

**LIBERAL CRITICISM TOWARD THE UNIONIST POLICIES  
DURING THE GREAT WAR:  
ALI KEMAL AND THE SABAH / PEYAM-I SABAH NEWSPAPER**

by

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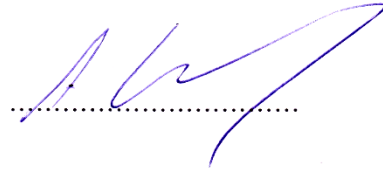
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **LIBERAL CRITICISM TOWARD THE UNIONIST POLICIES DURING THE GREAT WAR: ALİ KEMAL AND THE SABAH / PEYAM-I SABAH NEWSPAPER**

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**Keywords:** Ali Kemal; Armistice press; First World War; Liberal opposition; Sabah newspaper

The First World War that lasted from 1914 to 1918 occupies an important place in Turkish History. However, in comparison with the Turkish War of Independence, Ottoman experience of the Great War remains a relatively under-researched area. The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which ruled the Ottoman Empire during the War, constituted a dictatorship and kept the opposition under strict censorship. During the armistice period, political pressure was lifted and the press became a platform for criticism about the wartime policies of the Unionists and its consequences. Therefore, this study primarily aims to analyze Sabah (from January 1920 onwards published as Peyam-ı Sabah), a leading newspaper of the opposition, with regard to its perspective on the War during the armistice period. The emphasis of the study will be on the editor-in-chief of the paper, Ali Kemal, an iconic figure of the period, who had been very influential especially in Sabah's analyses regarding the War and the figures who were responsible in this debacle. This study is also discussing the view propagated by Sabah, which at the time became a major platform for liberal opponents of the CUP. Sabah's discourse has been examined in terms of four key themes, namely domestic policy, foreign policy, wartime economy and policies regarding the non-Muslims. Despite being deemed to be a traitor by many Turkish nationalist authors, Ali Kemal's blatant criticisms on the Unionist leadership proved to be resilient and parts of it were later adopted by the historiography of the Republican period.

## ÖZET

### BİRİNCİ DÜNYA SAVAŞI SIRASINDAKİ İTTİHATÇI POLİTİKALARINA YÖNELİK LİBERAL ELEŞTİRİLER: ALİ KEMAL VE SABAH / PEYAM-I SABAH GAZETESİ

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Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Temmuz 2018

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**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Ali Kemal; Birinci Dünya Savaşı; Liberal muhalefet; Mütareke  
basını; Sabah gazetesi

1914'ten 1918'e kadar süren Birinci Dünya Savaşı Türkiye tarihinde önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bununla birlikte Milli Mücadele ile karşılaştırıldığında Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndaki Osmanlı deneyimi görece daha az araştırılan bir alan olarak kalmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında yöneten İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti bir askeri diktatörlük kurmuş ve muhalefeti sıkı bir sansür altında tutmuştur. Mütareke döneminde politik baskının kalkması üzerine, basın savaş zamanındaki politikaların ve sonuçlarının eleştirildiği bir platform haline gelmiştir. Bu nedenle bu çalışmanın ana hedefi muhaliflerin önde gelen bir gazetesi olan Sabah (Ocak 1920'den itibaren Peyam-ı Sabah ismini almıştır) gazetesinin Mütareke dönemi sırasında Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na bakış açısının analiz edilmesidir. Bu çalışmada özellikle Sabah gazetesinin Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve bu felaketin sorumluları konusundaki analizleri üzerinde çok etkili olduğu bilinen başyazarı ve Mütareke yıllarının ikonik bir figürü olan Ali Kemal Bey'in görüşleri vurgulanacaktır. Ayrıca bu çalışmada o yıllarda İttihat ve Terakki'nin liberal muhalifleri için başlıca tartışma ortamı haline gelen Sabah'ın yaydığı görüşler tartışılacaktır. Sabah'ın söylemi dört ana başlık altında incelenecektir: iç politika, dış politika, savaş ekonomisi ve Gayrimüslimlere dair politikalar. Birçok Türk milliyetçisi yazar tarafından hain olarak addedilmesine rağmen, Ali Kemal'in ittihatçı lider kadroya dair bariz eleştirileri zamana dayanmış ve kısmen Cumhuriyet dönemi tarihyazımı tarafından da kullanılmıştır.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The First World War that lasted from 1914 to 1918 was a turning point in world history. Apart from that, it was also the final step in the Ottoman Empire's demise after a long reign of more than 600 years over three continents. Therefore, the Great War occupies an important place in Turkish History. However, in comparison with the Turkish War of Independence, Ottoman experience of the First World War remained relatively under-researched area.<sup>1</sup> Despite their strong tendentiousness, publications produced by *T.C. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Harp Tarihi Dairesi* (War History Department of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff) concerning Ottoman fronts as well as the numerous popular publications on the Dardanelles Front constituted the major bibliography.

The CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) or, in Ottoman Turkish, *İttihâd ve Terakki Cemiyeti* dominated Ottoman political life between 1908 and 1918. It was a secret and later a party that began as a part of the Young Turk opposition against the autocracy of Abdülhamid II. They ruled the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. Ever since the Ottoman defeat, the subject of the First World War in Turkey has been under the shadow of discussions about unionist policies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ömer Turan, "Turkish Historiography of The First World War". *Middle East Critique*, 23:2, 2014; pp. 241-257.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 242



The Armistice period, which covers the years 1918-1922, witnessed important social and political changes in Turkish History. One should consider the Armistice period in a larger scope as a part of the transition process that would ultimately lead to the formation of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, this period was a process of survival against the new circumstances in the aftermath of a collapsed empire.

During the Armistice period, due to the devastation of the war, there was a major rage against the leadership of the Union and Progress Party, who had played a decisive role in the participation of the Empire into the war. In this period, media organs assumed a key role in the political opposition that remained suppressed during the war.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, in this study, the suppressed liberal opposition movement's criticism toward the unionist policies during the First World War will be evaluated by means of related news and articles published in the *Sabah* (Morning), which was from January 1920 onwards published as *Peyam-ı Sabah* (Morning Message). Time frame for the evaluation is from the signing of the Armistice in late October 1918 to the official occupation of Istanbul by Entente Powers in March 1920. Istanbul Daily *Sabah* is chosen, since it has been one of the most vocal and influential opposition newspapers during the period. Within this time frame, the perception of the First World War will be analyzed in the light of the political trends of the period and tried to be evaluated within the framework of the articles of Ali Kemal published in the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah*.

This research has been conducted on the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* issues between November 1918 and March 1920, which amounted approximately more than 400 issues. It is undeniable that İstanbul press in the Armistice period has been subject to many studies. Erol A. F. Baykal's work, which covers the press of the period between 1908-1923, gives important technical details on the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* and has been most useful in my research.<sup>4</sup> Salih Tunç's thesis on the İstanbul Press during the Armistice period has occasionally been referred to.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Mustafa Özdemir, "Mütareke Dönemi Siyasi Akımların Türk Basımındaki Yansıması". *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VII/16-17, 2008/Bahar-Güz, pp. 203-226.

<sup>4</sup> Erol Adnan Ferdi Baykal, *The Ottoman Press, 1908-1923* (doctoral thesis). University of Cambridge, 2013.

<sup>5</sup> SalihTunç, *İşgal Döneminde İstanbul Basını (1918-1922)*, (Basılmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul, 1999.

When discussing the Armistice İstanbul, I used Nur Bilge Criss's work *İstanbul under Allied Occupation 1918-1923* as a major source.<sup>6</sup> Although sources written in English are limited, there are a number of Turkish sources, most notable among them is Sina Akşin's *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele* (Istanbul Cabinets and Turkish War of National Liberation). It presents a detailed description of the political struggle in the Ottoman capital.<sup>7</sup> There is wide selection of memoirs related to the period. For this study, memoirs of Refik Halid proved to be useful.<sup>8</sup>

In analyzing the First World War, Yusuf Hikmet Bayur's work became a major point of reference when understanding the diplomatic aspect of the events in the run up to the First World War.<sup>9</sup> Another major work for my research was Aksakal's *Ottoman Road to War*, which specifically focuses on the period between the alliance with Germany and the Ottoman entry into the war in late October 1914.<sup>10</sup> Ömer Turan also thoroughly reviews the Turkish historiography on the First World War.<sup>11</sup> Other recent publications providing new insights on the Ottoman war experience include Mehmet Beşikçi's *The Ottoman mobilization of manpower in the First World War. Between voluntarism and resistance*, E.J. Erickson's *1. Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı 1914-1918* (Gallipoli & The Middle East / 1914-1918), Stanford J Shaw's *The Ottoman Empire in World War I*, Marian Kent's edited volume *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*.<sup>12</sup> On the experiences at the Syrian front M. Talha Çiçek's *War and State Formation in Syria. Cemal Pasha's governorate during World War I, 1914-1917* should be mentioned.<sup>13</sup> For the Unionist policies against the Armenians during First World War, Adanır & Özel's edited volume: *1915 Siyaset, Techir, Soykırım* (1915 Politics, Deportation, Genocide) as well as F Dündar's *İttihat ve Terakki'nin*

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<sup>6</sup> Nur Bilge Criss, *İstanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999.

<sup>7</sup> Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri Ve Milli Mücadele: Mutlakiyete Dönüş (1918-1919)*. Cilt I, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, Ankara 1998.

<sup>8</sup> Refik Halid Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991.

<sup>10</sup> Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Ömer Turan, "Turkish Historiography of The First World War". *Middle East Critique*, 23:2, 2014; pp. 241-257.

<sup>12</sup> M. Beşikçi. *The Ottoman mobilization of manpower in the First World War. Between voluntarism and resistance*. Brill, Leiden, 2012; E.J. Erickson, *1. Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı 1914-1918*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011; S. J Shaw. *The Ottoman Empire in World War I*. 2 vols. Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, 2006–2008; Marian Kent (Ed), *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*. London: Frank Cass, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> M. Talha Çiçek. *War and State Formation in Syria. Cemal Pasha's governorate during World War I, 1914-1917*. Routledge, London and New York, 2014.

*Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-18)* [The Muslim settlement policy of Union and Progress (1913-18)] are noteworthy.<sup>14</sup> Concerning the Muslim population losses, see Justin Mc Carthy's *Death and exile: the ethnic cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*.<sup>15</sup>

As being chief editor of the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah*, Ali Kemal was the key person for my thesis. In order to discuss Ali Kemal's place in the Ottoman history, the first source to refer was obviously his autobiography published in *Peyam* between 1913-1914.<sup>16</sup> Gezgin's work should be considered by far the most detailed and thoroughly researched biography of Ali Kemal and proved to be useful in this research.<sup>17</sup> Ali Kemal certainly belongs to the group known as Ottoman liberals of the Second Constitutional Period. Ali Birinci's work *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Liberty and Entente Party - LEP) which is still considered the prominent work on the LEP is very useful in understanding the program and views of the Ottoman liberals.<sup>18</sup>

The deportations and massacres that victimized in general non-Muslims and in particular the Armenians was a fundamental in Ali Kemal's portrayal of the legacy of the First World War. Turan and Öztan's joint work sheds light on the debate in İstanbul Press on the Armenian deportations popularly named at the time as "*Tehcir ve Taktıl*" (deportation and massacre).<sup>19</sup> Another important article on the Armenian issue in the Armistice press was written by Bünyamin Kocaoğlu who categorized different political camps that took place in the argument.<sup>20</sup>

In order to understand the wartime economic policies of the regime and the corruption associated with it Zafer Toprak's *Milli İktisat* (National Economy) still preserves its foremost place in the field. This work covers both the theoretical debates

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<sup>14</sup> F. Adanır & O. Özel (eds.). *1915 Siyaset, Tehcir, Soykırım* (1915 politics, deportation and genocide), Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2015; F. Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-18)*. İletişim, 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Justin Mc Carthy, *Death and exile: the ethnic cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*. Princeton, Darwin Press, 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm*. Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeki Kunalp, İSİS Yayımcılık, 1985.

<sup>17</sup> Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010.

<sup>18</sup> Ali Birinci, *Hürriyet Ve İtilaf Fırkası*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990.

<sup>19</sup> Ömer Turan, , Güven Gürkan Öztan, *Devlet Aklı ve 1915, Türkiye'de "Ermeni Meselesi" Anlatısının İnşası*, İletişim Yayınları, 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Bünyamin Kocaoğlu, Mütareke Basınında Ermeni Meselesi Tartışmaları, *History Studies: International Journal of History*, 2013.

of the period and the detailed outline of the economic policies implemented by the Unionists.<sup>21</sup>

At the end of my readings, I realized that the Armistice period witnessed vibrant debates on the future of the Empire as well as the legacy of the First World War and this was reflected nowhere more strongly than the press of the time. However, as the focus of this research, the *Sabah*'s view on the First World War cannot be considered independent of the political climate of the capital and the agendas of the political actors. Therefore, I tried to summarize my understanding of political and socio-economic turmoil of the Armistice period not only from the major sources that I mentioned but also from many other secondary sources.

In 1918, after four years of brutal war, it seemed that the writing was on the wall for the Ottoman Empire and its allies. For the Central Powers, the autumn of 1918 witnessed a total collapse on all fronts, from the Western Front to the Middle East. When the defeat on the Palestinian front became combined with the Bulgarian Armistice, the wartime CUP government (Talat Pasha Cabinet) resigned and the new Ottoman government, i.e. the Ahmet Izzet Pasha Cabinet, saw no other choice but to sign an Armistice. On 30 October 1918, the Armistice of Mudros (*Mondros Mütarekesi*) was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Entente Powers.<sup>22</sup>

During the war, the CUP regime constituted a dictatorship. The secret escape of the inner circle of Unionists, namely Talat, Enver and Cemal Pashas, with a German submarine on November 1, 1918 created a power vacuum in the capital. This period, which is the focus of this study, from the signing of the Armistice in late October 1918 to the official occupation of Istanbul by Entente Powers in March 1920 witnessed a political struggle by the remaining actors to fill this power vacuum. These actors were the Palace, the Liberal opposition, the Entente Powers and the remaining Unionist organization.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Milli iktisat" 1908-1918*, Yurt Yayınları, 1982

<sup>22</sup> M. Beşikçi, *The Ottoman mobilization of manpower in the First World War. Between voluntarism and resistance*. Brill, Leiden, 2012; E.J. Erickson, *1. Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı 1914-1918*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011; S. J Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire in World War I*. 2 vols. Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, 2006–2008; Marian Kent (Ed), *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*. London: Frank Cass, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999; Sina Akşin, *Istanbul Hükümetleri Ve Milli Mücadele: Mutlakiyete Dönüş (1918-1919)*. Cilt I, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, Ankara 1998; Erik J. Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2009, s. 203

The CUP had kept the press under strict censorship through violating the constitutional guarantees on the freedoms of speech and press.<sup>24</sup> It was a common practice to exile political opponents out of the capital or to close down the newspapers by an order of the government. The period after the signing of the Armistice of Mudros marked the beginning of a political climate that turned against the Unionists who had held absolute power during the previous five years. In addition, the new government declared general amnesty on October 20, 1918 for political “criminals” who had been exiled to internal parts of Anatolia during the CUP’s rule.<sup>25</sup>

After the escape of the CUP leadership, political pressure on the press was lifted which opened a new era. Political exiles who had been longing for the revenge for years returned to the capital. A variety of new newspapers and magazines initiated publication. There were approximately 11 Turkish newspaper published in Istanbul during the Armistice.<sup>26</sup> Closely connected to the political turmoil in the Ottoman capital and with the end of wartime censorship, the press became a platform for lively debates about the wartime policies of the Unionists and its consequences. At this point, the destruction, defeat and misery suffered between 1912 and 1918 began to be questioned by the press. In short, the Ottoman capital rediscovered political opposition and self-criticism within a relatively free political environment.<sup>27</sup>

Since the CUP government had kept the opponents under strict censorship and had not allowed any criticism during the war; a struggle between the CUP and the LEP supporters became an important issue after the removal of censorship. Especially the anti-unionist press, *Sabah*, *Peyam* and *Alemdar* found fertile ground to vent hitherto suppressed animosities. A bitter and vengeful opposition was born in Istanbul. CUP and LEP partisanship became dominant in the media.<sup>28</sup>

The *Sabah* (Morning) and later the *Peyam-ı Sabah* (Morning Message) was one of the most influential newspapers during the late Ottoman period. It was published in

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<sup>24</sup> Salih Tunç, *İşgal Döneminde İstanbul Basını (1918-1922)*, (Basılmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul, 1999, s. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999, p 45.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p 46.

<sup>27</sup> Ayhan Aktar, “Debating the Armenian Massacres in the Last Ottoman Parliament, November-December 1918”, *History Workshop Journal* 2007, 64, 240-270; Mustafa Özdemir, “Mütareke Dönemi Siyasi Akımların Türk Basınındaki Yansıması”. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VII/16-17, 2008/Bahar-Güz, pp. 203-226.

<sup>28</sup> Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999, p 45.

Istanbul between 1876 and 1922.<sup>29</sup> During the Armistice period, the chief editor of the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* was Ali Kemal. Ali Kemal was an important figure of the late Ottoman period. As an extreme type of westernized intellectual rising from the Young Turk tradition, his obsession with politics and his critical attitude led him to experience the oppression of the CUP authorities.<sup>30</sup> Under Ali Kemal's leadership, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* took an anti-unionist and pro-allied attitude. He wrote articles, which strongly criticized the CUP. After the Armistice, Ali Kemal actively engaged in politics being one of the founders of the *Osmanlı Sulh ve Selamet Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Peace and Salvation Association) and later the general secretary of the LEP.

