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

by

ONUR ÇAKMUR

Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

> Sabancı University July 2018

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

APPROVED BY:

Doç. Dr. Selçuk Akşin Somel (Thesis Advisor)

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yusuf Hakan Erdem

.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Muhammed Talha Çiçek

DATE OF APPROVAL: 31/07/2018

© Onur Çakmur 2018

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

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

ONUR ÇAKMUR

Master of Arts in Turkish Studies, July 2018 **Thesis Advisor:** Assoc. Prof. Selçuk Akşin Somel

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 Pevam-1 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-inchief 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

ONUR ÇAKMUR

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Temmuz 2018 **Tez Danışmanı:** Doç. Dr. Selçuk Akşin Somel

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-1 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 yılarda 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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude for my supervisor Selçuk Akşin Somel for his useful comments, guidance and patience. Without his encouragement, I could not have dared to conduct research on such a subject. I would especially like to thank my parents and grandparents for their endless love and selfless support. I also thank my friends for all their support and patience during this writing process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
1.	INTRODUCTION	1
2.	THE <i>SABAH/PEYAM-I SABAH</i> NEWSPAPER: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS	10
3.	WHO WAS ALI KEMAL? HIS PLACE IN THE LATE OTTOMAN INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY	16
4.	THE PRESENCE AND CHARACTERISTIC OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE	23
5.	DOMESTIC ISSUES AND DESPOTISM OF THE UNIONISTS	31
6.	FOREIGN POLICY AND THE DEPENDENCY ON GERMANY	35
7.	CRITICISM REGARDING THE WARTIME POLICIES TOWARD THE NON-MUSLIMS	41
8.	WARTIME ECONOMIC POLICIES: THE ISSUE OF CORRUPTION	47
9.	CONCLUSION	53
10.	REFERENCES	58
11.	APPENDICES	63

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.¹ 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.²

¹ Ömer Turan, "Turkish Historiography of The First World War". *Middle East Critique*, 23:2, 2014; pp. 241-257. ² 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.³

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-1 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-1 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.⁴ Salih Tunç's thesis on the İstanbul Press during the Armistice period has occasionally been referred to.⁵

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

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

⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ There is wide selection of memoirs related to the period. For this study, memoirs of Refik Halid proved to be useful.⁸

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.⁹ 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 1914.¹⁰ Ömer Turan also thoroughly reviews the Turkish historiography on the First World War.¹¹ 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.¹² On the experiences at the Syrian front M. Talha Cicek's War and State Formation in Syria. Cemal Pasha's governorate during World War I, 1914-1917 should be mentioned.¹³ 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

⁶ Nur Bilge Criss, Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999.

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

⁸ Refik Halid Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2015.

⁹ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk Inkılabı Tarihi, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991.

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

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

¹² 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*, TimaşYayınları, 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.

¹³ 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.¹⁴ Concerning the Muslim population losses, see Justin Mc Carthy's *Death and exile:* the *ethnic cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*.¹⁵

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 1913-1914.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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 Taktil"* (deportation and massacre).¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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

¹⁴ F. Adanır & O. Özel (eds.). 1915 Siyaset, Techir, Soykırım (1915 politics, deportation and genocide), Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, Istanbul 2015; F. Dündar, İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-18). İletişim, 2001.

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

¹⁶ Ali Kemal, Ömrüm. Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İSİS Yayımcılık, 1985.

¹⁷ Faruk Gezgin, Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010.

¹⁸ Ali Birinci, Hürriyet Ve İtilaf Fırkası, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990.

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

²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²²

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.²³

²¹ Zafer Toprak, Türkiye'de "Millî iktisat" 1908-1918, Yurt Yayınları, 1982

²² 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, Istanbul, 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.

²³ Nur Bilge Criss, Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999; Sina Akşin, İstanbul 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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.²⁸

The Sabah (Morning) and later the Peyam-1 Sabah (Morning Message) was one of the most influential newspapers during the late Ottoman period. It was published in

²⁴ SalihTunç, İşgal Döneminde İstanbul Basını (1918-1922), (Basılmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul, 1999, s. 19.

 ²⁵ Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999, p 45.
²⁶ ibid., p 46.

²⁷ 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.

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

Istanbul between 1876 and 1922.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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 R12a and advocated the formation of a de-centralized Ottoman Empire. After 1908 Prince Sabahaddin's followers established the *Ahrar F1rkas1* (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 1909.³¹

The *Hürriyet ve Ítilaf 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

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

³⁰Bülent 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

³¹ 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 indispensible assurance for maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.³²

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.³³ 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.³⁴

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.³⁵ 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.

³² Ali Birinci, Hürriyet Ve İtilaf Fırkası, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, s. 57-60.

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

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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.³⁶

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

³⁶ 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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ In January 1920, the *Sabah* was renamed as the *Peyam-1 Sabah* (Morning Message). The *Peyam-1 Sabah* was a combination of the old established, formerly prudent, the *Sabah*, with Ali Kemal's paper *Peyam.*⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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*.⁴² 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

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

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

³⁹ ibid., p. 186.

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

⁴¹ Ali Gözeller, Osmanlı-Alman Yakınlasmasının Basına Yansıması: Sabah Gazetesi Örnegi (1889–1895), Marmara Üniversitesi İstanbul, 2005 p.4

⁴² 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.⁴³ 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 infomations. 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.⁴⁴ 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 Furkası*). 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

⁴³ Hıfzı Topuz, 100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi, Gerçek Yayınevi 1973, p. 78.

⁴⁴ Ali Kemal, "Biz Muhalifler Kimleriz 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.⁴⁵

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. ⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷

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*

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

⁴⁶ Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010, p.

⁴⁷ Refik Halid, "Mütecanis 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹

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

⁴⁹ ibid., p. 151.

⁵⁰ ibid., p. 167.

⁵¹ 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.⁵² 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*.

⁵² Yücel Güçlü, Zeki Kuneralp 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.⁵³.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.⁵⁴ 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 Namik

⁵³ 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

⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ Later under the influence of his instructors, especially Mizancı Murad, his interest shifted towards social and political issues.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ Ali Kemal Bey considered the Young Turk struggle as futile and became closer to the Palace. He was instrumental in convincing Mizanci Murat to negotiate with the Sultan and return to Istanbul. As a token of

⁵⁵ Yücel Güçlü, Zeki Kuneralp and the Turkish Foreign Service. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, p. 30.

⁵⁶Ali KEMAL, Ömrüm, Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İsis Yayımcılık, 1985, pp. 63-64

⁵⁷ Faruk Gezgin, Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 55.

⁵⁸ Refik Halid Karay, Minelbab İlelmihrab, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 106 - 107

⁵⁹ 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 1897.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ In early 1900, Ali Kemal went to Egypt to manage the farm estate of Ahmed Celaleddin 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.⁶² 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 Şarkiye: 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-i *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.⁶³

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

⁶⁰ Faruk Gezgin, Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 78.

⁶¹ ibid., P 76.

⁶² Yahya Kemal, Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 5. Baskı, 2014, p. 77

⁶³ Yusuf Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1976; Faruk Gezgin, Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi, İsis Yayımcılık, 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.⁶⁴

He returned to İstanbul shortly before the Young Turk Revolution.⁶⁵ 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-1 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

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

⁶⁴ Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, İnkılâp Tarihimiz Ve Jön Türkler, Tan Matbaası, 1945.

⁶⁵ Ali Kemal, Ömrüm, Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İsis Yayımcılık, 1985, p. 168.

⁶⁶ ibid., p. 135-136.

⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ 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

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

⁶⁹ Yahya Kemal, Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 5. Baskı, 2014, p 87.

⁷⁰ Faruk Gezgin, Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010, p. 165.

the Entente Powers.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³

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.⁷⁴

However, a different portrait of Ali Kemal also emerged beginning with his son Zeki Kuneralp. Zeki Kuneralp 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

⁷¹ Ali KEMAL, Ömrüm, Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, isis Yayımcılık, 1985, pp 187

⁷² ibid., 199

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

⁷⁴ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Bordo Siyah Yayınları, Istanbul, 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.⁷⁵

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".⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ali KEMAL, *Ömrüm*, Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İsis Yayımcılık, 1985; Faruk Gezgin, *Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi*, İsis Yayımcılık, İstanbul 2010; Orhan Karaveli, *Ali Kemal: "belki de bir günah keçisi ".* İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2017

⁷⁶ Yücel Güçlü, Zeki Kuneralp and the Turkish Foreign Service. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, p. 53

⁷⁷Kaya 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.⁷⁸

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.⁷⁹

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

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

⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰

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.⁸¹

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.⁸²

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

⁸⁰ Cemal Paşa, Anılarım 1913-1922. Hazırlayan: Fahri Parin, İskenderiye Yayınları, 2009, p. 131.

⁸¹ 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.

⁸² 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 Aeagean 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.⁸³

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.⁸⁴

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.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ Cemal Pasha who initially showed some hesitation joined the war party sometime around in late September and early October.⁸⁷ 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

⁸³ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk Inkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, pp. 98-99.

⁸⁴ ibid., p. 63.

⁸⁵ 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

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

⁸⁷ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk Inkılabı 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.⁸⁸

After guarenteeing 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.⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰

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.⁹¹

⁸⁸ 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

⁸⁹ 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.

⁹⁰ ibid. p. 27

⁹¹ 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,⁹² 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.⁹³

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.⁹⁴

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.⁹⁵ Although remaining only a minority back in August, the war party strenghtened with the cycle of events managed to overcome the opposition in the cabinet. In spite of their endeavors to

⁹² 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.

⁹³ 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.

⁹⁴ 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.

⁹⁵ Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, Görüp Işittiklerim, 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.⁹⁶

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 10point proposal, the accusations included entering the war without a reason and without any guarentees from Germany, managing the war incompetently, destroying the country's economy through profiteering and misappropriation, imposing unconstitutional censorship and witholding true information regarding the war from public opinion.⁹⁷

On 9 November 1918, the fifth section 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.⁹⁸

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

⁹⁶ 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.

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

⁹⁸ 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, Ittihat-Terakki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması: Meclis-i Mebusan Tahkikatı, Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa, Ermeni Tehcirinin Içyüzü, Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi Muhakemesi, Istanbul: Temel Yayınları, 1998.

and territorial integrity they would have surely achieved Ottoman neutrality during the war.⁹⁹

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.¹⁰⁰

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-İslamist 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 panand entering a world war unnecessarily and with calamitous Islamism" consequences".¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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

⁹⁹ Ersin Müezzinoğlu, "Savaş Kabinelerinin Sorgulanmalarına Göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Girişi", *History Studies: International Journal of History* 2015, 7, 123-135.

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

¹⁰¹ ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰² Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk Inkılabı Tarihi*, Cilt. III, Kısım 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991, pp. 267, 274.

movement in Anatolia in late 1918 and early 1919.¹⁰³ 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.

¹⁰³ 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 19th and 20th 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 Furkası* (Party of Ottoman Liberals) and later *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* Fırkası (Liberty and Entente Party - LEP) came to the fore.¹⁰⁴

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

¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵

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.¹⁰⁶

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 1st, 1918, Ali Kemal mentioned the fact that the Ottoman entry into the war was the work of a tiny clique conspiring with Germany.¹⁰⁷ He asked for handing over the ones responsible for the Ottoman entry into

¹⁰⁵ Sabah, 2 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10432, s.1

¹⁰⁶ Sabah, 20 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10450, s. 1

¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸

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 27th 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.¹⁰⁹

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.¹¹⁰ 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 28th 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

¹⁰⁸ Sabah, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1

¹⁰⁹ Sabah, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1

¹¹⁰ 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".¹¹¹

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.

¹¹¹ 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.¹¹²

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.¹¹³

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*"

¹¹² Sabah, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1; Sabah, 3 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10433, s. 1;

¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴

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."¹¹⁵

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. ¹¹⁶

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

¹¹⁴ Sabah, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

¹¹⁵ Sabah, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸

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 is indispensable to the Ottoman Empire and it is a geographical, political and logical fact. Throughout the 19th 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.¹¹⁹

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

¹¹⁷ Halil İnalcık, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 2000, C. XXII, s. 252.

¹¹⁸ 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.

¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰

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 rapproachement and alliance with Germany, the German Empire remained a distant and foreign civilization.¹²¹

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.¹²²

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

¹²⁰ Sabah, 8 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10407, s. 1

¹²¹ 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.

¹²² 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.¹²³

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.¹²⁴

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,

¹²³ Sabah, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1.

¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ Secondly, the *Sabah/Peyam-t 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-t 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.

¹²⁵ 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 1918.¹²⁶

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.¹²⁷

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

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

¹²⁷ 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 1913.¹²⁸

The first of them was conveyed by newspapers like *Hadisat, Tercüman-1 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.¹²⁹

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 27th November 1918 clearly reflects his view on the subject.¹³⁰ 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.¹³¹

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 R1za 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.

¹²⁸ 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 Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 2015, p. 508.

¹²⁹ Bünyamin Kocaoğlu, "Mütareke Basınında Ermeni Meselesi Tartışmaları", *History Studies: International Journal of History*, 2013, 5, p. 217.

¹³⁰ Sabah, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1.

¹³¹ 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.¹³²

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.¹³³

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.¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

¹³² Sabah, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1

¹³³ 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.

¹³⁴ Sabah, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1.

¹³⁵ 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?¹³⁶

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.¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸ 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.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Sabah, 11 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10441 s. 1.

¹³⁷ Sabah, 12 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10442 s. 1.

¹³⁸ Sabah, 14 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10444 s. 1.

¹³⁹ 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.¹⁴⁰

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.¹⁴¹ 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

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

¹⁴¹ 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.¹⁴²

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.¹⁴³

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.

¹⁴² Sabah, 6 Şubat 1335 (1919), nr. 10498 s. 1.

¹⁴³ 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 28th November 1918 clearly reflects his view on the subject.¹⁴⁴

In addition to *Kanuni Gayri Kanuni*, Ali Kemal's articles "Iaşe Nezareti" (Ministery 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).¹⁴⁵

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

¹⁴⁴ Sabah, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1.

¹⁴⁵ 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-1 mesture*), which was reserved for the *Harbiye Nezareti* (War Ministry), and used mainly by Enver Pasha and teşkilat-1 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.¹⁴⁶

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).¹⁴⁷ 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.¹⁴⁸

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.¹⁴⁹

İtibar-1 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

¹⁴⁶ Sabah, 22 Nisan 1335 (1919), nr. 10574, s. 1, Sabah, 16 Mayıs 1335 (1919), nr. 10597 s. 1, Gönül Güneş,

[&]quot;Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa Ve Birinci Dünya Savaşi Yillarindaki Faaliyetleri". *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Cilt: XXIX Sayı: 85, Mart 2013, pp. 101-130.

¹⁴⁷ Zafer Toprak, Türkiye'de "Millî iktisat" 1908-1918, Yurt Yayınları, 1982

¹⁴⁸ Sabah, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1

¹⁴⁹ Sabah, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1, Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Millî iktisat" 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 R1za 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.¹⁵⁰

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.¹⁵¹

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.¹⁵²

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.¹⁵³ 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

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

¹⁵¹ Sabah, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1

¹⁵² Sabah, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1

¹⁵³ Sabah, 25.Nisan.1335 (1919), nr. 10576 s. 1.

Armistice. ¹⁵⁴ 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.¹⁵⁵

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* (Ministery of Provisioning) towards the end of the war.¹⁵⁶ 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.¹⁵⁷

This ministry of provisioning raised a lot of doubt among the opposition. In his article on 3 January 1919 called *laşe 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 Istanbul 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)

¹⁵⁴ Sabah, 10 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10471 s. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Talat Paşa'nın Hatıraları, Yedigün Neşriyatı, İstanbul, 1943, pp.31-32.

¹⁵⁶ 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.

¹⁵⁷ 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.¹⁵⁸

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 Efkar 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.¹⁵⁹

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.¹⁶⁰ 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 perpective, Unionists who were ousted from power were clinging these institutions in order to continue their cause.¹⁶¹

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

¹⁵⁸ Sabah, 3 Ocak 1335 (1919), nr. 10464 s. 1, Zafer Toprak, Türkiye'de "Millî iktisat" 1908-1918, Yurt Yayınları, 1982, pp. 270-283.

¹⁵⁹ Tasvir-i Efkar, 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

¹⁶⁰ 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 İliskin Gözlemler", Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi. 2008: 27, 77-93

¹⁶¹ 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 Furkası* (Party of Ottoman Liberals), and then the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Furkası* (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 19th 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 19th 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 19th 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 12th 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-1 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-1 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-1 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.

REFERENCES

1. Primary Sources

Sabah, 1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400, s. 1. Sabah, 8 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10407, s. 1 Sabah, 9 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10408, s. 1 Sabah, 23 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10423, s. 1 Sabah, 27 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10427, s. 1 Sabah, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1 Sabah, 2 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10432, s. 1. Sabah, 3 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10433, s. 1. Sabah, 11 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10441, s. 1. Sabah, 12 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10442, s. 1. Sabah, 14 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10444, s. 1. Sabah, 15 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10445, s. 1. Sabah, 16 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10446, s. 1. Sabah, 19 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10449, s. 1. Sabah, 20 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10450, s. 1. 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. Sabah, 22 Nisan 1335 (1919), nr. 10574, s. 1. Sabah, 25.Nisan.1335 (1919), nr. 10576, s. 1. Sabah, 16 Mayıs 1335 (1919), nr. 10597, s. 1 Akçura, Yusuf. Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1976. Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal. "Nutuk", Bordo Siyah Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005. Cemal Paşa. Anılarım 1913-1922. Hazırlayan: Fahri Parin, İskenderiye Yayınları, 2009. Karay, Refik Halid. *Minelbab İlelmihrab*. İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2015. Kemal, Ali. Ömrüm. Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İSİS Yayımcılık, 1985. Türkgeldi, Ali Fuat. Görüp Işittiklerim. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1951.

Yalçın, Hüseyin Cahit. *Talat Paşa'nın Hatıraları*, Yedigün Neşriyatı, İstanbul, 1943.

2. Secondary Sources

Adanır, Fikret & Özel, Oktay (eds.): 1915 Siyaset, Techir, Soykırım, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2015.

Ahmad, Feroz. "Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks 1908-1914". *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Jul. 1966, pp. 302-329.

Ahmad, Feroz. The Making of Modern Turkey. London: Routledge, 1993.

Ahmad, Feroz. "Ottoman Armed Neutrality and Intervention: August-November 1914". *From Empire to Republic-Essays on* The *Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Volume 2, Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2008; pp. 111-148.

Ahmad, Feroz. "Unionist Failure to Stay Out of the War in October-November 1914". *Perceptions*, Volume XX, Number 2-3, Summer-Autumn 2015, pp. 23-38.

Akcan, Erol. "Balkan Ve Birinci Dünya Harbi Yıllarında Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti". *Tarihin Peşinde -Uluslararası Tarih Ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*-Vol: 13, 2015, pp. 161-183.

Aksakal, Mustafa. The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and The First World War. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

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

Aktar, Ayhan. "Debating the Armenian Massacres in the Last Ottoman Parliament, November December 1918". *History Workshop Journal* 2007, 64, 240-270.

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

Bayur, Yusuf Hikmet. Türk Inkılabı Tarihi. Cilt. III, Kısım 1. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991.

Birinci, Ali. Hürriyet Ve İtilaf Fırkası. Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990.

Criss, Nur Bilge. Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918–1923. Brill, Leiden and Boston, 1999.

Çakmak, Fevzi, "Ali Kemal: Belki Bir Günah Keçisi". Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 7, 2008, pp. 435-440.

Çakmak, Fevzi. "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, pp. 742-756.

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

Çukurova, Bülent. "Büyük Taarruz Günlerinde Ali Kemal Ve Siyasi Görüşleri", *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, C. 6, S. 23, Mayıs-Kasım, 2001. Dündar, Fuat. İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-18). İletişim, 2001.

Enginün, İnci. Yeni Türk Edebiyatı "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e". Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007.

Erickson, Edward J.1. Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı 1914-1918, TimaşYayınları, Istanbul, 2011

Gingeras, Ryan. Fall of the Sultanate. The Great War and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1922. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Genç, Kaya. Ali Kemal: Martyred Journalist and Iconic Traitor, Los Angeles Review of Books, September 3, 2013.

Gezgin, Faruk. Ali Kemal: Bir Muhalifin Hikâyesi, İSİS, İstanbul 2010.

Gök, Nursen. "Donanma Cemiyeti'nin Anadolu'da Örgütlenmesine İliskin Gözlemler". Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, 27, 2008, pp. 77-93.

