals, such as the Pan-Ottoman or Turanian that dreamed of a union between all the Turkish tribes in Asia, or like the Panislamic that considered it justifiable to claim the unity of all Muslims, or the Osmanli that imagined -as happened in old Austria- that the dynasty could be regarded as a firm link connecting all the tribes peopling the wide Ottoman Empire, were interwoven in such a manner as to produce a policy that lacked the capability of establishing reforms and had no definite aim to inspire it. All the exalted ideals referred to broke down by the cruel demands on real vital strength, which resulted naturally from the war. It proved that the foreign nations, whether they were Balkans or Armenians, Greeks of Asia Minor or Arabs, felt the same as the Ottomans. Enver Pasha was defeated in his fight for the Turanian ideal.

Noble spirits felt themselves drawn into the task of co-operation in the common aim, and when, in the year 1910, Hamdullah Subhi Bey founded the national organisation known as the "Turkish Hearth" -an educational community aiming at the development of the national conscience - he planted a sapling which has grown into a powerful tree, with branches throughout the country. The wars which undermined the existence of the old Empire also shook the hearts of the people. During the World War the Turkish officer and soldier no longer fought for the Padishah alone, as they had formerly done. The appreciation of the value of, and anxiety for the existence of the country had been awakened. A spark still glowed when in the year 1918 all hope seemed to be sheer madness - a spark almost extinct, yet strong enough to brighten into flame when blown by genius.

At the end of October, 1918, after eight years of uninterrupted struggle, the resistance of Turkey was broken. Bulgaria had laid down her arms, communication with the Central Powers, who themselves had reached the limit of their strength, was cut. In Palestine and Mesopotamia the English drove the completely exhausted Turkish divisions northward in front of them. The end had come. The leaders of the Unionists, with the Grand Vizier Talaat Pasha, Enver Pasha and Djemal Pasha, surrendered and fled; Ahmed Izzet Pasha personally assumed the difficult task of carrying on the affairs of the State. A commission under Rauf Bey, the Minister of Marine, went out to the Allied fleet lying in the Dardanelles. On the 30th October, 1918, Rauf and the English Admiral Calthrop signed the armistice at Mudros. Its terms were severe and ruthless.

The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, as well as the forts commanding them, had to be evacuated and handed over to the Allies, the Army had to be disarmed and all ships surrendered. The Allies reserved to themselves the right to occupy every strategic point in Turkey should their „safety” require it. Turkish railways were to be controlled by officers belonging to the Allies, all the Turkish harbours were to be thrown open to them, all telegraph lines were to be placed under their control. Turkish prisoners of war were to remain in captivity, Turkish troops fighting far from their homes in the Hedjas, Tripoli, etc., were compelled to surrender. The prisoners of war belonging to the Allies confined in Turkey were immediately to be liberated. It was originally provided that all the German and Austrian troops in Turkey were to be considered prisoners of war, but the Turkish Government under Ahmed Izzet Pasha categorically refused to agree to this and obtained their freedom. Their loyalty towards their comrades in arms in such a desperate position shows a remarkably noble side of the Turkish character.

Allied and Greek soldiers cast anchor before Istanbul, and a terrible fate gathered over Turkey. The maps accompanying these volumes clearly show what were the intentions of the Entente. The conditions of the Treaty of Sevres (in the summer of 1920), which Mustapha Kemal Pasha analyses at the conclusion of his speech, prove that the Powers who pretended that they were fighting for the freedom and the self destination of the nations had no hesitation in practising the imperialism with regard to Turkey. They intended, beyond doubt, that it should be a peace of destruction in the strictest sense of the word. By annexation, placing territories under mandate and influence, besides the construction of new vassal states, nothing was to remain of Turkey except a small district in the interior of Anatolia- an island surrounded as it would be by foreign Powers, in which it would scarcely be possible ever to carry on political life or national power.

Detachments of foreign troops occupied important points in the interior of the country. Foreign officers were ranging through it in all directions. When, on the 15th May, 1919, Greek troops landed at Izmir with the permission of the Entente, treated the Turkish population as a defeated class and prepared for the forming of a new Great Greece, the curtain had, apparently, risen on the last act of the Turkish tragedy.