The source of the conflict between the CUP and the LEP actually might be traced back to the years before the second constitutional period to the Young Turk movement abroad against the Hamidian regime. An important turning point came in 1902 during the First Young Turk congress in Paris when Prince Sabahaddin and his followers publicly dissociated themselves from the centralist faction under Ahmed Rıza and advocated the formation of a de-centralized Ottoman Empire. After 1908 Prince Sabahaddin's followers established the *Ahrar Fırkası* (Party of Ottoman Liberals). *Ahrar* envisioned the formation of a decentralist Ottoman Empire in a more cosmopolitan character which would provide equality between various ethnic elements constituting the Empire. However, the party had a short lifespan and practically ceased to exist after the crushing of the 31 March incident in 1909.<sup>31</sup>

The *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* was formed as a broad coalition of many CUP opponents in 1911 and it can be considered as the inheritor of *Ahrar*'s ideology. The party received considerable support from non-Muslims and non-Turkish Muslims. As a successor to the former *Ahrar* Party, it continued to defend decentralism and considered Turkism and Islamism as destructive currents that would hasten the Empire's collapse and dismemberment. Another consistent element associated with the party was its attitude in foreign policy. The party remained firm on the issue of cultivating good

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<sup>29</sup>Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The A to Z of the Ottoman Empire*, Rowman&Littlefield, 2010, p. 254

<sup>30</sup>Bülent Çukurova, "Büyük Taarruz Günlerinde Ali Kemal ve Siyasi Görüşleri", *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, C. 6, S. 23, Mayıs-Kasım, 2001, s. 357

<sup>31</sup>Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, Cilt I, II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi, İletişim Yayınları, 5. Baskı, 2015, ss: 175-187.

relations with Britain. For them Britain was an indispensable assurance for maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>32</sup>

Ahmad defined them as the liberal faction of the Young Turks who belong to the upper classes of Ottoman Society. They were well educated, westernized and cosmopolitan.<sup>33</sup> The sources on the period agrees that there is a continuity of ideas and cadres beginning from the Young Turk split of 1902 to Ahrar Fırkası and later joining Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası. There is a bit of a controversy about the post-war refoundation of Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası of which Ali Kemal became General Secretary. While Akşin and Tunaya accepts the latter as the continuation of the former, Ali Birinci considers the second Hürriyet ve İtilaf as a different party who exploited the fame of the former party.<sup>34</sup>

According to Akşin this liberal opposition remained weak throughout the period and failed to act decisively when the Unionists fell from power. This was also the case after the Armistice. Akşin argues that the influence of the palace and the Entente Powers actually had been far greater than the liberals on İstanbul governments. Tunaya's work on the political parties of the period also supports this.<sup>35</sup> Although at times Ali Kemal claimed to be speaking on behalf of "the opposition", it would be difficult to speak of a united opposition.

In line with this understanding of the Armistice period, after the introduction, the newspaper *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* will be introduced with regard to its foundation, history and its place in the Ottoman press history in the second chapter of this thesis.

In the third chapter of the thesis, a short biography of Ali Kemal will be provided in order to shed light to his upbringing and intellectual development. Ali Kemal's imprint had been a fundamental element of the paper in the timespan of this research.

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<sup>32</sup> Ali Birinci, *Hürriyet Ve İtilaf Fırkası*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, s. 57-60.

<sup>33</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 33-34.

<sup>34</sup> Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, Cilt II, Mütareke Dönemi, İletişim Yayınları, 5. Baskı, 2015, pp. 271-272; Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri Ve Milli Mücadele: Mutlakiyete Dönüş (1918-1919)*. Cilt I, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, Ankara 1998; Ali Birinci, *Hürriyet Ve İtilaf Fırkası*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990.

<sup>35</sup> Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri Ve Milli Mücadele: Mutlakiyete Dönüş (1918-1919)*. Cilt I, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, Ankara 1998; Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, Cilt II, Mütareke Dönemi, İletişim Yayınları, 5. Baskı, 2015,

In the fourth chapter, I firstly will mention the road to war and the lack of a political consensus concerning the entry into the war inside the government. It will be emphasized how the machinations of a tiny clique within the government itself led to the Ottoman entry into the First World War.

The perception and criticism of the First World War by Ali Kemal between October 1918 and April 1920 will be analyzed through the following themed order: Firstly, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah*'s views and on domestic policy will be covered in chapter five. The Sixth chapter will focus on the newspaper's and especially Ali Kemal's views on foreign policy, his portrayal of the power blocs and war in Europe. The seventh chapter will look upon the regime's policy against non-Muslims with particular emphasis on the Armenians. The final chapter will consist of the newspaper's criticism on the wartime regime's economic policies and the corruption associated with them.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE SABAH/PEYAM-I SABAH NEWSPAPER: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS

The *Sabah* (Morning) was one of the most influential newspapers during the late Ottoman period. In terms of daily circulation, it was one of the major dailies of the period. Although exact circulation numbers of newspapers for this period are not readily available, a British foreign office report on Turkey for 1906 estimated a circulation of 9,000 for *İkdam* (Effort), 6,500 for the *Sabah* and 1,000 each for *Saadet* (Felicity) and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Interpreter of Truth), what it called "noteworthy newspapers". The British foreign office's "Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople", published in 1921, estimated a daily circulation of 8,000 to 10,000 for the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah*. According to this numbers, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* called as the largest opposition newspaper for that period.<sup>36</sup>

*Sabah*'s publication policy from the beginning was to be a newspaper that would appeal to the common people. In its first issue, this purpose was explained as being simply written that everyone could understand, short enough not to be boring and cheap enough to be bought by everyone. In addition to that, the *Sabah* was also kept rich in terms of content including different literary genres such as novel, article, letter, column

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<sup>36</sup> Erol Adnan Ferdi Baykal, *The Ottoman Press, 1908-1923* (doctoral thesis). University of Cambridge, 2013, p. 129

and short story and mentioning a wide variety of subjects namely politics, literature, medicine, military, history to make the paper more popular.<sup>37</sup>

This publication policy made the *Sabah* a strong brand by the time. Therefore, it had a long life span from 1876 to 1922 and published fairly consistently throughout the entire period with minor and insignificant gaps. For instance, the *Sabah* had to cease its publication from March until May 1916, because it had simply run out of paper.<sup>38</sup> Continuity was also due to success in adjusting its attitude according to the current political powers. In this regard, the *Sabah* was run as a profit-driven publication. The *Sabah* did not only thrive under Abdülhamid, but also successfully made the transition from being a mouthpiece of the palace to becoming a defender of the new constitutional regime and later British patronage.<sup>39</sup> In January 1920, the *Sabah* was renamed as the *Peyam-ı Sabah* (Morning Message). The *Peyam-ı Sabah* was a combination of the old established, formerly prudent, the *Sabah*, with Ali Kemal's paper *Peyam*.<sup>40</sup>

The daily *Sabah* first began to be published in 1876 by a bookbinder named Papadopoulos. The first editor-in-chief of the newspaper was Şemsettin Sami Frasheri. Because of frequent problems with the censorship followed by the resignation of Şemsettin Sami, the *Sabah* was sold to Mihran Efendi in 1882. Mihran Efendi increased the subvention of the paper with the policy of blandishing Abdülhamit.<sup>41</sup> During these years the newspaper was generously funded by Abdulhamid II. In 1908, Mihran efendi played a leading role in the lifting of the censorship and initially supported the Unionists. Intellectuals such as Diran Kelekyan, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı contributed to the *Sabah*.<sup>42</sup> At the end of the First World War, Mihran Efendi hired Ali Kemal, who was the owner of the newspaper *Peyam* and an anti-Unionist. Under Ali Kemal's editorship, the *Sabah* became the voice of the anti-CUP opposition. After becoming *Peyam-ı Sabah*, it took a pro-allied attitude and opposed the

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<sup>37</sup> İnci Enginün, Yeni Türk Edebiyatı "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e", Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, P: 77.

<sup>38</sup> Erol Adnan Ferdi Baykal, *The Ottoman Press, 1908-1923* (doctoral thesis). University of Cambridge, 2013., p. 147

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>40</sup> Yücel Güçlü, *Zeki Kuneralp and the Turkish Foreign Service*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, pp. 52-53.

<sup>41</sup> Ali Gözeller, *Osmanlı-Alman Yakınlaşmasının Basına Yansıması: Sabah Gazetesi Örneği (1889-1895)*, Marmara Üniversitesi İstanbul, 2005 p.4

<sup>42</sup> Somel, Selcuk Aksin, *The A to Z of the Ottoman Empire*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2010, p. 254

nationalist movement in Anatolia. Shortly after the murder of Ali Kemal in 1922, the *Peyam-ı Sabah* ceased its publication.<sup>43</sup> In order to understand, how the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* came to such an end, one must assess its policy during the Armistice period.

Towards the end of the First World War, the relaxation of the censorship enabled Ali Kemal to write again. His first articles appeared in the *Sabah* in July 1918. From 17 October onwards, Ali Kemal wrote as the chief editor of the *Sabah*. The design and publication policy of the paper was without doubt determined by Ali Kemal during that period.

Under his guidance, the *Sabah* was published in two pages with six columns. Its first page began with the main article by Ali Kemal which covers the first 2 or 3 columns, *Müstehbarat-ı Hususiye* (Special News) which gives the headline news came after the main article and covers two columns, apart from those first page also contained various Foreign news especially related with the Peace Conference and Entente politics. First page ended with *Bir Düşünce* (A Thought) anonymously written by Ali Kemal. The second page included *Dahili Şuun* (Domestic News) with various domestic informations. The last two columns of the paper were reserved for ads and commercials.

During the Armistice period, the *Sabah* brought the past crimes of the Unionist governments on the agenda and urged the present governments to take active measures against the ones who were responsible.<sup>44</sup> Past wartime policies of the Unionist governments had a large place on this newspaper's agenda. It portrayed the period from 1913 to 1918 as a period of indescribable maladministration, corruption, massacres. It could be said that the paper commenced a "unionist scare" in İstanbul. The paper continuously claimed that Unionists still held considerable influence in the army and bureaucracy and their party was still active under a different name, i.e. The Party of Renovation (*Teceddüd Fırkası*). The *Sabah* blamed the Ahmed İzzet Pasha Government for the flight of the strongmen of the CUP – Enver, Talat, Cemal Pashas and others- and attacked it as a rump cabinet of the Unionists. The Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) also took its share of the Unionist scare. Until its dissolution on 21 December, it remained as one of the institutions targeted by the paper. Despite showing

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<sup>43</sup> Hıfzı Topuz, *100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*, Gerçek Yayınevi 1973, p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> Ali Kemal, "Biz Muhalifler Kimlerimiz ve Neler İstiyoruz", *Sabah* no: 10449-10450, 19-20 December 1918

reaction to the Armistice terms the *Sabah* advised conciliation with the Entente Powers to achieve better peace terms.<sup>45</sup>

The *Sabah* actively campaigned for a government consisting of anti-CUP oppositionists. After the resignation of Ahmet İzzet Pasha government, Ali Kemal supported the new Tevfik Pasha government, which was formed on 11 November 1918, and hoped that it would pave the way for a cabinet based on anti-CUP oppositionists. While initially welcoming the Tevfik Pasha government, by time the paper became critical of it and accused it of ineffectiveness and being indecisive against the Unionists which it saw as war criminals.<sup>46</sup>

After entering the cabinet, Ali Kemal ceased writing in the *Sabah*; he was replaced by Refik Halid, who continued Ali Kemal's line urging immediate action against the remaining Unionists. Refik Halid celebrated the formation of the first Damat Ferid Pasha Cabinet in March 1919, which he considered to be a true *Liberty and Entente* cabinet. He depicted the past 4 months after the Armistice as wasted time and a reign of disorder and claimed that this government with a clear party program would be the solution to the country's turmoil.<sup>47</sup>

Ali Kemal returned to the paper in January 1920 when he ran into financial difficulties with his own paper *Peyam*. The paper turned into a joint ownership between Ali Kemal and Mihran Efendi with a new name: *Peyam-ı Sabah*. This formation coincided with the allied occupation of İstanbul, which resulted in a radical split between Anatolia and İstanbul. From that time onwards, the *Peyam-ı Sabah* led a smear campaign against the Nationalist Movement, which it considered the continuation of Unionism.

After being *Peyam-ı Sabah*, the paper also began to be published in four pages with seven columns. In addition to politics, the *Peyam-ı Sabah* also published articles on culture and literature. These were published under different columns named *Tarih Musahabeleri* (History Talks), *Edebi Musahabeler* (Literary Talks), *Ramazan*

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<sup>45</sup> Ali Kemal, "Nasıl bir hükümet isteriz", *Sabah* no: 10406, 7 Kasım 1918, "İngiliz Dostluğu", *Sabah*, nr 10408, 9 Kasım 1918

<sup>46</sup> Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhafızın Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2010, p.

<sup>47</sup> Refik Halid, "Mütecannis Kabine", *Sabah* no: 10525, 5 March 1919-

*Musahabeleri* (Ramadan Talks). In addition to those, the *Peyam-ı Sabah* also published a literary supplement albeit not on a regular basis. In this period, the paper began to enjoy a disproportionate amount of advertisement when compared with other contemporary newspapers.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the last five columns of the paper were reserved for ads and commercials.

Here one must note that advertisements are essential for the survival of a daily. Advertising can be considered an indirect way of funding a newspaper. Advertisers may have some sort of influence over the press. In the case of *Peyam-ı Sabah*, even though Ali Kemal denied receiving funds from the British, it seems that the *Peyam-ı Sabah* enjoyed British support through advertising, because of its political stance. The newspaper was favored by the Allied Administration and foreign companies, suggesting that the political link was further cemented by financial support. The newspapers' advertisement pages were full of a wide array of foreign companies' ads including American Foreign Trade Corporation, Banco di Roma, Guarentee Trust Company of New York and Edwards and Sons (Near East) Ltd.<sup>49</sup>

Despite being against the Nationalist movement, the paper's tone proved to be harmonious with British policy and the Allied control of censorship. For instance in early 1921 when the British considered it essential to compromise with the Ankara government, the *Peyam-ı Sabah* also moderated its tone and celebrated Ankara's victories against the Greeks.<sup>50</sup>

Regardless of the continuing military successes of the Ankara Government, Ali Kemal staunchly insisted that diplomacy was the only viable way to save the country and clung on to this belief until the very end. In the very end, Ali Kemal accepted his mistake maintaining that his purpose was the same but the means were different. Shortly after that Ali Kemal was fired by Mihran Efendi. Then Mihran efendi sold the paper and fled abroad.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Erol Adnan Ferdi Baykal, *The Ottoman Press, 1908-1923* (doctoral thesis). University of Cambridge, 2013, p. 150

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>51</sup> Hıfzı Topuz, *100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*, Gerçek Yayınevi 1973, p. 78.

As a conclusion, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* newspaper was mostly run by Ali Kemal during the Armistice Period. Therefore, it mostly reflected Ali Kemal's personal views, which were always fiercely against the CUP and later against the National Movement in Ankara.<sup>52</sup> Ali Kemal's stubborn attitude against the Nationalist movement left him no room to compromise. He had acquired a lot of enemies and when Ankara emerged victorious in August 1922 his fate had already been sealed along with the 46 year old *Sabah*.

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<sup>52</sup> Yücel Güçlü, *Zeki Kunalp and the Turkish Foreign Service*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, pp. 52-53

## CHAPTER 3

### WHO WAS ALI KEMAL? HIS PLACE IN THE LATE OTTOMAN INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

After the Great War, Mihran Efendi, the owner of the newspaper *Sabah*, hired Ali Kemal as the chief editor. Ali Kemal (1869-1922) was a journalist, novelist, poet and politician. He worked as the editor of various newspapers including the Turkish dailies *İkdam*, *Peyam*, *Sabah* and *Peyam-ı Sabah*. He also shortly served as the minister of Education and later as the Minister of Interior in the postwar governments. In the late Ottoman period, Ali Kemal became one of the leading figures of journalistic and political life. He was one of the journalists who severely criticized the administration of the CUP. He also did not support the national struggle and claimed that the National Forces (*Kuva-yı Milliye*) with its different name was just the another version of CUP.<sup>53</sup> This oppositional stance of him caused him to be seen as a traitor and paved the way for lynching of him by the “people” in İzmit.<sup>54</sup> In order to understand, how his life came to this tragic end, one must assess his lifestory.

Ali Kemal was born in 1869 in Süleymaniye neighborhood of İstanbul. After being banished from the Gülhane Military Secondary School, he entered the *Mülkiye* (the School of Civil Service) in 1882. During these years, initially he grew an interest for poetry publishing in literary journals. Because of his sympathy for the poet Namık

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<sup>53</sup> Fevzi ÇAKMAK, “Kuva-yı Milliye Hareketine Karşı Farklı Bir Bakış: Ali Kemal”, *Kuva-yı Milliye'nin 90. Yılında İzmir Ve Batı Anadolu, Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, 6-8 Eylül 2009, p. 742

<sup>54</sup> Orhan Karaveli, *Ali Kemal: "belki de bir günah keçisi"*. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2017; Fevzi ÇAKMAK, "Ali Kemal: Belki Bir Günah Keçisi". *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (2008): p. 435

Kemal, he took the name Kemal, instead of his real name, Ali Rıza.<sup>55</sup> Later under the influence of his instructors, especially Mizancı Murad, his interest shifted towards social and political issues.<sup>56</sup> He decided to learn French better and travelled to France without graduating from the school in 1887. In France, he cultivated relations with various Ottoman groups and improved his French. After staying for 9 months, he returned and continued his education at the *Mülkiye*. In 1888, he was arrested with his friends on the grounds that they had formed a secret organization. After being imprisoned for 9 months, he was exiled to Aleppo.<sup>57</sup>

In Aleppo, he taught history and literature at the High School of Aleppo. However, he returned from his exile without permission and when ordered to go on exile for a second time, he fled to Paris. In Paris, he began auditing literature and law lectures at Sorbonne and later enrolled in Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. For the first time he engaged in professional journalism with his letters to *İkdam*, famously known as “*Paris Musahabeleri*” (Paris Conversations). He began to work as the Paris reporter of the newspaper *İkdam* introducing to the Ottoman reader Western society and literature. However, this seems more to be his own claim than a fact. Despite being popular and brought him fame, it is often assumed that parts of his *Paris Musahabeleri* are actually translations from French newspapers. Refik Halid -a famous writer and a contemporary of Ali Kemal- mentions an incident in his memoirs, he explains that while writing about the palace of *Elize* for *İkdam*, Ali Kemal Bey actually quoted the reporter of the French newspaper *Figaro* and published it under his name without any reference.<sup>58</sup> In Paris, he also joined the flourishing Young Turk Movement and adopted a conciliatory stance between the Sultan Abdulhamid II and the Young Turk Opposition. After the dispute between the Young Turk leaders, Mizancı Murad Bey and Ahmed Rıza Bey, led to a split within the Young Turk movement, Ali Kemal Bey also parted his way with the Young Turks.<sup>59</sup> Ali Kemal Bey considered the Young Turk struggle as futile and became closer to the Palace. He was instrumental in convincing Mizancı Murat to negotiate with the Sultan and return to İstanbul. As a token of

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<sup>55</sup> Yücel Güçlü, *Zeki Kuneralp and the Turkish Foreign Service*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, p. 30.

<sup>56</sup> Ali KEMAL, *Ömrüm*, Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İsis Yayıncılık, 1985, pp. 63-64

<sup>57</sup> Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> Refik Halid Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab, İnkılap Kitabevi*, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 106 - 107

<sup>59</sup> Mustafa UZUN, “Ali Kemal”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1989, C. 2, s. 405



gratitude, he was rewarded with the position of second secretary of the Ottoman Embassy in Brussels in 1897.<sup>60</sup> This incident became decisive in Ali Kemal's long lasting enmity with the Unionists and later with National Forces.