Gözeller, Ali. Osmanlı-Alman Yakınlasmasının Basına Yansıması: Sabah Gazetesi Örnegi (1889–1895), Yüksek lisans Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi. İstanbul 2005.

Güçlü, Yücel. Zeki Kuneralp and the Turkish Foreign Service. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.

Güneş, Gönül. "Teşkilat-1 Mahsusa Ve Birinci Dünya Savaşi Yillarindaki Faaliyetleri". *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Cilt: XXIX Sayı: 85, Mart 2013, pp. 101-130.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *Preparation for a Revolution:* the Young Turks, 1902–1908, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.

Ihrig, Stefan. Justifying Genocide: Germany and the Armenians from Bismarck to Hitler. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2016.

İnalcık, Halil. *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 2000, C. XXII, s. 245-252.

Karaveli, Orhan. Ali Kemal: "belki de bir günah keçisi ". İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2017.

Kemal Yahya. Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler. İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 5. Baskı, 2014.

Kocahanoğlu, Osman Selim. Ittihat-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.

Kocaoğlu, Bünyamin. "Mütareke Basınında Ermeni Meselesi Tartışmaları". *History Studies: International Journal of History*, 5, 2013, p. 207-224.

Korkmaz, Ender. "Mondros Mütarekesi Döneminde Sansür". Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları, 2012: pp. 29-55.

Kuran, Ahmet Bedevi. İnkılâp Tarihimiz Ve Jön Türkler, Tan Matbaası, 1945.

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

Müezzinoğlu, Ersin. "Savaş Kabinelerinin Sorgulanmalarına Göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Girişi". *History Studies: International Journal of History* 7, 1, 2015, pp. 121-138.

Oktar, Suat, Varlı, Arzu. "İttihat Ve Terakki Dönemi'nin Ulusal Bankası: Osmanlı İtibar-1 Milli Bankası". *M U Iktisadi ve Idari Bilimler Dergisi* 27, 2014, pp. 1-20.

Öncü, Edip. The *Beginnings of Ottoman-German Partnership*, Master Thesis, Ankara, Turkey, Bilkent University, 2003.

Özdemir, Mustafa. "Mütareke Dönemi Siyasi Akımların Türk Basınındaki Yansıması". Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, VII/16-17, 2008/Bahar-Güz, pp. 203-226

Sertel, Savaş, Yedek, Şahin. "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.

Sever, Ayşegül & Bozbora, Nuray. "The Great War and the Ottoman Empire: Origins". *Perceptions*, Volume XX, Number 2-3, Summer-Autumn 2015, pp. 1-6.

Shaw, Stanford J. The *Ottoman Empire in World War I*. 2 vols. Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, 2006–2008.

Somel, Selçuk Akşin. The A to Z of the Ottoman Empire. Rowman & Littlefield, 2010.

Somel, Selçuk Akşin, "Die Deutschen an der "Pforte der glückseligkeit": kulturelle und soziale begegnungen mit Istanbuler Türken zwischen 1870 und 1918 = Almanlar Dersaadet'te: 1870-1918 devresi İstanbul'unda Almanlarla Osmanlıların kültürel ve toplumsal buluşma deneyimi", *Boğaziçi'ndeki Almanya = Deutsche praesenz am Bosphorus*, Kummer, Matthias von (ed.), İstanbul: Generalkonsulat der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2009, pp. 35-65.

Toprak, Zafer. Türkiye'de "Millî iktisat" 1908-1918. Yurt Yayınları, 1982.

Topuz, Hıfzı. 100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi. Gerçek Yayınevi, 1973.

Torun, Aytül Tamer. İttihatçıların Geçmişle Hesaplaşması: Ali Kemal-Bahaeddin Şakir Davası., Libra Kitap ve Yayıncılık Ticaret Ltd. Şti., 2014.

Trumpener, Ulrich. "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. 107-136.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, Cilt I, II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi, İletişim Yayınları, 5. Baskı, 2015.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, Cilt II, Mütareke Dönemi, İletişim Yayınları, 5. Baskı, 2015.

Tunç, Salih. İşgal Döneminde İstanbul Basını (1918-1922). (Basılmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul, 1999.

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

Turan, Ömer, Öztan, Güven Gürkan. "Mütareke Döneminde Tehcir Tartışmaları ve Divan-1 Harb-i Örfi Yargılamaları", *1915: Siyaset, Tehcir, Soykırım*, eds. Fikret Adanır, Oktay Özel. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015, pp. 505-524.

Turan, Ömer, Öztan, Güven Gürkan. Devlet Aklı ve 1915, Türkiye'de "Ermeni Meselesi" Anlatısının İnşası. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2018.

Uzun, Mustafa. "Ali Kemal", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Yayınları, Ankara, C. II, 1989, pp. 405-408.

Zürcher, Erik J. Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2009.

APPENDIX 1

Ali Kemal

Editor in chief of the Sabah/Peyam-1 Sabah during the Armistice period

(From: Kemal, Ali. Ömrüm. Yayıma Hazırlayan: Zeki Kuneralp, İSİS Yayımcılık, 1985)



APPENDIX 2

First page of the Sabah

(1 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10400)



APPENDIX 3

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

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

توركلوك كناهي نه در؟ مناركا شرطارى اديام آهر، اويام المم ، (المسمحلالمز او نارك امورنده بيام دكلمدى ، اونارکه صرف منفعتاری دوشونیوداردی، و بوبه بإبقده معمدور جتى حقل ايديلر . يز انسان اوللیدود. بو تهلکادن نفستری صا. فنسلیدق. بزدیدیکترکیند ۲ آلمانلر. بوملکی ساعش برقاج خذله ايله اونلزك بإرداغيلوى ، کاسەلىسارى دكلى :

بوكروه استتنا ابديليرسه نوركلوك كنامى نەاۋلەيىلىر ؟ حال بوكە متاركە شرطلرى عبرتە مطالعه بوبورلسون . بوتون جزابي پادشاهندن الاکوجك بر فردیته قسدر اونلر چکبودلر . اصل مسئوللر يوحربدن بوش كيسهارتي ايتان قدر دوادر درق حف دقارى ايجون ذاناً بك موجود اولسايان وجدانلري برطرفه آتجه ايشته اسهاعيل حقى باساغله إديغي كي قارغته القدن استفاده ايله صولوغي حدود خارجنده آليره اوروپانك بركوشات چكيلير، بإشار، فقط بز، زواللي توركلر نه اوله جنز ۲ بزكه ممان مان دولنمزء علكتسوء استقلالميز فالبورز، زكه آلى عصرلق سلطتمزك بويله كاراج يداديكني اللر باغلى كوربيورز ، بزكه اك زيامه اوروياده بإشار، آز چوق برعظمت، برماضی مساحی بوملت أيكن آسيانك ، آفرخانك فيله لرى

آلمانيا واوبر مستوالر، حق ايجمزدن اونار. بك زياد، قاريشانلو جز الرف چكسينار. لكن توركلرمده اتصاف اولونسون ، يودرجه قىلىلىن . نوركلر كا خقتد. نەبومحمارمى ايستديلو، نەبوپادرمەقارېشمق فىكرنددايدىلر. فقط هرض ابتديكمزكي دميردن برالء نارى بوبوله سوروكلهدى ، ازدى ، عو ابتدى ،

الاطلاق يوتون مندور ملتلري حابه ابتمك ، مدنيتك شاتنه توافق إيدرت وارسين وادلغمز خريطهدن سيلينسين ، تاعز صفحة طلدن قاد دلسين ، يوق ، يز اودوان ، اددوا افکار حومه سی ، او افکار حمومیه بی تعنیل ايدن مجموعة دولى، علىالخصوس آمريخاكي برميشر السمايتلنجه تأترىء تقوذي اولوعيه عادل بيليرز ، بويله وحشتاردن ، مظالمدن متره سانيرز. بوتون حقوقزى، وارلغمزىده او بد عدالته توديع ايلرز . متاركة شرطلوى طيعى هيچ بزى ديكهمدين ، شكايتارغزى ، فرياداريوى ايشيتمان ، حققتوى ، درت منهدن بری ندار جکدکاریزی آکلامادن وضع اولوندى ، مصالحه ايجون البته بويله اولهمازم البنه حق، حقيقت اومؤثر نداستي ،

بوحريك،كرك درت منهدر بوعلكتد، وقوصه كان مفائلك مندودارى ز ، اويد أيكن يكدن مندور بتلويمي اوغرادالي ز ؟ متساركه في جار نامار قبوله مجبورز ، فقط هيچ ظن اجديزك وعلكتده عنى شرطارله برمصالحديه امضامني قوبان برحكومت تشكل إيده بياسين. وادأنسزه اويد ازلى بردخته اورد قدن صوكره استقلالز بوسبوتون المزدن آلفسين، بيسك كره داها مرجحدر . جهان مدنيت ملتلره قارشي حلا يو درجه عدالتسزلكلرى ، انصافسزلقارى ترويج ايلوسه جوق كجمز انسانيت بو حرب موی کې يکيندن بر سلسه مسانيه داها

أوت، تكراد ايدرزه مسئوقلر جزالري السائلدية حوصايد سينباز فالقارى ايدنار

آوستريانك تشبثي . آلمانيا. آوستر إلى تشبتنان خبر وارم، ویاه ۲۹ تعرف اول (م ، T) - بیش آورتریا خرندلری طرفنده اعر ایدیل خبرلریات ه Tه بیانه ریاه سفیرهایه ولوع بولاه برمالاته دان اولاد شيرار مصعب (غروبودو) ، بروجه کی تد ریاشه واغنه مأذوندز : آلذیا حکومتی ، آوستریا ـ جاوستایک ملا . با بانه عنومی د راد و بر بر مرد مرد . برداد صال ای برای ایم برای ایم برای عنوایی او زرت گرمتریا – عارمتناه پر قابه لد حرم ورم اید، ایمکنه ای مدتنجی کمپ ولوف اینمدی د ایم اطور ۲۹ کمر اواد هردار پایدهای هادت کارانه پرافراط بایه آمترا -

مذاهسته استديريليورز .

براقدى . . شمدى اوروبانك عدالته دوش وعل

هرملينه حقى وبرمك كي وعدلرينه توافق ايلهين ددر ؟ بز چار،اری ردوجه داها از مکمدره داتاً ازياد ازياد هيچ قدر عز ، طاقيز قالادي.

صداری جهانک سامیسته دفع ایلر. مجم بزء تورکلرد. حرض ایندیکتر کی کرك

اوغرار. او زمان هيچ بلى دوغريلتماز. كورسونار، عمده شدته كورسونار ، بو ملكى بر مله قوارق آوروبايده ، بز ده ، بوتون

طوبراقده إشابان خريستيان وطنداشار يزدن زباده ازاداد . . او ماشی او به ایدی . فقط حاده هر بلت اسارتدن قوديولش ايكن يز قورتوله مادق. صوك متهارد، مستبدارك اك غدادلريته ، ال مجنو تارينه ، اك مغشوشلرينه قول ، قوربان اوادق . بوحريفلري باشستره بودرجه مسلط ايدن قسماً غفلتمز ، حاقتمز ایسه قسیاًد. اوروپادر. اوروپا اونلری ، کونا كون انديشهار ، مين طوندى ، سياسة " طوندى ، ماله بعاطوندي، مرخصو مجه طوندي . مثلا اسانبواد. آلمان مستجرى (والكنهايم) قدر فرانسر سنیری (پومبار) ده اتحاد ورقنك مىن، دوسق ايديلر .. توكلى بوجاعت : ووه دنياي آله تدق سالية. بن تردد الساطر ديمشلردى، حية بويه ايدى. بوملكده هرملت کې تورکلری ، بالخامب تورکلرید.

اويەتورقونى كە بزتودكارك تولزى، ئالادىزى

قريسور ، وادلندزى كوكندن ددولسور ،

دولتمری هان جان بر امارت در کاسته ایندیز.

يبور. اومارز كمصالحه مذاكر مارنده بو شدت لمديل اولونوده مضمزه حقيقتمز بودرجه آياق

السین دور آلته آنجاز. اساساً کوجوك وبوبوك هر ملی

مقدوريتدن قورتادمق ، مسمود ومرفه قيلمق

ايجون چاليشسان، جاليشدينني سوبله بن اوروپا الله بزی اونو تاز ، جونکه بزد. انسانز و بر

ملتزه هم در المسائلات وملتارك ال منسدود . التدرد. عصر اردن وي داعًا استداد آلند.

ازايله . ادار مكنه هي قومدن، حتى ترمله م

ازیبودلردی . صوکر . او دوبانک قارشیست تودكلتنا تهجقيوده ايستعمكاريحابيوداردىء اوقدرکه بو میـدنی بوش بولونجـه آزدیلر ، شهارديلو، كونك برنده او آذغين آلمانها ايله ، مستعارين وى اوهيتك ال جلنيني فكراء اللاً، هر جهنجه بد تسخرينه كجرن (قصر وبلهام كاية الزليجه سويله شديار، فرار لا شديار، اضرلاتديلر، باشمزه آلمانيادن جنراللر كنير. ديلر، اوردومنى كفلرينه كوره تنسيق المهديلر، او سایهد حکوشتری بوسبونون آووجارینه آلدق ديله دكلر في بإعنه ساشر لانديلر .

وَقَتْاكُهُ حَرْبٌ عَمَوْمُ اعْلَانَ اوْلُوْنَدْى . بوتلكتد توركارك حاكمتي، المعاني قالمادشدي. **پادشاهر نفوذجه بر آ**لتدن عبارت ایدی، ملت إيسه بوفرقة قاهرمنك امرينه جارناجار وام اولندى . حقيق حاكمز، آمريمز اوفرقەنك ال برواسز برایکی عضوی ، حقیقتد. اونارده ذکل آلمانیا ایدی ، چونکه بوعضولر منتعت؛ يليت ، مرت ساخه ايله اولورسه اولسون آلمانياتك آلق ، اويونجسانى ايديلر . بوبه اولونجه حكومتيزه انكلترمك ، فراتسه نك سوزی کچرمیدی: حق بچار. ملتك. اعرابدن على وادميدى ؟ حرب عمومينسك ظهورندن اوچ آی موکره بزده محاربه، قاربندق . . آلاترك تران اوارق .

چونیکه خریطه یی کوژ اوکن کنیرن بر مکتب چوجو فی بیله آکلاردی که بو حال اید، ووشعبت ، بو حدود ایله بوبله بر بادر ... گوینگدن زرشترد،مدحش برشرد محققایدی، هیچ برقائده مأمول دکاری..

فوشوتمل ، انکلتره کې ۽ فرانسه کې ، موسوس روسکی دولنار، قارش سور بدن عراقه ، همانین فائتلب ، یوتون او آییق جهار بزی مدافعه الدربية جكدك، اوبه مرد. آلمانا منظر يه اول داولوجيدتد بربه ال م حل اوله جندل... جو تكارجوى ولايتار عز المزدن پیته بغدی، اوردومز، توبه بغدی. سال و که آ کاریاملک منظری مشکولا ایدی .

وحفق البته آلماتل سليوداردى وسلكرى حاد باشمزی بوبلاد موقدیار . . بهونگ

اوستواده سلیم در انکان برنظیر فراطری اقباطه وروایت اندازی عز دو ایدجاه براسد قاوندس اردازی برای اید (کندماد، ورآماد، صلح عایشاری وزامه منع بالتركي روامه ۲۹ نمرتال (ف) - بمناظیر رادقال نهده و نامی تاریخ انفاق فرکنه ماط نهده و نامی ترکیز انده و ترزیخ کم طرق ه ناریخ انفاق فوت کمانی مرکز می مرکز می طرق بارند زیدگ مکن مرکز مساه دوسردم جراح منطق ابرویتر فراد با بالایت بین اور قدیم آن منطق ابرویتر فراد با بالایت بین اور قدیم آن منطق ابرویتر فراد با بالایت بین مارد جهارك افتراق حركاتى ویله ۲۰ (م.۲) – و غیواری ال دید. و ما ۲۱ نیانی اوردست ست سکومت وشنید. و دادیک با مورا ماند و است خبرنار واقتدیدول.

بپىسىيىدى سەدىسەردەم بىلىمانە بايە العقوا-جارستانك عال سانىردە مىلىم دەكمىندە قىلى بر شار 1 كارىنى 1 ئان ايو طور نە اشغارا تىدى. مىلى كۈنىدىلارى قالى كالايك ورامىلىر آلرىمىلىدە رولى 9 ولان دەيلان تىلىيىد مەلىلە

می نومه در به در بالای در الات اشامند را داداند. آزمداند رقوع ولان در الات اشامنده مداداند دش T مقرا – جارسانان قرب الوقوع الفاینده خرداراند قعند، اوندن ماددا او دار در ناس مهارده

ارسال ایدخده اول ۲۷ تفریزاوله، وضوعه، اندرانی ایل (وعدراد) آرمسند- عادره جریان افتدر .

آندرائينك تشيق وآلمان سارماني

آثاوته مايرطق، اول امود. ويليونك آثانياه

نه سورته جواب وبرمیکنه انتظار ایدلس لازم تاریکیدی منه (آندانی) که تدین ملنده هم

کاریکندی داده (اندرند) که مین سبب سب جری اراز ایکندود . برای ۲۹ (م.۲) سال اندرانی) طرفدی مترد برماندگه تول ایدقامی مطبرهانتارهادی ارسترا طبارستاه مکومت اساد کاه ککرمایی استرا میکورند همکومت اساد کاه کنیمایی میکوراند

ولى ايد فكديدد . (العاش) قايته م

و مجرب و خر می . مند، کی قمود آناله مورد هوشنامی مود تنده مند، کا قمود آناله مورد هوشنامی مود تنده

رايد ده عرف اول (م. ٦) -

b, بودندگی آمرزا بالا واسط عبرناد را قلمبرزار برلیه ۲۹ (ق) – واحده اسط افرانیر ز چ، رقدامان برکرفره نبسا مکر قبق ارتیب معمر قرامان برکرفره نبسا محد قلب راتیب و مدانین سویبروار. مربع ۱۹ (ق) – حکومت په مل فرینه مربع ۱۹ (ق) – حکومت په مل فرینه المیرد. بایدن راد (ف) – مکومت په مل فرینه ایمبرد. مایون ترسطه میچ زبان حمده مربع امرونیده مار ارامدو. آمریز جالا میز ارامده. 7

эı

آوسترانك جوابى لوندرمده دوتردام ۲۹ تدر تاول (ف) - لوندر.دد الشاراوليود : خاربيه نظاري آو، قرابط ويلسونه تبليغ يتدري جوابق عله مسقون اوغن ايساده وبإهد يتاتاهه وأعلاق اجتاب إيتيرور .

ال بوبوكندن الثكوجكنه قادار سله تأديبه اوغهاسيدار، مستحتدار، فقط بادشاه، ك حقوق سلطنته، توركارك حق حيانته، حق استقلالته دوقو كلسين. ملك عبَّاجناك بويله اوج ربندن زيادسى غسب الدمك، ملت عاليه في ايسه بودرجه فيد آلته آلمق او حقوقدن، اوحقدن ته راقر ۱

اوروپا بیلسل که برمانی ، نهورجه شما اولورسه اولسون ، يومرتب تذليل ايمك، اوجورومدن آشامى آمق بوسبونون بأسه دوشورمكديد ، چلدير تقدر . توركلكاي بوتون بريشان اولسعد ينه بقى بلتل برعصردو، برعصر دركة آلتعن آلته حكمني، فوذي بوروتير. آسادمكىديكر عرقداشاريه اولاء فكراً، حرثاً أعادايد،بيلير .بويله برملني ناحق يرء بودرجه ازمك عليت هوستورلرخ اعلااعك ايجون ميدانه جيقان أتلاف دولتلرين اسلا بانیشهاد .. آیشته بزبویه موشونودد .