But this happened to be the hour of the birth of a new Turkey. The decision had already been made, Mustapha Kemal Pasha was already struggling to reach the shores of Anatolia.

The events during the following years are related in the pages of this work. They unfold a development of world-historical magnitude and importance. We are made aware in an overwhelming manner of the part staged by a great leader chosen by fate, who keeps his high aim ever before his eyes unflinchingly, regardless of counsel offered by those who thought they knew better than himself, who advances on his stormy path, who has the faculty of reviving the flood pulsating from the heart of his nation that was thought to have run dry, and who presses everything and everybody into the service of a great conception. Of what a nation that does not lose courage but is resolved to the bitter end is capable, is shown once more by his example and, simultaneously, the humanity is afforded

an insight into the very soul of the Turkish people who-misunderstood by those not intimately acquainted with them-have never learned how to bend their necks under a foreign headlock.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha's mission is not yet fully accomplished. What he publishes herein is the story of the birth of the new Turkey. Freedom from molestation from abroad, freedom within its frontiers to develop on modern lines and on a national foundation - these are her twin guiding stars. Mustapha Kemal Pasha has pointed both of them out to his people. The preservation of this freedom from foreign interference and of this national development are the tasks of the future, and are filled with dangers enough in every sphere of political activity. We pointed out at the beginning the great problems presented by the new development, the blending of all that was good, efficient and worthy in life, and at the same time consistent with the inherent character of the people, with all that is new but in so many ways essential.

Turkiye has been created by Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Republic of Turkiye will for ever stand as a monument of exalted patriotic love, of brilliant ability and of a gigantic will.

In the book called "Orkhon Inscriptions", one of the books that Atatürk read, it was seen that Bilge Kagan (the Wise Kagan) addressed the Turkish nation as "O Turkish nation!" and that Atatürk wrote down the following note in his handwriting:

"The Great Speech will be completed with such a statement."

In other words, Atatürk mentions that the process isn't completed and that it will continue after him. And he constantly mentions a person, a small child and a growing person with the phrases such as "Turkish child", "A traveller", "A Turk", "O The son of the future" which refer to singular person he has hidden in the sentences.

Surely, The Great Speech hasn't been written yet. The great-hearted person who will complete The Great Speech with the salutation sentence "O Turkish Nation!" will be the person addressed in the last sentence of Atatürk "the Son of the Turkish future" in his Speech. Both two chosen leaders, Atatürk who started the process and the one who will complete the process of the salvation of Turkish nation, are coded 19. (MKA 19 – HHK 19)

Even if the conditions of the son of the future are harsh, his might is in the noble blood he carries in his veins and he will lead to victory.

Sincerely with yours
Huseyin Hakkı Kahveci
October 2019 – Ankara & Turkey

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Who is Huseyin Hakki KAHVECI?

Is known as a journalist author, strategist, analyst, tourism professional, executive and broadcaster.

He was born in Istanbul, Turkey on November 19, 1972. He studied Medicine abroad with a state scholarship in 1989. Later, he got Master and Doctorate in Management in the USA. His studies continue on strategic and international relations. He has published more than 1000 columns in Yenicag media, Gunboyu and Anayurt newspapers and produced and presented "Turizme Dair" (About Tourism) TV program. Being the professional manager in International tourism, he is also an award winner in Tourism Professional Manager - Turkey in 2013.

With 39 columns in national media, he has created the agenda of Turkey. He gave lectures called "The Ones Who Dominate Tourism" Conferences at twelve universities. He is still the honorary president of Tur-Yon conferences. His two reports on Terrorism and Tourism that he prepared in 2006 and 2010 are still up to date and there are no other academic reports recorded on Terrorism and Tourism.

His Terrorism and Tourism reports have been the subject of PhD theses (three) in this field in Turkish universities and they have been cited as references in the thesis articles published in international refereed journals. He never stopped working as a journalist and columnist during his working life. He continues to work as a columnist on political strategy and economy as the chief editor of parlamentohaber.com in K2 Media Group.