After his appointment to the Ottoman Embassy in Brussels, he remained in Paris concerning himself with his education. Even though being absent from his post most of the time, Ali Kemal continued to receive his salary, even after resigning his post.<sup>61</sup> In early 1900, Ali Kemal went to Egypt to manage the farm estate of Ahmed Celaledin Pasha who had been the head of Sultan Abdulhamid II's secret police. While in Egypt, Ali Kemal began gambling on the stock market and collected a fortune during the cotton boom. However, this did not last long and he went bankrupt with the crisis. Ali Kemal's interest in the stock market continued well into his later life and he experienced a lot of fortunes and bankruptcies.<sup>62</sup> His years in Egypt witnessed a productive period in his journalism. Ali Kemal briefly attempted to publish his own journal called "Mecmua-i Kemal", however he abandoned this project because of financial difficulties. He made various publications from his memoirs in Tunisia collected in his book *Tunus* (Tunisia) to a newspaper called the *Türk*. He also published a book called *Mesele-i Şarkîye: Medhal* (Eastern Question: Introduction) pointing the importance of the "Eastern Question".

His intellectual activity in Egypt shed light on Ali Kemal's political views. In Egypt he entered an argument with Yusuf Akçura, a staunch defender of Turkism. Ali Kemal argued that all three of Akçura's options to preserve the Empire in *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* namely Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism were futile projects and a social development should be preceded by the material and mental development of Turks as individuals.<sup>63</sup>

It is important to note that Ali Kemal's activities in Europe and Egypt led to a great deal of controversy. According to the Unionists abroad, Ali Kemal served as an informant and mediator of Abdulhamid II. His acts in that regard included the disruption

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<sup>60</sup> Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 78.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, P 76.

<sup>62</sup> Yahya Kemal, *Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler*, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 5. Baskı, 2014, p. 77

<sup>63</sup> Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1976; Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 110-111.

of the printing of a newspaper named *Osmanlı* in Geneva and manipulating other Young Turks into supporting himself in order to turn them over to the Sultan. Contemporary Young Turks, like Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, claimed that Ali Kemal had been recruited on the Sultan's payroll by Ahmed Celaleddin Pasha who was the man sent to Europe by the Sultan to cripple the Young Turk movement.<sup>64</sup>

He returned to İstanbul shortly before the Young Turk Revolution.<sup>65</sup> In Istanbul, Ali Kemal became the editor-in-chief of the newspaper *İkdam* and lectured history at the School of Civil Service (*Mülkiye*). He became a member of the newly formed Ahrar Party of Ottoman Liberals and harshly criticized the CUP in his articles. *İkdam* under his guidance became an organ supporting Kamil Paşa and the liberals. Especially during the first days of the 31 March incident of 1909, while avoiding open encouragement, *İkdam* gave implicit support to the mutineers. When it became clear that the Action Army was about to enter the capital, Ali Kemal fled to Paris again. In his absence, Ali Kemal was tried by the court martial. While he was acquitted regarding his articles in *İkdam*, the court martial found him guilty as a secret agent of the Sultan Abdulhamid II. After the 31 March incident of 1909, the Unionist press began a smear campaign against him. He was accused of reactionism, *jurnalcilik* (being informant) and hypocrisy. He returned when the Unionists were briefly removed from power in July 1912. Ali Kemal was immediately arrested after the Bab-ı Ali Coup of January 1913. This time his acquaintance with Cemal Bey (later Pasha) saved him. He was sent on exile in Vienna and even granted a salary. Later in May 1913 with Cemal Bey's permission, he returned to İstanbul.<sup>66</sup> After his return, he began publishing the newspaper *Peyam*. In July 1914 the newspaper was closed by the authorities and Ali Kemal was banned from writing. During the First World War, Ali Kemal worked as a teacher and engaged in trade.<sup>67</sup>

After the Armistice, Ali Kemal actively engaged in politics being one of the founders of the Ottoman Peace and Salvation Association (*Osmanlı Sulh ve Selamet Cemiyeti*) and later the general secretary of the Party of Liberty and Entente (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*). One should say that Ali Kemal had never retained strong contacts with

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<sup>64</sup> Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *İnkılâp Tarihimiz Ve Jön Türkler*, Tan Matbaası, 1945.

<sup>65</sup> Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm*, Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeki Kunalp, İsis Yayıncılık, 1985, p. 168.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, p. 135-136.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, pp 180-181.

parties and associations he became a member of, his individualistic behavior prevented such a case. This became more apparent when he entered the government. He became the editor-in-chief of Mihran Efendi's *Sabah*. He continued to be a bitter critic of the CUP that had fallen from power in the aftermath of the Armistice and occupation. The British authorities found a valuable ally in him. For instance a British report from March 1919 defined him as "one of the best journalists of Constantinople" however it also remarked that his honesty was sometimes the prey of his expensive tastes.<sup>68</sup> Despite being pro-British, Ali Kemal became one of the founders of the Society of Wilson's Principles and supported a US mandate. He ceased writing in the *Sabah*, when he entered the cabinet.

Ali Kemal served as the minister of Education in the first Damat Ferit Pasha cabinet and as the Minister of Interior in the second Damat Ferit Pasha cabinet. During his ministry of education, Ali Kemal adopted a non-partisan attitude, against the suggestions of his own Liberty and Entente Party. Ali Kemal did not hesitate to appoint nationalists to certain posts. Furthermore, he supported nationalists without a unionist background to enter the cabinet.<sup>69</sup> Ali Kemal became successful and received a lot of admiration as minister of education however his interior ministry in the second Damat Ferit Pasha government was marked by inconsistent attitudes towards the resistance movements, which ultimately caused harm to the Anatolian movement.<sup>70</sup> His circulars on 18 and 23 June 1919 targeted the Anatolian movement in general and Mustafa Kemal in particular.

He resigned his post in June 1919 and returned to journalism. He began republishing *Peyam* and soon *Peyam* merged with Mihran Efendi's *Sabah*, which became *Peyam-ı Sabah*. Under Ali Kemal's direction, the *Peyam-ı Sabah* adopted a sharp critical stance against the emerging national movement in Anatolia. Ali Kemal's critical stance against the national movement was based on two assumptions. The first one was that the national movement that had risen in Anatolia was a mere continuation of the CUP. His second assumption was about the futility of a military struggle against

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<sup>68</sup> Erol Adnan Ferdi Baykal, *The Ottoman Press, 1908-1923* (doctoral thesis). University of Cambridge, 2013, p. 101.

<sup>69</sup> Yahya Kemal, *Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler*, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 5. Baskı, 2014, p 87.

<sup>70</sup> Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 165.

the Entente Powers.<sup>71</sup> He argued that a real solution could only be achieved by the means of diplomacy.

In his point of view the National Movement in Anatolia only made matters worse and led the country to a worse deal in terms of a peace treaty. However, this did not prevent him from admiring the military achievements of the Ankara movement.<sup>72</sup> After the victory against the Greeks in late August 1922, he conceded in September that he had been mistaken. In November 1922, at the request of the Ankara government Ali Kemal was detained and arrested. On his way for a trial in Ankara, his train was stopped at İzmit. On 6 November 1922, he was lynched to death in İzmit by a mob organized by Sakallı Nureddin Pasha.<sup>73</sup>

Ali Kemal's place in our historiography still remains controversial. The official history portrayed him as a traitor who openly collaborated with the occupation authorities. Ali Kemal's commonly known image was sealed in Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* (The Speech) which became the main inspiration for official historiography. Almost from the beginning of this work, Ali Kemal was counted alongside figures like Sultan Mehmed VI, Damat Ferid Pasha and Said Molla collaborating with the British. Ali Kemal's brief tenure as interior minister in the second Damat Ferid Pasha government proved decisive in this regard. Mustafa Kemal shared Ali Kemal's telegrams ordering his arrest and attempts to sabotage communication of the Anatolian movement by telegraph. These were instrumental in the build-up of his image as a traitor. Kemalist historiography adopted reproduced this image.<sup>74</sup>

However, a different portrait of Ali Kemal also emerged beginning with his son Zeki Kunalp. Zeki Kunalp portrayed his father as a man who adopted different means to reach towards the same end as the National movement. Other works on Ali Kemal continued this line. Another important biography was written by Faruk Gezgin. Rather than a traitor, Gezgin presented him as an unlucky figure whose pride and obstinacy in his political obsessions finally led to his demise. Today while remaining

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<sup>71</sup> Ali KEMAL, *Ömrüm*, Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeki Kunalp, isis Yayıncılık, 1985, pp 187

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, 199

<sup>73</sup> Mustafa UZUN, "Ali Kemal", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1989, C. 2, s. 407

<sup>74</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Bordo Siyah Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005.

short of a rehabilitation his image as a traitor got somewhat moderated by popular works such as Orhan Karaveli's *Ali Kemal: Belki de bir günah keçisi* (Ali Kemal, may be a spacegoat). Karaveli defined him as a "scapegoat" who bore the responsibility of all the failures committed by the "armistice press" and became the sole embodiment of a traitor.<sup>75</sup>

As an opponent of the nationalist movement, Ali Kemal has ever since been accepted as Turkey's iconic "traitor". His characteristic style of journalism also contributed to that image. Ever since his youth, Ali Kemal had been noted for his writing skills, poetry and cynicism. His style of journalism was partisan, uncompromising and quarrelsome. In Andrew Mango's words: "His pen ran away with him, he was clearly a difficult man with an angry temperament. In Britain today he would be a vituperative journalist".<sup>76</sup> In fact he had already earned a great number of enemies as a political expatriate. His slippery record as a dissident of the Hamidian regime attracted a great deal of reaction by fellow Young Turks. He was branded as an informant by the Unionist movement abroad. Despite influenced by the *Tanzimat* (the political reforms made in the ottoman state between 1839-1876) heritage and having a certain political and social vision of saving the Empire, Ali Kemal lacked the political will and often fell prey to opportunities offering personal profit. It seems that his desire of wealth and fame played an important part in this. Ali Kemal was obviously keen to attract the limelight on himself and he really made himself clearly heard in the İstanbul press of the time. He was undoubtedly one of the most famous journalists and dissidents of his time. It would not be wrong to say that his political agenda tarnished his literary skills and his contribution to the Ottoman literature. After 1920, the lines in the National Struggle were firmly drawn and Ali Kemal's fate was shackled to the losing side ultimately leading to his demise. If he lived longer, Ali Kemal would probably have regretted his opposition to the revolutionary movement of Mustafa Kemal. After all, his politics were in line with republicans, as he shared their passion for westernization.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Ali KEMAL, *Ömrüm*, Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeki Kunalp, İsis Yayıncılık, 1985; Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2010; Orhan Karaveli, *Ali Kemal: "belki de bir günah keçisi "*. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2017

<sup>76</sup> Yücel Güçlü, *Zeki Kunalp and the Turkish Foreign Service*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, p. 53

<sup>77</sup>Kaya GENÇ, Ali Kemal: Martyred Journalist and Iconic Traitor, *Los Angeles Review of Books*, September 3, 2013

## CHAPTER 4

### THE PRESENCE AND CHARACTERISTIC OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

When the First World War was about to break out between the Great Powers in 1914, the Ottoman Empire's situation in the international arena seemed desperate after critical territorial losses in the Balkan War and diplomatic isolation. For the Ottomans, the decades leading up to 1914 had been a period of increasing European financial and economic tutelage. The Empire was heavily indebted and large portions of its revenues were controlled by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Düyun-u Umumiye). The Ottomans were far from being ready to be a party to another war just less than a year after the Second Balkan War.<sup>78</sup>

However, the war was regarded as a crucial development that would shape the future of international order, most of the CUP leaders tended to see the war as an opportunity for Turks and Islam. It was considered that the Ottoman Empire could be better off aligning itself with the prospective victor of the war in order to guarantee its independence and territorial integrity.<sup>79</sup>

After years of defeat and despair, the Empire could find respite while the Great Powers of Europe were battling each other. There was much to be gained during the war

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<sup>78</sup> Ayşegül Sever and Nuray Bozbora, "The Great War and the Ottoman Empire: Origins", *Perceptions*, Summer-Autumn 2015, Volume XX, Number 2-3, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 13-17.

since the Great Powers could not be able to intervene in the Empire's affairs. This depiction of war as an opportunity was clearly evident in Cemal Pasha's memoirs. In his memoirs, Cemal Pasha argued that an alliance with a great power would prevent foreign interferences in governmental affairs and would free the country from capitulations.<sup>80</sup>

The Ottoman decision to enter an alliance with one of the great powers was supported by a majority of both the cabinet and the Central Committee of CUP. It should be noted that after brutally suppressing the opposition in 1913, the CUP began to rule empire with an iron fist. Therefore, the opposition to the war remained silent before and throughout the war years. During the months leading up to the Ottoman entry into the war, opposition to war was only a phenomenon inside the ruling circles. In order to understand how CUP made Ottoman Empire join the First World War, one must look at chain of events happened during that period.<sup>81</sup>

In the years up to the beginning of the war, both the Alliance and the Entente blocs did not consider the Ottoman Empire as a potential ally. However, during the July crisis that took place after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, an opportunity arose for the Ottomans to break their diplomatic isolation and to enlist the protection of a Great power. While Germany remained reluctant about an alliance, it was the Ottoman side that initiated the negotiations. On 22 July, Enver proposed the German ambassador an alliance and on 23 July, Said Halim offered the same to the Austrian ambassador. Apart from four people that conducted the negotiations, namely Enver, Talat, Said Halim and Halil, these alliance talks were kept secret from the rest of the cabinet. It is important to notify that the Ottomans like their European counterparts considered that the European War would be a short one and calculated that it would end in a German victory. They hoped to witness the conflict from the sidelines in armed neutrality.<sup>82</sup>

The German-Ottoman Alliance was signed on 2 August 1914. Only Said Halim, Enver, Talat and Halil were present and they did not notify the other members of the cabinet. Ottoman Empire managed to acquire important concessions from Germany in

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<sup>80</sup> Cemal Paşa, *Anılarım 1913-1922*. Hazırlayan: Fahri Parin, İskenderiye Yayınları, 2009, p. 131.

<sup>81</sup> Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Talat Paşa'nın Hatıraları*, Yedigün Neşriyatı, İstanbul, 1943.

<sup>82</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Unionist Failure to Stay Out of the War in October-November 1914", *Perceptions*, Summer-Autumn 2015, Volume XX, Number 2-3, Pp. 24-25.

return for the alliance agreement; these include: 1) German aid for the abolishing of the capitulations, 2) German support for the negotiations with the Balkan states and the division of the conquered territories with Bulgaria, 3) Germany would work for the Ottoman Empire to receive war reparations, 4) Germany would not make peace until the enemy troops were removed from Ottoman Territory, 5) The Aegean Islands would be given to the Ottoman Empire if Greece joined the war and defeated, 6) Eastern Borders of the Ottoman Empire would be readjusted to secure a connection with the Muslims of Russia.<sup>83</sup>

Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha carefully stressed that the alliance would only be against Russia and not against the British and the French. Although the Alliance treaty was a weak document without an operative power of enforcement, it received objections from cabinet ministers like Cavid Bey. Since German-Ottoman secret alliance treaty was signed secretly even from the much of the cabinet. There were considerable opposition against such a treaty and prominent figures like Cemal Pasha, Cavid Bey and İbrahim Bey considered resigning their posts.<sup>84</sup>

The signing of the German-Ottoman Alliance led to a division in both the CUP and the cabinet, neutralists on one hand and the war party on the other.<sup>85</sup> The war party in the cabinet consisted of Enver and Talat Pashas. Enver Pasha confident of a quick German victory in the war hoped an Ottoman rejuvenation by military victories and Talat Pasha considered the German Alliance as the only means of an Ottoman survival.<sup>86</sup> Cemal Pasha who initially showed some hesitation joined the war party sometime around in late September and early October.<sup>87</sup> The neutralist camp, which includes the Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha and the Finance minister Cavid Bey, argued that none of the blocs would risk war with the Ottoman Empire and welcome its

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<sup>83</sup> Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, pp. 98-99.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>85</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Ottoman Armed Neutrality and Intervention: August-November 1914" in *From Empire to Republic-Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*-Volume 2, Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2008; p. 130

<sup>86</sup> Edip Öncü, *The Beginnings of Ottoman-German Partnership*, Master Thesis, Ankara, Turkey, Bilkent University, 2003, pp. 81-82.

<sup>87</sup> Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, pp. 186-197.



neutrality. In their point of view, neutrality was an opportunity for the Empire to regain its sovereignty and independence without having to resort to arms.<sup>88</sup>

After guaranteeing an alliance with Germany in August 1914 the Ottoman leaders showed considerable effort to postpone a military engagement and maintaining their armed neutrality. In order to buy more time they pointed to the necessity of an alliance with Bulgaria and asked for more time to complete their mobilization efforts. Said Halim Pasha, who had signed the Ottoman-German alliance agreement of August 1914, did not believe that it obliged the Ottoman Empire to enter the war. He assured the Entente Ambassadors that the Ottoman Empire would never enter the war.<sup>89</sup>

Immediately after the treaty was signed, The Ottomans declared mobilization and armed neutrality. Furthermore, the Parliament was dissolved leaving no means to oppose the treaty. Cavid Bey who represented the party in the cabinet supported a partial mobilization rather than a full mobilization. On 10 August, two German cruisers the Goeben and the Breslau arrived in İstanbul, this incident altered the political situation in the capital. Cavid Bey considered it as violation of the Ottoman neutrality.<sup>90</sup>

As the German influence in the capital was increasing day by day, the pro-peace party tried to reach an understanding with the Entente. On 16 August, the French ambassador visited Cavid Bey and Cavid Bey assured him that the pro-peace party would stop the war party in the cabinet and prevent the Empire's entry into the war. On 17 August, Ambassadors of Britain, France and Russia made a joint approach to Said Halim and verbally assured him to maintain the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Later Cavid Bey visited the Entente ambassadors and hoped to convince them to give a written guarantee on the territorial integrity of the Empire for 15 or 20 years and accept the end of the capitulations. However, an understanding on these issues could not be reached.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Ottoman Armed Neutrality and Intervention: August-November 1914" in *From Empire to Republic: -Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,-*Volume 2, Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2008; p. 130

<sup>89</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Unionist Failure to Stay Out of the War in October-November 1914", *Perceptions*, Summer-Autumn 2015, Volume XX, Number 2-3, Pp. 24-25.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.* p. 27

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 28-29

There was also a hope to receive assurances from Britain in order to remain neutral. Cavid Bey cooperated with Cemal pasha on preparing the latter's demands from the British ambassador. These demands included: a) the restoration of the two ships,<sup>92</sup> b) The abrogation of the capitulations, c) Cessation of interference in internal affairs, d) The defence of the Empire by the Entente if that became necessary. However, these proposals were rejected by the British Ambassador. As one historian rightfully remarked: "Both France and England seem to have been too certain of an easy victory over Turkey to consider it worthwhile to make serious advances toward conciliation". This weakened the hand of the peace party in the Ottoman cabinet.<sup>93</sup>

It is correct to assume that, had the Entente been more favorable with the concessions on territorial integrity and capitulations, it would have succeeded in keeping the Ottoman Empire neutral. The neutralist camp would have more leverage against the war party in the cabinet. In addition to the negative attitude of the Entente Powers, the final blow to the neutralist camp came with the financial difficulties. The European war and mobilization had a catastrophic impact on the Ottoman economy. Berlin decided to make a loan on the condition of an Ottoman entry into the war. The Unionists saw no other choice but to comply.<sup>94</sup>

Hostilities with the Entente Powers commenced when the Ottoman Black Sea fleet along with Goeben and Breslau bombarded the Russian ports including Sevastopol, Odessa, Novorossisk. As a result of this incident four ministers resigned however this did not change the situation. Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha who had not been informed about the Black Sea incident decided to resign however he was convinced by the other ministers to retain his post in order to prevent a government crisis.<sup>95</sup> Although remaining only a minority back in August, the war party strengthened with the cycle of events managed to overcome the opposition in the cabinet. In spite of their endeavors to

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<sup>92</sup> These two ships namely Sultan Osman and Reşadiye had been built in British shipyards and had been purchased with donations from the people collected by Donanma Cemiyeti (Naval Society). The ships were confiscated by the British on 1 August 1914 before Britain's entry into the war.