على كال

One of the Transcripted 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, şımardılar, 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 fırkanın 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 müzmecil olacaktık. Çünkü birçok vilayetlerimiz elimizden çıkacaktı, ordumuz kırılacaktı. Hâlbuki Almanya'nın muzafferiyeti meşkuk idi. Bu hakikati elbette Almanlar biliyorlardı ve bildikleri halde basımızı bu belaya soktular. Cünkü 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 muharebeyi 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, alelıtlak 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 alemden 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 teşiri, nüfuzu olunca adil biliriz, böyle vahşetlerden, mezalimden münezzeh sanırız. Bütün hukukumuzu varlığımızı da o yet adalete tevdii eyleriz. Mütareke şartları tabi hiç bizi dinlemeden, şikayetlerimizi, feryatlarımızı işitmeden, hakikatimizi 4 seneden beri neler çektiklerimizden sonra anlamadan vaaz olundu, müsalaa için elbette böyle olamaz, elbette hak, hakikat, o müesser nidasını, sadasını cihanın semasına ref eyler. 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 sartlarla bir müsalaava imzasını koyan bir hükümet teskil edebilsin. Varlığımıza öyle ezeli bir rehine uğradıktan sonra istiklalimiz büsbütün elimizden alınsın, bin kere daha müreccahtır. Cihan-1 medeniyet milletlere karşı hala bu derece adaletsizlikleri, insafsızlıkları tervic eylerse 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 Osmaniyye'yi ise bu derece kayd altına almak o hukuktan, o haktan ne bırakır? Avrupa bilmeli ki bir milleti ne derece zayıf olursa olsun, bu mertebe 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.

Demir Cember (Iron Circle)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 8 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10407, s. 1

] حباسد و (ناپولتون)، آلمانیا ایسه سنونیه

داما بوبوك مرتبعه فرانسه ديمكدي . اون طوقوزنجيده اواديني كي يكرمنج عمرك

ابتدالراناه ادوا ابتدكلري وجه ايد حريشايله

اباه اسبارتک و نور ابنه طلبتک و عدل اید ظلمك ب حليلتي كإلهمكمن تعبيقار والوقوا

اودرجه يوتى دكل يكيمن مياد زمار خدير توخق

اوكمارى (وبايغ) طبق (تابولتون)كې غالب ايدى . آلمان ايراغنى غالبته بلجيقا

مسورباركده قرائسز شيرار لمعدو لأعديدي

داما موكره توسنتها ابه يراو بالتسانترى

آلت اوست ایشندی و دوسیدی ازدی ه

الشاليان خويلادي . نيابت موسقوقات ه

ووماياتك ايشاري بينبردكه، ه (يرست _

لتورسق) و (یوگر،ش) ساهدارید

الارغ ، قوالرغ باغالادتين ، بولون

شرقی اوروایی بر مدیم جنبر ایجن آفدقنین

سوكرد وار قوتينه غربه يوكلهنى ه

بوتمرش ، برماهة كا (مارن) نيرينك الكلوب

قادار ایندی . (پارس) از قایباریته داآندی .

فولك، مطولك بودوجمت قارش هركته بر

فأمت كلندىكه آلمابا فالرم التلاف مناوب

ايدى. أونء اوبة ايدى آلآياك قرشينده

الكلزماو كاسيدى: الكلزوروسيدكلدى، حى

فران ملاية بومبتون الله ومظهر بمالكدي.

آقاراه علبته دوتنك إواش إداش اكثربته

جوالىدو براير دوند ومشدى. جو لكه او حرب

حوفىية مذينة باربرلطا جازيشسى مودي

ورمنيدي، فالجلية آثانيات حركتاري

يليغا استلامندن محنالحر محادمارت تادار

بلابلا يست لولمدس، وقرستلرون استفاد. ابه التكلولرو مجافيه آخرينالبتركي جدآخر.

ببدأ شبان برقوميده كاريف درانه برقق اوغابار ، آمريا ايم، ماشرلامرق انسابحاني،

تجهزات اكال ايدرك مستكرىء اودولرى

يف سره كلنته سوقدقدن سوكرم المتساو

بردن وه دكيتاني، اوزمامةا،ارغلبعن غلبه

يوروين أكانيا بوسفر دوردى، والكودورمتي

مكل ، كرى جكادى ، ايانجن (مادن)

وجنی مان هان (نایوانون): (موحقودا)

دولوشق آ کدیر بر هر مناوعه پو د طوندی.

بوهزعت الاندقمية اولا متقافر برو برو مائرة التأشين مسيولديلر ، الحلول ايتمهلر ، وشنته

هرچەإداباد مسلح متقرد علىد ايتديلر . . آلذار داقت إسپالكر ئادبار ، اوند بسندىك

اوسروف ديبر خبر مرطر أدن أبرادي. حو تك

موسلوفاره اوقرايتالياره لهاره روماور

کې جبراً بوبونډيرين آت مونولش، آغړ

آخر ساهداراه (براین) و باغلامش و سق

رنوع اسلای مکری آت آفش اوتان

فلتسكو سأودد استلال مركتاري طابتديوء

(وبالهل) ؛ مانېني (اېرلتون) ککنه بکرد

بمبكى الالاق موللرى فيعرك شخصق او

مرتبدغو إلايمجقل مى بيلمه ز . لكن ر ملوب

مفتيه صليع مامه ستك بأنته كجهوى أوروبانك

خنوريه جيتجل زحماب آلانيا التاوذون

بر حسباب وردمکه مجبود ازاه جن مختدد .

يلييغائك تسير وتنسين وقرانسسمه استيلا

ايديلن برارك كذا تسبر ولضبنيء (آلزاس ـــ

اورن) او صابع، مشلکات مای وساره

آلماتارك بومانيني فيالوأنع (وليز) حكومتي،

مكران فكرىء غاربآوداغلا دبربتراء.

مير الاية ادادواسوق الجون واستعلامهم

فتبط آلمان ، آوسترة ومسائره الموام، اليجون

و ديد و جريدن سوكر بوتومار مرف

الشراح سليارى تخطأ فلزئدن والحن والمعادييه

کینی برطن آلایجفاری ، شمدیره کادار

يوتون يوسساند داخلار

اولبارل بوتمنيله قارش فإنلامهار ...

• 🧖 بلافيد وشرط عرض مطادعت – مواد دينه وو آغيميز سترباد كوود آلانيا خ

----محمومین : ۸ --- بتری آناد دواناسته اشالی درغان معله انکاریه کنین و ۸ --- رمو نیری ا کودرلورکه انکارت فوق ایتدیکی هر افزاد .17 کورد اور که این میران بندی در نام ۸۸ و در امنی این میارد با بند ، کیا کم ۱۹۵۵ میران میران این میران این این میره اروزیرد و تکدر ، کتاب میران طویق میره میان اروزیرد و میران میتان میران این و تارامه ا میروده ، دیران میان که در تارامه ا میروده دادن میان که داخانه میران در میران ماره مین میران میان که داخانه میران در واجرما وسلاله سدتل الإستريانه سدده والواقر ماره

برانكليزهيثتنك

🔬 دون انکلیز منابطی ـ مواصلت بد م مثل سیاسیمی نهزمان کله بنه ۲

الكاد مسكرى ا

دیدی کا قیام مات پدی چی دادارند بسره فیرخود دوخت اقص ور است کا مات در در انگار هرک هرینسه شورب دیرآ آن (دور مادر و هروی اون انکل برایم و میکسونیدر ان از است کا ک برایم و پرمیکن ایپ ۱۰ کلیز مکرمتانه این سیاسهیده ارگ سافساک کر میادانه استابیری دها اول کلی

التر إقتاره د مانشان کر دیک پسره طروپدوس ازد هره ایه اورنله کوبلندن دربکتر کی مانت پند ز هره انگریز جادر اورلدی تأمروس عمر مطر اند لعالمة باشر وزاق وج ظر طرفمود، نابت د

العالمة عادر يردن رمايي. المقال الرابطرون حلك اركان وحراركل استباقان يكاربان مانياً. حلك اركان وحراركل استباقان يكاربان مانياً. میان ارکان و مراوی نامتهای پاداران داشت. طور واندارنده پریلاس برخه رسیل و کنیتریک انگان موادی کا اوندلشدیدی وزیرا استعمال ایند اراده باید شتم دردیک و موردشارده طراحی ان مرکزه باید را میاددد. دستیری اندر واردشار اوران هند گیمند ارتار افتحاد بایش اوردشان پراته برجی سکیر طلب پانایسیم پایاستار

سکومت شیرمن کاردادای دیگرانکان خار

مكساي درط استرجام الالمدر ، حي ذراعد م إجهار ورستري احم العلمان . يمارشيه فرن طرح اجاما إن الكار موارطورو فرق اطلار ديماريه كارميلا الشرو (الهاد شاهان وق الكلوفايلان، ووطرى وطبه قارش هيج ويوف الكلوفايلان، ووطرى وطبه قارش هيج ويوف الموفوري تواصل عيدت اللان برهنه الم الايو، كلن و بالمدكر عرف فايقان سرفته الا الارتفاقياتي الكلوفرة مواجس أحده يولون للوبي للترو ويستر فالمسابو وتروا فتتورده

انحاد وترقى ثروت ع

فرادى باشاؤك آشير دفترى حكرمتجه معنا

خلت د اور وجال زمار ورادی تارداری دا ارایتری با از ساره راکوی کو وراناری کی ملتا سرای درشت داردند (کانل والیان اسامی) (. مدکر واسکارگر دوهویته بند ادارد (ب.» جار ون هیشیافینه، کری کمپریتری آماد ورق لرد

کرون هیمیدور..... اولین عدن . باور چنا و بودهه قرار انده اول آندوایاند برنج کوندینی بوقین و مکرمت ماندردانه میل برنج کوندینی بوقینی و مکرمت ماندردانه و مل كوفترناسى شموستدو الإمان انفاذ كبوارد ومل مركزة ملزمانةكرور حكوت وبادي معادره اقتر شاد اجد بنكر مدر المتدريز به و بوسر ب موى بوترتاوتها شهاءدهشتده بهاوعظته اللم علقت بشربت تنقين الجديكي الدحوك ه الو بوبوله دوسند . هرهانکې بر دوله م پر هيئت اجيافيه اولورسه اولسون استبداداته هیچ او کول و پرفلاح میسر او ناز . قلط حرب هر کاسک و هرولاحک مقداحید . آفانیسا کی من حیث المجموع منصدن ۽ مترق برحکومت و برمات پیله بوسترفق آذ و چوق وحل ابلدکلری ایجون بریاد تشسسها اوادیاره بزليسه الالدوى حليه بحرياته خرافه الداكر. سيتدوسادينمز الجون بر ساله كانك . بربه الالملهيدى فيبيخ وجعنتك ايين كجردنيتك کردکان مسوکردند میچ بو پادتاریزی پېرىدۇ ...

علىكال

دميرچنبر برواد (نابولون) اون جن ت تادراً چاپندی . داخلاً قرال ال آور بناد این آلندی . آمدینی آماره کـدیکی کـردی. حكوت وماكيته خناف بيغابك اليمون (ورود) خلداندن دوق (دانکان)ی من آللا طوراخد والاعنى ، قرق سكرمات ظرفسه ممالدادى وديوان خرب قرارية کن قودشونه در درمندی . داها باشقه تال بإعامتدى اخلاب كيرى وجوده كترمش وخلق الاآلم، واستعاد آلته آلمسدي . فلط فرالبزار الجون وحبراة وصديبرى واردی . (ناپولون) فراقبز سطوتی اه مدجنه اعبلا الليوده، كم الادوبان: مان ياشعن بات حكت وام ايديبوددي. فراليز الراقية باللان باللاعرى أوستراده آلاساده يولون اوروياده متشر الموالنه لامتماثلامتدي. فاخفد يكدكلريء اوكن اداريه اوسنيد حکومی اونوعق الجون فرانسزاره و نلترار برشوقه براسق إدىء اونارك آزمى كبيلجه پرشوق ولسیل کالله بندی ، (نابو ترن) ک مالېزىد مارميەجلىى، يىلەجلىى. بوبە اوابهتي بباديكي الجون اوجهمانكر فنوحات آزيردياه آزبردق ، حرهبال عكن فِليق ، اوزدياده كسوده سيشاز إر كاشبانة سبلطت ۇرىق ايستردى..

اوكاجدار حريسك بوعزت بالوسترياء تورومياء حق (ليلزين) ماهنمىندزموكر. ندر رومیه مالغ اوله پیشمندی. (۱۸۰۹)دم چار برخی (آلکساندر) اید (فرقورت) ملاقات شاقياً آولق (نايراتون) مراديت ايرمش ، فودى غاليتى آوروېلك كوبك ويكش قإص المديناردىء الدويليردي أنعط يرد. الكنر. اولاددي . الكنر، كا يرون اواستبداد کامیله خسم جال ، اوبوزدن شرد كورن ، الكان مظلوم قوطول ، معصفوك. قبلة آبلل ايدى . دائما اوادين كي منت قوممن شربتك ملعث مومسيه وعنا تألف المعتدى . شمدى ديناريك كر او دمان .. اوجدل جهانشمواءه الكليزاراة موقتين طلك تجال و حرق و (ابولتون) له تادى بظرق اب كاماتك اسارق وسلوطي دعكدى، اوزين متجادار مورن برمارزمده وقرائل حركن قانع ايدى كا خله استعاداة الدي. قط ١٨١٢ خلالده ايديه (ابو توز) اوروپلك هر طكتي ارمولرت جيك عش ه هرحكمفارق آيافته قاإعش أيكن موسقوف بارى اوفان الكلزمنك النا آتية سركتاك وارطو مندى، دوميەن يومقر حدا ادب اقلتاعون بروك راردوي ا (موسفروا). قدر نظرار ايجده سـوق ابقان لازمدي . اوجهان تأعى بو منجز، قيد، كوستردى ا كوسؤدى لكن قظر كلدى. جوتكم وسيرون بتيرديكت قام اواديني او ميناي سلانك و بالنين اله برمل برد يركوش مندن مرتاسف طوتوشعينى ويتقيقيني كودمى : السيدارك مرت و ظلتك هدي و قولك سند هېچ ۾ وْمَانْ عَلِهُ جَالاها مِجْتَى أَدَرَاكُ أَيْعَدَى . برمَدْتَجَكَ سلا متساديد امراد ايدك (لا يجيع) .. وساريته طارت صاوالدياما (فرند فر)د. . زل سلطت جور اولدي . وطنه (الب) كمستعن ومتقامتهن ووثوك يكعن المترواو اقباله سلادي ايسدد تهابت (وازل)د. تعالى پوسپولون پره اوددی ، (سفت آلن) ده چه

کاج وقت وضاطت کاود ادارد رابان لنديك وتباسر وتده مغاواوقه طوت مكت باسدق اوادى .

ارتجيداً يرتكرون مارتايش : قدر (ولملم) شنس التاريد دامسا كويت و النص المدكري ومواي حربته يتكرثري

حياى اخطراب ۽ اسادت ايجاند کچرهای ه

İngiliz Dostluğu (British Friendship)

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

طالعبؤك هر توداو مساعدسولكته رغما

انكلز دوستلغى الكارد مطرع جهاللمول ير دولدر . وکه شرعه کوز اوکه کنیرلسین : او ت وسعت والوته عظمت والوته الماطمور والقان وحهده كوريليه : اوسرّاليا ، قارا ، جنوب آفريتا وهندتان و حق مصر وسائره . بو اولکاردن مروی روت ، احمت ، مساسه اعتباريه باشل اشنه بررابيراطودايء قرابق ء حاصل سنطن تذکیل ایدبیابر . اینت بو سنطنارای ناطنی ، ساکی انگذیدر ، الكلورة الماني بنيان اعتاديه يوبوك وينائيا و ارلاها آطارت میتیشش و حکومت ، وما كيتدر .. كاسل اوليورد، اصل ظومي ، اعالیس فرق میلیوک مجاوز اغان و دول يوية بليوتلوجه خلقه وجهسانلوه قرماغرما اولمون؛ بوحکتك سرق يز اولا انكليز فوضك فطرتندوه كآبسآ انكلز حكومتك سامتد آرارز . .

الكلول كالناتك الاحزمكار يرقو بدول. اودوجه مكم عضا حزم إيه و فساليته سليته قارش بياد جانال حاتمه غابه جلارار.. مثلا انگلزمان اظلمی بشر انجون مدرجه غیر صاهدور. منعان افریباً طوقوز آل برمیسی، برعلو موادة يور، اكثرا تبشين كوندوداري يه كوذكوذى كودمزه الزموسي طالبز وطوذ سركليرة كجر .. الكلاتر بوبه براقتسه اوقه خارق الساده و طرزده ، فدون بشراء او درجه فوقده بالبدرار كا زرامتين تجارته طالك بالتنعيج وقومته الاكوزل الاساعد القبدلو آلتمد بالمالانيد مهمم الملادق موقتيتار سال ايدول .. ازدل ، اكرل، عرال اونانكور طوراندن خساه سيشاز عسرقر آبرار . هـ اود اللف ، نائع جـ وان بشدورو كالترش الكلا توبوتلاي . انكلز سليرلرىء الرسلا أنت وتقو اعتادياه بلا مال بلنه من رطكت واوتاز.

اوعدیک مزارقاری دوانیکسین : سیراری اغیاری کرلین ، اونیپیکر. پرمخارت اقیسه ، حواجه ای ساعد ، این پرمنارت اقیسه ، حواجه ای ساعد ، این و نشگار ملکارد : نمان ایدس بایدز ، این میدی انگارا و مزمد ضاری میاید میاد می رمنگلان ، باک حاص به بیلیای مزم و مالیدر ، باک حاص به بیلیای مزم

شعدى بوعزم وضات يرد. موفريان علاق المبكر : بوكالك سرى ادرالايتن اولورسكر. النظر عرضد و معيات حيا تعر 1 يليز : الكرين منتد و معيات حيا أقلم و الداعق استر ملاا لكلومه مود أقلم و الداعق المبتر ملاا لكلومه مود وما تعريد ميم وملختاران بولايلا سكر. يولا عالما يولا و بالمول ما فيول ، كوموش ما تكاكو موتره مليل معان كاله الهاد المحدر خلص الكلو ميترك الملاء والماتيز .

بوسليتلا كونن في جهداد، برلادي نودكو الجمون الا نام مستور الكانوديستان نودكو الجمون الا نام مستور الكانوديستان المعارف المثل الهابكمان ، المعالم مستون الولم المنا على كوكمان ، مع المنا مديمة ماحمة لآل المسارك فلاوراز بر برد الابش بوارل كوستمنو ، بزى توم المتارية بودخرى مسلكان حاستي برا بج ون المتارية ومن مسلكان حاستي برا بج ون فارد مينود مسلكان حاستي توم الجوزان ، فرا بن المار ومستوى في الجوزان ، فرا الإردن و بك تي تعارفور ،

بز يردوسناندن اون طوقوزتمي عمره، يك يدوق مستغيش اوادق د يكرمنج عمرهم اودرمه دکل . فند بوسوك عروميتك قياس انكليزاردن زيلدم يزمعو م جونكه بالحاس حكومتاريز لاخطارته فطركزمد والسانانين توافق ايته بن اوض مخسال کې يسټی حرکنلر انکليز څوی اينه آدامری ايجه تېبدی . الكلولوك شاتق توتيران كالأنحن برعيده ا انکاره سیامند. کاشان هیچ بردوان أ يوهدكه منفت خطومسحل منافع ممومه ايله عمراردن يرى يومرشيه تأليفه طتسدر اولسون اون سكرنجي عصر بلاديد الكلتره جود آمرية مستطكان ايجون أساليا الد اودون رجادانيه طوتوشدى . بونستبلكات کب استلال ارضی انظرارل عادت دواج ورابيكي الجون حسابنه يك توافق الدردي. فلطاعين زبائده لازبة السابتين لديرب موافق ايدى ا اسبانيا حكومن مجنوناه د غداداته برادادماية بوتون او اوراق عليكشارى کاسخدده ازیبوده طوریپوددی. بنه عبن عسر الجنديا لكلتر مدولى قر السعاية منصل باريشدى حله بريولا(بايوتون) زماند. اوزون برجدته كيريشدى ويريانهن وكزلود ما كيتوم دولو كسلطان مصون قبذي ۽ پراندنجہ (استقر) واديسي فرانسز استلاستعن سيانت ايدولاهم برساليا كملالميت سلامته كأدن ابحته وحمده اودویابه قارش بر نوع غوقی کوسترس اوفتى . فنط مين زماندو قودارك اسارمه بعل ملتارك سريستيسن غارق العامه برعزبانه مداقصه إيفتني ، اوتورده اوروپالک اوزرينه

يوكن كاوس استبدادى قادرمنه للاجوق الوياليندى وداقت مرادينه إردى . اون طوقوذنجي عمره الودريا الجون الله يوبولا آف روسيه اردى . لا ترقيد م مكومي وتون فعالت سياسياسي شرقيه ، الميلات مال الله الجون مرض الجادي والدى الجرمي مين زماند النظر شوكتي . الوي تورقوع بردنيدن عانفته قياني .