Hüseyin Hakki Kahveci is an executive board member of ANSAV (Anadolu Strategic Research Foundation) and he is currently the head of the Axis of Politics Strategy Research Center. He is the author of nine nationally published books on Investigative Journalism in the field of Political Strategy, Intelligence Analysis.

He is the editor-in-chief and anchor of ATAM TV's weekly "Ufuk Otesi" (Beyond the Horizon) program prepared by himself. The original editions of his books are used as an auxiliary textbook in US universities. His books are officially published in US university libraries as master books and doctoral dissertations.

Huseyin Hakki Kahveci, who continues to be a book writer, ranked third in the list of 2017 most read books. He speaks excellent command of English, good command of Urdu, good command of Azeri Turkish, adequate Arabic and Russian.

He appeared as an on-air guest on Turkish television broadcasts on political strategy for nearly four hundred hours. He is the author and ideologist of the doctrine of nonpartisan Atatürkism and ATA TURKISM policy.

He is the founder and chairperson of "Ataturk- Atabey Turkish Hearths".

HUSEYİN HAKKI KAHVECI HOLDS:

- FIJ (Federation International Journalist) Member
 - PEN (Worldwide association of writers) Member
 - International Professional Journalist Press card;
 - The International Passport of the Press, Ambassador of the European News Agency;
- And he continues to work as a freelance journalist in national and international fields:
- Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGS)
 - Turkey Underwater Sports Federation

HIS BOOKS:

- *Yüzyılın Hilesi Sandıktaki Hülle* (2014) (The Trick of the Century -Stuffing in the Ballot Box)
- *Yeşil Hücreler* (2014) (The Green Cell Houses)
- *Uğur Mumcu'dan Sonra Rabita* (2017) ("Rabita" After Ugur Mumcu)
- *Atatürk'ün Yasaklanan Kitabı* (2017) (Atatürk's Prohibited Book)
- *Atatürk ve Cumhuriyete Kuşatma* (2018) (The Siege to Atatürk and the Republic)
- *Mühürlü Vagon* (2018) (*The Sealed Wagon*)
- *Trafodaki Kedi Sandıktaki Hile* (2019) (The Cat in the Main Substation -the Cheat in the Ballot Box)
- *Atatürk'ten Son Emir* (2019) (The Last Commandment From Atatürk)
- *The Speech – Nutuk* (2019)

When you listen to him, you will soon see that he gets to the heart of the matters and speaks to the heart of you, and that an exalted spirit beyond the horizon talks to you as if he hanged the centuries! Huseyin Hakki KAHVECI embodies the leader image with discipline, genuineness, charisma, unyielding determination and resolution. He is the leading name that you can find all the answers of your questions about Atatürk, future of the world and how to deal with the national and international problems that we experience now and after.

If you are wondering what would Ghazi Mustapha Kamal Ataturk have done and how he would behave if he was alive, observe Huseyin Hakki Kahveci and his friends. What Atatürk did is in this work: "The Speech". As for what Atatürk will do, the person that you will find the answer is Huseyin Hakki Kahveci, Atabey. Atabey and his friends have taken over the responsibility and set off just from the point where Atatürk left in 1938. You will see that a nation will rise from the ashes like a phoenix.

PREFACE

For many years, I had a wish to prepare Nutuk-the Speech of Atatürk, the last and the most important work of Turkish history, by simplifying it with an English language that the new young generation of the World can understand.

In the end of our research , we found out that the first English edition of NUTUK which was delivered by Mustapha Kemal Atatürk was made by Germany-Köhler publishing house in 1928 and by reaching the original 91-year-old texts, we simplified them eagerly. Today, we have prepared it in English for the countries and people of the world to read.

As a contribution to humanity of the World, I present you the the translation of NUTUK of Mustapha Kemal ATATURK, just the same as he read it first.

In my estimation, it was time for me to start. I was exhausted by the long and tiring simplification. But! I am in the tranquility of being able to adapt a beautiful work from the first written form to today's language internationally, which is written by Mustapha Kemal ATATURK and tells the most important issue of the last century - the founding of the Republic of Turkey.