<sup>93</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Unionist Failure to Stay Out of the War in October-November 1914", *Perceptions*, Summer-Autumn 2015, Volume XX, Number 2-3, pp. 29-30.

<sup>94</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Unionist Failure to Stay Out of the War in October-November 1914", *Perceptions*, Summer-Autumn 2015, Volume XX, Number 2-3, pp. 32-33, Feroz Ahmad, "Ottoman Armed Neutrality and Intervention: August-November 1914" in *From Empire to Republic-Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey-Volume 2*, Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2008; p. 138-139.

<sup>95</sup> Ali Fuat Türkğeldi, *Görüp İştiklerim*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1951, p. 116.

convince the Entente Powers at the end the neutralists had little to say when the Ottoman military and economy became dependent on Germany.<sup>96</sup>

The opposition to war that remained silent throughout the war years began to raise its voice immediately after the flight of the CUP leaders. The first session of the parliament (Meclis-i Mebusan) after the Armistice, which convened on 4 November 1918, witnessed an important proposal given by Fuad Bey deputy of Divaniye. The parliament accused the wartime cabinets of ten transgressions based on Fuad Bey's 10-point proposal, the accusations included entering the war without a reason and without any guarantees from Germany, managing the war incompetently, destroying the country's economy through profiteering and misappropriation, imposing unconstitutional censorship and withholding true information regarding the war from public opinion.<sup>97</sup>

On 9 November 1918, the fifth session of Meclis-i Mebusan began questioning the remaining wartime cabinet members. The interrogations showed that maintaining an armed neutrality was the best option during the war and an entry into the war was unnecessary and untimely. From the interrogations, one can assume that Ottoman entry into the First World War was caused by a series of external factors. However, the perception that the Ottoman entry was a *fait accompli* committed by a small group of CUP leaders without the knowledge of the government remained strong.<sup>98</sup>

Said Halim Pasha who had been the Grand Vizier throughout most of the war, claimed that he opposed an intervention and even threatened to resign when he learned that the Black Sea Ports had been bombarded. İbrahim Bey the former justice minister told that the council of ministers was completely against an entry into the war and became a victim of a *fait accompli*. Cavid Bey the former finance minister pointed out that had the Entente Powers given enough concessions on the issue of the capitulations

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<sup>96</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "Unionist Failure to Stay Out of the War in October-November 1914", *Perceptions*, Summer-Autumn 2015, Volume XX, Number 2-3, pp. 33-35.

<sup>97</sup> Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 189.

<sup>98</sup> Ersin Müezzinoğlu, "Savaş Kabinelerinin Sorgulanmalarına Göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Girişi", *History Studies: International Journal of History* 2015, 7, 137; Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, *İttihat-Terakki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması: Meclis-i Mebusan Tahkikatı, Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa, Ermeni Tehcirinin İçyüzü, Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi Muhakemesi*, İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 1998.

and territorial integrity they would have surely achieved Ottoman neutrality during the war.<sup>99</sup>

The Ottoman-German alliance signed in August 1914 was a result of the Ottoman fear of isolation after the Balkan Wars. After refused by the Entente Powers Germany became the only alternative as a Great Power protector. Although there could be disagreements between the ministers, in the long run they recognized Germany as an important ally for saving what remained of the Empire. Actually, Ottomans showed their determination to stand with Germany when they let two German Cruisers through the Dardanelles. This alliance relieved the Ottoman elites from their fear of isolation. One could also say that the Unionist government tried to delay a direct entry into the war as long as possible. However, some of the CUP leaders considered the war as an opportunity to regain the political and economic independence of the Empire.<sup>100</sup>

The political literature of the time regarded the German alliance and the Ottoman entry into the First World War as a *fait accompli* imposed by a few CUP strongmen influenced by some sort of Pan-Turkist and Pan-Islamist ideology. This notion continued through the Republican era. Historians like Yusuf Hikmet Bayur blamed the Unionists of “chasing “ideals like Turanism [i.e. pan-Turkism] and pan-Islamism” and entering a world war unnecessarily and with calamitous consequences”.<sup>101</sup> Although viewing the presence of a strong Germany in favor of Ottoman interests, Bayur argues that the Ottoman Empire had already been doing so much for Germany without entering the war by closing off the straits and tying down Russian and British troops in the Caucasus and in Egypt respectively. He adds that even an entry into the war alongside Germany had become inevitable, the Ottoman Empire could have entered at a later stage experiencing less attrition.<sup>102</sup> Bayur also contends that the CUP leaders were responsible for the empire’s defeat because they made it join the war, and then failed to develop any effective military strategy. Moreover, they dampened feelings of national resistance, which was a major difficulty for the national

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<sup>99</sup> Ersin Müezzinoğlu, “Savaş Kabinelerinin Sorgulanmalarına Göre Osmanlı Devleti’nin Birinci Dünya Savaşı’na Girişi”, *History Studies: International Journal of History* 2015, 7, 123-135.

<sup>100</sup> Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 28.

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>102</sup> Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, pp. 267, 274.

movement in Anatolia in late 1918 and early 1919.<sup>103</sup> The interrogations of the cabinet ministers after the war also confirmed this view. Moreover, this kind of argument, which places the war guilt on a few Unionists, was useful to convince the Entente Powers for a milder peace settlement.

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<sup>103</sup> Ömer Turan “Turkish Historiography of The First World War”. *Middle East Critique*, 23:2, 2014; p. 246.

## CHAPTER 5

### DOMESTIC ISSUES AND DESPOTISM OF THE UNIONISTS

It is beyond discussion that after the Armistice, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* became a major organ for disseminating anti-unionist propaganda. The suppressed liberal opposition movement, which also called themselves “*muhalifler*” (opposition), began to question about the wartime policies of the Unionists and its consequences. In his successive articles with the same name on 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> December 1918, “*Biz Muhalifler Kimleriz ve neler istiyoruz?*” (We, opponents, who are we and what we want?), Ali Kemal speaking on behalf of the opposition employed the political jargon of the Second Constitutional period. On the first part of the article, Ali Kemal stressed the continuity of their struggle from 1908 onwards in order to put emphasis on their differences from the Unionists. Here the strain of thought represented by the *Ahrar Fırkası* (Party of Ottoman Liberals) and later *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Liberty and Entente Party - LEP) came to the fore.<sup>104</sup>

The opponents were confident that the last 4-5 years, which witnessed the absolute power of the CUP and led to the final catastrophe and defeat in the First World War, proved them right and thought that a government composed of their own was natural. On 2 December, Ali Kemal wrote an article titled “*Hükümet Muhaliflere geçmelidir*” (The government should be given to the opposition). Ali Kemal considered Tevfik Pasha Cabinet as a temporary phenomenon and claimed that the dissidents were

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<sup>104</sup> *Sabah*, 19 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10449, s. 1

compelled to come to power otherwise they would be neglecting their duties to the motherland and humanity.<sup>105</sup>

Since the opponents saw themselves as the only ones to reverse the effects of the Unionist rule and the traumatic experience of the First World War; Ali Kemal listed the following demands:

- a) Handing over the ones responsible for the Ottoman entry into the war and punishing them as soon as possible;
- b) Punishing those who were responsible for the crime of the deportation of the Armenians;
- c) Compensate the ones as much as possible who became victims by the act of deportation;
- d) Confiscating the property of those who participated in the bloodshed for personal profit;
- e) Confiscating the wealth collected under the guise of *Tekalif-i Harbiye* (War Taxes), *Esnaf Cemiyeti* (Artisans Society) etc;
- f) Abolishing privileges like the forest privilege that were given to a few and compensating the loss caused to the treasury;
- g) Investigating the corrupt and illegal profits extracted by Said Halim and Talat Paşa governments and confiscating them when they are caught;
- h) Not dismissing any state official without a legal offense on grounds of their political views;
- i) Terminating the sources of plundering granted to its stooges by the Talat Pasha government.<sup>106</sup>

Opposition's number one political agenda was the trial of the Unionists who were responsible for the Ottoman entry into the war and the subsequent wartime policies. Immediately after the Armistice, in his article "*Türklerin Günahı nedir?*" (What is the guilt of Turks) dated November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918, Ali Kemal mentioned the fact that the Ottoman entry into the war was the work of a tiny clique conspiring with Germany.<sup>107</sup> He asked for handing over the ones responsible for the Ottoman entry into

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<sup>105</sup> *Sabah*, 2 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10432, s.1

<sup>106</sup> *Sabah*, 20 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10450, s. 1

<sup>107</sup> *Sabah*, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

the war and punishing them as soon as possible. Ali Kemal continued to write on the topic and accused the CUP leaders; his article *Enverland* from 23 November mentions the same responsibility in the person of Enver Pasha.<sup>108</sup>

For the opposition, deportation and massacre of the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire particularly Armenians held a crucial place on criticisms of domestic policy of war-time CUP government. Ali Kemal took an uncompromising stance when confronting the deportations and asked for trial of those who were responsible for the crime of deportation. In his article on 27<sup>th</sup> November, “*Zalimler, Mazlumlar*” (Oppressors, Oppressed Ones) Ali Kemal called for the trial of the real culprits of this tragedy in order to cleanse the Turks from this guilt. Ali Kemal saw it as a necessity for coming to terms with the Entente Powers.<sup>109</sup>

When investigations were being conducted by the Tetkik-i Seyyiat Komisyonu (Committee for the Investigation of Misdeeds), the *Sabah* laid the blame particularly on the Central Committee of the CUP and published some excerpts from the telegrams that belonged to the Central Committee member Bahaeddin Şakir. Along with that the issue of the confiscated properties of the non-Muslims also came to the fore and the return of those properties was one of the immediate demands of the opposition.<sup>110</sup> Details of the criticisms regarding the wartime policies against the non-Muslims will be discussed in a separate chapter.

The wartime corruption, unfair privileges and illegal profits provided by Said Halim and Talat paşa governments were the topics that were frequently reported by the *Sabah* during the Armistice period. Dissidents demanded that personal misuse of resources at the expense of the nation and the state should be ended. They counted the extinguishing the sources of plundering under Talat Pasha as a priority. Ali Kemal pointed out the corruption ring around Talat Pasha that became influential during the last years of the war. This was particular in the case of *İtibar-I Milli Bankası*, which he claimed had been established by force and fraud in an article from 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1918, The Bank’s board of directors were filled with people loyal to Talat Pasha. This was persistently brought on the agenda by Ali Kemal. Ali Kemal also accused Kara

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<sup>108</sup> *Sabah*, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1

<sup>109</sup> *Sabah*, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1

<sup>110</sup> *Sabah*, 11 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10441 s. 1



Kemal who had been responsible for the Provisioning of İstanbul of amassing an illegal fortune through the “national companies”.<sup>111</sup>

Opposition claimed that the Unionists extorted the people during the war with various means like *Tekalif-i harbiye* (war taxes) and *esnaf cemiyeti* (the artisans society). With the declaration of mobilization in August 1914, many goods were requisitioned by the army under *Tekalif-i Harbiye Kanunu* (Military Tax Law) leading to the withdrawal of many consumer goods including flour for making bread. Ali Kemal criticized *Tekalif-i Harbiye* confiscations as an important factor in disrupting the Economy. The civil society organizations like artisans society also attracted fierce criticism from the opposition for arbitrarily extorting the shopkeepers. After the war, they were perceived as covert institutions for Unionist activities. Details of the views and criticisms on the economic corruption that took place during the war will be discussed in a separate chapter.

Opposition also promised that unlike the CUP they would not adopt partisan attitudes in treating the civil servants. With pledging not to dismiss any state official without a legal offense on grounds of their political views, Ali Kemal recounted his old experience as an academician at the *Darülfünun-ı Osmani* (Ottoman University), because of his political affiliation he was removed from his post and never allowed to have any teaching post in state educational institutions. Ali Kemal promises non-partisan attitude different than the previous Unionist experience in appointing state officials.

After the fall of the Unionists from power at the end of the war the opposition that had been suppressed since 1913 considered that it was their turn to head the government. They saw themselves as the only power with a clear programme. However, instead of offering a solution to the pressing problems we can see that their outlook on domestic policy largely focused on settling the score with the Unionists.

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<sup>111</sup> *Sabah*, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1

## CHAPTER 6

### FOREIGN POLICY AND THE DEPENDENCY ON GERMANY

During the Armistice period, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* frequently brought up foreign policy issues on its front page supplemented by Ali Kemal's articles. In general, Ali Kemal criticized the wartime leadership with merely being puppets in the hands of the German Empire. Ali Kemal also pointed out that the lack of knowledge on Western Politics and diplomacy had become Ottomans' fundamental failure throughout history. According to him, ultimately, this failure resulted in the Ottoman entry into the First World War and final collapse.<sup>112</sup>

In his writings on Europe, Ali Kemal correctly analyzed the post-war period as the beginning of a new era with the developing new nation states and governed by democracy and international law. Ali Kemal also shared his thoughts vis-à-vis the Great Power blocs of the war, which portrays the war as a showdown between civilization and despotism. His articles like “*İngiliz Dostluğu*” (British Friendship), “*Almanya'nın Başına Gelenler*” (What befell to Germany), “*Demir Çember*” (Circle of Iron) should be considered in this regard.<sup>113</sup>

Ali Kemal's perspective on post-war foreign policy centered around gaining the victors' favor by means of diplomacy. Ali Kemal seemed confident that the war was finally over and the time was ripe for diplomacy and negotiation. However, like many Ottomans, he was clearly disappointed by the Armistice terms. In his article “*Türklerin*

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<sup>112</sup> *Sabah*, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1; *Sabah*, 3 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10433, s. 1;

<sup>113</sup> *Sabah*, 9 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10408, s. 1; *Sabah*, 16 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10446 s. 1; *Sabah*, 8 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10407, s. 1;

*Günahı nedir?*” (What is the guilt of Turks) dated November 1, 1918; Ali Kemal shared his thoughts about the issue. Kemal criticized the Armistice terms as harsh and distressing, but he hoped that the Entente Powers would treat the Turks fairly in the upcoming peace negotiations.<sup>114</sup>

Ali Kemal’s key argument was the influence of Germany over the Empire. In order to prove that the Turks had indeed not wanted to be a part of this war, he portrayed the Unionists as a gang bought off by the Germans. This approach can be interpreted as an attempt to portray the Turks as innocent and powerless under the rule of a military dictatorship during the war. According to him, the Entente powers were not fair in their treatment of the Turks for they had not had any say in these policies. If we put it in his words from the same article above : “ ...because they do not know to what extent the Germans took control of the country by the means of Committee and Enver, they do not know how from the sultan to the lowliest soldier all the Turks were dragged by an iron hand wherever the Germans wished.”<sup>115</sup>

Ali Kemal put special emphasis on Enver Pasha as the intermediary used by the Germans to control the Empire. In his Article “*Enverland*” dated November 23, 1918, Ali Kemal stated that Enver Pasha rose through the ranks without merit and ultimately became the means for the German influence to infiltrate the Empire. He portrayed Pasha as a vain character, who tried to emulate Napoleon and fantasized about great conquests. His aspirations were fed by the Germans. Another important point was the corruption around him. Ali Kemal mentioned how Enver and the War ministry misused the resources and discretionary funds. According to him, Enver had been foolish enough not to realize Germany’s real intention of turning the Empire into a colony. As his arrogance boosted, Enver believed ever strongly in the final victory, which would be achieved in Europe. Relying on a German victory, Enver pasha neglected the situation on the Ottoman fronts and let the Ottoman soldiers die of starvation.<sup>116</sup>

It might be argued that Ali Kemal’s portrayal of the German influence over the Unionists during the war is to some extent exaggerated. He openly remarks that: “After

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<sup>114</sup> *Sabah*, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

<sup>115</sup> *Sabah*, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

<sup>116</sup> *Sabah*, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1.

the beginning of the war Germany's power showed itself in all our acts that the Ottoman government almost turned into an orderly of Berlin." In his depiction of the German influence, Ali Kemal certainly overlooked important decisions made by the government during and before its entry into the war. Notably before entering the war, Ottoman government had unilaterally abolished the capitulations much to the dismay of all the great powers including Germany.<sup>117</sup> Later throughout the war German efforts to secure a stronger economic position in the Empire proved to be futile. For instance Germany's attempts to secure the liquidation of British and French economic enterprises met with opposition particularly from Cavid Bey. Even Enver Pasha who became a scapegoat for his sympathy for Germany had the final say in the military matters and it went to the extent that he conducted military operations that conflicted with German interests.<sup>118</sup>

Ali Kemal argued that the alliance with Germany during the war had been an aberration from the traditional Ottoman diplomacy and current circumstances necessitated the revival of the long-standing British friendship. In order to guarantee a brighter future for all Ottomans, Ali Kemal hoped for greater cooperation between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain. In his article named British Friendship (*İngiliz Dostluğu*), Ali Kemal claimed that he knew only two courses of policies for the Ottoman state: "*İttihad-ı Anasır*" (Union of Elements) in domestic policy and British Friendship in foreign policy. Ali Kemal continued stressing that British friendship is indispensable to the Ottoman Empire and it is a geographical, political and logical fact. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman Empire had benefited from British friendship and now that the war was over Ali Kemal hoped that the British would reconsider the situation of the Turks and confirm their goodwill.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to geo-political necessities and diplomatic tradition, Ali Kemal supported his pro-British approach with the superiority of the values represented by Britain. Ali Kemal's perspective on the struggle between Entente and the Central Powers corresponds with his outlook on Great Britain and Germany. In his perspective, Great Britain represents civilization and a bright future for humanity while Germany represents a military despotism trying to form an "iron circle" in Europe by means of

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<sup>117</sup> Halil İnalçık, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 2000, C. XXII, s. 252.

<sup>118</sup> Ulrich Trumpener, Germany and the End of the Ottoman Empire. In Marian Kent (Ed) *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, London: Frank Cass, 1996, pp. 121-126.