العدامة الذي البا اعراض لا لنا التر سوكر، بلوان يلوان لوروياد. آخذ انترا التعدل، كولكد، براتيمه ، خوا طسوس التعدل، كولكد، مزيات حرسانيه مرس الافترة، خارت منيات حرسانيه مرس الافترة، خارت منيات حرسانيه مرس برحكمار جها فعران ديريه يوضاعه آخايا برحكمار جها فعران ديريه يوضاعه آنايا اليون مذكل يرشكه كونت، او قدرك ماتي الماتية، تك م كنيه ، م حرسة يوسرنيه اليون شمكر البنان يوادك . . . بر حرف الماتية، تك م كنيه ، م حرسة يون بكراد المال المناميز . .

سی بزمیامیان متول ادام ایما بریدون مایا انجون ایک مستور سیامت بیلوز ه ادائر و داغیر اندینی ماسر و غار بید سودته اداور و اداری بوزویتهای انتشار این و داختیه سیست دوده و ادارا و این و داختیه سیست دوده و ادارا و داردون می بردهای خصیه طورتدیل بنک و درم و خواند محمت ترب اید بروتیل و روم و خواند محمت ترب اید بروتیل ایس و خوش سیست خواند بروی با می ایس و خوش سیست خواند بروی با این این و خوش می بردهای خواند و مرب این و خوش می بردهای خواند و مرب این و خوش می بردهای خواند و مرب این و خوش می بردهای خواند و مرب این و خوش می بردهای اینهای کرد ایسه ایک بوخینای و از مرب اینهای کرد ایسه ایک بوخینای و از مرب اینه

آرمنوده آوقو المتلاف ظالمشد . اودومن متنجع ی تقدیرات . خرمند کل انگذیرک میکرم وقتی الطام فرضی مرداده وی معیر باشد وا مد دری الفام و بسره) خوریدرید استایه کندم ، ورواده مای خوم ه بیاریه بعضی پیدود به بای بیوتو که ا

مستر (مور

ا النابذي القدم ، وزياده منان ملورام ما يزوراب كله مامله وزياد دمان ملورام ما يزوراب كله مامله وزياد دوشته ميس پرده يرك ريانيه ماي وزيادي مدير بري قائمه نويتاني ايده مشعه طريد بريغ 70 هد. موزياد نيده مشعه طريد بريغ بري - انجار نريس فدانه الهيكندا - يريووسكري ميقامعه طريار برياد.

جال ضارر

ماية، ترفين في العائلات. اولىكون بعاقبات ضيعت الكير واراليز . معالمات

ويي المراجعة على علت هناية على ماي مار علوه والوستعان عراقة وراشز يباليم وبالا وعمدة : « ورواية وراش وياسي الم ولويفكو مده اللي حرب وركان ياو مزيس الم الراحية وراجع مروستان عاشلار ومرار ومريا تركين المواري الميار الإصفورة . ولا وي حرك الأورس الميار الإصفورة . ولا وي حرك الأورس الميار الإصفورة . ولا

الديودوكي فايسلر

ارتور: مۇرىدېگرىرىنىل تۇلىر تەرىپا ئۇ. -- لورۇ، بىكۈ كەر. انتراق تەرە (دولۇر) -- لىايتىدە، بلوی، اندان هم زمین - اینده معنی دو ذکی فیندمیده چهارتانیه گوی تربو ایات و انگلودرنیلودی خودیکی-انگلودرعانو اندامیه وقع بدارتماری، و مامینه درباری دیمارد. و ادوا از بر بای مرابسته ۱۰کامره اشان بای اینکاری وارد دق - ادوام مسر کا و الهدر شنبته ایراز بنتری سکوت واصلی انگیز د بنترینه سلیر تذیر و تنیس اولندر . الکر ناچرنج معن دیر و بهن روین رزندر . آگایتر ماران منابع فوان سازت نیایی روزاناه ایری مرده کومداد مالیز او نقومند است اذار ادالاه بیگانی دیکری ودایه کون ايدى ، ايشنه جلينى شمعن آس آح تجربه الديسورذ والعرب عوى ظهبور ابتسديكي وفث توركارأة موقعي انكلترانك ولندر ابدىء سنعتارية وارتغاري اوبه إعاب ايدردى . بر بداهن النار ايدش تاريخسن يشرافيسادن د مرامستدن د منطقان او درجه وتصييداركا اوتاراه بوتوع مياحتان كربشيةمز معماليه زاوغمعمسو يغط وكل وسوه تصدر سروش تأكياره اهانة يوسرب هومیاند، ت سودوکاندیش، قیمر (وبلیلی) الداديا فيبارى تدولا باشترد مسلط ابتديك برقاج سوسوى فاحلسه الساينديزه بزى برجوقور، موشورهیتر.. فقطاومارزکه انگلز دومثاريز وشبيت حققتمزي أقدير ابدرار ووكلرلا برمساده نادرجا مصوباوشالرى لسليع ايلولو أ

آولان لوادی . شبعدی عهدمزی ترتب ایدن این هندس وناینه مادینک بودر سارندن مستبد لوادرن شویتری مالزی مکن مرتبه قرام ، لوجهول ، افر قاراکان استبالزی. منادی سیار اینه برایذ، نورلامزمندر . عل کال

Enverland

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

انورلاند؛ أوت، الورلاد ا تخريباً كمز طوقوز أى استابواد. باب ال بي باسش اوالندن ماءدا حرك، وإدارانى كوسة، مدين أوبالأنجى ببلوان، اوسياخه قهرماند، آلمانيسالك آلتدن آلته اولى أيدى ، بيلدكلر مدن برمأمود بربره، يكا تسادف ابتدیکی زمان شوسوزاری سو پهمندی :

اويتسبطتارينه طيبي واغف اولهماديغ ايجون بو وجهار ی جندی تاق ابددی ، کنده. منخصى ودكر بمنادق المادر ودكر در (نايولتون) دکری تسودایندی، قااردقیه قاردی ، قارت مينماز اوادى فالخفقه حريفده كونحظمته اوبه دبديه واوتمسر ايأره اوته يعتلكل اساصل اونه سلطت ایدی ا هیچ شپه یوق و و انور لانده کې نوبوك خروف ايه واغونارك اوزدينه علنا بازاش الامارىد. كوردكمه كيرسلير اوتوری تغادمهٔ الملر دوتیوددی ا برکرمنلتر نهاقیه ایریتیلمین ، تورك ادمولری برآمان مصرده برياندن كافتاسيا طريتيها واسطى آسيايه بهسیوری کاری (واکنهام) ی کومیتل و اللابات وادیه سست رو. ندم شعی و مقتکری (واکنهام) ی کودن قسله اجتمایاردی و ڈاتم دامادتی و بلخص استهواد سلیره سلیر عضوص و سنیم ، و و مالستان بردامادتی و اومرداد اکرملت. كرمينل ، آلما بالك ﴿ دِيمِهُ سَلِعَتْ أَوَدِيه يوثون بولفوذه بوقدرت اوغاية آساله دوغمهى

بوبوك وآدم دكلدى أ المتنعود كلرك بوكوذيبىء خياكوك آلك مروف داستات كوره عباللغرك بوكا مقهر مأنى بويه بارلاق شيساكر والإبه تودانى تصبودار ايجنده يوزيبوددىء ذمان ذمان موهوم رنقن للومياه جوشدقه إحيافر :

سلك موزوقم لندر و دنيا دكل كاف بكا

ديمكفن يكتبون ميمء مبيع دريتدن دريته بوديارى برياء براغنوق اعتاسيارىء تركستانىء مدستای دوسو بوردی .

حرب الراحة عداد فت اب اساسا هتل باشند، م توادینی ، دو میتی بایر بر فات اوادیق ایجون اور کی برمشوشت ، مربارك ديديكي كي بر محلوثك اضال لغالر قو، كمن كون ؤمان رقبتمزد،كم ببالانتد، عرقان واذعان ميزانياه خارتمق الإستبودا الهوترامك! اوت ۽ اوردواريز ال فنا شرطارة محاره

ایندیلر، اوت ، اومیلوننر جه صرفیاتیز. وغماً مسکرام تیز الا ریاده آجلندن ، سمانندن فرقهاره أوت د باب سرعسکری و تظنارت دکل و و بنیا و بر شیناوت او باقی ادی . بإكر واطويال أونك باجاغيته أهاخز منال صريقلاري ، كندي، اوت، اوت بو حقيقتاري ز تەزمانىد برى يىلودۇ، لكن (اورلام)ك أوحاكم مستغبلي إنجون تويد اوغاق تغك ايتقارقه بويه تنرملت ابة اوغهاششته وغن وادميدى اوآنج ق اهم مهام امورايه ، سلطت مستقيد سق دومو عكله، حاضر لامقهمت تو (ايدى - شرقهم اولمازے غربدہ ظفر جائیدن امین دکلیدی ا حرب عمومی قرانساده، (پارس) در پشدید. جکیب دی ۱ حسبکریمز قبرلش، اوردواریمز بوزولش له حکمی وارد

نم وشادی علقه بوله کایر، بوله کنو؛ هله اوقهرماندن بودجه، باره، تخصيصات مىنۇر. حسان آرامق حقيقة كولونچ.ر . دولت كېنك ايسته خزينته دولت اونك دکمپیدو 1 بر آنور، دوشیونال قومی قوجه برانور ایجون برسند. ایک بوجوق میلیون لرا محصصات مستوردي امراق ابتك ه ماغه موله شاهاه داغیتین برایشیدر ۱ ها. مؤاخذیه دکرمی؟ اوسلطته پوسفاهت چوق كوديليرى الخالدر وازبويله قدوي ببليد هېکمز ايچون اوقهرماند. نددې ، يرکيجه ایجنده بیل بی برطی ف طویه دینی کی کندی، كبربلوة فاسبادميء أذربا بجادميء تركسانهم كېنېدى، سراغ، چنتلكارغ، ملكارغ،طېنى كېنىدى، سراغ، چنتلكارغ، ملكارغ،طېنى كوتور،مز،دى ، ياس يوق، سوكر، ياسانار ، صاوار، (پاشته برچارست، باقار ، از ساندل وركلر ، اوتاره اعلا بكحيك ابدرز ، لكن داوالى انور ميليونلر فى تأسيريركى جيائلاش الغاو آلابادن كدد او آلاباد باسلمادا ورلاده انتدار حاوموتدعىا أوتونديسه إزيقء معماقه بإشاسين أبودلاته ا على كمال

(وبلهام)؛ شرق ساسق او تعدن برى مجز وعدى: حريف عالك ماليدي بوسبولون آووج اعته آاق ، آلمان مستسلكارندن وى وسسته مسوقش ، ایستدیکی کم ادار. ایجك ایستوددی . حق بو امنیه ایجون ایدیکه فوقالده اوله رق كوندرمندي . فقط آلمانيا الجمون تودكارى و تورك ممالكي اوبة دوغريدن دوغرى به اله كجرمك تامسل عكن اواوردی ا آزاده بر واسطه ایستردی ، او واسطه ايسه الور ايدى . بوكابوللون طاسلامي اله كودولى ، پاطبردى اتحاد وترتى جدينى ، اتحاد وترق جستی ایند. بوتون حکومت عنا به ی آلهان سیاسته وام ایندمله قابل ایدی . آرتق بو سيات ويهجه تقرر ايندكعن مسوكر. سرندن الاكوجك ير قردينسه فادار بوتون يعومان ال توجيع بي خصوصية آلمانيـ المانيا ذجل سياسيونى ، خصوصية آلمانيـا فزيارى عرفرمــتده الودى كليشي كورل ، سی اور اد غرف بوق ، بومردطه بوق ایکن ین اورمان دون یون پولوری ولوری ولوری برحریت قهرمانی دینه کوکلره چشاردیار ۶ دولاچینهاده جنبی۶ جنبتک طلت کی، چال كي الد سبوديش اركاني تقديران بوغديل. الكز اوقاداراده اكتفا اغدديار، مادة ، لموةد. طوندبلر . كامل باشبا حكومتك سقوطتعنء بالخاصهانورك حربيه قظارت أوله تاكيانى مىودىدىرى اوتور ددينك دم بوتون انحساد وترقى جمائلتده آذفطر هداو فوص قوجه آلمانيا واردى. حرب مموم باشلادقدن موكره بو آلمانيا قوق بوتون حركتار بزد. اودرجه كندى كوستردىكه حكومت عيانيه ماديا (راين) لا فرمايري ايدي. بوسال صولا ومالوءه الغباق مربتك انحلاكه أشبحلاكه قامار موام ايلهدى .

و صباع برایی ایران مرکمی استاسون کیشمو، کودرم چکان مرکمی استاسون بر هاچ واشون ، نقط واشونزای اوزرنده (عل وروده) اولق اوزره : انورالاه ؛ بازیل ، دیتك آثانز عاقدهانیه مالفانوره بیروز .

تهكوغره فالدق التاق خازي حتكار ا

رمادی ، جونکه آلمانیان ، باخام قمر

بوخير إي اوزمان بياء ميچ تعجه دوشو.

ابتت بوحنيفتاره آكاء اولسالمغاردركه توركلرى جهلاحربته كاربشمشء كا يشدقدن سوكرمده وومء ارمني و هرب وسائره خطاي فبيلرى ارتكاب من اولتهموا غدراره چونکه آلمانلرك انور وجعبت واسطه سبغ بوعلكتك ادارسني او التسارده له مرتب قبلسة تسرقه كميردكلوفى و بودمير ال أيله پارتساهندن التكويتك بو تغرينه قادار بوتون تورکلری ایسته دکاری طرفه نهانسیافیز به سوروکله دکار ی بیلیزار ، آمام زملنا متاری وقود تونج دوردد باشامادن ، افسانله زى بوعادق ، آكلامادق ، فنط سودوندك ، نبالات کی ، حیوامات کی حسبز، ادادسز برْحیات کمبرداد . آذنجق وأغزه ، وجداعز. اتباها فسفانه جق اولساق السزد. آنسسار صابيعي وطوقاقه آلمانارك حمشه ومرخله بإفش و ساشرلاعتي فذعين برطوبوز دوار ه دورردى. بنيتر ماخل عون وسبه آراودى. عثينة الويله ومملكشه عيانل افليمي م

تودلا أيلى وباعماك عيامه ديمك آدلق جاز دكلدى . الطباق حق ديكمز ، الاسا ا تترل من السا ديكز، مدرسه كر ديكر، آلمانار ملكمزك خلق عنوانى بولماردى: الورلادا طلبه عرفان و حکرت ، سیاست ، حق مسكراك كأت عرمورتعن عروم أواديق ساله كسادقك طالمك بويه حوصهيه خياله سينساز جلو الربنه و بالمفتارينه ابون ، سنارين وى وكرد سلايكه طبائه قاجش وكردده

Zalimler, Mazlumlar (Opressors, Opressed Ones)

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

ظالملرء مظلوملر

جبقاد لسين.. توركالت بوغ فالى برشساسهدن قورتا لينء ناحق رد برده بوبوزهن مفدور او ٿانيان ۽

فقط اعان کرانمزدن بعضاری بو درجه ساده وحققىء هرووز الجوز مرمر وطفان برتورلو اهداك أيتمبو زلوبه وارضارده توركلوه ظلم فعويلومي في تودكلوده منسود وكليداراء ديه مستهنى جبركين بر مورنده مشالطهم بوغبودتي مخابر ء بإنسا حضرتلرى ا ادمنيتر تودکوه بوبه ظلم ایتهدیلر ، ارمی مستد اعطیاری ، ارمی ناطرازی، ارمی والیاری ، اومني مأمودلوى وسها ومتفعآ ولايت ولايت الوركلرى لهجير ايقامه راقره عراق اوو لريت . سودهادیار ، مسودرکید. بوالرد، غدارانه اللاف السدير مدديل ، آكلان يكرم ا سز توركلرى احق يربنه فوإرق، ساخه برحيته فساخته برميانيرورات ابله فلبأ ابتساعادينكر وموذلوى مويلووه حالااويار بالكره خاميكره مملكريكز أنوره خنت ، جمال جلادار في آتسمن آلته معاقمة بالباليورسكوء فقط وملى حققة سوسابديكز بادوشوفسابديكوء او خیرسز ، او ادیسز ، او یوزسز آلچاقل ملوتارجه تورك دلاورارش مدود بوبارنده أحلقدن هلائ ايدراء اوردوتك قوت لاعوتنه وارعمه ةداد بوتون ملك فتصنى جالارتركي سكزى جيتساد ومبكوء هيج اولمارسه وعقاكمو دن سس جيقاراند مخالفت بريتهمظاهرت ايدوديكزه مادامكه اوزمانا وبوبوكلكي كوسترم مادیکو مشددی و کوچوکلکدن واز کمکو ، الله ايجون اولسون مدوسته دشمته فارش سوسكز . سراده اوراقدن وإقبسناخ ككزله مهو حايدودلوك بودولته بإيدقلرى فنسالغنرى عكن مرتبه تصبر اغك استهيناره انكل اولايكرء وركارك ووركلكك حق بوبة مداف ايدلو. بومق آعوق داماد فريد بإشاف موباديكي اوتجيبه اويليغ سوذلوله تجلى ايدر ء حقيقة بإنناى مشارات بووطني جدأ سون وقور ادمني ايستهن وتون ودكلرك فكرمنه بامنه حدايستعاة ترجار اولدىءاودرجعد كاكثر يتهاعيان كرامك الاسيعي القيشاري بحق قاراسيء اوكرس سلادن اوقبينان اعون بوكون مريدتك لازمسه بان مسعود او سورهم اوقان وسویادی احتفام اوبه این کرکار، سوک شکل مردودینه کوره اتحاد و ترقی بوطك ايجون، بومن ايجون دنوع (الشويق) لكند. او آفتدن بوديارى توسيو تورقو زارمق، پانگتر وركراؤدكلء يوتون مالم مدينك وظيفمسيدو المان او درد اودرجه بوبوکترکه اوله اولاق خت تدبيرار ايه نداوی ايدخمز. بوينه خارق العاده الإشار الجون خارق العاده واسطهاراليستر. وده خرب براً کلایش وار : ارمنیار. قارش ابقاع ايديلن حسراهار المبر ايدارين دينجه كوبا وركارك علينده سوذسوبة ليودمش کې کالايبودزه لکن دوشوغودزکه بويه پر حركته اساق اوذريمزه سيجراتيو وذء فاتقرك حاباری کی کورونیووز ، حال ہوکہ حقیقہ تورك ملتنت آلني آجبقء يوزى باكدر، وقوم اللازوى كيسميه ظلاايقمش، فتطام كسين جفاكور متدوماودرجه د.كه اسان حاليه : بالا بیك تورلو شكوی خاطر دورآنباعد. اومظلوم كه من فریاده جرأن بوق اساند.

درء حكومت ديدكلرى صالفيك الاسبه داغا قرانی اولنسدو ، آواده و بو منبتاری سويهممميدك اوجنايتارى ايتهينارى بدائه چيقارمنه جاليشهاسەيدق بو سغرده اوبه اوا جندى ، اوجبركين لكه يوثون بوساف ملته سورية جكدي. عليه سورية جكدي.

اجد وضا بك الدينك اولكي كون مجلى بباليو وزه با. الأبووزك حقيق جانيل اودايه اغيانه وردكلرى تترو الحميت وستعجليت اعتساریه عامة عدل وحقك بر خطاب د بنی دیکدی . ز اوم بودز ، عدالفزد. او و بر ر ، الايلة لولونجه ستعاردن رى يوافليدن آذاقى ایکه ن خالوماری استامی ، زمان آله جنز ۲ خلا عدالتىدە ، انسسانچىدە بوزېز. قارش استخفاق ايدن فاطارك جزاستىد. كاسل ورميكزة جمرم ، برمندس وظيفاري اينا ايدمن سلادولت وملت اعتباريه حبآه والوداع و دیلی ز . دانما تکرار ابتدبکار بو حقیقتارک قومتن أمله برتودلو جيفامادينني حليق وطنيرور احد رضا بك الدى بوبوك و تأوله كو وذكارى الجون اوتقررى وريبودلر .