That was my mission. As the transporter of time, I know that I will pay my debt to the Turks and Atatürk. In my opinion, it is a book that readers should read and understand better by thinking deeply, and that shouldn't be read as a novel or just a history book.

History repeats itself. That is why NUTUK (the Speech), as it was written and read by Atatürk in 1927, has been translated by me from Turkish to English in its original form.

As a writer, I have spoken with my books and ideas by today. I am trying to fulfill my duty and responsibility to the Turkish nation and the humanity of the world.

If the world and mankind take into consideration Mustafa Kemal Atatürk by remembering his ideas and works, peace and serenity will prevail on the Earth. Humanity will be able to know the Turkish nation more closely.

Exactly 92 years after he ordered and pointed out as "O Turkish Youth!" and "O Turkish child of future generations!", as a respond to the greatest founder of the nation in the history of the World and beyond time, I continue from the place where he left, with his own work.

Speech is not a work that only describes the years between 1919 and 1927 and the War of Independence. It is a timeless masterpiece that provides vital information hidden for beyond time.

"Turkish child will find the power to accomplish greater tasks in himself as long as he acquaints himself with his ancestors." Mustafa Kamal Atatürk

To the humanity of the world and the Turkish Nation respectfully.

Huseyin Hakki KAHVECI

19th May, 1919

Gentlemen,

I landed in Samsun on the 19th May, 1919. This was the general situation at that time:

The group of Powers which included the Ottoman Government had been defeated in the Great War. The Ottoman Army had been crushed on every front. An armistice had been signed under severe conditions. The prolongation of the Great War had left the people exhausted and impoverished. Those who had driven the people and the country into the general conflict had fled and now cared for nothing but their own safety. Wahideddin, the degenerate occupant of the throne and the Caliphate, was seeking for some despicable way to save his person and his throne, the only objects of his anxiety. The Cabinet, of which Damad Ferid Pasha was the head, was weak and lacked dignity and courage. It was subservient to the will of the Sultan alone and agreed to every proposal that could protect its members and their sovereign.

The Army had been deprived of their arms and ammunition, and this state of affairs continued.

The Entente Powers¹ did not consider it necessary to respect the terms of the armistice. On various pretexts, their men-of-war and troops remained at Istanbul. The Province of Adana was occupied by the French; Urfa, Marash, Aintap, by the English. In Adana and Konya were the Italians; whilst at Merzifon and Samsun were English troops. Foreign officers and officials and their special agents were very active in all directions. At last, on the 15th May, that is to say, four days before the following account of events begins, the Greek Army, with the consent of the Entente Powers, had landed at Izmir. Christian elements went also at work all over the country, either openly or in secret, trying to realise their own particular ambitions and thereby hasten the breakdown of the Empire.

Certain information and authentic documents that fell into our hands later on prove that the Greek organisation "Mavri Mira" (Document I), established by the patriarchate in Istanbul, was forming bands, organising meetings and making propaganda in the supported the work of the "Mavri Mira". The formation of Boy Scouts in the Greek schools directed by the "Mavri Mira" was reinforced by the admission even of young men over twenty years of age. The Armenian Patriarch, Sawen Effendi, also worked in connection -with the "Mavri Mira" The preparations made by the Armenians progressed side by side with those made by the Greeks.

A society called the "Pontus" at Trabzon, Samsun and other places along the whole of the Black Sea coast, having their headquarters in Istanbul, worked openly and successfully (Document 2).

On account of the appalling seriousness of the situation which was apparent everywhere, particularly in all the provinces, certain prominent personalities had begun, each on his own account, to discover some way by which he could save himself. This

1. The group of opponent states such as Britain, France and Italy in the World War I.

resulted in new organisations being started. Thus, for instance, there were unions or societies at Edirne and the surrounding districts called “Thrace and Pasha Eli.” In the east (Document 3), at Erzurum and Elazig (El Aziz) (Document 4), the “Union for the Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces” had been formed, also with their headquarters in Istanbul. Again, in Trabzon there was a society called the “Defence of Rights” and in Istanbul a “League for the Separation of Trabzon and its District.” Through the exertions of the members of this league (Documents 5-6), subcommittees had been established in Of and in the district of Rize (Lazistan).