<sup>119</sup> *Sabah*, 9 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10408, s. 1

coercion. His article on 8 November called “Iron Circle” (*Demir Çember*) informs us a lot on the issue. Ali Kemal put an emphasis on the British factor affecting the outcome of the war. According to Ali Kemal, Britain has a special character different than Russia and even France. It managed to turn the world opinion against Germany and the Central Powers. This was particularly important in the case of the United States whose entry into the war in 1917 marked a turning point in the war and culminated in the German defeat on the Western front. On the other hand, Germany showed nothing but Barbarism in its acts and earned the enmity of the World opinion. Ali Kemal points out the well-known themes of British propaganda, namely German invasion of Belgium and Germany’s declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare as examples.<sup>120</sup>

Ali Kemal’s views on Germany was not uncommon for his age. While Ottoman educated elites particularly young Turks considered Britain and France the cradle of freedom, they saw Germany as the supporter of Hamidian despotism. Even after the rapprochement and alliance with Germany, the German Empire remained a distant and foreign civilization.<sup>121</sup>

In another article dated 16 December, he portrayed Germany as the sole responsible for the war, plunging Europe into a world war at the moment of its own choice. Comparing Kaiser Wilhelm II’s Germany with Napoleon’s France Ali Kemal argues that despite scoring a series of military victories and advancing as far as the gates of Paris, Germany ultimately lost against the civilized world in the long run.<sup>122</sup>

One of Ali Kemal’s main arguments was the difference between the Turks and the Unionists. Ali Kemal consistently defended this beginning with his criticism of the Armistice terms. In “Türklerin günahı nedir?” (What is the guilt of Turks) he wrote: “For centuries we have been crushed under autocracy more than any nation even more than our Christian citizens..... However, while every nation was becoming free of slavery, we could not free ourselves. During the last years we became the victim of the most ruthless, lunatic, deceitful of autocrats. Even though our idiocy and blindness was

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<sup>120</sup> *Sabah*, 8 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10407, s. 1

<sup>121</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Die Deutschen an der "Pforte der glückseligkeit": kulturelle und soziale begegnungen mit Istanbuler Türken zwischen 1870 und 1918 *Deutsche praesenz am Bosphorus*, Kummer, Matthias von (ed.), İstanbul: Generalkonsulat der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2009, pp. 35-65.

<sup>122</sup> *Sabah*, 16 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10446 s. 1;

partly to blame, Europe was also partly to blame in maintaining this unionist rule on us. .... Europe supported them, politically, financially and in every possible way.” Ali Kemal also argued that Turks were not oppressors as the West saw them and on the contrary, they were oppressed for centuries. Apart from Germany, the great powers were also responsible for the fate of the Turks. He made a clear distinction between the Unionists who led the country to the First World War on the side of Germany and the Turks. According to him the treatment of the Turks by the Entente Powers as criminals was unjust and Turks should be recognized as a respectable nation and be allowed to develop in freedom.<sup>123</sup>

It is evident that the Wilsonian Principles of January 1918 had a positive effect on the Ottomans. His article “*İtilaf Devletleri ve Türkler*” (Entente Powers and Turks) clarifies his vision of a future international system under the guidance of the victors. Ali Kemal seemed optimistic about the future and assured the reader that the older politics based on might and subjugation of the peoples are over. The statesmen of today intended to protect the rights of nations. Ali Kemal was convinced that a new era in international politics had begun. The rights of the oppressed nations of the World would be maintained and their future development would be assisted. In line with this, he emphasized the formation of Poland as a reincarnation. Ali Kemal came to an interesting point when he showed Turks as an oppressed nation like the Poles which had been ruled by Austrian, Prussian and Russian Empires. He argued that Turk, the peasant of Anatolia had suffered for centuries under despotic rulers who saw him nothing more than a soldier and taxpayer. Ali Kemal claimed that the Victors would guarantee the freedom and development of the Turkish nation like they restored Poland as a free nation.<sup>124</sup>

If we need to sum up the position of the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* with regards to its analyses vis-à-vis the foreign powers, it focuses on two main themes. First of it is the mistaken wartime policy entering the war on the side of Germany and rejecting the proposals of the Entente Powers. It is also repeatedly argued that this was the work of a small clique bought off by the Germans. In depicting the wartime leadership as pro-German, Ali Kemal ignored the Unionists’ attempts to approach the Entente camp,

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<sup>123</sup> *Sabah*, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Sabah*, 23 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10453, s. 1

especially Britain, before settling with Germany. Unlike the post-war accusations against the Unionists, modern historiography on the subject cites at least three attempts by the Young Turks to reach an agreement with Britain.<sup>125</sup> Secondly, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* informs the reader of a new international order under the leadership of the victors. The final victory achieved in 1918 had been the victory of “right” represented by the Entente Powers against the “might” represented by the Central Powers. The new system would guarantee the right and secure the self-development of every nation including the Turks. Therefore, Ali Kemal and the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah*, in general, warned its readers that if the Turks hoped to benefit from this new order, its future would inevitably be alongside the victor and especially Britain.

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<sup>125</sup> Feroz Ahmad, “Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks 1908-1914”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Jul., 1966), pp. 302-329

## CHAPTER 7

### CRITICISM REGARDING THE WARTIME POLICIES TOWARD THE NON-MUSLIMS

The situation of the non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War was critical not only politically but also militarily and socially. Certain nationalist groups among them took advantage of the war and revolted against the Ottoman rule. Their aim was to gain independence with the help of the Entente Powers who were fighting against the Ottoman State. In the course of the war, most of the Armenians of eastern Anatolia were deported to Syria and northern Iraq, both of which were parts of the Ottoman lands prior to 1918.<sup>126</sup>

The concluding of the Armistice and the flight of the CUP strongmen led to a period of confrontation in the Armistice press about the wartime policies of the Unionists and its consequences. The bitterest articles to inveigh against the Unionist elite were found in new journals and newspapers owned by one-time liberals and other historic opponents of the regime. Collectively, the resurgent liberal press painted the CUP government as a band of criminals guilty of ruining the empire through war, murder, and profiteering. A prevailing focus of media criticism was the government's decision to exile and slaughter large numbers of the empire's Armenian citizenry.<sup>127</sup>

The tragedy experienced by the Armenians was designated in the Ottoman press of the time as "*tehcir ve taktil*" (deportation and massacre). Political tendencies of the period played a significant role in the handling of this debate. The two main perspectives on the issue were the products of Unionism that still held some leverage

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<sup>126</sup> Ömer Turan, "Turkish Historiography of the First World War". *Middle East Critique*, 23:2, 2014, 250.

<sup>127</sup> Ryan Gingeras, *Fall of the Sultanate. The Great War and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1922*, Oxford University Press, 2016, p 252



and the opposing anti-Unionism which had remained silent for almost 5 years after the Unionist seizure of power in 1913.<sup>128</sup>

The first of them was conveyed by newspapers like *Hadisat*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat and Minber*, which designated the events as “mukatele”, massacres were committed by both sides and pointed out that muslims were also subjected to massacres. These newspapers represented the moderate nationalist line emerged after the collapse of the CUP rule. The other perspective was prevalent in newspapers like the *Sabah*, *Alemdar*, *Söz* basing its main argument on anti-unionism and labeled it as an outrageous crime committed by the committee.<sup>129</sup>

The *Sabah* immediately after the appointment of Ali Kemal as chief editor in late 1918 turned into a strong supporter of the anti-unionist opposition. Ali Kemal Bey joined the debate and became a staunch defender of the anti-unionist line demanding the trial of the ones who had been responsible. In his daily writings, Ali Kemal kept the issue on the agenda as a crime unwitnessed before in terms of its scale and demanded the trial of the ones responsible. His article titled “Zalimler, Mazlumlar” (Oppressors, Oppressed Ones) published in the *Sabah* on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1918 clearly reflects his view on the subject.<sup>130</sup> In addition to that Ali Kemal’s articles “Kanuni Gayri Kanuni” (Legal and Illegal) and “Almanya ve Caniler” (Germany and the Criminals) touches upon various aspects of the issue.<sup>131</sup>

The *Sabah* regularly reported about the investigations of the Commission of Inquiry and later the minutes of the military court martial. On the article titled “Zalimler, Mazlumlar”, while congratulating Ahmed Rıza Bey about the motion he gave in the Ottoman Senate that demanded the investigation of the atrocities committed under the name of deportation and the trial of the people who took part in these incidents with the identification of the bad influence these incidents created in the country, Ali Kemal pointed out the events of 1915 as an indisputable fact, a catastrophe, already well known in the West. He wrote “Today it is crystal clear that there is an undeniable catastrophe.” He continued with naming the prime actors of the crime.

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<sup>128</sup> Ömer Turan, Güven Gürkan Öztan, “Mütareke Döneminde Tehcir Tartışmaları ve Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi Yargılamaları”, 1915: *Siyaset, Tehcir, Soykırım*, ed. Fikret Adanır, Oktay Özel. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015, p. 508.

<sup>129</sup> Bünyamin Kocaoğlu, “Mütareke Basınında Ermeni Meselesi Tartışmaları”, *History Studies: International Journal of History*, 2013, 5, p. 217.

<sup>130</sup> *Sabah*, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1.

<sup>131</sup> *Sabah*, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1., *Sabah*, 6 Şubat 1335 (1919), nr. 10498 s. 1.

“Talat Bey gives orders from the centre, forms bands, attacks provinces. The central committee sends its most formidable members like Dr. Bahaeddin Şakir, Dr. Nazım to Erzurum, Trabzon etc. as special envoys and they hold negotiations with the governors. Finally those disastrous massacres are committed by the bandits and murderers who were intentionally released in secrecy from the dungeons.” Using the war as a pretext the wartime government deported the Armenian population to Syria and Mesopotamia and have them massacred by vicious means along the road. The main purpose behind this act was to completely eradicate the Armenian presence in Anatolia. Ali Kemal clearly attacks the “mukatele” thesis explaining that it was the Turkish Grand Vizier, Turkish ministers, Turkish governors and Turkish officials who deported the Armenians and not vice versa. He dismisses the portrayal of the Turks as victims and claims that people who are making this kind of arguments are implicitly defending Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas.<sup>132</sup>

It is important to note that Ali Kemal seems oblivious to the differences between the CUP leadership regarding the deportations and the wholesale Armenian policy. The most notable to note here was Cemal Pasha’s treatment of the Armenians. Contrary to Talat Pasha’s neglect of the Armenian deportees, Cemal Pasha intervened in both the deportation and settlement of the Armenians to improve their situation.<sup>133</sup>

In his writings Ali Kemal also notes the economic aspect of this crime, for instance in his article on 28 November 1918, “Kanuni Gayri Kanuni” (Legal and Illegal), he accuses the Unionists of usurping the possessions and estates of the Greeks and Armenians and emphasizes the need to confiscate the usurped properties from their new owners and returning them to their real owners.<sup>134</sup> In a response to *Yeni Gün* from 14 December 1918, Ali Kemal claims that much of the fortune amassed by the Central Committee comprised of the usurped properties of the deported Armenians. He continues with claiming a contract between the murderer gangs and the Central Committee whereby half of the plunder was sent to İstanbul and the other half was distributed among the gang members.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> *Sabah*, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1

<sup>133</sup> M. Talha Çiçek. *War and State Formation in Syria. Cemal Pasha's governorate during World War I, 1914-1917*. Routledge, London and New York, 2014, p. 268.

<sup>134</sup> *Sabah*, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1.

<sup>135</sup> *Sabah*, 14 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10444 s. 1.

While the *Sabah*'s policy showed considerable effort to portray the Turks as innocent and oppressed under a brutal unionist regime, much of the accusations about the events of 1915 were directed against the CUP and particularly on its *Merkez-i Umumi* (Central Committee). On 11 December 1918, the *Sabah* reported that a search conducted by *Tetkik-i Seyyiat Komisyonu* (Committee for the Investigation of Misdeeds) at the quarters of the CUP Central Committee led to the revelation of important documents incriminating the Committee for the deportations and massacres. The *Sabah* claims that there had been a purge of documents by the Unionists, which proves their responsibility in these crimes and the orders sent by the Central Committee to provincial officials. However, two documents were found proving the committee's responsibility. These documents signed by fugitives Doctor Nazım and Bahaeddin Şakir ordered the governors first to execute the order regarding massacring the Armenians, second asks the governors: Have you executed the order regarding the massacre of the Armenians?<sup>136</sup>

On 12 December 1918, the *Sabah* published new documents regarding the deportations. First of them was a telegram that had been sent by Talat Pasha to the CUP club in Malatya, where he ordered the extermination of Armenians in the district with Talat paşa himself assuming the responsibility for it. The person who brought the telegram from Malatya also explained a great deal about the confiscated Armenian properties. According to him one half of them was sent directly to İstanbul whereas the others were distributed amongst the gang members that committed the atrocities.<sup>137</sup> In his response to *Yeni Gün* on 14 December Ali Kemal argued that the telegram was genuine since it shared similarities with the ones signed by Dr.Nazım and Bahaeddin Şakir. He also adds that there are witnesses to confirm its authenticity.<sup>138</sup> The *Sabah*'s headline from 15 December 1918 was "Kanlı Sahifeler" (Blood-Stained Pages) and it was based on the account of an Ottoman official who had been horrified of his experience in Trabzon and fled the province. It accuses the governor of Trabzon during the depotations, Cemal Azmi, as the foremost "hero" in this tragedy.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> *Sabah*, 11 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10441 s. 1.

<sup>137</sup> *Sabah*, 12 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10442 s. 1.

<sup>138</sup> *Sabah*, 14 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10444 s. 1.

<sup>139</sup> *Sabah*, 15 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10445 s. 1.

The issue of responsibility appears as an important point in Ali Kemal's writings. On the issue of punishing those who are responsible for the atrocities Ali Kemal emphasizes that there should be a distinction between the CUP and the ordinary Turks. Ali Kemal seems convinced that ordinary Turks are clear of any crimes. According to him, the Turkish nation is blameless and its conscience is pure and clean. He argues that seeking compensation for the Armenians does not mean speaking against the Turkish interests. On the contrary, Ali Kemal insists that one must seek justice for the Armenians and do everything that remains possible to repair the damage caused by the previous governments in order to defend the rights of the Turks and gain the confidence of the victors. Otherwise, Turks would look like the protectors of the murderers. While much of the İstanbul Press condemned the Unionists like Ali Kemal Bey some of them differed on the question of responsibility and the innocence of the Turks. On 30 November 1918 Sait Molla's *Yeni İstanbul*, which can be associated with the anti-Unionist opposition, was published with the headline "Hepimiz Failiz" (We are all perpetrators). A comparable approach to the Turkish responsibility had some echoes on the nationalist side as well. Halide Edip also mentioned Turkish responsibility in her article in *Vakit*.<sup>140</sup>

An interesting part that Ali Kemal points out about the plight of the Armenians is Germany's complicity in these crimes. One must add that accusations against Germany on the Armenian issue was one among the three charges hurled against Germany at the time, the other two were the Belgian atrocities and the submarine warfare.<sup>141</sup> Controversy about the German responsibility on the Armenian issue was not uncommon in the İstanbul Press. For instance on 6 November an article by Cenap Şahabettin in the newspaper *Hadisat* mentioned the German factor. Cenap Şahabettin accuses the Germans of remaining indifferent to the problem while Turks and Armenians were massacring each other. In his article called "*Almanya ve Caniler*" (Germany and the Murderers) Ali Kemal covers the problem from a greater perspective referring to the German response to the Armenian massacres of 1894-1896 which took place during the Hamidian Era. He notes that Wilhelm II the German Kaiser spent no

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<sup>140</sup> Ömer Turan, , Güven Gürkan Öztan, *Devlet Akli ve 1915, Türkiye'de "Ermeni Meselesi" Anlatısının İnşası*, İletişim Yayınları, 2018. P: 60

<sup>141</sup> Stefan Ihrig, *Justifying Genocide: Germany and the Armenians from Bismarck to Hitler*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2016, p 194.

effort to prevent this bloody policy and also visited İstanbul after the massacres. Like Cenap Şahabettin, Ali Kemal also points out Germany's silence on the issue during the war. However, he adopts a more radical position on Germany's complicity. Although acknowledging the lack of documents to prove it, Ali Kemal claims that Germany supported this crime by basing this allegation on the grounds that the perpetrators were decorated by the Kaiser himself and now even after defeat Germany refuses to extradite these perpetrators.<sup>142</sup>

It is obvious that Germany's refusal to hand over the three Pashas to the Ottoman authorities induced Ali Kemal to target it. Moreover, it is safe to assume that Ali Kemal's condemnation of Germany was in line with the *Entente* press of the time accusing Germany of the Armenian atrocities. For instance during the same period the Entente press had started a campaign against Liman von Sanders, the head of the German military reform mission in the Ottoman Empire, who later served in key commands on Gallipoli and Palestine fronts.<sup>143</sup>

The *Sabah* was undeniably an important voice of the suppressed liberal opposition movement in İstanbul during the Armistice period. Therefore, crimes of the wartime government and the committee held a crucial place in the *Sabah*'s perception of the First World War. Among them, the Armenian case was the most obvious one that attracted both national and international attention. Ever since 24 May 1915 Entente Powers had condemned the events as "crimes against humanity" and a vibrant debate began in the press immediately after the CUP's fall from power. Under these circumstances, the *Sabah* under Ali Kemal's guidance presented the fate of the Armenians and to a certain extent other non-Muslims as an act committed by a group of murderers who also held the Turks under their tyranny. Ali Kemal was particularly clear that the ordinary Turk was devoid of any crimes. Moreover, he was certain that a new world was emerging and Turks in order to take their place in the civilized should confront the issue head on and settle the score with the Unionists. The *Sabah*'s view on the issue went parallel to the policy of the contemporary governments who wanted to curry the favor of the Entente Powers for a milder peace settlement.

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<sup>142</sup> *Sabah*, 6 Şubat 1335 (1919), nr. 10498 s. 1.

<sup>143</sup> Stefan Ihrig, *Justifying Genocide: Germany and the Armenians from Bismarck to Hitler*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2016, p. 205

## CHAPTER 8

### WARTIME ECONOMIC POLICIES: THE ISSUE OF CORRUPTION

The wartime corruption in the economy was another topic that was emphasized by the *Sabah* during the Armistice period. Ali Kemal wrote many times, how the Unionists made the nation indebted for millions of liras and abused the resources of the state in the last 4 and a half years. His article titled *Kanuni Gayri Kanuni* (Legal and Illegal) published in the *Sabah* on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1918 clearly reflects his view on the subject.<sup>144</sup>

In addition to *Kanuni Gayri Kanuni*, Ali Kemal's articles "İaşe Nezareti" (Ministry of Provisioning), "Çapük Hırsız" (Agile Thief) and "Bir Düşünce" (A Thought) touched upon various other aspects of the issue. On these articles, he mentioned how the Unionists abused the discretionary funds and how they robbed the people by the means of *esnaf cemiyeti* (the artisans society) and civil society organizations like *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (National Defense League) and *Donanma Cemiyeti* (Naval Society).<sup>145</sup>

The *Sabah* reported on various issues that the CUP's and particularly Enver Pasha's conduct of the war led the frontline troops to suffer from hunger and become naked. On 22 April, the *Sabah* was published with the headline "Why our army starved?" and reported that, during the war years, Enver pasha had taken supplies for

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<sup>144</sup> *Sabah*, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1.