يو مناسبته اوتجلس عاليده جربان ايدن مذاكره ، أعيران كرامدن بعدًا ينك سويلد دکاری موزار آوی آوی نظردتی جالبدر . اول امرده شدو جهق خاطر لأعن ايسترركة يبوث اولسون ، اعالدن اوت. ون ، ملك وحليل المدوى عظرى الرسيد وسع وكيلرى كانة عماشو حبت مطلب دار ا آوتق اتحاد وترقى دورند، دكلر . علكتمزك اطرافندن اوسور مين قائدي . حهان مدينه دومريدن دوغري، تاسدوز . حي اشتلاف قوتلرىء معالاسف دشمن سنتيه، إي تمنعز. كرديار، بزدن يسم حسابار ايت مك وسودمن اوزرمدول . اوبه اولوغه زمان مهوداه اولين كي، مبوكان واعسان ، فرقه غوشه موزمويار ماد بادله الماميرك الكنز. و وله فالق اغنى اولورز .

بوكون كونش كى مدانده بديم ، ا كاد اولونهماز برفاجه. وفلاك وار: سبد علم المتاوطلعت إتبا حكومتار متك اومليون سنه ارتدن قورتونج رفكر دونا. اود. مردي وسيه الدولاخر إستباتلرى بالخاسه ومسلوى وولامتدن ، ولايته ، ناهريستان جوفريته قادار تهجير ايقك ايدكرده بوقرده وحشيانه سايانه و حوصة بشره ميسازه قرون ضعدن بلدوزه موسو بسر میدم ورو کمن بوعمرلود، کوده است و طرود. اوادیو تلکه بالکو کنجه ی، او لاکوری دکله سى مدرك جوجتارى، وون قادينا ي ال القطر عادا اختبار فرور اول وعلك وحاصل وارجه مرقى كوكندن فودو تمق ، ود. مكدر.

ماخله فاظرى طلعتبك مركزدن امرار وروه بتارتشكيل ايلو ، ولاينو ، صاديرو ، مرکز خومی معہود دوکتو، بہا شاکر کی ، موقنور كاظم كي ال ديشلي اعضامي مرخص عموص سفتية ارشرومه وطرزوه وسارمه کولار پر د اورار ده حسن تحسین بك د خال من يك كي والبغولة استصارول الوادة ، مذاكر الرجويان أيدو . تيجه او لجيع قال عامل اوية دهشت ووحفارية متطراً، مرتباً، اييدن وكار شدر قو توشق، وماتار دن محسوساً باليوبرنش حايدودار ء قاتلر واسعنه سبنه اجرا اداو ود.

ابت وجنابنارك وفاعل حقيتارى ميدانه جقارلين وشدته جزاره جارد واسين . حکومت، على الحسوم أتحاد وترقى كمي غداد وقهار برحكونه ذر. قادار حلول وغوذارى اولاان وكارك بوشاعتا اختراكرى اولادين آكلاغلين، ديبودز واوية مايودزكاحد وخابك انسدىد. و فكردد: ار، وفكر . خدت ايجدون اوتورى وديودار ، شو. خدوموه عرضابقل زكا بوفعيعار ستال دن رى كاشالك مروفيدر . بوتون اورويا. حر آمرضا اوتارك تفسيلانيه اه زماندر بالتلاهدى، دوردى. زىسومەيتار قرمتىن استفاد. ايه او لکان علىالاطلاق بوتون توركلره مورمكه پالېش.دېل ، شدى برغا

Kanuni Gayr-1 Kanuni (Legal and Illegal)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 28 Kasım 1334 (1918), nr. 10428, s. 1

مستجرات خصوصه متاركهنك مدتى صلحك عقدينه قدردر

مماهدهامه لك مدلى منقضى اوليود - دول مركزية تبعمني ايله عسكر لريك مملكتمزدن لزوم مفارقتارى حندمكي ماده سو بلنازشتاق ايله قطم مناسبات –

آئلاف دواتلري بلنارستانده دول مركزيهدن معدوددر ديبورلو

مالوکانک مدقوء بو کونزد، عنی اولیت دار فازی غرفاند، برطام شابنان نیم ایسکنده . فنارکنک مدقوه علمان همینه بهی عرمین بر زمانه اند اولوینی جندن بینک برابر کمین عانهاشی رودهد یکین عقبه اورم آورناند یک ملاحیتان بر مانه بین عنی ایست کوره، طارکان مدقو، م مانها با اساس علیه اورمداویترو، با شم به بوکونز دورناکه نام عنی ایست عموله ایست کوره دشتها با اساسه نظریه رایکز زبارکانه دورمد دوارد رکه اوده است و ایست و ایس کرینیمی و مسكر المياني الميان المسكن المؤترية المعارية المعادية ومان وارز ان الاول مساور الولاية والعراق فريمينه مي و مسكر الرئيل (مراد فارد الدر الارزية براده و التارين في والارزيمي العمل الرئية الاريمان العربية المعارية ال و هويشيون معارات المقار المراقين و المسكن المعارية و الارامي الموليس رويبه عطط مالاكه الميان و مهام الموالية (مال المقار المراقين و معان وي المالي وال ميان معاركة المحمد المالية الميان المالية الجاهل در - مكون ميان ، ماركه المكاملة العام المياني ومالكرات المالية المراقي الم المالية الجاهل در - مكون ميان ، ماركه المكاملة العام المياني ومالكرات المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية و مال الموالية (مالية المالية الميالية المعان الموالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية الم و مالية الموالية (مالية المراقية المالية الميالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالية المالي

بران المتعدي. التلاف فوسيسولري، وحسكونر الج تبعاني علكتارينه العادياري المجون التنسب العن وسائط تقايمي المحمد عالم من المحمد علي المحمد عالم من المحمد عالم من من المحمد عالم المحمد عالم المحمد عالم المحمد عالم الم التلاف فريمبرلون، بو صكرتر الم تبعانه علكترين بالداري اليون أقضا بانين رساطة تلبان تمارك المدعري نعله وستندويطولاني قرده ميم ترانية فعناند، دياركامندى ديرك مادستند تركيمانان دول مركزية الم قشر تناسيان العنى نعنيده ديكر براماه . ولر ايمي . بر ودل مركزي وتوادارقا الدار المالان درتيزيان باعد الميلكي وشاكس موكري التعامي المواسيس على اليوردند . طويك تهرمزدك الثلاث قربارى بساليه مرايت الهيران، فورك برايس على الميرودند . طويك تهرمزدك الثلاث قربارى بساليه مرايت الهيران، فورك الموالي على وهون الرض علي العزوران ما ملاحيتان وينسون الميل ويلان وقال سيرى موسير فولودهاك علك وهو ماليش علي العزوران ملاحيتان وينسون الميل والي موالي موالي موالي فولودهاك علك الموالي ماليس موسير ماليون الم تعديل الموالي الموالي موالي وقال سيرى موسير فولودهاك علك وهو ماليش مواليا الموالي وقال المالي مركزين والي وقال وقال ميل ويلان الموالي وقال الن الم ماليس مولي موالي المواليس مرايين موالي موالي موالين الموالي وقال الموالي ويلان الموالي وقال عال ایه تابعات میامیانی اعتای میدون میارینده مارونده ا دول می اور به همچنیان بیشن. حلحه گخریه بازستانده اینان از نشده میدون میاریند به کارون در این می در این در این می می چافته هار میدود دو ندن مده بردست شعب افتکاری تا ین اهدارد، علی میکونت ماده میتوکند چافته هار سعی درمی ها و این مادت این او ما میان سیامیمی اطوا یک موافق ایندر استایوله کی موقع سعیدم سعا یک ایا سافرانیت ایک او چ

أطنهنك اشغالى امه واقعدر__

" صلاحتداد وتتبعن ألديعتر تبادياته كورة ألمناتك أأثلاف بمليان حسكريسي طرائدن اشتعالى بر امروكلندر .

اوروپایه هیئت غصوصه کرندریله جکمی :

هوتکی وقامزها بری د منافع میآیایی الثلاب دو این لودنده مداننه ایک انجون بریل دوراندن مرکب برهای فصومه که التراف با هاریزه کوشونه یکی زرمنی اینا هم بوله برهیک اهرامی مکوسته مصور اوله بین اینا بسینیدز

العاشه ناظر وكيلنك استمغاسي – يكي اعاشه ناظرى

الهلنه المقر أوكيل أمقانو بتك استنعاس فبول ابدلش أوبورسا فوسيسرى واشدبك عبنس وكاز قرارته أعلشه انطارتيه لسبن اوالمصدر

طلمت بإشا قابيتهسنده مجلس وكلالك ضبطلرى يوق

او اشازاری ، اوساهد،اری امیان ومبوتان اكتريته تصديق ابتدبارء او اكتربتكه عين زماد. داها، اری ، اری تصدیق اچمریلر ۱ شمدی وطلق و مللی سبون و دوشو ی وجاره دا که يادي و بوعلکتك بات كن بونافلا كندره بوكون خرينةمالية بوبتوشقوه أحادره ازرن شهدا بالدسنكيش اورغروش ساشاری وز،مز ، دوله اوتوز قرق سنه خدمت التمن فر المكارك قون لايوس تدارك ابد من - أوله أيكن مثلا شــو اعتبار على محلس ادفرمستك اركان كي آدامار يوزاوالى ملكك شومغانتدن، شوفلا كتدن فدوسه متأثر اولمادرق جلا فرستدن استفاده الجكء حلا اوباغلى فوبروقنري الدزبرافاسيء حلا لويذبر طولوملرندن بيقمامق إستهميناره قلوبارده حمرارى افتايدنء سرف إرداعيونء خوق ايجون التايل وبالكارارك اواصرادارى آکلارز ، قنط آکلامادیشنز اودرکه کوا بو يتسالرى بتوسو ماستعماللرى طود ديرمق ببالفرض واعتبار عل أخاستك بو تشكيلاتي اساستن بوزمق، مجلس أدارمني متعف اللره توديع ايدرك اكراميه كامنه اوامير اقلره خاكه يكسك غير فأتوق أعشء اوبهمها

خلاصه شندىيه كادار أد شر ايشادكينه کانهٔ تانوق د شددیدن سؤکره اجزی برخیر المسجعك لاذم كليرسه غير فانوفىء بوالمنسك داها کسـدیرمه بولی وار : بو علکتی بویه بالجرمق يك مشروع، يكفاتو فراعش، شدى قورة مق جارمار في قرامق ايسه غيرة لوسدر. توركده، تودكلكد، بوله دحركستن داما زیاد**. ا**هامنه، سوء قصب اولورمی: وطنمز ّی و و استقلا المحله ایستان دخستاریز. به آوتق مسوبله مکه دیر واور. علی کمال

. هب مخرمز امیاندن طویجی فریغ ا مل دها بقد عب طور دی مانیک طریق کری طردها بقا حضر طریق دو رکی انافن، موان برده آمدهمه نصرمایت کورمادی , چرتکه ارس وابوری مطابق مصوحت کو خط قط اری برنگشن اودادارگراز ، آبرامدوسیسی برهاده مشاه اولیف ایمون بر به مازاهذیه داری قور اسن مشاهر مقامترده شیدارش ایم امیان کو اسن ناپادر اعلام نیرانی از مرابع امیان کردن بعد بردان ایرانی افزار مرابع اعالی کرد کراد آور و کراد آمداد دردی ایش سیل ندرت مسافر دیرانی میکورد او مینانی سوز قرینی مسافر دیرانی بالایمان خانیدامیز دورمدان ایرانی دادا کرم ایرانیکارد ما اینا معراریانه و ایرانی دادا کرم ایرانیکارد ما اینا معراریانه معرفی ایرانی مینوان .

قانوني وغير قانوني

الوزاركة فللتزلاء داما يبلم كبارك فالفيهوك متلاليك آدجده وومارك وارشيارك آلمن آله مولايل فادل جوو درك ماضر. يوبه غصب ايدلش مدرجه ماقرىء طكارى وادسه ساجي عادل يكلرك ء احد باشسارك ، انود باسارك وساد . نك عدد ار ند . ك جفتل كار دن إنلامرق أونارى استرداد وصاحب حقيقيارينه اعاده الجلاء سوكرمده بويله معظم بردعواقك ايجاب أبهديني أحكام هدلى شدته وسرء له موقع احراء قويق غير قانوى اعنى ، إداش ياواشء فامسار اومالرىكوذغه معتما تسيناره او ملکری الدن اله کیرسینوء مصرف اولی کودن انسان اولستونار ، حاصل ، احتوال موجلي له استرداد ، عاد ما ميلون الاد عكن اولسنون . . ايت الوفى تطبيعه إرج

إملاق اوزمان كالتبشيرز . ت او انماج حايدودارد كليدو كممواددوت بوچوق سنه ظرفنده بوتملکتی دون بوزکسور مليوذليرا ورجمسو قدياره تخصصات ستور وساؤه دولابلرية توميلغ مطينك بوبوك والسمق الوماء تصال ابتدباره بالذات اواردياره ومكله اكثقا ابتديلء مركز عمومىءامناني جميق وسار كومسبله بجاره خلق علنآ سويديلره فنبره فترالك برلتسه اكمك تهه كوز ويكديلونه باغري اويديل م ميليسونلو ساحي اولدبار . . بوادتكابلو ، بوادتشبال ، جافيرجعلى وحث اوقوتان بوشدوتلر بوتون الولون تاوق اعتىء الخط برسادود للسارى اللنوك ويستلوىء ساجلري اوزاندي و فوالرى مساللابدق إى تختك سبوةفترنده سلاكاه إلى وكاه آواباري والوتوموليقريه کلی کور ، و مری کولی ایل ، حاک آن آنان ، تا امویم، و مولاما بالقارب فاجربلان او مبلونارك حسابق اولدن متورمق سماحليء ملتك بودرجه حبار مىزجەت، اختلاص ايدىلى او پارىلرنى كرى آلەرقى خزىنەبەم شوطام خاتېر قالش خزىنەيە مال أيمك، معاذاته، غير قانون. والحذر ..

اوسفيلو. او دودغونج تر بالكر بالذات موينه وورمته كالازردي. اوزاقدن وإقتعن بو وزياردا فيلر فيءَ سَق بولون دالقادودار في طيعا يته ملتك كيسمندن بيكرجه البرألوله شادكام فالاداردى، صرف وله رقصد، غدمت ایجون او بر نوع اون ایکیل دیسی ، حرب هبدالله بإشسانك متسانلي خلق طلمت اوجاق غيرتية باغه دربه اعتباد مل دولات. قود دى، وفروبا فانك مساسط من رقسني زوالي احالمز ماويوته وسيقا يلداوله ما تيمه بعير أطو توشد بردىء طو وشديرامادقلو فى خربناجه صانين آغدىء باخدك حلى اداد وشد وزد اوريش كي وتبالك لعينها وكوشفة كواروامت وآذملان اي، آيرندقندن سوكر، ريس واعضا منتيه حدين جاهدون توقيق كه وارعبه قادارتو نوع ماي ماليه لرقدن جهانده خواري اوالان ال كوذدده الذالى بإداقل إددا فيلرى تسين إبتدى و تفوذحكوش قوللا مرق ماغه ورمددات اشباره كوسترتهدك استفاده واقادى ... طيع يوامتيازار ، وأسفادار علكتلنده اعالتكء المالسز جهمته شروينه ايدى ، فقط اه حكمى وار ، کچن سنه بو اعتبسار ملی اولا مجلس ادار. شده حسين خاهده ۵ ۲۸۰ لنراء مدبر. بنه اوقاداره كاسأ اعضادن خربريته دوقتو كاطسك فأتم يدوينه وابتان إشازاده محوديكه كبار زاده وه داعا بلسم کسه ۳۹٬۰۰ لیزا اکرامیه ویژدیء واسه يعون طامت داها جوق والمجلق اعتره اساساً بوجلس اداره برشوشنداء روسیادن عارندره واخماساران ایتساری تا وظنداری مجدره سودندره فقط آ القاري إزءه إيت كوريبورز ، مدارن سانتنيد. كيور. بوكونه كادار دوام المدن وروكديدة الى ماشا الدتمال موام ايت برمائع كودوكه ين بواخماء يوغصب ونلوته بك مشروعتد، بك قاو سعر. چونكه الحياد. قادتى أوله مساعه الله كوشك تلق العتباد مل بالمتعسستك بونظامناه سنى ، بوتون

لاهلنان موكره طولوب كالدير كي باب مال، هوم القلرى ، تلظم بإشساء يادو سليان توقيقة كالمنوساتره كوالى آياتى باغل معصوملرى خاشباته اواد رمارى ، كامل بلتسا حكومتني مورملوی ظاهر یك قانون اعش . جونكم مدى بوينايتك على و معروف فاعلر أي كمدّب الجلث، مثلا أورى. وا، عباباً اولسون، عكوم المك غير فاوى عد اولونيور. محود شوك إشابك فنلى متعاقب يجاره فلطد صالح بإشابه وازتجهيه قادار اوسبسايته اسلا اشتراك اوللان برجوق مصومارا آسلىلرى، ھە بورىيە ايە كىكى بىكارجە اولاد وطنان کی سورولماری بنه خابت قاری ایش ، چونکه فساحتاری ابتاع ابدناری ، بللرىء بدويلرىء مزميلوى سززا ومرقيا الجردق، در ، قادار مسول بينه طوعادق .

-سابق حاحله کاظری فس بای افدی او بار تديلوني فاتون نامته له دوجه محسابت ايقك عکن ایسه ایندی. 4 الحد متصودر از دی د.، يبونكم بودم او سأسلو ساحل سلاهد،دولر ، قار ارکد، تاونیز ظارکده مر مالده خر ای تستلرندن والدي فور تارديل وإساداتهاشته توداد اواديدي غير فاتوى اواوددي ..

اينه بوجال، بدری، مزم کي شن يىپ بوچى، بىدى، مۇمى ئې ئىلىم ، ئىكر، ئاتلىر بولەت لرجە بوطالسىز ملكىم ئەتلىك استبنادایه سلطت سوردکمن، بیکلر جالبال فازاردقدن موکرد شسیدی مرابعاً برکوشت المراحة بتكليل وحرك مرس إيتديكيز کی جدا آثرق اوادی ، خط او تراد بایاد غابا اعظمه محكوم ابتعيره كارى مناع الدينار، شرف إشار، وشديكار، مادق بكلر، حاسل بروطنك التكزيد. التفداكار خاسلرى: مالا مدال نامته عكوماردكل، ماكارايجون وذل لتكل إدارآم عكومتن فوتو اعادياره وطنارت دومديار ، فالا دورار ، قودتو . لووار غير الول اواورمش ا برد. اون ففأحكء جابتك دوات عادمدره فسيعارى بأيارك المرغدير التعاداد ماموسل المردرون كوده بوبه ايت إراماز و آلندن عارت قالير. يت طلتك ، الوراد ، جاك وبوتون مرکز مومینان سعید علم باندای قوقه کی اسطار به وطود ادفعار و که قوقری ما بعاری ميواجدق وعلك مرتورلو فساني ابتك ه وسايده اولباول جيباري حسايمز آلينارله دولرزمق د سراباره ملکلر د دېدوار صاحي اولق اجون كمسميه سورمادن ، دايشهادن کی ودولی عرب موس آخت ، ناو ک موقري قارق، مسولا درجة قابول اعش ، وسركردولا عوةمندن بندوارتدن تشكل ايتن رجلى مبوكات تمتغانه عتسان الشه اهمت ورمنهزه ال جدى يرتظرله المارد. اوجابارك بوجنابت مظماه ده برجزا كورمه بمكرينه وادلتارىكي فالمز. جولك وعلكتك بووزدن بكدكرت، ازاتام يشاره و اذاله و فما شو سعيد علم باشسا حكومتي هيئيه و اوله ولاجتن دكل ، فنط بدىء فنط حدر اعطىده، ديكر ناظر لرىد. فية عداله لسلم ابدرك مستعق اوادقارى دلكر، طيندرق عاك آك آلق غرةاول 1.1,40

باي بود اولور برديد. داون ديركله ... بنه عبق جاجلوك كوابوبابدقلرى كافيدكل ایش کی او حرب حموم به اشترال مدیددن ماعدا وومارى وارخيارى تهجيرا غلافا جماري إجاد واخساع اخلرى و يزملنك باشتى بزيه ابدى دودار . سازمارى ، ووكلرى نظر كار غن یسه لکاماری هم کاول اینی ، نشد بو ادان بشره سینساز جنابتاری ور. ،

Almanya'nın Başına Gelenler (What befell to Germany)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 16. Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10446, s. 1