Some of the young patriots in Izmir, who since the 13th May had noticed distinct indications of the approaching occupation of the town, had held meetings about the distressing condition of affairs during the night of the 14th, and in principle had agreed to oppose the occupation by the Greeks, which at that time was considered to be practically an accomplished fact, designed to end in annexation, and resisted it on the principle of “no annexation.” During the same night, those of the inhabitants who were unable to meet at the Jewish cemetery in Izmir drew up a protest and spread it broadcast. But as the Greek troops actually landed on the following morning this attempt failed to achieve the desired result.

I would like to give you a short account of the object and political aims of these organisations.

I had already had a conversation in Istanbul with some of the leaders of the “Thrace” and “Pasha Eli” Societies. They considered that the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire was extremely their country; their first thought was to save Eastern Thrace and later on, if possible, to form a Muslim and Turkish community that would include Western Thrace. The only way by which they thought they could realise this aim was to put their trust in England or, if this was not possible, in France. With this object they tried to get into touch with certain political personalities belonging to foreign countries. It was believed that their intention was to establish a Thrace Republic.

The object of the “Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces” Union, on the other hand (Art. 2 of the regulations), was to use all lawful means to ensure the free exercise and development of their religious and political rights for all elements inhabiting these provinces; to defend, if it should become necessary, the historical and national rights of the Muslim population of these provinces; to institute an impartial inquiry for the purpose of discovering the motives, the instigators and agitators implicated in the extortions and cruelties committed in the Eastern Provinces, so that the guilty ones might be punished without delay; to do their utmost to remove the misunderstandings that existed between the different elements in the country, and to restore the good relations that had formerly existed between them; and, finally, to appeal to the Government to alleviate as far as it lay in their power the misery resulting from the war.

Acting on these principles that emanated from the Central Committee in Istanbul, the Erzurum Branch decided to undertake, in defence of the rights of the Turks, to inform the civilised world by means of convincing documents that since the deportation the people had

been taking no part whatever in the excesses. Further, that the property of Armenians had been protected up to the time when the country was invaded by the Russians. On the other hand, that the Muslims had been compelled to suffer from the cruellest acts of violence and that some Armenians who had been saved from deportation had, in disobedience of orders, attacked their own protectors. The Branch were doing their very best to resist any attempt to annex the Eastern Provinces. (Proclamation by the Erzurum Branch.)

The members of the Erzurum Branch of the “Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces” resolved, as stated in their printed report, after having studied the propaganda circulated in these provinces as well the Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian questions, from the scientific and historical point of view, to concentrate their further efforts on the following points:

1. On no account to emigrate;
2. Forthwith to form scientific, economic and religious organisations;
3. To unite in the defence of even the smallest part of the Eastern Provinces that might be attacked.

It can be seen that the headquarters of the “Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces” were far too optimistic in their expectation to succeed by working on religious feelings. They continued to exert themselves indefatigably in this direction. For the purpose of defending the rights of Muslims dwelling in the Eastern Provinces they published a French journal, which they called “Le Pays.” They acquired the right to publish a magazine called “Hadissat.” They also presented memorials to the representatives of the Entente Powers in Istanbul and tried to send a delegation to Europe (Document 7).

From the foregoing statements, it appears to me to be clearly evident that the possible cession of the Eastern Provinces to Armenia was the most important reason for this Society having been formed. They anticipated that this possibility might become a reality if those who tried to prove that the Armenians were in the majority in these provinces, claiming the oldest historical rights, were to succeed in misleading the public opinion of the world by alleged scientific and historic documents and by perpetuating the calumny that the Muslim population was composed of savages whose chief occupation was to massacre the Armenians. Consequently, the Society aimed at the defence of the national and historic rights by corresponding methods and arguments.