<sup>145</sup> *Sabah*, 3 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10464 s. 1, *Sabah*, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1, *Sabah*, 6 Şubat 1335 (1919), nr. 10498 s. 1.

himself that worth more than 500000 liras. The *Sabah* claims that this kind of squandering led to hunger and clothlessness of the troops. The *Sabah* also put special emphasis on the discretionary fund (*tahsisat-ı mesture*), which was reserved for the *Harbiye Nezareti* (War Ministry), and used mainly by Enver Pasha and teşkilat-ı mahsusa. For instance on its issue 16 May 1919, it was claimed that Enver Pasha took 105.990 liras from the discretionary fund during the course of 1914-1915 only.<sup>146</sup>

Ali Kemal, in his article “Çapük Hırsız” (Agile Thief), pointed to the utter failure of the economic policies of the Unionists. The wartime period had witnessed a new line of policy in the economy under the name of “*Milli İktisat*” (National Economy).<sup>147</sup> Ali Kemal indicates that this policy contributed nothing to Turks in terms of economic prosperity and industrial development. According to Ali Kemal, the fundamental flaw of the system was its discouragement of non-Muslims from state employment and in fact a great favor had been done to non-Muslims since they channeled all their efforts to trade and industry making better profit.<sup>148</sup>

The Unionist attempt to form a national bank called *Osmanlı İtibar-ı Milli Bankası* (Ottoman National Credit Bank) was one of Ali Kemal’s list of the CUP’s detrimental economic acts. An important aspect of the Unionists’ economic policy was the formation of a national state bank that would replace the Ottoman Bank. This issue had been on the Unionists’ agenda since the Young Turk Revolution. Ottoman finances were considered to be dominated by the Europeans. The Ottoman Bank together with the Ottoman Public Debt Administration had become a state within a state, forcing the Ottoman Finance Ministry to act in accordance with their advice.<sup>149</sup>

İtibar-ı Milli Bankası which was founded in early 1917, was promoted as the first financial institution founded by real Turkish capital. It was formed by notable Unionists like the former Finance Minister Mehmet Cavid Bey and the editor in chief of the Unionist newspaper *Tanin* Hüseyin Cahid Bey. Only Ottoman Citizens were

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<sup>146</sup> *Sabah*, 22 Nisan 1335 (1919), nr. 10574, s. 1, *Sabah*, 16 Mayıs 1335 (1919), nr. 10597 s. 1, Gönül Güneş, “Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa Ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarındaki Faaliyetleri”. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Cilt: XXIX Sayı: 85, Mart 2013, pp. 101-130.

<sup>147</sup> Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Milli İktisat” 1908-1918*, Yurt Yayınları, 1982

<sup>148</sup> *Sabah*, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1

<sup>149</sup> *Sabah*, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1, Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Milli İktisat” 1908-1918*, Yurt Yayınları, 1982, p. 137

allowed to buy the shares of the Bank. However, this enterprise met with opposition at the *Meclis-i Ayan* (Ottoman Senate). Ahmet Rıza Bey considered the attempt to form a bank immoral on the grounds that the current catastrophic damage taken by the economy and the inability of the majority of the people to find even bread money. He also added that it could not be considered a serious and stable institution since it had been formed by force.<sup>150</sup>

On 28 November 1918, Ali Kemal told his readers that the bank was a hoax engineered by Talat Pasha. This bank's bonds were sold to people by means of fraud and force. The unsold bonds were bought by the treasury. Ali Kemal pointed out that the Bank had been given extraordinary privileges and permissions all confirmed by the Parliament. According to Ali Kemal, the bank's board of directors were entirely filled with Talat's stooges, whose jobs were nothing more than cosmetic in nature, that were in fact paid more than a Grand Vizier's salary.<sup>151</sup>

When it came to mentioning the regime's corruption two figures were especially emphasized by the *Sabah*, İsmail Hakkı Pasha and Kara Kemal Bey. Ali Kemal's article *Çapük Hırsız* (Agile Thief) targets these two figures. The main emphasis was no doubt on the maladministration of the economy, which was controlled by these two actors. Ali Kemal claimed that the majority of Ottoman casualties in the First World War did not occur on the battlefield, but instead caused by hunger behind the front, in the countryside and in the cities.<sup>152</sup>

On 25 April, the *Sabah* was published with the headline "Why our army starved?" the answer was claimed to be the plundering of the army's supply depots by means of İsmail Hakkı paşa.<sup>153</sup> İsmail Hakkı had served as the army chief of supply (*levazım reisi*) under Enver Pasha. In Ali Kemal's words, he was similar to Tamerlane both because of his lameness and his violent nature. He condemned the poor to hunger and wrecked the supply system of the army. He thought nothing but enriching himself and the stooges around him. He secured his large wealth in Europe and fled after the

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<sup>150</sup> Suat Oktar, Arzu Varlı, "İttihat Ve Terakki Dönemi'nin Ulusal Bankası: Osmanlı İtibar-ı Milli Bankası", *M U İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi* 27 (2014): 1-20, Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Milli İktisat" 1908-1918*, Yurt Yayınları, 1982, p. 146.

<sup>151</sup> *Sabah*, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1

<sup>152</sup> *Sabah*, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1

<sup>153</sup> *Sabah*, 25.Nisan.1335 (1919), nr. 10576 s. 1.



Armistice.<sup>154</sup> Talat Pasha also accuses İsmail Hakkı Pasha of corruption in his memoirs. According to Talat, in spite of all the complaints about him, İsmail Hakkı had been protected by Enver throughout the war. Enver insisted that without him the army could not be fed. Enver even threatened with resignation, if the complaints continued.<sup>155</sup>

The *Sabah* portrays the other important figure of this corrupt system as Kara Kemal. Kara Kemal had been an influential unionist in İstanbul drawing his power from the artisan societies. During the war, he was mainly responsible for the provisioning of the capital and briefly held the position of *İaşe Nezareti* (Ministry of Provisioning) towards the end of the war.<sup>156</sup> Ali Kemal defined him as an ignorant man without an education who emerged as a leading member of the CUP after the declaration of the mobilization in August 1914. Even though not directly accusing him of corruption, Ali Kemal stresses that he did not prevent his immediate circle from engaging in such activities. According Ali Kemal, he played a destructive role by disrupting free trade and confiscating the goods of the merchants. Eventually these arbitrarily confiscated goods were again sold to people with much higher prices and with unimaginable profiteering.<sup>157</sup>

This ministry of provisioning raised a lot of doubt among the opposition. In his article on 3 January 1919 called *İaşe Nezareti*, Ali Kemal questions the real purpose of the institution, he mentions Ahmed Rıza Bey's claim that the new ministry was nothing more than a means to increase the Committee's control over the people through provisioning. Bluntly speaking they could feed them or starve them at will. The provisioning of big cities like İstanbul and İzmir had been a problem even before the Ottoman entry into the war. With the declaration of mobilization in August 1914, many goods were requisitioned by the army under *Tekalif-i Harbiye Kanunu* (Military Tax Law) leading to the withdrawal of many consumer goods including flour for making bread. To find a solution to İstanbul's bread crisis, Unionists established *Heyet-i Mahsusa-i Ticariye* (Special Trade Delegation / Special Commission for Commerce)

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<sup>154</sup> *Sabah*, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1.

<sup>155</sup> Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Talat Paşa'nın Hatıraları*, *Yedigün Neşriyatı*, İstanbul, 1943, pp.31-32.

<sup>156</sup> Savaş Sertel, Şahin Yedek, "İttihat Ve Terakki'nin Küçük Efendisi: İaşe Nazırı Kara Kemal Bey'in Hayatı Ve Faaliyetleri". *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)*, Yıl 8, Sayı XXIV, Aralık 2015, pp. 377-403.

<sup>157</sup> *Sabah*, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1.

under Kara Kemal. During the war functions and profits of this institution caused rumors that some people were being enriched by the Committee.<sup>158</sup>

It should be noted that the notion of the “war profiteer” was not a new phenomenon for the Armistice period. The issue had been touched upon by many leading journalists before the end of the war. For instance Yunus Nadi’s article on 13 August 1917 in *Tasvir-i Efkâr* argues that these “new rich” contributed nothing to our economic development on the contrary they put end to the honorable way of trade and dealt heavy blows to our economic development. Refik Halid also wrote on the issue in an article named “Harp Zengini” (War Rich) comparing them to blood sucking parasites. Profiteering had become a serious problem in the later years of the war and “*Men-i İhtikar Heyeti*” (Special Commission formed to prevent profiteering in Istanbul) had been established to combat speculation and hoarding.<sup>159</sup>

Ali Kemal’s other targets included Unionist backed civil society organizations such as *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (National Defense League) and *Donanma Cemiyeti* (Naval Society). These organizations managed to provide a strong support from the public during war.<sup>160</sup> However, Ali Kemal accused them of extorting the shopkeepers under the name of supporting the army and navy by imposing arbitrary taxes on them. From his perspective, Unionists who were ousted from power were clinging these institutions in order to continue their cause.<sup>161</sup>

As a concluding remark, one can say that the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah*’s view on the war economy focused on corruption and profiteering by the CUP regime that had led to nothing but widespread hunger of the people and the enrichment of a clique that had strong connections to the Unionists. According to Ali Kemal, maladministration of the economy during the war years was one of the reasons that disrupted the logistics of the

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<sup>158</sup> *Sabah*, 3 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10464 s. 1, Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Millî iktisat” 1908-1918*, Yurt Yayınları, 1982, pp. 270-283.

<sup>159</sup> *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 13 Ağustos 1917, Nr. 2190, Refik Halid, “Harp Zengini” *Yeni Mecmua*, 2 Mayıs 1918, sayı:42, Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Millî iktisat” 1908-1918*, Yurt Yayınları, 1982, p. 294

<sup>160</sup> Erol Akcan, “Balkan Ve Birinci Dünya Harbi Yıllarında Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti, Tarihin Peşinde” *Uluslararası Tarih Ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*- Yıl: 2015, Sayı: 13, Sayfa: 161-183, Nursen Gök, “Donanma Cemiyeti’nin Anadolu’da Örgütlenmesine İlişkin Gözlemler”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2008: 27, 77-93

<sup>161</sup> *Sabah*, 6 Şubat 1335 (1919), nr. 10498 s. 1

army and led to the starvation of the Ottoman troops that fought on multiple fronts eventually contributing to the final defeat suffered in the end.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSION

During the Armistice period, the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* was undeniably an important voice of the previously suppressed liberal opposition movement in Istanbul. Since the newspaper was mostly controlled by Ali Kemal during the period, it essentially reflected his personal views, which were always fiercely against the CUP and later against the National Movement in Ankara. Ali Kemal was undoubtedly one of the most famous journalists of his time. His style of journalism was partisan, uncompromising and quarrelsome. Ali Kemal claimed to be speaking on behalf of the “opposition”.

Although it would be difficult to speak of a united opposition, Ali Kemal frequently stressed the continuity of opposition’s struggle from 1908 onwards in order to put emphasis on their differences from the Unionists. Throughout the 1908-18 period, liberal opposition manifested itself first in the *Ahrar Fırkası* (Party of Ottoman Liberals), and then the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Liberty and Entente Party - LEP). The liberals envisioned a more decentralist form of Ottomanism in a more cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire instead of the Unionists’ centralist tendencies and they claimed to be the real supporters of the constitution. Since the CUP eventually established a one party dictatorship in this period, Ali Kemal and the other opponents had experienced prison, exile and even execution under the Unionist regime. Despite criticizing the Unionists harshly in newspapers, it is generally accepted that the opposition remained weak and failed to seize the opportunity to establish firm political control when the Unionists lost

power. The influence of other political actors such as the palace and the Entente Powers actually had been far greater than the liberals on İstanbul governments. Moreover, it was an interesting fact that the rivals of the CUP were calling themselves opposition while the Unionists were effectively ousted from power. This can be explained by their weakness in state apparatus, particularly in the army and bureaucracy. In other words this shows the strength of the Unionists even when they lost power in the capital.

Like many of his contemporaries, Ali Kemal's views on the Ottomans carried the flavor of orientalism. In analyzing the events leading up to war and the collapse of the Empire, he arrogantly wrote that the lack of knowledge on Western Politics and diplomacy had become Ottomans' fundamental failure throughout history. Ali Kemal complained about the failure of producing capable statesmen who excelled in western politics. According to him, ultimately, the Ottoman entry into the First World War and the final collapse was the result of this failure. Here Ali Kemal ignores the fact that despite political, economic and military decline, the Empire had survived through 19<sup>th</sup> century by a cautious diplomacy, playing off one Great Power against each other. As for the First World War, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire could actually be considered together with the collapse of other Empires in Central and Eastern Europe during an important turning point in history, whereas things like a lack of knowledge or incapability are lesser factors in the process.

In general, Ali Kemal criticized the wartime leadership of merely being puppets in the hands of the German Empire. The authoritarian Young Turk regime was portrayed as being sponsored by Germany as part of an "*Demir Çember*" (Circle of Iron) in Ali Kemal's words. In fact, Ali Kemal's outlook on Germany as a militaristic and despotic power was not uncommon in his time especially among Young Turk circles. Ottoman Empire's relations with Germany had always been short of cultural and literary interaction and stemmed more from the need to acquire important military and technical know-how. During the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Young Turks had considered Britain and France as cradles of freedom while associating Germany with Hamidian despotism. Ali Kemal inherited this mentality and fused it with the wartime anti-German propaganda of the Entente accusing Germany of "war guilt" and war crimes. Another cause of Ali Kemal's pejorative view of Germany was probably the fact that during the last years of the Empire, especially after 1913, the Unionists began

to see the German State model as a means of salvation. Such policies like the German inspired “national economy” were obviously a different path of modernization and were alien to him.

It is beyond question that Ali Kemal’s view on the First World War was shaped by his desire to settle the score with his political rivals. Ali Kemal insistently argued that Ottoman entry into the First World War was the result of a small clique within the CUP sold off to the Germans. He also added that the Empire’s place should have been on the side of Great Britain in this conflict. Ali Kemal completely ignored the efforts of the Unionists to ally themselves with Britain and the other Entente Powers. Moreover Ali Kemal’s insistence on the need to gain British support was not unique to him but also existed among his opponents. For instance, Rauf Bey, Naval minister of the Ahmed İzzet Pasha Cabinet who signed the armistice also mentioned Admiral Calthorpe, the Commander in Chief of the British Mediterranean Fleet, his expectation of British cooperation in line with the policy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In his last days Talat Pasha, the former Grand Vizier of the last Unionist government also had an accommodation with Britain in his agenda.

In terms of domestic policy Ali Kemal’s political agenda, which allegedly outlines the policies of the opposition, can be considered revanchist. While demanding the trial of the responsible Unionists, almost all of its proposals are related to the crimes of the wartime government and intents to settle an old score. For instance, the opposition’s list of the demands does not mention anything about solving more immediate problems of the population like the food and fuel shortages or the refugee problem.

Ali Kemal’s revanchism also shows itself in his reflections on the Armenian tragedy. The *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* especially in the person of Ali Kemal took a clear uncompromising stance on the Armenian issue. But his related articles suggest that his main concern was to prove the innocence of the ordinary Turks in the eyes of the West. His articles blame the entire deportation and massacres on a few Unionists some of whom had already fled and also to a lesser extent on the Germans. This could also be interpreted as an attempt to curry favor with the Entente Powers and gain concessions for better peace terms. One should also notice his nationalist sentiments in his insistence

on the innocence of the Turks and also his remarks on the oppression that the Turks had been subjected to under various despots.

Ali Kemal's emphasis on the terms Turks and Turkishness seems to fit the dominant discourse of the time, which demanded self-determination for the peoples in their own nation-states. The defeat in the First World War led to the loss of the Arab lands and left the Empire only with an Anatolian heartland. Like many Ottoman intellectuals of the period, Ali Kemal vested hopes on the 12<sup>th</sup> principle of President Wilson whereby the Turkish majority would be guaranteed sovereignty by the victorious powers.

Criticism of economic policies were frequently mentioned in the the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* regarding the First World War. The newspaper accused unionists like Kara Kemal and İsmail Hakkı Paşa who were influential over the war economy of profiteering and corruption. The *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* viewed these events not from a perspective of economic independence or self-sufficiency but as the enrichment of a few trusted Unionists at the expense of the population. The *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* also pointed out that maladministration of the economy during the war years was one of the reasons that disrupted the logistics of the army and led to the starvation of the Ottoman troops that fought on multiple fronts eventually contributing to the final defeat suffered in the end. At times Ali Kemal described the issue in extreme as a conspiracy by the Unionists to threaten the population with starvation.

Ali Kemal's treatment of the Unionists may be considered too harsh given his long term feud with the Unionists. But despite being entrenched politically on the royalist losing camp in 1922 and his subsequent lynching to death, much of Ali Kemal's criticisms toward the CUP actually survived into the Republican Era and ironically adapted by the Kemalist Historiography. For instance, in his memoirs regarding the First World War, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk criticized the Unionist leadership for leaving the fate of the army and the nation to a German military mission.

These criticisms and accusations regarding the Unionist role in the war resurfaced during the show trials in 1926, when remaining former Unionists like Dr. Nazım and Cavid Bey were tried. They were accused not only of complicity in the plot to assassinate Mustafa Kemal, but also of responsibility for the Ottoman entry into the First World War, profiteering on a massive scale during the war, living in luxury and

debauchery while the soldiers were fighting in the field against superior enemies. It is striking how much these accusations overlap with the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah's* rhetoric on the First World War.