ألماتيانك ماشنه كلند كاربخ فالده اشالى بك نادو كوديلير > | بلغادستان به، دولت عيًّا بدايه، حق بو ال-ان بلكميج كردولزا مسحلالدون فلاكتار ودوء الله آلتدوآت برنوع الحاق تأسين الدلندىء اوبها ، وكرد كور اوك كتربكز ، حرب | اوعلكتار الد ديكدى.. فبالحنينة بوحرب عمومري ايغاع ايتمك موميدن اول آلمايا ته ايدي 1 نه يوبوك ير دولت و تورقونج ير قوت ايدى ، والكز الجون آلمانها اليجون داها مساعد بردم ، داها ملطت ع حکومت اعتباد به دکل ، ملتجه ع الاق رفر مت اوله مازدی.. (وبه) مکونی قدرت طبه جلاه او به ابدىء آلمالياديند بجدى؟ صريستانه اعلان حرب ابدر ابتر ، روسيه د. میدانتوم نادمهم، دستور ی جروك (فر مدریق) ایشه قاریت بر قاریتهاد آلمان اور دولری ملج دار. فل وي هراطته ، هر حركته فايه انجاذ الجش . با مدق فرانسه به بورومك ايجون امر آلديل. اوزمان حركست برقناعت إواردى وقرائسته ومكمل قصوه اوقصرك اظراري ، رياس آلتدوبان وكليه، عثت وكلاسيه ، اعاليه، ایک جهده از په جکدی . آلمانلو بش اون ميوكانية، اومتدروستول امول مشروط مه كون ايجنسه (بارس) در ايديار ، اقط اول وحكومت د موكردد قعاليتيه ، سبد تبانيه ، امرده انكله ملك بيطرف فالمسايدق حربه كاريشمسي وارجامنداري ولادوديءاويه أيشدهنه باصراديله ايجادارية داختراعلرياء قوداذ بردولت اوجمارتي ترمدن آلهرق عليها ومتاييه جهاته وادورو و ملته غشاه اوادقدد وملة مسلحه، عسكر لكه، داستان بوتهلکه بوید آتیلیوردی . درجهٔ تابعد، - ومن الغريمي سواغال آلمان اوردولري تخدين ظفرارية بالى دعشتل د جيرتار . دو شو رمش و ابداديك كي مظفراته بلجيفاو قراغسه استحكامارى ملن معظمة خاطر مكايرهي ودولك الدبول ايتى كوجى اوملتى حربه حاضرلامق وابلك قرمتده رموا ابدرك (مارن) قبيلريت ، (بارس) كاليلزينه فاداز داباهيلون ليكن دابابرداباعازده سوق ایتك ایدی و مرشیدن اول قصر پر سردار، ال كوجوك وآلمازده عسكر ايدى. عان عمان منهزمانه وجعت البنديلز. بوايكي عادته آلمانيسالك بوجهان حربندن قولاى قولاى بوتول اورواترق، اللى مندن وى اوسردادك، مظتر بيقاجتهدار مرطرفيه بسه تاعتادي مسكرك سلاح شاقيرديلريد وولاو ، حي تزردىء إعراطودكند فراودرجه وككرده صارصدی . آرقق اوندن صوکر مدرت منه مارياً بومادميني آوندي ، اكسلمدي . كودور عاوية براسان قوللانودى كه المهاشاك نهایت تیجه مسوکوردیکمز کمی آلمانیانک تام متخب قول ماليار ، علكتي وملتوده بويه برالهام السي أيله اماره ابتدبك قامل اولوره رامسمعلاله منجر اولدى ؛ فيا عون ؛ اوقدرت معظمةك جرائحلالته شنبو ظاهرى وتوع لايخطيك طاسلادديء اهال ايسه و سيلوكافي دكل ١ ، الكر ادتار. البلج اكثبت كل اله وندره وون اكردىء طوماً ، أكرَّعناً ومجبود في حس ابلردي . آلمانيا مغلوب اولمامق م بويله فنا برمسورتده داغلىلىق كركدى ء يرجىمە او يوكسك بنا ايجنىدى كېزلى كېزلى برجودوكلىكى م ايت آلمائيا بوله وآلمانيا ايدىء بوعظتده وسطوك ودولك مرماتك الحلاقية ذوال وقوفاني محتوى أيدى . اول باول قيصرك هیچ بر خیساله میشازدی ، مانسید، حیج او اقدار مسلسه، علكته وملته اوحيَّيه كورولمصدى . خط استالا . كورولك برابر شخصته ورديكي اوامت ، و وع ماليده يوق بلن اولو توردى روحايته فاريشان اوحالت روحيه غيرطيبي ، شدى درىسنە بى آى ادليود:. آوسزو كولونجه بوعصرك تغيناتى لمظر اعتباره آ لننجه وجارتنا للحر بستان إيه اوسر وف مناقشهست مدخول دكميدى المن حيث الجموع يرانسان راين حكومتي آراديني فرحتي بوادي. آلمانل ایکن اعراطود بوند دردود. دفیده نامسل ديشار بتكاداد سلاحلا غشارهى. قيصر حاضره. اوغربب ادعاره فالنيشه يلودي ا اداره وله ول عيد ساشر و مل ساشر ايديء منتقده تأثيري اوا سەيدىء بوادغارك حكمي بوقدى ء واددى ، خربه وشرقه ، مرطرقه بردن عوم بوادمار كه روسيا تحكم عسكريني تولد ايدولا آلماللي يردرجه دها بوكساندك ، اللبوددىء اينته بوحرب حموميده جهان كدني آلايان ووافت ومتلا يكعن مستملكاره بوبحكم يبقدودىء بلجيقاتك باشتكلى كودونجه مظهر ، اورويه بوسبوتون حاكم قيلق ذمانى 1.1.5 آمريشابه وارتجب به قاداد جرمتندن ملت يولا (فرمدرين) ك اخلافه اك إدلاق دوشو دىء شايد آلمان مظفر اولورسه اوتحكم بق هايدي 1 اولا خزينة دولق آتوكه مسكري يوذهن جكاجكي كرد اوكنه لباب بولوندرمق ، دكم ا آلاب اجه كيردى ممادة اولامانجه مسآ اللاف دولتارمه اوجوندن والعدى ، حبج بر دولند. كودو . باغلاندی . برکره بوینه اوادمی ، اوللدمی ، له في وخزينة حرب حاضر لاعتسادي . كانياً آلاب الجون استحلال محتق ايدى، محاربه منظم پراوردوبه مال اولق ، اومه واردی ء رقع منه داها اوزاسایدی به بانغه باشته آلان اوردوسيه بوى اولجنك بالقه مانك قومل بدانه آ بلداردی ، تبجه بنه بویه اوردونک هدی ایدی و کاتا فرمتی و به او اولو دمې . ز قر الاتوالجه تلاقال جاز رقابه بكرون ... تعمرىد. ولى عدىد، واون آلمارل قرمتى او پرتيلدن باقلامق، اوباد، اوادى . يده بوقلا كته اوغرامان بوعصر الساجلك، ودود تعاليتك زوح تزييبة استزاج ايدسهين حقيقة فرالسه أويتمز توكنبز داخل فاء اومنلق ، اوكهنه ، اوفودفونج روحلريد. . فاريةموك درجه فنف الجنده ايدى باوددوجه فا بارملنلدى وارك شهانتى حابع اختدى.

يشربت ايجون فكر ، حقادتى وغامودكه ولو آدم آدم اول د. جهان او کا پانلاشتد،در. ايرلاها وساقره فايتوفريه يك ذياده مشغول حابوكه قوت ، حسولق الربهايه السائلري اوتابدن اورائلاشدومنه ، مرته سيه، مرته اولين ايجون بويد باودوا مرمته كريته يلر منفته منى اولورسه اولسون ، موقق اولهماذ. يرطله دكادىء آوسترو ابه برابر اوادنجه ووسيعلى الملتده فولايدى و ذاكاً بالقانلرده المت اساساً آلمانياتي ازن بواولدى .. بزادها

هر حالده الوياد مساليليوددى ۽ انگلتره ايسـه

اوزره اعلام خاصل اولیندن بحد بروجه ای پیانتمه بوانیده زاد حکومت منطب نه بروجه ای پارسه واورادناوندوه کیده بکم بوزیوترینمدم مکمن حده ایدان اولیان ساوت خارجاییدن طولاق ريس جهوره وبثون فرانسهم عرض انكر افکنو به تعکموده میم روارد. انای ، ترید مهدماه توب این ون شکرای لولوکیم بقدی، پرلی اناکسیامنده ولیس جهور، موسوو پلیوق خى ويارت ابدسبكني سوالص وعلاوة مقال مؤبيتان اعاليينك فراضايه للرابي مديون شكران اولینی تکرار ارانی و حربان صفیمی ساسیتیاد ظهره این بتون مساکل مانده مؤانلز آرمسنده والتلاف تامعامل اولمي لزومني درميان المتدر. قورفوده صريتتان ايتده كظامرات

آت ۱۴ کانون اول (م. آ) _ فودنودن اشار اوليورة مربستان ريس نغارى باسيع جهارشبه كولى فودفويه مواسقت ارقش وجلس مؤ باميله بالجله مؤسسان وجبيت كالأرى واعيالي طرفندن كال حرارته تارثيلاً فقدر، موسير ياسيم. اهالينادفوق النادم آفيشاري آرمينده نال حكومت سرابنه عربت ايدرك همنلف جمعت وا تطري تزدينه قبول الجنني ومتعاقبا خنده اظهار ایدان بار ومنبعی حسن الوقان مولا درجه متبسس اوقینی باند اواله کششدر ، پرنس الكاندره سرب حكوت واردرسي جيلا المنابع المراجعين المراجع والمركزيني المنابع الايتيار اجرا الماشانية، وتسارهم برابر الرقاني علمه وهو الملاوتوميتامي الضارف وروديه النظار المكدمدوق

سلسلوداغوك اشغال ابتدكلرى شهرار لسنيدام ١٠ كاتون اول (م. ٦) - وبالحدن بلورغبك كوره ووشاجوع وعوتياع وعراوته ادلعنو. شیر آری به .. امارو افر طرفندن اشنال

ائتلاف حكومتلوى وماويرا

برلین ۱۰ کانون اول (۲٫۱) - باوبرازئیس وكلانى الثلاف مكومترى مرخدلون قولاً إغتان. مون الهاد الثلاث الكرماري إنه الرلاقات باليقديمنه دائر برشايمه دوران ابديور التجيو وزكه المتلاف دولتلركمه فوته، حقسترلفه عايللر هيج و ذمان وافع أولمادي . اوبله و محاكه الرغدد و حلقاده خدد و لكن هر دولده، هرماند، برغاية أمال واددركه و وزيد بكر فإطرك اوسنتنددره مثلا برآغائيساقء يرده فرانس بي، انكلتر، ي ، آمريتا ي كوَّر اوكته كبريكوء وفاديده ماهبت حقيقيسي تشرع الهديكمز آلمان فايعسى بودولتتركك مشابه طوايلرمديكز احق لإنعاق سوادت ه فرانستك والكثريك وحله آمرمانك ال بوكمك، الد قوى، ال سودكلي اعلري تبدن طرناغه سلاحلاندق محارمه حاصرلا تقدعي عبادت ايدى ٢ يوقسه بوحاضرلقار محضا مناسقتن الجون شروري ايكني دجند کلید الدیشاردی.دی بود اولونجه ، بوشنیت بوسيوتون تظاهى ايدنجه مدتى عللك التلاقدن طرقه جشمني يك طيعي واوساعه بله يوكون

كوزديكمز الميجهده ضرورى ايدى ا معمافيه آلمال ملق اساساً كوربوز ، قوى، جهاه کرک صالت اولدینی ایجون بو مسیدنه اعد صارصلير ، فنط جوق كمددن باني دوغريلتير ، ينه طالك بوبوك بر ملنى اولور ، آعة الكيفايعمني وكشدير ومسيا مدمر بدن ضربدن. قيرمقدن ، دوكمكدن باشقه برمتمد تعقب ایلی حکومتار . مظهر اولود ، او بد بر يوزنده وقدرت الميهنك مرخص عد ايدن فيصرفوه آزتق يبلادي تسليم ايتمز ا ووحني او آخر علاقاردن تغربه ايلر ، ساسل کند بی قور ار و .

بوبه اواديق ايجون بر آلماسالك بات كالتردن ذياده بالمعزه كالدى دوشمو تلورز م عجبا او قاداد جق اولمون ، ادرا كرقاله عي 2 شوكيرديكنوا قودقوع استعاذلودن مسوكره كور، بكز . علىكال

İtilaf Devletleri Ve Türkler (Entente Powers and Turks)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 23 Aralık 1334 (1918), nr. 10453, s. 1

ائتلاف دولتلرى وتوركلر وكون وحفيتندك وحرب موصارع مظهر قيهدن بالناعق ايستيودلوسه مولن عاليه

مالد یکی زموده مدور عدالت. مورحتایت: م ایجون دماو بداینی مجبود شدمدداره بو مجبود ی محمود مسالت ، معدر مسکز مدیکنر ، مرحد م

بيليرزكه ملتب بوغلاج بولتعد لدشاه مقمرده طيتيرور يمزك هاطفت دلانتارندن بوبوك اميدلر يسهمكدون مثلا يوملكك مخلف عنصرارينه فارش او التلافء سبسی وجدی ارالتلاف مياسقه محد خانسادس حفر تارى فاداراهميت وبربر برخانا نمز کودولادی، بوار معلایه اقتقا ابدیکه توفق پاننا حکومتی بودادید. بردرجه داه؛ ايلري كدر ، دوار ده غير مسلسلر ، سقارى وخدمتارى تسبتنده موضاره مأمود يتار تخصيص ايلرء حتى هيئت وكلاده بيله اوغلردن بردكل، فنط وقاع أنفر بواوندورسه حم دولتكيس داهما سرعته ، داها انتظمام اله بودير : هرده صولاستهارك بالترض هرداؤ وداونلرى پالالزام جِقارمق کې حسرلفارۍ بردرجه لسبر ايدلش اولود. بجون ساقلامل يز ا يوكون اوعنعرار زدن جنلب، حق متير، بحق متير هزاره فقط بوسياست التلاقده خارجه وداخلةارش خلوص فكر وجمزى البانا درك اوبدقودي سور فدقل، اقبال به البات إ درك اوا مشاي د.. اواغيرارىد. كمدمك الزدمدو . آنجاق بز هر ایش وارم ، کانس کورمان مادیزی بر بإرجه وكبشدوعلى و عزم اينديكمز بركارى حسن قيجددا ويتدرمك خسلت تازمنى كتسل ابتل ز. الم خلاصه ودانشر فك وكوشه معمر اردن

وى رفعتس ماخى ومزرت ساحي وويوك قومدر ، دولتر ، دول مثاب إل آل

ایسه آوراد قومی بر قطر مسرقه کوروز وکورملدرده ۱ جوشکا قوم اعتباریه تورکل ک موراردن وى ميله دكلرى النلاف مولتارينك بوافليده بإبق ايت دكارينه كاملأ مطابقه . فالمنته ودولتارك مراملى ددة وعسرك احسابالرید مثاب رمیورد. حوکی : وظیفاری کذیر ایار ، ایندستان مرعمر، حقحاتي، حقانكشاني خالمانه بخترابدر، الملاقك خلاجى وداخل بعثاري ، جنايتاري تغلید اغلنشویه دورسون، نسبر. وار قوتیه چایشبر و تورك حكومی تأسینه م مسورته اولورساولسون، ازديم اغك دكى سينعرى صاف اوللياتلر استتنا أيدبله جبان أولورارسه بادشاه مادلزدن الذكو سواد بركوبيل به والوعيم. قادار حسانكي تورك واردركه بويله بر لسب مظهر قمزى الاستعممين . اما دبنيه بيليركه ا اللاق دوللري هر علكتك امور داخل. سبله بودوجه اوغراشامادتره بومرتبعتسوس ايشاريو. قاريت مازار ، ز يوفكرد. دكلز . جوئكم بودولتغ يركر مالعرض روسيعاحوالني

نوطرزه دوزانیکه مجبوردرای برده ایسه اوقادار ایلری کیسکه حلبت يه قء بالقرض ادارة سابقه اللائل كالدقاري ادارة لاحدمزة التلاف دولسلوى إيسينلر كانيدر و اونار التاق انجون افسا بر حكومته بارديم ايتسديلو ، بونلو ايبلك الجون اي بر حکومتیزه تو مساعد.ده ترونه بلیراز . بو مباعدتك او درجه متكل اوقاطي بيله يك نلن المار و تودکل حرب هومین حسابسز شرولره اوغرادیار و فقط برفاند ودوسترس اوادياركه اود. متدرات اوطهامان ، او هاي الود واقان و ملك باشته ، فلا كتار كه بلد جكني آركق اطرافياه الداك ابخش اولمندر م رکر. شوعط مدادنین ، بش آلاستان مساويتك كوجوك وجوك فاعقرى مدانه چېقسېدار د مستحق اوادقاری جزائره اوفرامینار ، بر ملتك اطلری ، اندیشاری باشمقه برشيكل معين آلير، اوزمان آرتق يو لمو راقد المادو رغنك سولادو سية إستانار. ولمثلق ايتهيلره حكومتدن هيج بر نعيب

قالديني آكلاشيلير . كم بر شو جنهن ده اقتخار ايد عرض ايد.

مىعوثانك فسخى دوم مطبوعاتي بديون

مرم مسبوهما تعابيون دوجه غراط بقس ميوكالخسني كالبنراز: المشارف ومكرونظرى ناما تعويب إيكند اوليز امات فكرونظرى ناما تعويب إيكند الرجه ووجيروني دولين الوالي ومقارد مقادة ازتما ويوركه : كساطر اليوند طرغنى وكساط ايند بوارغي داكراني كان كان كان كان الم ايند بوارغيل داكراني من المالي المت عمل مالا كنز أ ابيسم بووس اولان ومولك بت كل بلا كترة مسبق بولك جلس ميدان آزى مونن اعبار تصنيفتر. كال ونبات حسنى برجوة ومؤلمك واجهان زمان كوكس كركم فيمصو خا اولان مراجهان زمان كوكس كركم فيمصو خان اولان مركب احوال واجهان زمان قائل المصدر مكرت اجوال واجهان الم قائل المصدر مكرت فوارات الم مواح هام وسع المحمكة جلات وفوارت الم مواح هام وسع المحمكة

بر قبان للکبل اید . ورم مای بر میلیون غدر ورمان تیسیر و تر ب وفتل ایداسته ساعه کوسترمش او لان جس میوکان مستحدن طولایی قطیاً سائر دکاند . اون د طااستر وبه غن ایک عماریدن صوکره عرب هری. اشترا کری اعلان و مکرمتانه دو تک جرابند یان واعلان[ولودیزو جهه برقاع شیسات منفت نمومیه وشغیمی اعران دول عو وخراب اغتی اولان علی میوان اوراده مداوند ، کچ ارلسونده کرج فولسون و هنصراردن هیچ برینانه بنونانک کرج فولسون و هنصراردن هیچ برینانه بنونانک ضغتان طولای اظهار تأثر اقت وقد. ترق على حكوم وخيرمدن عراق بريل المجمد ، ترق على مكوم واديني طريق اداريد المجمد ، برده بيرزمني ادوامي طريق اداريد ميري الميمكر ، اليرم بيون تركيني مارير المجمد والادم معلوم مي والمع) مراول من مرا المجمد ومقاله ميروق ، المحاصي وتركيزين ، المحاصي المحاصي وعالم من المحاصي وتركيزين ، المحاصي المحاصي وعالم من المحاصي وتركيزين ، على مرقاي كالم منافق المحاصي وعالم المعاصي وتركيزين ، المحال من بعله العادي ودوار ها متصلي وقال المحال من المعاد على منافق المحاصي وعالم المعاصي وتركيزين ، المحال من معاد مع مراحة من المحاصي وتركيزين ، المحال من محاصي من محاصي المحاصي ومرا والم المحاصي ومراحي المحاصي المحاصي المحاصي المحاصي المحاصي ومراحي من محاصي مرقاي كالم منتخلين المحاصي ومرا من محاصي المحاصي ومراحي محاصي المحاصي المحاصي المحاصي المحاصي ومرا محاصي محاصي محاصي محاصي محاصي المحاصي محاصي المحاصي محاصي المحاصي محا

الهاد وترق جبر وتشيق إلى تشكل اغش اولان بوابتالسز ميت تعريب، دونغناهتباراً منصحد. بوريه تاكهان دكندر، توفيق إشا نابياستك چم التکلفان وی حکومت اید میتوقف اندویان مسامی ابتاری یك مفکوك اوقایی اندان ابتعدی . اهادی سلفات مرادکار انه و مندافت کو سترمش