The fear also existed that a Greek Pontic State might be founded on the shores of the Black Sea. At Trabzon several persons had formed another society with the object of protecting the rights of the Muslim population, to safeguard their existence and prevent them from falling under the yoke of the Greeks.

Their political aim and programme is already sufficiently obvious from its name: “The Society for the Cession of the Territory of Trabzon,” whose head office was in Istanbul. In any case, they set out with the idea of separating this district from the Central Government. Besides these organisations, which were being formed in the manner I have described, other societies and enterprises began to make their appearance. In the

provinces of Diyarbakır (Diyarbakir) (Documents 8-9), Bitlis and Elazig (El Aziz), among others, there was a League for the Resuscitation of the Kurds, with its head offices also in Istanbul. Their aim was to erect a Kurdish State under foreign protection.

Work was going on in Konya and the surrounding district for the formation of a league having for its object the revival of Islam-also with its offices in Istanbul. The “Unity and Freedom” and “Peace and Salvation” parties had branch committees throughout almost the whole of the country.

In Istanbul there were numerous public and secret organisations, calling themselves parties or societies and pursuing various aims.

One of the most important of these, the “Society of the Friends of England” is worthy of special mention. It does not follow from its name that its members were necessarily friends of England. In my opinion, the founders of this society were people who thought, before anything else, of their own safety and their own particular interests, and who tried to secure both by inducing Lloyd George’s Government to afford them English protection. I wonder whether these misguided persons really imagined for a moment that the English Government had any idea at all of maintaining and preserving the Ottoman State in its integrity.

At the head of this Society were Wahideddin, who bore the title of Ottoman Sultan and Caliph, Damad Ferid Pasha, All Kemal, Minister of the Interior, Adil Bey, Mehmed Ali Bey and Said Molla. Certain English adventurers, for instance a clergyman named Frew, also belonged to this Society. To judge from the energy the latter displayed, he was practically its chairman. The Society had a double face and a twofold character. On the one hand, it openly sought the protection of England by methods inspired by civilisation. On the other, it worked in secret and showed that its real aim was to incite the people to revolt by forming organisations in the interior, to paralyse the national conscience and encourage foreign countries to interfere. These were the treacherous designs underlying the work of the secret section of the Society. We shall see later how Said Molla played just as active a part, or even a still more important one, in this secret work as in the public enterprises of the Society. What I have just said about this Society will become much clearer to you when I enter into further particulars later on and lay before you certain documents which will astonish you.

Certain prominent personalities-amongst them some women- in Istanbul were convinced that the real salvation of the country lay in securing an American protectorate over it. They stubbornly persisted in this idea and tried to prove that acceptance of their point of view was the only thing possible. About this I shall also have a great deal more to say at the proper time.

So that you may clearly appreciate the general situation, I would like to point out exactly where and in what condition the military units were at the time of which I am speaking. Two Army Inspections had been established on principle in Anatolia. Immediately after the conclusion of the armistice the regular soldiers at the front were disbanded. Deprived of their arms and ammunition, the Army consisted only of units having no fighting value.

The distribution of the troops under the second Army Inspection, with its headquarters in Konya, was as follows: The 12th Army Corps, with its Staff in Konya, consisted of one division -the 41st- in Konya and another -the 23rd - in Afyonkarahisar. To this Army Corps was attached the 57th Division, stationed at Denizli, belonging to the 17th Army Corps, which had been captured in Izmir. The 20th Corps and its Staff was stationed in Ankara one of its divisions, the 24th, in Ankara itself and the other, the 11th, in Nigde.

The 1st Division stationed in Izmit, was attached to the 25th Army Corps, which also included the 10th Caucasian Division.

The 61st and 56th Divisions were quartered in the district of Balikesir and Bursa and formed the 14th Army Corps, with headquarters in Bandirma (Panderma) and directly under the command of Istanbul. The late Jussuf Izzet Pasha commanded this Army Corps until the National Assembly was opened.

I was myself at the head of the third Inspection when I landed with my Staff in Samsun. I was to have had two Army Corps under my personal command. One of them, the 3rd, had its base in Sivas and was commanded by Colonel Refet Bey, who came with me to Samsun.