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## APPENDIX 1

### Ali Kemal

Editor in chief of the *Sabah/Peyam-ı Sabah* during the Armistice period

(From: Kemal, Ali. *Ömrüm*. Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeki Kunalp, İSİS Yayımcılık, 1985)











## APPENDIX 4

### One of the Transcribed Articles

Türklerin Günahı Nedir? (What is the guilt of Turks)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, *Sabah*, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

Mütareke şartları öyle ağır ve öyle elim ki biz Türklerin kolumuzu kanadımızı kırıyor. Varlığımızı kökünden zedeliyor. Devletimizi hemen hemen bir emaret derecesine indiriyor. Umarız ki müsalaha müzakerelerinde bu şiddet temdil olunur ve hakkımız hakikatimiz bu derece ayak altına alınmaz. Esasen küçük ve büyük her milleti mağduriyetten kurtarmak mesut ve müreffeh kılmak için çalışan, çalıştığını söyleyen Avrupa alıp da bizi unutmaz çünkü biz de insanız ve bir milletiz hem de insanların ve milletlerin en mağdurlarındanız. Asırlardan beri daima istibdat altında ezildik, idare namına her kavimden, hatta bizimle bu toprakta yaşayan hıristiyan vatandaşlarımızdan ziyade ezildik. . O mazi öyle idi. Fakat halde her millet esaretten kurtulmuş iken biz kurtulamadık. Son senelerde müstebitlerin en gaddarına, en mecnunlarına, en mağşuşlarına, kul, kurban olduk. Bu herifleri başımıza bu derece musallat eden kısmen gafletimiz, hamakatimiz ise kısmen de Avrupadır. Avrupa onları, güne gün endişelere medni tuttu, siyaseten tuttu, maliyece tuttu, her hususça tuttu. Mesela İstanbul'da Alman sefiri Wangenheim kadar, Fransız Sefiri Bompard da İttihat ve Terakki'nin muayyin ve dostu idiler. Tevekkül-ü bu cemaat:

Bütün dünyayı aldattık  
Sakınsın bizden insanlar  
dememişlerdi, hakikaten böyleydi.

Bu mülkte her millet gibi Türkleri de eziyorlardı. Sonra Avrupa'nın karşısına Türklerin namına çıkıyor ve istediklerini yapıyorlardı, o kadar ki bu meydanı boş bulunca azdılar, şımarıldılar, günün birinde o azgın Almanya ile senelerden beri o en çılgınını fikren, amelen her cihetçe tezhirine geçiren Kaiser Wilhelm ile gizlice söyleştiler, kararlaştılar, hazırlandılar, başımıza Almanya'dan generaller getirdiler, ordumuzu keyiflerine göre tensik eylediler, o sayede hükümetimizi büsbütün avuçlarına alarak dayadıklarını yapmağa hazırlandılar. Vakte ki harb-i umumi ilan olundu. Bu memlekette Türklerin hakimiyeti saltanatı kalmamıştı. Padişahımız nüfuzca bir aletten ibaret idi, millet ise bu fırka-i kahrenin emrine çarnaçar ram olmuştu. Hakiki hakimimiz amirimiz o firkanın en pervasız bir iki uzvu hakikatte onlar da değil Almanya idi, çünkü bu uzuvlar menfaat, haysiyet, her ne saike ile olursa olsun Almanya'nın aleti, oyuncağı idiler. Böyle olunca hükümetimize İngiltere'nin, Fransa'nın sözü geçer miydi? Hatta biçare milletin de irabdan mecali var mıydı? Harb-i umuminin zuhurundan 3 ay sonra biz de muharebeye karıştık. Almanların kurbanı olduk. Çünkü haritayı göz önüne getiren bir mektep çocuğu bile anlardı ki bu hal ile, bu vaziyet, bu hudut ile böyle bir badireye girmekten bize zarar, müthiş bir zarar, muhakkak idi, hiçbir faide memul değildi... Düşünmeli, İngiltere gibi, Fransa gibi, Rusya gibi devletlere karşı Suriye'den Irak'a, Irak'dan Kafkasa, bütün o açık cephelerimizi müdafaa edebilecektik. Öyle mi? Almanya muzaffer bile olsa, oluncaya kadar biz behemahal müzmevil olacaktık. Çünkü birçok vilayetlerimiz elimizden çıkacaktı, ordumuz kırılacaktı. Hâlbuki Almanya'nın

muzafferiyeti meşkur idi. Bu hakikati elbette Almanlar biliyorlardı ve bildikleri halde başımızı bu belaya soktular. Çünkü izmihlalimiz onların umrunda bile değildi. Onlar ki sırf menfaatlerini düşünüyorlardı ve böyle yapmakta mazur hatta haklı idiler. Biz insan olmalıydık da bu tehlikeden nefsimizi sakınmalıydık. Biz dediğimiz kimdir? Almanlara bu mülkü satmış birkaç hazele ile onların yardakçıları, kaselisleri değil mi? Bu güruh istisna edilirse Türklerin günahı ne olabilir? Hâlbuki mütareke şartları ibretle mütalaa buyurulsun. Bütün cezayı padişahından en küçük bir ferdine kadar onlar çekiyorlar. Asıl mesuller bu harpten boş keselerine imanına kadar doldurarak çıktıkları için zannen pek mevcut olmayan vicdanlarını bir tarafa atınca işte İsmail Hakkı Paşanın yaptığı gibi kargaşalıktan istifade ile soluğu hudut haricinde alır. Avrupa'nın bir köşesine çekilir, yaşar, fakat biz zavallı Türkler ne olacağız? Biz ki hemen hemen devletsiz, memleketsiz, istiklalsiz kalıyoruz, biz ki altı asırlık saltanatımızın böyle tarac edildiğini eller bağlı görüyoruz, biz ki en ziyade Avrupa'da yaşar, az çok bir azamet, bir mazi sahibi bir millet iken Asya'nın, Afrika'nın kabileleri menzilesine indiriliyoruz. Almanya ve öbür mesuller, hatta içimizden onlara pek ziyade karışanlar cezalarını çeksinler. Lakin Türklere de insaf olunsun, bu derece kıyılmasın. Türkler ki hakikatte ne bu muharebeye istediler, ne bu badireye karışmak fikrinde idiler. Fakat arz ettiğimiz gibi demirden bir el onları bu yola sürükledi, ezdi, mahfetti, bıraktı. Şimdi Avrupa'nın adaletine düşün, alelhlak bütün mağdur milletleri himaye etmek, her milliyete hakkını vermek gibi vaatlerine tevafuk eyleyen nedir? Biz biçareleri bir derece daha ezmek midir? Zaten ezile ezile hiç kudretimiz, takatimiz kalmadı. Medeniyetin şanına tevafuk ederse varsın varlığımız haritadan silinsin, namımız safha-i alemde kaldırılsın. Yok, biz Avrupa'yı, Avrupa efkar-i umumiyesini, o efkar-i umumiyeyi temsil eden mecmua-i düveli, alel husus Amerika gibi bir mübeşir insaniyetinde tesiri, nüfuzu olunca adil biliriz, böyle vahşetlerden, mezalimden münezzehe sanırız. Bütün hukukumuzu varlığımızı da o yet adalete tevdi eyleyebiliriz. Mütareke şartları tabi hiç bizi dinlemeden, şikayetlerimizi, feryatlarımızı işitmeden, hakikatimizi 4 seneden beri neler çektiklerimizden sonra anlamadan vaaz olundu, müsala için elbette böyle olamaz, elbette hak, hakikat, o müesser nidasını, sadasını cihanın semasına ref eyleyebilir. Biz Türkler de arz ettiğimiz gibi gerek bu harbin gerek dört senedir bu memlekette vukua gelen mezalimin mağdurlarıyız, öyle iken yeniden mağduriyetlere mi uğratılmalıyız? Mütarekeyi çarnaçar kabule mecburuz, fakat hiç zannetmeyiz ki bu memlekette aynı şartlarla bir müsalaaya imzasını koyan bir hükümet teşkil edebilsin. Varlığımıza öyle ezeli bir rehine uğradıktan sonra istiklalimiz büsbütün elimizden alınsın, bin kere daha müreccahtır. Cihan-ı medeniyet milletlere karşı hala bu derece adaletsizlikleri, insafsızlıkları tervec eyleser çok geçmez insaniyet bu harb-, umumi gibi yeniden bir silsileyi mesaibe daha uğrar. O zaman hiç belini doğrultamaz. Evet, tekrar ederiz, mesuller cezalarını görsünler, hem de şiddetle görsünler, bu mülkü bu hale koyarak Avrupa'ya da, bize de, bütün insanlığa da havsalaya sığmaz fenalıkları edenler en büyüğünden en küçüğüne kadar sala tedipe uğrasınlar, müstahaktırlar. Fakat padişahımızın hukuk-u saltanatına, Türklerin hakk-ı hayatına, hakk-ı istiklaline dokunulmasın.

Mülkü Osmani'nin böyle üç ziyadesini gasp eylemek, millet-i Osmaniye'yi ise bu derece kayd altına almak o hukuktan, o haktan ne bırakır? Avrupa bilmeli ki bir milleti ne derece zayıf olursa olsun, bu merteye tezail etmek, uçurumdan aşağı atmak, büsbütün yasa düşürmektedir, çıldırtmaktır. Türklük ise bugün perişan olsa da yine belli başlı bir unsurdur, ir unsurdur ki alttan alta hükmünü, nüfuzunu yürütür. Asya'daki diğer arkadaşları ile evvela, fikren, harsen ittihat edebilir. Böyle bir milleti ne hak yere bu derece ezmek milliyet düsturlarını ila etmek için meydana çıkan itilaf devletlerine asla yakışmaz. İşte biz böyle düşünüyoruz.



İngiliz Dostluğu (British Friendship)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 9 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10408, s. 1

مستر (مور)

آزموده آرزوی استقلال طلبانند...  
 اردو من مستحق قدریات -  
 شرمزه گل انگلیز جیک صحرای دقش  
 آهنگار خسته سرزده بره بزم باغچه برا  
 دره آهنگ (بهره) طوریستیه به  
 فردی نمیدانم - استایون آکینس ده در  
 استایون کلمه - زریوه، ساقی حکیمه را  
 میدانم چه صحنی چندم، شیه ایچمه ترک  
 بزدهای ترک مایه ترک دوسته سبب برده  
 انگلیز بیاں رسکوت سوغ قصده کلمه سوز  
 کی چماقه مانع غریبه چه هیچ برنی فاشده  
 فرماید ایچی - ضعیی طریقه بربره آکاید  
 فریاده حودت ایچدیچ...

انگیزه کاشانی که هنرمند برقی بود...  
 اورده چمنک ضنا عزم ایله - فضالیه طبیعت  
 قاشی بیه جمال چایده غلبه چالارلو... مثلا  
 انگلزمه القیس بشر ایچون نمودجه غیر  
 صلعهده - سنلک تقریباً طوقوز آل برسیه  
 برقرار موای باچاره - آنگیز ایچین کونولری  
 بیه کوز کوزی گوزنه باز موسی طالسز  
 وطوز سزکایره کیرده - انگیز یوه براتیسده  
 اوچه خالق الساده بر طرزه - غنود بشرک  
 او درجه فوئده یالیغیرلرک زماهنن کجاره  
 خاک بلغمیچ فریوهده که کوزده فاساده  
 اقلیدر آنگیزه بائالانله همس اولانله موقلیر  
 استصال ایچور - آذره - آکره - چیرره  
 اونانکور طور اولان غنیه میشار همسور  
 آیلر - خله اوچه لایله - تابع حیوان  
 ییشده بربرلرک افرض انگیز قویونری  
 انگیز میلیری به ایزتیک قن و قن ایشاریه  
 بلا دانه بلغمیچ برکنکده یولان...  
 اولدیک من افراری دولایتسیس  
 سرهاری بانجهاری کزلیس - لوئی میچکر  
 لونه آناچیر - نه بیچیکر - انسان طبیعت  
 پوسولونه تقصیه - هواجه که ساهه - که  
 که لشکر حکمتلرک تصاف ایچمن - ایسته  
 یولونه ترک - سن میسزمارک دیسه ییلور  
 بهدی انگیزلرک حیرمه ضلایه چایده هیچ  
 برکنکلرک - بلکه مانع بیه ییساغان حرم  
 وهالیدیر...  
 شنیدی بو عزم وضایته یوه موضعیان  
 علاوه ایچیکز - بو کلاک سرف ادراک ایش  
 اولوسکیز انگیز هنریده - میسز چیه  
 هند - ییلور - نه کنیدی - نه بعد باشقنری  
 آناهیر و آناهق ایسته - مثلا انگلزمه سوده  
 باغ - یازدهه سیه کوزمن سکره قاش - اولی  
 سزده ییلور هیچ برکنکلرک یولان سکره  
 یوک مانا یوک - باسوق مانا باسوق - کوموش  
 مانا کوموش - حاصل جمله نه ایسه اولهده  
 سوله سوله سوله یولان - باغز تکلیف ایچلر  
 حاصل - انگیز میسزده آناهانل و آناهانل  
 و خلقت اوقومه برظرت اولمده...  
 بوچلرک کوش کی جهانه بلارکن  
 توکر ایچون که ناه مستور انگیز دوستی  
 ره حرکت افاد ایشکده - نمکده - لایله  
 انگیزلرک اشک ایچکده - اوچه باساق  
 اوچه باساق - مانکده و طلیقه - سرف  
 اولورده ایضا ایچلیق کرمی - مع الانف  
 مدیته باسجهه باق باسارکی کلوزوزلر  
 بیه باکیش برقرری کوستدیر - بزی قوم  
 ایشاریه بو عزمی سلکن شایسته کبر  
 آنگیز غنایه طریقه برکنکلرک اولی ایچون  
 جانده سزیده - میسزمن خوشحالان  
 بلک ایچی - اینتک آقایدیر - بیه اولی  
 به انگیز دوستی قوم ایچونده - فرد  
 ایچونده بلک ایچلر...

انگیز دوستلغی

طالعوزک من توبلی مسامعسرکنکه رما  
 بز بود سئلندن اون طوقوزنجی عصرده یک  
 بیوق سستیش اولمده - بکرش صحرده  
 اورده ده دکن - قطد بوسوک حرموستن قیاض  
 انگیزلرک زیلده زیمده - چونکه باطاسه  
 حکومتلرک خطاره خطاره خطاره خطاره  
 توافقی ایچون ارض کمال کی یش حرکت  
 انگیزلرک ایچ اوسری اجه ایچی -  
 انگیزلرک قاش توپران کلاکون بریده  
 انگیزلرک سیاستید - کاشنلک هیچ برودنی  
 پوزنکه منفعت هموسه سنی ناهع عویبه  
 ایله عصرلرک بری بو صریحه نایقه غننهده  
 اولسون اون سکرخی عصر میلازیده انگلزمه  
 جنوب آفریقا مستکنکلر ایچون آسیایا ایله  
 ایزون برجاهله طونوشده - بونشکلرک  
 کتب استقلال ایچی انگیزلرک مجازنه روح  
 وزینکی ایچون حسابنه یک توافقی ایچون  
 خط معین زمانه لازمه ایستایسده نه درجه  
 موافق ایچی - آسیایا حکومتی جنوبیه  
 خدارانه برادرایله بوتون او اوراق حکمتلری  
 ناسزده ایزوره طور یوردی - نه عین عصر  
 ایچینا انگلزمه دولتی تر ایستایسده صل چلیشده  
 حله بربرک (با یوتون) زمانه ایزون برجهه  
 کیریشده - برمانن دکوزده کاشنلرک  
 سلطنت صحنه قیدی - برکنکده (اسکو)  
 وادسی فرانسز استایسکلرک سیانت ایچلام  
 برتایا کلاسیک سلامت - تانن ایشده محمد  
 او دو یله قاشی بر نوع غنوی کوشترش  
 افری - خط معین زمانه توپرانک اسارنه  
 بدل طیارک سرلیسین خلیقه مایه برجهه  
 مدافعه ایچدی - اویدره اوردی که اوزریه  
 چونک کابوس استیادی قلم برنه کوجوق  
 اوچاییشدی و قاش میافونه ایدی -  
 اذن طوقوزنجی عصرده اوردی ایچون  
 که یوک آف روسیه ایچی - (لوزده)  
 سکوی بوتون طقات سیاسیسل شرفده  
 انضای شرفده - شایه - حرطه فده موسوق  
 استیلاست حال اولی ایچون صرف ایچی  
 واریدی - بوسورنه انضایته طبیعت خلعت  
 ایچی - لکن عین زمانه انگیزلرک شوکتده  
 اوچه قوروق برودنن عاقله قیدی -  
 ۱۸۵۸ - ۱۸۷۸ - آلابا ایچیلرک کلاکون  
 سوزکولرک برایش بلان اوردی - آناکل اقوام  
 سزده بلرک لکنده برانجه - حل المخصوص  
 اقتداره مجازنه سیاست مرصاحیه حرس  
 ظلیری سوز ایچی انگیزلری زخم قوی  
 اوقوق قاشیلرده یولنر - حل المخصوص  
 ایچی (ادوار) کی عصرلرک بریشیش  
 برکنکلرک جهانه کلامه یوه به حاصمه آلابا  
 ایچون حلق برکنکلرک کیدی - او قدرکه حالت  
 حرب هموسه بانی لودی - بو صریحه  
 انگلزمه کم حرد کیدی - هم هموسه برینه  
 توپرانک دشمنلر ایشاریه فرصت دوشدیکه  
 بوستونلرک عرض ایشده - آرزق نکراو  
 ایشک ایستایسده...  
 بر زینالیانایه متولک اوله ایچمن بری دولت  
 نمایه ایچون ایشک مستور صلیست ییلور  
 لوزده و اخذ - ایشک حاصر - شایده  
 انگیز دوستلغید - اوریلده انگیزلرک حله  
 سونده اولورده اولسون بو ذوقناق اقتضا  
 این بر دولت و ارایسده اوند دولت نمایه  
 ایچی - قاشیلرک صلیست دوهه و اولور  
 آلابا ایچی رکانه - حاصمه طروش بلک  
 (لوزده) سکوی بران یوزی بر سرته  
 چورمش اوله ییلوری - اوچه اولله برار  
 اورودنی هیچ برمان خصومت غلب ایچمک  
 توکره - نورک حکومت ترتب ایدر بر و تلج  
 ایچی - چونکه سلطنت نمایه ایچون انگیز  
 دولتی عرض ایشمک کی - سرته نایق  
 ایسه انگیز دولتلرکده او صریحه نشر