اولان ومركز هوينك حافتدن وجحاف مبوتاراد تصريك مساعى اغارهن طولاي علكنك يوكون آللد، بولۇندېق تارىخى دوسىكى مىليە اولماياز جلس مېبوگان بىش ئىووويستۇك كاملا يىش مىسرلى قريان ايتۇكلرى كىچ ئوڭ حصه تېبىد ايتكە دوام

قران ایندگری کنے ترک صح تبد اینکه درام ایمیرودی . اکلساب ایمیرو . کریه کوا تهکمه و این زورنه میلو . کریه کوا تهکمه و این پایندی ملو این کو طویاب ده کو دولتری و این میلواد داره خان وستانه ارباع ایداری ایون سیلواه بر برین دینکه کابات اید. مفاخر ايله متجلى، متحيَّز بردولتدر ، عليت وعدالت الديشه يها جهانى مظيم إغاث ايستهن التلاف دولتلرى به اوقومه، به بودولته كارشي رحضراف فالل اوقادل آنجاق برفلاح . وکجان بولی کوسترمان ایسترار. جهاند، مک ورولن وارمیدرکه حیاتند، بر جوق خطسال ارتكاب ايمش اولمسين ء يزده بواعتبار ابنه ء حاصوك دورار دربير جوق خصيرار دربو اوندق الكرياغ تدلك عهدمسة دوش مشامنه وارتشانه وستورقرينه تواغق ايدن بزى محو ايله جزالا. نديرمق دكلء فغط اوتسودار بمزى اذالهاغك الجون جدى وجد مظاهرتمرده بولوعند در بوید بر مظاهرته جاهن و کوکلدن متدار اولمايان ساف برتورك تصور اولو مازمجوتكم استانبولى برطرقه يراقعرق بركره أالمطوليعن کان ایکترا ی دیکامیکر ، ازادن بری اوادین کی حال حاضریمزدن الته زیادہ ایجین انچے یں شكايت إيدن اوباغمرى بأنيق توركد ءاوباغرى وايق آناطولى توركيدكه هنچ بر دودد. بر كوذلكون كورمهدىء داعا دايقاللبارى يتسز توكنيز برهسكراك دددته مدود بوشده اولاغب ين جوالرنده طوراقاره ، توماره كومدىء دائما طاسى، تجرمسى، حق جدّى، جوبوغنى و كى ديدكارى سالغبار. وردى، ماشده اسه بنه او غدار حکومتارك بلاسیه طلك يويد طمن وتشنيمنه كاحق يره معروض قادىء خطالسراك ا على كمال

یکی بر دور آجدی ، شمدی دوانلر ، مالا (١٨١٤ - ١٨١٩) د. كايولتون ما تهسيني سانيا اوليق کې اوبه خمون مايندې غيروه توسيع مله کې احداسار سه يود ه كوجواد حكومتارى سلتارى اذمائهوا وموسنده كزميودل ، ويا. موتر كيرند. ال يوبوك الديده دول متقتمجه فكراستيلا ، لهستاني ، إيتاليان، حرطرف استيلالين. بوكونا تتلاف اولېږي، مېرو د استادده بولوغق کېسه ک خواندن کېز د اخموس لهار کې مندور مليتل عادمًا بر بعث بعدالوته مظهر اوليودلر. يوق م اعتراف التحلية كم جهاند ون اللل بدىيە قادار كورمدويكىز ، يېلىديكىز بر دور آجلى اوزرمدر ، فالحقيقه بو مورك وسيوتون يردور معادت اوا جنه ، ماسينك وأون زكارتدن ، ذكارندن مسون قادجته ، دول مطالك بلثلن بلت دوحاً و سبات د کته مکر به با منالز او من ، لکن جهان فين آرتق او اسكي جركيلكلردن ، کوچوکلکلرندن پر دوجه کادار سیرایر ه نیزهنیر و پن الدول فوندن دیاده حق حکس اجرا ابار د اوداق بر ملك وارلى ، حوق يدوك كامروتك حرص فوحات فربان إملزه ماتيرز ۽ درت بوجوق متحدن جي آنان ، سالاییه توسیوتون دیندین مظلوم ، مصوم کانلری بو اغلاق هنوز حموله کنیرمعریست

الفرلادي واستندز . وساشر للركا الا وعيس باشد آمرها اولديني ملهم يوثون التلاف مولتاريتك شميمه اله اعلان وتنويته فبول الهدكري بليت مستودلرهوه يودسستوداره كوده مول سطبه اوروباده هرماشك ستوقى تأمين ايتكاء انكساف آيسته ورديم المعلك ا الحسه آرسترادن برمادار جهامك بو قسن نظع ، تسبق المحك مكفيقد. اوزرارت آلههار . بو تنظياتي ، يوتنسيناني بو اظيمارك ال مندود ملاری کی تورکلرد. سو مرکدن آلليشاوران فالرائع مدود ومشوش و بخلوط برطبقة ساكدي اورتادن قالدير وسكز بهانده تودك قادار مظاوم بر قوم يك آذ بوتور با مثلا آناطولنناك كوجوك ، يبوك وفردف وكوبليس وآناسى وانديس کور او کنه کتربکز ، مسرارهن دی بر زوالبك حبادن لمبي ندد ا متصل عسكر ورمله ، ورکی و مله ، فسا رکومته مرودو اسبعادي آلتد. ازلك، علاك اولق 1 1150

مشروطيت اولونجيه بو فلاكتارك اوك آلتوه سليليوددىد بالكماخلاب قودى و سوزدن عارث قادي. و دور ادوار ساخه او پوزنلند. رحت اوقوندی. حد حرب حوی بلثلا بالعزوى آناطو لبتكء آناطولى تودكار بتك بكيدكاري كالدي. تورك متمرى عازهان وکندن قودوندی . مرکوی د خرابه موندى. برمطالك، بوقالتارك ة على د. حكو. شود. مرة بلاي اولدين حكوت الكنز. سوزيه الباج اولوتورت وحكوما والزيرهي مستوليد قوانة قوم أولق اقتضا المر . او اد. تودکارىدە ، تورك حكومتىد. بويل يوزاوس واقل، جهان ال وتكاخذ خلي طوعلى وفلايد حمض ايتسديكمز وجه ايه وكسلندك باشداعقء تنسبق وشنطيم ايلمك الجسول اوفراشاط، دكى ا بوبه ير نظريه حرب مومدن اول دولتارجه بلكا قبول اولو مبليردي ، فقط شميدي مثلا مي (ریلسون) له وضع الددیکی او انسانی قاعد. (داموكر،ظناية، وكمنظرات ورآنه بيلسين. الد بر او امتدادد بر که التلاق موللرى ناصل وابستانى يكعن واستقلاله مسراق برحات ابه. مرضوديت وخاكرجوق

75

Capük Hırsız (Agile Thief)

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

ستخبرات خصوصيه

ماليهده مهم بو اجتماع

قدم منسك لغرى

مبرالای رومبونك آملنه تركلوینه پیاناتی

آطنه واليدكى .

آله ولاقي والباكنه ميئنا تغنيف مدير عموميس سجد بكله تبيين ايدنيكي موقوقاً غير آغندس

حربه المقارق لدقبل سبتات توايسبوتجه برزماندن برى ندليق اجدلكما بولدان تدم فسنده أنور بإشا

حاىك خرسز.... . محصلیه سا و سیقتدکا سرب مومی اوقاداد کا تجاریزی شسانترندی و تجادتزی اشلسند ملتواد از بواد شایهان موکازده آلت اوست ایندی و پارسیمزی شوددخان جتك الله جدال الد شيد لرور ولد اولادي ، المدى اول امرد. جبتك ، حكومتك غوذي، تشاكل جهارد ، كل جه آرتارند ، كوباردوه شيرارده وبالجامسه بان كخشوده آجلندن وغداجه يوقلندن و حاصل اكتمادأ قا ، مردود ، ملوث بر ادارمدن اداری . کمکرده اوکان هسکره مهدن بری ، بنایس طرفارتده اوجياده توص توجه رغر تدمزك طاغ کی تقراری، قبرماندی قوت لایوتسز كالدق تدريجاً اوت ۽ آناج نابوش، داها ندر يدكد موكر ، كاسل آ فين آ بن علاك و الهار ا آغلایه آغلابه آکلا و دی . استامولزد. ٥ يته بويد اليم ، لكن كوليدن كول. ه آجاق اجماري اولدي و اكثربته خطك

مدرجه فانلوی مولاندی ، بناری، بکزاری موقدی ا هینزا سار در .

ايت اورارت مان مان طائل جيتاران بوابکی بوبول فلزکتك ال رغی مستوقری أواذم وبسى اساعيل حق باشا ابله انحاد وترق جيئك استانبول مرخص مستولى 81. بكدر. شهود يودلكاولو وتودك خاتانابدي. اوتشلة نظردن ويبوق مزيتاره مالك ايدىء لكن عين ومأند فعاره وحشياته غدار ابدىء مثلا يعنى حرب وشربايه كبرديكي شهرارد. السان كارتدن توفار إهردىء اوخاصافار. مايدى. ابنته ولوازم وشو. اساعل موده إلكز طويالق دكلء اوساعاه قطرت اعتباريه جوده بله بكرد . حريف بركر. او بودالا ، اوشباريق الودى آووجنك اعضه آلدري حريه تظارنتده حروقون اوردوده لاستل قا بغل رفرد اولدي، محكرى، مناق، دعلكى دوشوندى، صرف جالى ، چارينى، مرف آنانوری، آنانورجانی، مرف ارون کې زنکېن اولنې ، باردانمېلر نو.د. زنکېن ایمکی نظر اعتباره آلدی ، اوردی، اوردی، کور برقلیج کی صاف صوله باقادی اوردی، شکر دیدی اوردی ، توتون دیدی اوردی، تجارى تبذئدىء استاف ازدىء خزاى شاق كوتدىء عسكرى علالابتدىء فتطالعافس يعتداولدىء تبات بليوتل ماحياولدىء كونك وتدره باجانى وإدير مق وسيه سيه اوروبا . كدراد او تروت عظمان كوزله باشار. ولتدودىء سوكره اسابوله دوديك وق و آيافي ذاتاً إيماء أو و آيافي .. شكد ايدي . ماركان شماقة عزه إنسا مدارنه كجمه فرحت وفر منددديدى، كواكيز لبعا ود.ساي ويلاديء أورادن درميج تبه يول ، بليو تاريته فاورشدى، لكن او وغالبين كه :

وجايدر أيساكه هاده كر

جهائك مرحكمات نا إنمني قورتار مد

احبالده فلمه وغدره طوال درجد

سويديدى ، زوالى استابول اماليسنك

. واو احتجاب اولسون - 3ى امدى

الم الل ومكت كورمدى الالال

دهواجيسي المهودي الوالين وحاكر

اواكرافك بجاستند تودواساز ، مات بزاسق ولوده ايكنبي تهرمان ، كاداكال بك كلجه حقيالا صاف سويدمل بزء بو آمامجمزده ₹. م حرمی » آزوت استرامی پوئندی • سنی » تهل ء ته اعتسباقل ء ته الملا کنل کورداد : السالدة يوقدى واولماردى ... فنط اود. مثاليف جادردي ، خلق موعاديف

دييه سومبود ، اوطوديبودز ، بلكه ك طازله : والديردي . اول امرد قارا جامل ايدي .

یاد بیک توراد شکری خلل درد آتیانمند. اوسلوم که بن فریاده برآن بوق اساند. وكتاب اوتومندى، ساساتند، امتامارد، هيودذ . اينته يوطالمسز على يرحرب لين اتصادياتين، جهامن نخر ايدي، او به ولته ودرکار. دوشرددی . سامل ، بویشادن ، رار سفر والتاطان اوار میمیسیسی روکن اکمی سفته میسانه میشی و میمیسیردارندن بال می میسیردز. اکسساماً تودکاری وکسکتک و تورکنک و او مینی کچ بوزیک ایرا فازاندی، بیلیپردز. اکسساماً تودکاری وکسکتک و تورکنک از میشار میشار میشار فاراندی موهده موهده خلط ارتبدی و ی مردر بسندی .] عرض ایندیکمز کی و اطرافات عومده

ماله معاور سای موسو ترقی هرف ماله مالین کموری مالی او مرافق یکی ه ندر ناطر عبدالرمز یک ایش ایش این از اعمد. شتو مانکامه عامیة عموم مدیری بربریان و داردان سروی های عام همچنه میر ساوق نشهان مسالات تفصه سروی واقد یکی او اندور. استقباران موقومتر، نظراً جدالات تشاهمه موسو ترفی ایک آمود واصو ان ساندره سایه، مکانی، داش موسود ترقیاره ساوت و برگی ندر امون ماید خدمه آهاد ایستی مازدان مروان مرافق مروان مادون مروان محافی، داش موسود ترقیاره ساوت و برگیود. قوتى آلت ايدرك تاجرارك سللويته كيني ال اوزاهای، سرسی مجرق آباق آت الدی. بوتنلى كودونجه تجار دوحل خارجدن اصيار لادقلوى ماقرى كتر تحديل ء ارك ايفيلو . مملکت اوجیت دل بوبوک پر زیانه اوغرادی . دمانده برجوق والمرقل وقوع مجانس الولديل ۲ کارتمه بعدن قدم همناك ألوى سنده وبرين قرارى ساوى مدينة حرب نظارت تندم قامشدر. چوسکه تجسادت سریست قایدی ، ماهسا بز محدبه كريشمدر اول. ايك اوع أي ظرقند يسلخامسه بلى تختبزه اوزوبلند كلي امتعه واموار - آلمناد. بولنان فرآستریم الایا موسیو (دوسیو) نرک اسرادمن سرک برمیکی دیول ایدوکر مترکل ی یک اسک خلو اداد مانیم درساورز . دون سنتمان بری اختراجه از قرایان بوعینک مسلمان میکرد و ما شعاق برسورشده اسا ایدین مکنه امید وارم به دینشد. كرميه جكدىء لكن ودرجه ساده برحقيق آكلامق نجرن بربارجه تغاء بربارجه مرقل ايستردى

فأبأء مغريرات علوه جادسه تحادي

يباسعون وصودت فانهده بويه كبق مصادره اواوكان مالى هايلدى؟ خاله ميتساز احتكادار اله، کارلُ ابنه ین بوجار. اعالی و ساندی . النكره بولغوده يتزوله فاصوليه والداولوزيب بوتون اوسوارج شرودر نك فيسآت يرمديو. يوذهه بوذه ايكى بوذه بش بوز ابرلاءى د خلق، حد قدرای خلق فنا اذادیلر ، طط قارا کال بك بيكلرجه يوذبيكلرجه ليرالر طويلادى ء الزاندى، الزائيركن، اطراف، عواست بر مودى ايسز ماينزحرغاره وزبكل بنابرا قازاندردى و فقط يوعدكند. بوكونه قادار دوام ابدزه يرتودنو سوغك سلمه والمتكار اوجافنك على فوردى وكلحني ماضرلادىء خالر جعتني تأسيس ايهدىء آبه اوقارا كونلر خاطرار درجعادم وجبت كلوتف غائل بناء اوه د، وي فودولش، حکومتك وارسط ت، قوتته داياعش آسدينى آميود وكسديكي كبوده بالقرض آكاطوليدن وخروشه نهايت ایک خردت آلمی، بوتون وسائط غلیهی اله كجرديكي ايجون فنسمحم الدديكي ولنورى ذاوالى استاليول اهاليسله اور فروشته بادربود وروماسادن كتوميك فاصوله ه آوسرارن جلسابنديكي شكر وساق بجولده داها زياده أوبه بإبيود . اوزمان بواحتكار ، بواعتساق هوز باشلانسجده أولديني أتجون برديك فنا تأثير اختدى . استيداد اسافات بأشنقه استبداداره كبه أد مهاك اواديش کوسترمندی. مثلا سلمان جمد نافیده مست. ايدى فتدبريه فتراى اسك آخزندن غسسى آلمق كى شــناعتلر ، فضاحتلوله السـنيدادين وسواى أيفهمندى ء بالسكس او قترابي أكمرنا دوشو و ددی. مامل، او مالر حدی خاندران يودىكى بك ياقدى ، حتى آالنعن آك شويد فرياداره سه بادى اوادى:

یالاد، بقالر جمین خلق کاسل سویدی ا امالینک فرورقش باغرش برقان داها اویدی.

ویلی جربه برسله، برسوب اعتبا تویدی ته مورشوا استیداده و منو اولوتدیدی : ته مویشکه حب اموازه فنتو اولوتدیردی . قاراكمك بوايك مغالته صروش اولدينمز مسيردارده حربك ابتدالركمه إيداده عنوز فاللريز مولاغامندى ء فقط سوكره داها

آرتق تابسز ، طاقتسز دوشك . شندى فرودی فرود. دش خوی سے وی

اشتراك ابتدكري ايجون اوبوزدن دولت وملت ميليونان ۽ أوت ميليونارجه ايرال شرد ایندی د اوبله دینه بیلیرزکه برقوری قناده بوفكر منتوم مدخما بدىء داوجيت، به اوضاف فونا بديلو ، بوملكن بوكون اقتصادا بالثقه إدمرتيحه اولوره اسعاده هيج وذمان بوقودقونج غلا اوللزدى.

کال بکٹ بو إدفاری اوزمان آچیقدن آبيه برودار بيه ميباواري حرزكون حبت عوصة يديدن يوخمه كاراوك يوعبيب فاذاعلوك رميه كتميك حريفمن مودولس خاطر مده كالديغته كوره اوده جوايا يوتشغوله وركرى فتسابياه ألبندرمواعيون باغداره خر لنار اليعن إيديادجاني سويدمشدىء ايتته بوكون = جابك خرسز اوماحيقاصديروه شل مروقيها أدالهمل واليلاشناهمان والملتدن قودف إدرائها بإبترمه وردن ه علاج هيلند ۽ پر سليوناند. مــداغش ۽ مروجار ، طرفناول يولان سهود شركتاره اختر بوإداراته وطرز فبيعد تأس القار بواداراه ، بوطوز فجيد. تأسس ، الشيكل اينديل - اوتلات المسارية كي ة بيكلوجه فوالاله اويتادغوى الجون ودقارون کمین ، دمال حلال ، فرتن یوزیک ، ایک يوزيك ليرالر يول كيسلان وغف ايدن عونة کرام ، اوبکلر ، اواغالر ، جهان بیلیرکه، قارا کال مهدیسی ظهور اتحدن و بوخنق بوید غداراته مسويونلدن اول ، بركبير بلياته ايه أينقدن فسارى فوكار ء برآلاى فوبوتار ايديار د شددی بر معجزه بايا، بو مرتبة ازوته أوديلو

فقط بحالاذياده متأثرابدن اودركه يوملن ايجون، بوراواتني توركلوا بجونَّ برتودلو بوجه دوليوراء أوحزب مشومك يردهر فيمقاجى آ كديران جمينين فودتونق ممكن اوليور . اون سببه اولیکی اوقوص قوجه سیلیات ا سلطت عاليلان بوكون هرقصة فلردن ذله که مکلید، جان جان جیچ ، سیسة جیچ ا مباياد اويه أقمله اويه أمكيما حيج أا يلكه فاع واردم ابدرسه اليجندن برایک درجسه بوقاری اوله پیلیر . اپنست بوتون بو معينارى باشموء كنون جايار كمتاحلفات، حاسزتنت درجمته باقركا ذره ادارجابتاري اعترف اجك شويدووسون. بالبض ساميارير ، عياريز ايش کې رند رېك ماسيكەر خاقىرق د كىودار. بورونارى ينه دأمهادارهم، حكيلت ايستيو، ار، مايجون ا مقاسى ا مايس الجود ا

جهان حرقمه بان جرغمه بان آزار حرغه ا ينه بوقالر جيئدن ۽ اوکامندن ۽ اواويا . فلادوكم تودكار عاقتمادآ يوكسلنسك وسيوسيه يوسلجيسز طوراقده مسلبان وخري عصرل آرابندك اوأزل منافر تلزك لسكنه

صلع قونغراتمي

وبلسون قواقراضده أدمقاله بولدين پارس ۹ کاون آنی (م ، آ) ـــ نان غرتمی آئیدگ خدی تند (یدیور: دیس جهور موسو ویشونک مام فرقرانـــ نهکی برمنه اشتراغ و محرف های فرمرانی به نوی برمناه اندازان اید بنکی بای سؤاند ، نوبیر و پلسون منع فرمانند به بهور دیش منداه می آمها مهوریت تعدیمی دیش فالای مدینه مانم و انوایی اوزد آبایدکی رسباً بیان اختماد ، ساوم انوایی اوزد آنوایه بهوری (در) احتماد محمد کرده و ایس مهور خيفي وماهمويات تطار دقامتي دخي اشغال المراء

متر ويلسونه بإبا آومنده بلاقات ودما و کانون کاف (م. ۲) ... (بیودناه المود الاعول من وي معرود ولمسور الله المع ويتايا) غرضي ويس جمود ولمسون الج الميا آومسند ولوع بولان ملاقت اطراضه دوران المزووات طفه ديبوركم : دوام إصل ماديته ال بهمیرویی مسلمه میرورد . دوم می مادییان برملاقت اناسنده جدی بر مستابات ما کرمی اسکان وقدر. برملاقات ، وژس جمور ورنسوتک جامع متحدده برلان (۱۹۳) میلیون فاتولیکه ارش پرورد، ایلدیکی سی حرمان ملیم اولدی تاولیله کلیسامی ویسته اجرا ایلدیکی جیدکاراه وذيارتين حبارتيو .