One division of this Corps, the 5th Caucasian, was at Amasya; the other, the 15th, was at Samsun. The second Army Corps under my command was the 15th, stationed at Erzurum and commanded by Kazim Kara Bekir Pasha. One of his divisions, the 9th, commanded by Rushtu Bey, was in garrison in Erzurum; the other, under the command of Lt.-Colonel Halid Bey, was in Trabzon. After Halil Bey had been called to Istanbul, he abandoned his command and hid himself in Bayburt. Another man took command temporarily of the division. One of the two remaining divisions of the Army Corps, the 12th, was near Hassan Kale, on the eastern frontier, and the 11th was at Bayazid.

The 12th Army Corps consisted of two divisions stationed in the district of Diyarbakir and was independent, as it was directly under Istanbul. One of its divisions, the 2nd was in Siirt, while the other, the 5th, was in Mardin.

These two Army Corps were directly under my command and I was also authorised to give orders to other troops lying within the district of my Inspection, in all the provinces comprised within it and in the neighbouring provinces.

In virtue of the authority vested in me, I had the right to enter into communication and correspondence with the 20th Army Corps at Ankara, with its superior Army Inspection, as well as with the Army Corps at Diyarbakir and the heads of the Civil Administration in nearly the whole of Anatolia.

You might, perhaps, be inclined to ask why those who sent me to Anatolia with the idea of banishing me from Istanbul entrusted me with such wide powers. The answer is, that they did not know themselves what they were doing. They invented the pretext that it was necessary for me to go to Samsun to report on the spot on the unsettled condition of the district and to take the necessary measures to deal with it. I had pointed out that in order to do this I should be given special authority and special powers. There did not

seem to be any objection to this. I discussed the question with men who were on the General Staff at that time and who to a certain extent guessed my intentions. These were the persons who conceived the idea of my taking up the position, but the order giving me full powers was drawn up from dictation. Apparently Shakir Pasha, the Minister of War, after reading them, hesitated to sign them and the seal that was attached to the document was scarcely recognisable.

Let us return to a closer examination of the facts, so that we may rapidly review them as a whole.

Morally and materially, the enemy Powers were openly attacking the Ottoman Empire and the country itself. They were determined to disintegrate and annihilate both. The Padishah-Caliph had one sole anxiety - namely, to save his own life and to secure the tranquillity of himself and the Government. Without being aware of it, the nation had no longer any one to lead it, but lived in darkness and uncertainty, waiting to see what would happen. Those who began to understand clearly the terrors and extent of the catastrophe were seeking some means whereby to save the country, each guided by the circumstances that surrounded him and the sentiments that inspired him.

The Army existed merely in name. The commanders and other officers were still suffering from the exhaustion resulting from the war. Their hearts were bleeding on account of the threatened dismemberment of their country. Standing on the brink of the dark abyss which yawned before their eyes, they racked their brains to discover a way out of the danger.

Here I must add and explain a very important point. The Nation and the Army had no suspicion at all of the Padishah-Caliph's treachery. On the contrary, on account of the close connection between religion and tradition handed down for centuries, they remained loyal to the throne and its occupant. Seeking for means of salvation under the influence of this tradition, the security of the Caliphate and the Sultanate concerned them far more than their own safety. That the country could possibly be saved without a Caliph and without a Padishah was an idea too impossible for them to comprehend. And woe to those who ventured to think otherwise They would immediately have been looked down upon as men without faith and without patriotism and as such would have been scorned.

I must mention another point here. In seeking how to save the situation it was considered to be especially important to avoid irritating the Great Powers - England, France and Italy. The idea that it was impossible to fight even one of these Powers had taken root in the mind of nearly everybody. Consequently, to think of doing so and thus bring on another war after the Ottoman Empire, all-powerful Germany and Austria-Hungary together had been defeated and crushed would have been looked upon as sheer madness.

Not only the mass of the people thought in this strain, but those also who must be regarded as their chosen leaders shared the same opinion. Therefore, in seeking a way