انگیزه مظم - جهانشمول بر دولتده -  
 برک شریک کوز لکنه کنترلسین : او ته  
 وست - اوته عظمت - اوته اچلمده - ایشک  
 وهنده کولری : اوسزایا - اادامه - جنوب  
 آفریقا - هندستان - حل صحر وساره - بو  
 اولکلرک بری ثروت - اهمیت - مسامه  
 ایشاریه باشلایه برادرایلورای - قرائق  
 حاصل سلطنت تشکیل ایچیلور - ایسته  
 بو سلطنتک نایلی - حاکی انگلزمه  
 انگلزمه ایچی - بیان ایشاریه یوک برتایا  
 و اولراده ایشاریه سستیش بر حکومت  
 برما کیدر - کاشنلرک اولورده اصل قوی  
 اعالیس طرف میلور مجازو ایچون بر دولت  
 بیه میلاز لوجه حلقه - جهانه تر مارفرا  
 اولسون - بوچکلرک سرفی بز اول انگیز  
 قوشنک نظرلرکده - تاسیا انگیز حکومتن  
 میسزده اولور...  
 انگیزلرک کاشانی که هنرمند برقی بود...  
 اورده چمنک ضنا عزم ایله - فضالیه طبیعت  
 قاشی بیه جمال چایده غلبه چالارلو... مثلا  
 انگلزمه القیس بشر ایچون نمودجه غیر  
 صلعهده - سنلک تقریباً طوقوز آل برسیه  
 برقرار موای باچاره - آنگیز ایچین کونولری  
 بیه کوز کوزی گوزنه باز موسی طالسز  
 وطوز سزکایره کیرده - انگیز یوه براتیسده  
 اوچه خالق الساده بر طرزه - غنود بشرک  
 او درجه فوئده یالیغیرلرک زماهنن کجاره  
 خاک بلغمیچ فریوهده که کوزده فاساده  
 اقلیدر آنگیزه بائالانله همس اولانله موقلیر  
 استصال ایچور - آذره - آکره - چیرره  
 اونانکور طور اولان غنیه میشار همسور  
 آیلر - خله اوچه لایله - تابع حیوان  
 ییشده بربرلرک افرض انگیز قویونری  
 انگیز میلیری به ایزتیک قن و قن ایشاریه  
 بلا دانه بلغمیچ برکنکده یولان...  
 اولدیک من افراری دولایتسیس  
 سرهاری بانجهاری کزلیس - لوئی میچکر  
 لونه آناچیر - نه بیچیکر - انسان طبیعت  
 پوسولونه تقصیه - هواجه که ساهه - که  
 که لشکر حکمتلرک تصاف ایچمن - ایسته  
 یولونه ترک - سن میسزمارک دیسه ییلور  
 بهدی انگیزلرک حیرمه ضلایه چایده هیچ  
 برکنکلرک - بلکه مانع بیه ییساغان حرم  
 وهالیدیر...  
 شنیدی بو عزم وضایته یوه موضعیان  
 علاوه ایچیکز - بو کلاک سرف ادراک ایش  
 اولوسکیز انگیز هنریده - میسز چیه  
 هند - ییلور - نه کنیدی - نه بعد باشقنری  
 آناهیر و آناهق ایسته - مثلا انگلزمه سوده  
 باغ - یازدهه سیه کوزمن سکره قاش - اولی  
 سزده ییلور هیچ برکنکلرک یولان سکره  
 یوک مانا یوک - باسوق مانا باسوق - کوموش  
 مانا کوموش - حاصل جمله نه ایسه اولهده  
 سوله سوله سوله یولان - باغز تکلیف ایچلر  
 حاصل - انگیز میسزده آناهانل و آناهانل  
 و خلقت اوقومه برظرت اولمده...  
 بوچلرک کوش کی جهانه بلارکن  
 توکر ایچون که ناه مستور انگیز دوستی  
 ره حرکت افاد ایشکده - نمکده - لایله  
 انگیزلرک اشک ایچکده - اوچه باساق  
 اوچه باساق - مانکده و طلیقه - سرف  
 اولورده ایضا ایچلیق کرمی - مع الانف  
 مدیته باسجهه باق باسارکی کلوزوزلر  
 بیه باکیش برقرری کوستدیر - بزی قوم  
 ایشاریه بو عزمی سلکن شایسته کبر  
 آنگیز غنایه طریقه برکنکلرک اولی ایچون  
 جانده سزیده - میسزمن خوشحالان  
 بلک ایچی - اینتک آقایدیر - بیه اولی  
 به انگیز دوستی قوم ایچونده - فرد  
 ایچونده بلک ایچلر...

علی کمال



APPENDIX 7

Enverland

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1

اورلاند

اوت، اورلاند! تقریباً یکسز طوقوز آئی  
 اولی ایدی، بیله فکر مدن برسامور بریده بکا  
 تصادفی ایندی بکی زمان شوسوزری سوپه مندی:  
 پر صیاح بر این ایچون سرکسی استانبولون  
 کتیمده، نکوریم بک بر سکر: دنیا ایله دول  
 بر لاج و لغون، لفظ و لغونک اوزنده (عمل  
 وورد) اولی اوردو: اورلاند! باطن، دینک  
 آلاغر عافیه مایه نامه اورم یوزور...  
 تکولتر خلق! ای غازی سکر!

بوخو بی اوزمان بیه هیچ تمجیه دوشو.  
 دمه دی، چونکه آلابانک، باخلمسه قیصر  
 (دیللم) بک شرقی سیاحتی اوتندن بری میزومدی:  
 حریف عاف مایه بی بوسونون آویس ایچت  
 آتی، آتک مستلک ازلدن بری و شیتیه  
 سولوق، ایستدیک کی اداره آتک  
 ایستیزدی، حق بر ایشیه ایچون ایسی که  
 ندیم ناصی، همکری (واکنش) ی  
 باخلمسه استانبول سلطه سلیم مخصوص، سکر  
 قوقی الداره اوله ری کوزومندی. خط آلابانک  
 ایچون کوزگری، تورک سمالکن اوبه  
 دوشورین دوشوری، اله کیردنک ناسل کن  
 اولوردی، آزاده بر واسطه ایستدی، او  
 واسطه ایسه اور ایدی. بو یازوشون لاسلاهی  
 ایله کوروقی، پیلیدی اتحاد و ترقی جیتی،  
 اتحاد و ترقی جیتی ایله بونون سکوت عافیه بی  
 آلمان سیاست دام ایلمک قابیل ایدی. آرتق  
 بو سیاست بو یچه فکر ایندکن سوزگر  
 قیصرین آتک کوچک بر فردیه قلمار بونون  
 آلابانک زبیل سیاسیون، خصوصاً آلابانک  
 فرتوری هر فرستنده اوردی کیتی کورل،  
 حق اوتلده تورل بوقه بومورده بوق ایکن  
 بر حرمت قهرمانی دیبه کوزگره جیشادیلر  
 دولایسه بیه جیتی جیتک طمک کی، حال  
 کی آتک سولوش ارقاقی قدرلره بوغنیلر.  
 بالکر اولقادرده اکتنا ایتمیلر، مدد،  
 سلطه زده طومیلر، کامل ایچا حکومتک  
 شوشندن، باخلمسه تورک حریه نظارت اوبه  
 ناکمال مسودن بری اوتورده دیتند، بونون  
 انحصار و ترقی جیتکده آرتق لره او قوس  
 قوسه آلابانک واردی، حرب عمومی باشلاقدن  
 سوزگر، بو آلابانک قوی بونون حرکتلر زده  
 اوردیبه کندی کوزگری که حکومت عافیه  
 مدد (برین) ک فرماچی ایدی، بوسال سولک  
 زمانه، اشفاق مریمک املق، استمطلانه  
 قلمار مدام ایدی.

ایست بو حقیقتله آتک اول اولقادرده که  
 تورگری جهان حریت قاریشش، قا ایندندن  
 سوزگرده دودم ارضی، حرب و سائره ضمای  
 قیصری ارتکاب ایچش اولمه مؤاقتم ایدلر  
 چونکه آلتانلرک اورد و جیت واسطه بیه  
 بوعلکنک اداره سنی او انصارده نه سرتیه  
 قوشه نصرف کیردکری، برده ای ال ایله  
 ایندندن آتک کوچک بر تفریه قلمار بونون  
 تورگری ایستدیکری طرفه ناهانسانسجه  
 سوزگرده دکاری بایزلر، آتک زلمت اضباریه  
 بو فودلوق دودم باشامان، استانبولدی  
 دو عیاق، آکلامق، قسط سوزدولک،  
 نیلات کی، حیوانات کی حسزه اوردسز  
 بزجان کیردک، آتیق، راپیز، و چمانیزه  
 آتیاک قیضا، جتی اولساق باشزده آتسلر  
 صابجی برطوقه آلتانک حنیبه، مرشیه  
 لاش و حاضر لاشی تفریق برطوبوز دوز،  
 دوردی، جینز باغلا ایچون ویسه آراددی.  
 حقیقت، بو برعلکنسه عافیه اقلیسی،  
 تورک ایلی، با مساک عافیه دیک آراق جاژ  
 دکدی، انطالق حق دیکیز، الاسا، نزل  
 من الیا، دیکیز، مدبریه کز دیکیز، آلتانلر  
 ملکوزک سلیقی عیاق بولنلردی، اورلاند!  
 طلمه هرمان، حکمت، سیاست، حق  
 سکرک آتک هر مریندن محروم اولدی سالیله  
 کسادتک طالمک بو حوصله بیه خیابیه سناز  
 جیلورنه، باطلتیه این، ستنلردی  
 پرکه سلا بیکمه طلمه قاجش، پرکرده

استانبولده باب عالی باسش اولقندن مابعدا  
 هر گده بر ایلان کوزمده من اولایچیه بولونه  
 اوساخه قهرمانده، آلابانک آتک آتک  
 اوشیقتورنه طیبی واقف اولمایلر ایچون  
 بو توچارلی جیتی تاقی ایدی، کندمه  
 شخصی بر دکره شوقی الداره بر دکره (بولتون)  
 دکری تصویب دی، قاروقیه قاری، قاتنه  
 میساز اولدی، فی حقیقه حر صدمه اوتومطلمه  
 اوت دبدیه، اوت سر ایلر، اوت بختلکر، حاصل  
 اوت سلطت ایدی، هیچ شیه بوق، اوت اور  
 لاند، کی بویوک حروف ایله و لغونلرک  
 اوزرینه علناً پراش ایلملری، کوزرک کیمیلر  
 اوتوری قلمده ناملر دوشوردی، بر کره نظر  
 نهالی، ایشیلین، تورک اوردوی بر آتک  
 مسر، بر ایلان قاضیا طریقه و سلی آتیا  
 کریسیر، آلابانک اوردیه سلطت اوردی  
 فومدن فصله جیشیلیدی، ثانیاً دامادق،  
 بو یه طایشان بر دامادق، اوردور اکر طلمه  
 بونون بو فوذه و بوقدرت اوعیایه آتک دوشری  
 بویوک بر لیم دکلی،  
 ایست تورک کرک بویوک بیک، خیا کوزک آتک  
 مسرود داستان کوزده شایلیک بویوک قهرمان  
 بو یه پارلاق خیالگر، بو یه نورانی تصور  
 ایچمه بوزیوردی، زمان زمان موهور بر ظنر  
 لئوده بیه جوشده احتیال:

مک موردم ندر، دنیا دک کاف بکا  
 دیکمن چکنیور، مپم، هیچ دیتمن دونه  
 بودیاری بر آتک بر اوقوق قاضیاری، ترکستانه  
 حدستانه دوشوریدی.

حربیه کالری جیتی عیدیه، پنا آتک اسلا  
 طفل باشنده، ناپیچی، دلی جیتی بیلر بر  
 فانت اولدی ایچون اوردی، بر مرفوشک،  
 هر بک دینک کی، بر هملک اصال لغاتق،  
 کین کون زمان رقیزده کی بیاتنده، هر مان  
 وادغان میزایه خارلق ایستورده، بوش لملک!  
 اوت، اوردور بیز آتک فنا شرطه عیاره  
 ایندیله، اوت، اولیلور نه صربانیزه، رخا  
 عسکر بیز آتک، باده آتک، سفانکن  
 قهرمان، اوت، باب سرکری بر نظارت  
 دک، بر پشاه، بر ششوت اوجاقی ایدی،  
 بکسز بر طویال اولک باجلیسه نه خزشیلر  
 مسرولدی، کیدی، اوت، اوت بو حقیقتی  
 بز زماندن بری بیلوروز، لکن (اورلاند)  
 اوساک ستنی ایچون بو یه اوقاق تفت ایستده  
 بو یه تجارت ایله اوشاشته وفت واریدی،  
 او آتق اهرم مپام اوردی، سلطت ستنه سنی  
 دوشونکده، حاضر لاشه شتور ایچی، شرقده  
 اولازسه غربده نظر نهالین امین دکلی،  
 حرب عمومی فرانسه، (پاس) ده پیشه،  
 جکسیدی، عسکر بیز قیلش، اوردور بیز  
 بوزولش نه حکمی واره

غم ونددی، طم بویک کیر، بویک کیر!  
 ده اوتقهرمان بویجه، باده، تخصیص  
 مسزود، حساب آراق حقیقت کولونجیر.  
 دولت کیمک ایسه غربت، دولت اولک  
 دکلیده، بر اورد، دوشونل قوس قوجه  
 بر اورد ایچون بر ستمه، ایکن بوجوق میلیون  
 لیرا تخصیص مسزود، اسراق ایتک،  
 صافه صول شاهانه دایتیق بر ایشیدر، ده  
 مؤاخذیه دکری، اولسلته بوسافت جوق  
 کوزیلر، احتیال، بر بویک قدرتی بیلد  
 حکم ایچون اوتقهرمانه، قزیدی، بر کجه  
 ایچمه بیلر بر طرفن طویلادی کی کیدی،  
 کیم بیلر قاضیایسی، آتک باجی، ترکستانه  
 کیدی، سراق، جفتلکر، ملکر قی طیبی  
 کوزمده، پاس بوق، سوزک، پاسنار،  
 ساوارد ایستقه بر چلمسده باقر، بز ساندل  
 کوزکر، اوتله اعلا کیمیک ایدز، لکن  
 زواقی اورد میلورنی قاجیر کز همیلاتن  
 ایچا آلابانک گده او آلابانک باسلده، اورلاند،  
 اوتقهرمان اوتقهرمانی، اوتقهرمانه، مع عافیه  
 باشین اورلاند!

علی کمال

APPENDIX 8

Zalimler, Mazlumlar (Oppressors, Oppressed Ones)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1

ظالم، مظلوم

احد رضا پناه قديمين اولين كرن مجلس  
 اعيانه وركلى قرر احميت و مستجلبت  
 اعتباريه مانكا عدل و حثك بر خطاب به  
 ديكهه. ز اوپوروز و عدالتهه اوپوروز  
 اوپه لوتو نجه مستهرون برى بواقيدنه آقا  
 ايكنن مظلومك انتقامي نه زمان آه جنر  
 حالا عدالتيه ده ، انسانيهه ويزهه قارش  
 استخفاف اين ظالمك جزاستهه نامل  
 ويره جيكز ؟ جهيم ، بومنس وظيفهه ايضا  
 ايده منسه دولت و ملت اعتباريه جابه اوداع  
 ديگر ز ، مانجا نكرار ايديكز بو حقيقتك  
 قومنه نه برتوولي جيتا ماضي حقيقتو و  
 عهد رضا پناه امدى پوروك برتاره كوردكاري  
 ايجون اوتقيرى وريورلر .  
 بو سانسته او مجلس عايله جبران ايدي  
 مذاكره ، ايمان كرماندن بشا پيك سويده  
 مكاري سوزل آري آري نظر دقي جاليدر .  
 اول امره شو جيق خاطر لايق ايستركه  
 سيوت اولسون ، ايمانك اولسون ، ملك  
 بو حقيقى ، ايمورى نظري ، مرسته رسي  
 وكيلى كافى شو حقيقه مستلهميدور ؟  
 آتق اتحاد و ترقى دورده دكر . ملككتمزك  
 اطرافدن اوسور مين قاندى ، جهان مدينه  
 دوزخدن دوزخيه قاسمير . حق اختلاف  
 قوتلر ، مع الانفس دشمن مدينه ، ايمى كتمز  
 كيدور ، زمن پيش حساب اريستك وسودمق  
 اوزه دورلر . اوپه لوتو نجه زمان مهوره  
 اولميه كي ، ميوكان و ايمان نه فرقه شويته  
 سوز سويلر سويلر بيلركه ، ايله جهرك ملككتمز  
 پوروك خالق ايتش اولورز .  
 بوگون كوتش كي ، مانده بهي و اكار  
 اولر نه ماز برفاييه ، برفلك واد : سيد علم  
 ايشا ، ملت اينا حكومتريك اولسون ينه تون  
 قوروق رفكر دوق : اوده محرابي وسيله  
 ايدرك خرابي ايتاري باطامه ايتاري پولايتن  
 ، ولايته و نامرستان جوقاينه قاتر تهجير  
 ايقنه ايدرك نه پورقه و حنينه ، جابه و  
 حوسه پشه سيدانه قرون قديمي بيله ز ،  
 كين بو عصر لره كوره لمعش بر طرزه  
 اولر بر ملكه ، بالكو كنجي ، ارانكاري ديك  
 حق ممدكي جوجي ايتاري ، بونون قديمي ، ال  
 كاتر مظلوم اختيارى ايدرك ، حاصل ايدرك  
 حرفي كو كندن قوروق و سويلر مكدور  
 داخلى نظري مظلومك مركز دن اسرلر  
 ورده چنه تفكيك ايلر ، ولايته صالحه بر  
 مركز عمومى مهوره دوقو ، يا ساكر كي ،  
 دوقوروك نامم كي ايك ديشل اعصاني مرخص  
 خصص منتهه ارشوره و طرز و سوسا به  
 كودرر ، اودا ده حسن تحسين بكه ، جمال  
 هنر يلكه كي و ايلره انشاد ايلر اولره ،  
 مانا كار جبران ايدم . نتيجه او نتيجه نيل  
 مانلر اوپه دهفت و وحشايه منتظا ، سر تبا  
 ايدين وقار چدن قوتوش ، زمانلردن خصوصاً  
 مسالوريش جادودار ، قاهر واسمه سبه  
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 ايته بو جيتا نيك بوقاغل حقيقتلر يمانه  
 جيتالرين ، شدتته جزوه چايدر لسين ،  
 سكوت ، علم المسوس اتحاد و ترقى كي نغاد  
 ونهار بر سكوتنه ذر . قانار حلو و خود ايدى  
 اولماي توكرك بو شانه ، ماشاكر ايلر اولماي  
 آكلانلننه ، ديورز و اوپه ساتوروك ايجاد  
 وشا بك اضمعيده بو فكرده ايلر ، بو فكره  
 خدمت ايجون اوتقيرى وريورلر ، شو  
 شومسده هر شي ايتلر ك بونصيهه نيل  
 دن ايدى كاشك مريدور . بونون اولور  
 حق آسرشا اولرك تقسيلايه نه زمانور  
 چا ايتلا ايدى ، دورى ، زى سومينر ترستدن  
 استناده ايله لو كين علم الاخلاق بونون  
 توكركه سوزمك چا ايتلر ، شمدى بوپه

چا ايلوروز ، با ايلوروك حقيق جايلى اودا كي  
 جيتالرينده توكلك بوپه قالى بر شاپيدن  
 قور نا سين ، ناسق ربه برده بو پوزدن مندور  
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 ساده بر حقيقتي ، هر توره ايجون ميرم و طيفيق  
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 نيل جيتالري ؛ يا توكركه مندور ديكدر لره  
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 همكتمزك اور ، علمت ، جمال جلاله  
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 او شيرسز ، او اديسز ، او بوزسز اولر  
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 اوتقيرم كه بن قريده جران بون اناده  
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 اولجيتلر ، اوچير كين لكه بوون بوسلف  
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 علمي كمال













Çapuk Hırsız (Agile Thief)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 10 ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471, s. 1

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