انكلتره فأبينعسنك استخامت لوندو. ۵ کانون تال (۲٫۱) ــ انکلتر فرتمارت بال كورد بأثروكل يكى لابنه تك تعكيده سر ولتق الجون بثون كالمدنك استغاسي طلبا فل خله فرانات منسوب برخیل دوان یک کاردید. انتراغ خصومتده منی ولیرولر .

آرناودلق حكومني

آمته اکانون تالی (م. آ) 💷 مداجلین بیلد بر غیبک انفراً آرادوان کارج، ۲ حاریفاریدیزیدین انفرا آرادوان حکومی پرشین است طریفان م دواج طریفایافرندن فوجه هموی فازانسی اوعدر . موجو (بعرت) ی نفوجه فقارت کمین اوعدر . يغل الشميدية بالشارى ، همد، موفقيته باليشبدى ، فقط توركت الجون له نائد. حاسل اولدی ا هیچ ! اقصاداً بر تسلم کی ا هیات ا تجارفز ، مسایسز حانکی المردمدر ا خريسلاناره بوبوك برخدمتم ماها يولوندي. دوا ژینزدن ، مأمور بناریز دن ، شودای مولتين ، عكسة تيزين وسماريين اونلري كى چيشاردق ، جيفارماريمز اعمارت اقصار طلته كيرديلوء داها إزلاقء داحاكارني موصاره ساحب اوغيغره إز ارتخاب ايتديكنز اوتسير فيول ايقز خطارله فادق ء زاوالي نورك ذاوالى تورك سكا داه آت سه اولى (اقدام) سونلر دوعين جهاد ايداد فراشيركن و متبعلوی شیریند ا دغلت و حافت و جهالت هي نعسية هه ايد اولورسه اولسبون کودینی آجادد، مندانکی و حرب اسافان بوري ميدون تشديسي وعرب المانين بد ملعتنه توديع آبدرستاد اويه غلاكتان اومياره اوبدنشا جتان كومولوده اوبلالكاد فيرسلنكه جهان مصم جانت اولوده مار ع به كما أجياده ديدك بواجي سوولري ايشتديد يكمز اواس کی براینیلق بجون تکرادلامبودز ، اوملمون اقرى حالا بإندكه ، "يَدْتُكُ مسارلش كودديكمن بجون خاطرلابودز. على كمال

Biz Muhalifler Kimleriz ve Ne İstiyoruz? (We, opponents, who are we and what we want?)

Ali Kemal's Editorial, Sabah, 20 Aralık 1918, 1335 (1919), nr. 104501, s. 1

مستخيرات خصوصيه يز، مخالفلر، نەل ايستىيورز؟ طرسوسده أثلاف هيئت عسكريهس ایستعکریز بله سینعزه آییندوه جیچ است. او به کمار، قابل دل سیلی دسانم و خوانز کم جواد بوداد مانودن، قاحت سیلیماری وقوق برميندن آلاينن مارسانه كرره خلقو بسمرىجدا، يح واقتد، اوج إنكليز ونر المزها بطدن اب برهيك طرسوب مواملة إهن واكر بوز كليك برالنلامسترزة حكر مساقا مكان البوزير عل مورعه پرمیندن ، مرین میرد ، بارده مستوسترینم و مهر و دوشته اور اور بارد و را استوا اطلان و مرکز برمین طرسوم سوامنا واقع وارکی بود کلنه پرانا دسترد مگرمتان مکان ایون برما هنومی اصادری شد ایفتدر، طرسوم واقعه حوالیم میزانسان آنته آلمقدر، آمنه امایس ایهاری ایم کوجاری این متول بواقعه و مانقانه سکوت ایلکمدوار . تسلون دى يليد ديدك قلط أوروفرام – ايجوز طوفرنى الاورتيتك دركه "دراكت سليد كريتسعن اول بوكوزيوعلكن ابنه – يتك ، يزدن ويجهدارانتون ، سكت سلكه محمد المحدوثريتك دوتوديكي اوبورومنن – خواجدلكر في طلباتك فراديت وهما سترداد آيوالق مهاجر لريتك مملكتارينه اعادهس الديم ۲۵ کانون ادل (عابر منوسترد) ... (حوران) وا برزان تور) وابوراری ماکنارت اسکان ابتانا ابترون سکر بود کلی دوم معاصرتی خاط آبرای وادورید. خوجها نیزدون مرک ابلساردد ... ملکور وابورار ادلا آبوانه، وبیده ادومیده اونهایون میلن اداماهری مهایورای قرمه میانومیتورد. صدرون متول فاریومی افتیمه کنیرمی ادلان (تسایر) انتخابی خته نامه کیس فكن منه بيقارش، قوركارم جبور شدور . ايدكمن ماهما اوقاق بر مكتب اعدادى وتكبونده إدجنهز ابتارى تبين الجداء المسلكن به اسبركهن طلناره ، ناظماره بكرسكدركه الجديز مخسالفارك المزدن حيج ی ود ورد ماده ماده تمین ایده د بزی وذمان كاءى وبتده كمز ء فقط مرهانكي واجراآها معافك اعون جبت تقصانه لياترون سوكت المصدر. اون يدنجى قول اددو قوماندانى كورالدين باستا » 3 ويشار) قرووازورت كيديك فرانسز قوماندانى زيارت المصدر. زيب المحدكي دولا بلرىده ببلبرذ . "اوندن ، مأمور بوقاريدن برى عرض الجديكمز اجرا . آلهن برينه حال اواق ايسترب وظيفات ری مروف خزتاری واسطه به جبت اذمير ابله غلمنك آرمسنده مناسبات تجاريه باشلامندو ازیر داد کاورادل (عام عصرسودن) ـــ (کلیل کا انتیک للنه و ایری اوزدم در اغراضیل (25) اهلاصعر - (کلیل) داورون جدایرامی ندگور اشیان طلا " لیاردن کسردامه هو به سرکت ایدیکور - اوران اید حاسات جدارمدانیکون حالس (بکهانگلسی وسعیهدر پاساساده بینی دول بیوونچ ایران به در اوزدهای آدودیه ایسال و طن اسکان حاس اوزدن جارت طاعت حال برغاب سکم مورکه پلنانعمر . مسدى لتارجي مشسته قارش بولون اعات ابقش اوابجن انجون البه جزاى مزله توركلونيه اتحساددن ، مخادشتان متعسل إ اوغهار . ۹ - دخپاهد توقيز . کيمانه عت ايلو ۽ ماخي في او وعق ازو مي آخدن آله اباری سودد، عفریت ایکن عادا مونس 🛛 شخصیله آلوب و ره جکمز یوف م لکن بو ركدى اولور ، وجود الملك الألدن سلول ، الدين من افراطه واردير، وق ملتك ، دولك، ایک بیک طور آنجیری طلاً از میردن استاروقه حرکتا بشمی عرو اولان (ازمیر) و ایروپاستانیوندن کلن اس اوزربه پیزارابراسی کوش حرکت ایدمیکند . ا مامەلك ا شرويت الالەرق يعش شخصي سۇ رولتك تجزمانارهن ري خسته اولديغي سوياره استصالرك دوامته مساعده ايدومهزاء وعلقي ، توخست لني تداوى ايجون بوتون مجلس مبعوثانده اولاد وطنك البرلكيه جايشيق لزوحى فابته طلت باشا حکومتنك و مرکز ممومینك محطا بندكاف فايرمق الجون تأسيسته وتأسبته مودت حقدن، إيق ومؤثر برطرف، اوذون علو عمومي كالولنك سبب تأخري -- يوليس مأمودارينك وقيه و اقداري --الرزادي، بالدند. كرى قالماز ، فقط حققتني إرديم ابتديكى يعض مؤسسهارد. بوبله شخصي استبضاح توردى تهدن تأخر ابتدى ا يشا ميماري جوقدر . اوتلريده دورديرمق يوقدنكش الجدبكمز بواويونلر. آفاعامته دون دیش علول کیک وابستم کناد آی بیدانها کره آنهن ایم سکوت آن......، نوروایدن بیلسایی تلاممی تراث دیران اترانیم. سنمین دیران توجیت منافران واقیمی سنمین که جذب میان کرد... وقورو عق لازمدر . منيم المهدك . اولا أتحاد و خادفت جايندن : ابشته ، اعتادیز به ، بوکون بووطات مفتی دوشوان و حکومت ایچون ایک آ. بد. فضاحدن ری انساناراد اولود . بوقسه وراسار قرئ والعرادي الباس الما المدى (مرادي - والبرال الرب والعادى البون تكوت بر الالم كاندرسدي -وجه ناوليز والمد مليات وراسون، بوتكه الماني مساهم فلاما ورد الرب - ولاقه ملاما ورد الماليا الم الرب والي عادي الورد مواليا الم الرب والي عادي الورد مواليا الم الرب عنه الالماني الولايميا مالية المراريكيو مالك الوراس طولايميا بايارله وبايارى ، مرتمسيد مين اواورسه میمان سندی این صد وجناع تو ترویدی بین ذاکر ادایه ماداولدی اجنه حوافلولندی . موجوعوی کافرنگ میب تأخری : ويهجق ابشار شو بسط ابتديكمز ماده ردر. سون ، حابت ابقك ايست بقرة ال ال مَوْمُون تَأْتَنَكَ سِبْ أَمْرَى: سَبَرْب بَعَوْلَ سَنْ فَضَ هَدَى : احْبَ ويستعَدَّه مِن عَرَّت عَرَّدَ مَن هَدَى : احْبَ ويستعَدَّه مِن عَرَّت عَرَّدَ مَن عَمَانَ وَمَانَ الدِ عَنْ عَلَى رَسْوَ عَلَى مَانَ مَا كَرَ المَاسَتَ عَلَى الدِ عَنْ عَلَى . وقدي يُحَاد مَا تَلْ عَنْ اللَّذِي وقدي عالى ماكر الاصلاع الوقت موازاته مانل المَان عَنْ المَان من مران ايول تيب در الماد المَان عَنْ المَان وستان يُحَاد الماد مورون عناكره موات في ويتك يا يحد الماد مورون عناكره موات في ويتري ويتري ويتري ويترين مورون عناكره موات في ويتري ويتري ويتري ويترين ومورون عند في موات في ويتري ويتري ويتري ويترين مورون عند في موات في ويتري ويتري ويتري ويتري ويترين ومورون عند في موات في ويتري ويتري ويتري ويتري ويترين مورون عاد في موات في ويتري من موان الماد برگر، اوتل اجرا ایدادیمی م اولش برارمه مادا ایتستر اورنش کی کردی آجیلر . دول و مانك سوال سال طبیوسته کرد و ورمك بوملني خارجه قارش بر درجه داهسا ود ورمانه و تکلمک کم جارت اوسته جايندر . تاياً خلا خو دورن بش سنخان دامارارند. قان جولانه اشلار ، بل تبک مانيدزكى برجانعبايي اووعق، اوفعيدارك ماملری عنوابقت دیمکدوکه عدائی بومرتبه آبار آلته آبلخ المزدن، کمر. دوغريلير. نيجونشىدىاماندمن بولند، دكل، حیات هموسیه می دو قبول اواندی . روزنامه دوکی اسٹینداح مستقدمی لكنشخص وساتره ورلون . ، درى . 4 وتيس تساحريبه الظادقهات كلن حكومت هنوز ارظاهرد جونكه خالت واهالت ايدناري اورتابن فالدرمليزه كوجولاء فنط سنبتند بووك الشترى تودسكا اوتلوعا اولمان الردن قودبادمل ز . بويله مر ڪري ا سریادی من این افتاد کا (میترب) ... خو ماده موجه باغیر اینامندر . خیا سلایت (لازمنان) ... چرابه ه افکار استرداد وفاتیرناد دنداد اجما بالی طرندن ایناس وقت بولامادی : مسلط سانترهاری ادبیود . طوربودذ ۲ بوابلک کویل آگادقیه مسلح ردان مین بهدیکنده خواندوانیما عشر رایم جواب در برایم حکی بید راشد . میا حکایه (ازستان) می توانس انفراد بریت دیکر دان اماله انبین ایمامیم مدر انقار سنی دیگر دان اماله انبین ایمامیکر. رئیس – امسان معدر این ایماب برقیاد وللعن عيج برخير ايشةعز. واساس بوبغبه تترد ابتدكلا موكره ايجون معاشر لفلر اوله بيلير؛ أ كالإمايز. موستان تسومت كمادك ووعماعوك الملحه مخالفار سكوشه فأطرنته وكلالته ومدوجه ماد الرق عرض ايارد. حرينيون وكالدرار ه اعاب ایم . نؤاد خلومی یائ (آسال) ... سازم اولان مذبعه طبع بایتره ورژنمه ادسال اولندی . مجمده سن مذاکر مستده هدای اطری بایااندی، محمد مین مذاکر مستده هدای اطری میکاندی ا ۲۰۰۰ - یودونی یوسوب حوی غلاکت ريس -- بسون معرومين (جاي وكانا) والأكوارده جريبه القريطانا وكانا" ايشاى وظيله اقص إنجاب أبور. وقاترى موقاره فيلا اشتراك الدنارى كاوتعلسا بدرك مرعت عكما به جز الادرمق. دها بسی شیاردوشونادیکا بن عطه لاعانه نکراز انجسه مواله بی طلب انتیار ، مشتمه برکا بواعله برای شدیل ویتاین تکرانو انجب کودیع المای ، ۲. - تيجير فليحاري ، فبيعاري اوتكاب الدينارى اوجنا يتارك درجناريه خام ويرقدون متاسب آغر جزال، جارعق. سلحصندن يومشروطين ء بوهداك زميته اورلاندونك نطتى جوئكه اطريمزه ج - بوهانهتر .د. مندورت او فرايانتر. التسبنء عرجر ومشيزاته ، حرفلا كشيرته وابر امیداریز مسخمی دکل ، حومیدر ، دولت سینات ورمك ، شرداری عکن اوادینی بلتمزده بإدشاء مادلزكي بوبوك برمظهريتن وملتك يوبله برحال فلاكشده منافع حموميدن قادار تلاق الجك ۽ حقوق منصومي استرداد وار ، المهد، استاد ايكرز ، يوزاوالي وطق ذياده شمخصني دوشوتكك فايتوسنده اولانلر قورنارمنه ماليشيرز كوديبودزكه : حكومتك سمتهيه اوخراءعلىء بويد فودقونج ٤ - شخص استاد، حرمیه و قاتر. حری بیتر پردود ایت که کوه ایته و کهبرد ایته روظف في درعهده الحكم بتدعسك درار. الحرف بولاشد وانلوك آبريج اموار واملاكى قسالك خوشه كيدر اواق برجناس ايه جد اوفرانتینه عرفره ایا دکر ودنیای اخس ديدكلرى بوكون مادنا وجامدو فالخنيفه ہ کالف حربہ ، استان جین وکېله او نوجه ناينك : سار، كسودارية ، دولايارية طويلاعش بوكون وادست ادرن يوفر الاابا بكيتمز . اسیر کشبکدی اصطراب ایکن اعل ایشای بیامه دها بد دها دکارد آمدر ۱ بإردارىء ايدلش كازارى شبط ايدراد حكوت والسانيول فالمستعادش وادلتمزي مدافعهن (ىىر مل ابقك ، بوبولسزاغاردن ، مايدود لقاردن ماجزؤ. اوله ایکن حیاق والکو شنخمی ديديكته باقلوب وجداق بإك اولانارجه اك اطلر دن و الديشتاردن عبارت بيلمهمك، بارين استفاده ايدن يسنى خسومي شركنارى لطيب يوكيك حكومة متصباري ال بوبواد درداردن اجرامق متثارم اولاجادر. ر آدوج طوراق اوادقن مسوكر. هيج إيدلاكا حقوق دولت وملتى احفاق ايدمك عد إيدانيدو، لكن دولك حال حاضرة لأكته

٤,

غظراة شوقيه

واحابته اماده ايدمك

معادره قيلىق

٩ - برقاج الخامال منفت، حكومتك

٢ - معد حام إلا وطلعة إلا حكو.

متل کهمنز بنانک شرویته او ادق بعض عوله به

تأيين إديان ولسزه حسن فعاسطها إى

استفادارى تحقيق وتدقيق ايدرك بويد ادادين

ويرحده ارمقدراه

مين كوسرَسك لازمته ديردَكه

شمدى بوابكي منديمزك دوحني خلاب

ايمىتىسىودايمىيەن،اىكىپتارىل دل. ايستەدلاكلىم زىغا جويام قرياغلە ي

ضرريته ويملش يرجوقا ودمان وسائره اسازه

فرى فسخ المنك ، او وزنن خزت ، ارب

افتن شردارى كسبن ابتدرمك .

أولاز معزاري استاراه د ماد مامة. مالامق، كورماودردسمدى فاسقات آ عشءط فتكماز عاله اولادينه اوبله منكوك وملوث إراردن **زاد. نمز ، ازك ، كوزل بر نمونة اخلاق** راقق ترجمه الدواوك عقليلندر . داهما الهمكء ايدركن برياريه واهامتكاتف مؤثره وسنه دکل ، منی بر تاج آی اولی آنور ، طلعت، جال دينديمي، بوعلكتك انسبالري برطرقه دورسيون و طاشاري و طويراقاري مجديه دوشيوداردىء يوكون او آدامار قوص ايت مسلكرية المقرية والدينارية ما تارة آكلانيت معدله فأوتر فينا كذاسه درمايتك اتحاد وترقيد آوتق اواستبداد ، اونساد فوجه آوروياد ماهلاه بدلك ايمون رداره

ا خیا مالایک (لازستان) ... وکون خربیه نائلزمان براستیشاج باید جدی. وکا دائر سلومان

طر فندل حر به فاطر بنك استنفا الله يكي و نظارته در هنوز برذان تبينا يدلديكندن مؤالهواستيضاح تغربوني

و ریاب میلو روزنامده داخل والنان میکو لواع قانون و حکومت نامنه مداعه اید.جان مأموری کادریکندن جمه ایرتسی کونی اجتاع ایدانه اوزره مذاکر انه

روما ۲۵ کالوناول (۱۰۰) بب الجلس أعيانه موقد ودجه مذاكر می النامنده جلس وکلار پس موسيو الروائد من مي مراطق الراد الرقي رودفتيكا: ابتاليا الوالماشرده اردرمي ترخيل ايممن ويتون مرب بهمازاري عينا عاصة ايتك إيجاب إيدر ، يؤدانلل مستقار مكتب و إيما اچاب الجر ، بوبانلل منتخار کلیه و پاید المیلاه کریشهم ، هنوز مذاکر ان خصومیای موضوع للکیلا مان محاول شیدیان تجراغان موافق اولسه کرکلار ، مقق حکومار الاکنزان علافدان این متافرای تیومنه ها کا دستوراره مواللت المعاردور ودستورارده ويتسونك دستور . آابق يردسنورار تعدريتهم الدر اطيق اولدية بكدر. بككوه المرده بعض وانع بدلات دلبكي آرايورلو ، جوسكه بودولت ومقاده ه

کندیل نید. بو دردار. اوغیاکان اوتودی ففاورى دادا اغاجتنن كاسل قودتاره جتلراف بيليودار اضاف بإشادقيه بوية معيتاردن ء قودقو مجافيتار دزميات إيدارهم فازو وجدالدرء اولدکدن مسوکر.د. خبر این ید ایندیرن بنه اودر ، اوادن آيرلمامنه چايشملي ز ، باشسقه کار ساندقار بنز شرودور. حمران ساندقار بنزده خىراندر ، علىكال

77